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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES, JOURNALISM
AND COMMUNICATION

DEPARTMENT OF DOCUMENTARY LINGUISTICS AND CULTURE

DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF NOUN MORPHOLOGY
IN KAFINOONOO

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ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA
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**DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF NOUN
MORPHOLOGY IN KAFINOOONOO**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Kifle Meshesha Macho entitled: *Documentation and Description of Noun Morphology in Kafinoonoo* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (MA) in Documentary Linguistics and Culture complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on documenting and describing nominal inflectional and derivational morphology in Kafinoonoo. Regarding inflection, nouns in Kafinoonoo are inflected for gender, number and case. Gender is of two types in Kafinoonoo: masculine or feminine. Masculine gender is marked by the suffix *-o~oo*. In most cases, the vowel *-o(oo)* is the default ending for nouns. This morpheme also serves as augmentative with inanimate objects. It also serves as a plural marker for naturally feminine genders. Feminine gender is marked by *-e~ee* or *-i*. Both vowels also serve as diminutive marker with inanimate objects. Number is marked in many ways. The suffix *-naʔo* is the plural marker for regular nouns. When the PL marker *-naʔo* is attached to the base noun, the gender is neutralized to generic gender. In addition, some nouns mark plural by reduplication of the final syllable or the whole stem, or by using the masculine marker. Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns mark their plural by the suffix *-fi*.

Case is marked by different strategies. Suffixation of the inflectional morpheme *-n*, lengthening of terminal vowels, or using the unmarked noun or pronoun are accusative case marking strategies. Genitive case is marked by attaching *-tʃo~tʃi* or *-dʒ~ddʒi* to the citation form of nouns or pronouns. The morpheme *-dʒ~ddʒi* only occurs as genitive marker with nouns ending in a nasal preceded by a vowel.

Concerning derivation, abstract and result nouns can be derived from nouns and adjectives. Agent nouns are derived from verb stems. Agent nouns are gender specific and so that inflectional morphology is occurred in the process of agent noun derivation. Certain euphemisms and manner nouns are derived by compounding.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The People and Their Language

1.1.1 The People

According to Taddese (1999: 1), *Kafa* is the name of an old kingdom located in southwestern Ethiopia to the south of the Gojeb River, which is the birthplace of coffee. The people associated with this kingdom are called *Kafecho* and their language *Kafinoonoo*. The Kafecho kingdom once constituted an independent state with considerable size and wealth. It emerged in the 14th century under *Kafi Agetoo*. In the early 18th century a strong, centralized and authoritarian state was built headed by the *Taato* who was considered a “divine king”.

According to Abbink (2007), Kafa was incorporated into the Ethiopian state at the end of 19th century. Until 1987 it had the status of *Awrajja*. From 1987-1991, Kafa formed a region together with the Maji and Bench zones. Since 1994, the Kafecho-Shekacho zone has become one of the sub-divisions in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples’ Regional State (SNNPRS) with Bonga as its capital. It is bordered by Jimma zone in the north, the Konta special woreda in the east, the south Omo zone in the south, Illuababor zone in the northeast, Bench-Maji Zone in the south east, and Sheka zone in the west.

Four different linguistic communities live in the Kafa zone, namely Kafecho, Chara, Na’o and Me’init in peripheral areas. According to Fleming (1976b: 356), a number of despised people also live among the Kafa. These include *Màndzó* ‘hunters’, *Màánnòó* ‘leather workers’ and *Kemmo* ‘blacksmiths’. Previously, the economy of Kafa was based on exports of gold, cotton, slaves, coffee, livestock, and honeybees kept in barrels called *gèèndóó* ‘hive’, which were hung in trees. But now, the economy is based only on coffee, agriculture, livestock and honeybees.

Fleming (1976b: 356) situates Kafa roughly between 37°E and 35°30’E bordering the Omo river valley in the south on its east-west run along roughly 7°N. According to Gascon (2007: 321), the Kafa region is a densely populated highland area situated between 1,700-3,000m above sea level on the right bank of the Omo River.

1.1.2 The Language

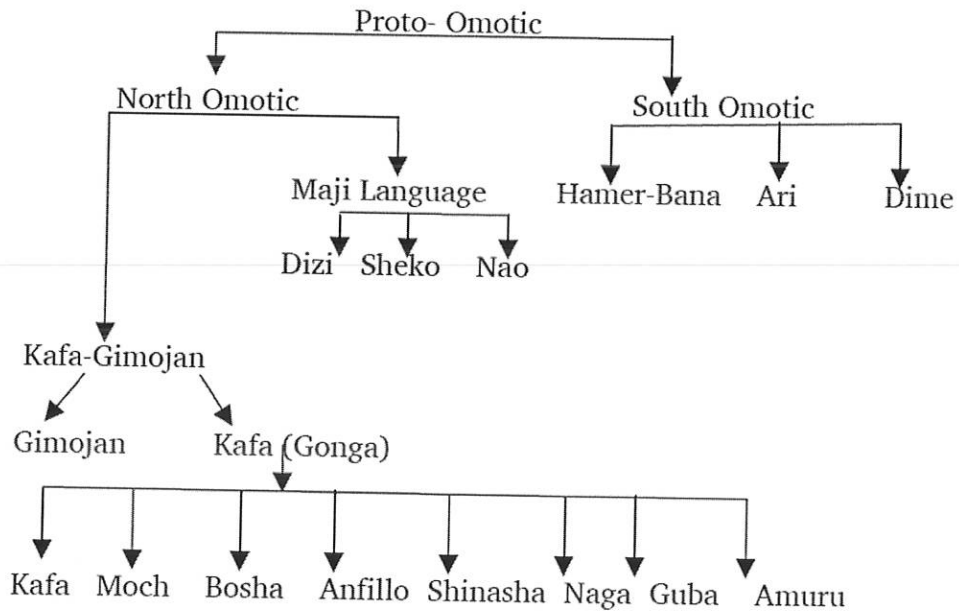
According to Tadesse (2007: 2), Kafinonoo is an Afro-Asiatic language of the Gongga subgroup of the north Omotic family – Kafa-Gimojan by group, Kafa by subgroup. Similarly, Fleming (1976a) classified Kafinonoo as an Omotic language under Northern Omotic of Kafa-Gimojan in the subgroup of Kafa. The Kafa subgroup is alternatively called Gongga.¹ Specifically, Kafa belongs to South Gongga.

Regarding, linguistic variety within Kafinonoo, Fleming (1976a) says that it consists of four dialects, namely, the Manjo A, B, and C dialects, and Gojeb. Tadesse (1999: 2), in contrast, suggests that Kafinonoo consists of three dialects without further specifying them. Theil (2007: 2) claims that Kafinonoo has six dialects, namely Gimbo, Decha, Xallo, Manjiyo, Addiyo, Canni. This shows that the dialect division of Kafinonoo needs further study. According to CSA (2007: 86), Kafinonoo is spoken by 874,716 people.

In the past 20 years, there has been not much emphasis given to the language. But since 1987, it has become the medium of instruction in the first circle of primary education from grade 1-4, and offered as subject from grade 5-8, in secondary education, and at the Bonga College of Teacher Education (diploma level) since 2011. Kafinonoo has become the administrative language of the Kafa zone since 2008/9.

¹ The term Gongga has a long tradition as a linguistic term in the literature. It represents a subgroup consisting of Kafinonoo, Anfillo, Bosha, Amuru, Naga, Boro (Shinasha) and Guba (cf. Fleming 1976a).

Figure 1: Family Tree of Omotic Languages



Adapted from Fleming (1976a, 300)

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Currently, Kafinoonoo is offered s subject of study at primary and secondary schools, and at college level. Further it is the judiciary and administrative language in the Kafa zone. However, linguistic works on Kafinoonoo are limited. Kafinoonoo, like other little-known languages, is linguistically not adequately documented and described. There is no grammar, nor a dictionary or a translation of the bible or other religious books. The researcher is of the opinion that the language cannot be promoted and standardized without proper documentation and description. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to fill in this gap by documenting and describing the noun morphology of Kafinoonoo.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to document and describe the noun morphology of Kafinoonoo. The study has the following specific objectives:

- To document and identify the main elements in inflectional noun morphology,
- To document and identify the main elements in derivational noun morphology,
- To document and identify morphological processes which occur in noun inflection and derivation.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Since this is the first documentary work on Kafinoonoo, the study will preserve aspects of the language for the future, and increase the knowledge of the language. In addition, it can serve as a cross-reference material for further research.

1.5 Methodology

For the documentation purpose, the researcher has recorded both audio and video data from two native speakers of the language, namely, Ato Worku Woldemichael and Ato Atinafe Gobena. Their age is 51 and 62 years, respectively.

The audio and video data were annotated by using ELAN, whereby examples of inflectional and derivational noun morphology were extracted and presented in this thesis.

Secondly, since the researcher is a native speaker of Kafinoonoo, he has used his language skills as a base for additional data on noun morphology. Further, he consulted other native speakers and previous works to ensure the validity of the data. All language consultants are native speakers of Kafinoonoo. Dubale Sahle, who holds an MA in linguistics, speaks the Gesha variety and is 28 years old. The second consultant is Abebe Asfaw whose age is 50 years. He has an MA in teaching English and speaks the Gimbo variety. Tesfaye Worku, another consultant, is 47 years old and has a BA in teaching English. He speaks the Decha variety.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Review of Previous Works on Kafinoo

There are very limited linguistic works done on Kafinoo. They are reviewed in this section.

According to Tadesse (1999:28), Cecchi (1889) is the first researcher who produced a grammatical sketch of Kafinoo with a glossary of several hundred words. Reinisch (1888) contains information on the phonology and morphology of Kafinoo and a German-Kafinoo vocabulary. Tilahun (2009) discusses the morphology of Kafinoo. He presents the derivational and inflectional morphology of Kafinoo but in most cases he misses vowel length, consonant germination, and fails to notice morpheme breaks and possible inflectional and derivational alternatives. Cerulli (1951) focuses on the description of the phonology, morphology, and represents aspects of Kafinoo syntax in a general way. With his work, he considerably improved earlier descriptions of the language. He also compiled a comparative lexicon of Kafinoo-Italian and Italian-Kafinoo.

Tadesse (1999) deals with the tonology of Kafinoo. He found out that the language has rising and falling tones and that absorption and bridging are the two most pervasive phonological processes accountable for pitch phenomena in Kafinoo. Theil (2007) contains a detailed phonological analysis of Kafinoo including, besides vowels and single consonants, geminates, consonant clusters, and morphological alternations (singleton vs. gemination). His main emphasis is on sounds occurring in loanwords and problems of their phonological integration. Fleming (1976a), too, deals with the phonology of Kafinoo but also contains information on verb morphology and processes of nominalization and gender marking. Nega (1984) deals with the verb morphology in Kafinoo. He identifies the structure and function of inflectional suffixes. Aberash (1985) studies the verb phrase and shows the various verb types in Kafinoo, their phrase structure and the arrangement of the constituents in the verb phrase. In addition to this, Alemayehu (1981) adds information on verbal markers in Kafinoo.

Minwuyelet (1984) identifies the components, patterns and functions of the noun phrase. Moreover, he describes agreement marking between the subject noun and the verb. Girma (2010) also discusses the noun phrase structure of Kafinoonoo by focusing on inflection of pronouns and nominals. Kassie (1987) presents a syntactic analysis of the declarative sentences in Kafinoonoo. He discusses the structure of declarative sentences in using transformational process and phrase structure rules. Samson (2003) discusses the structure of relative clauses in Kafinoonoo. He shows that Kafinoonoo relative-clause formation employs the strategy of gapping, which is a process that does not represent overtly the relativized noun phrase in the relative clauses.

Leslau (1958) is the first linguist to identify and briefly describe the tone and phoneme inventory of the *Mocha* [mottʃa] dialect, which is nowadays called Shakkinoonoo. Bender (2000) deals with phonology, tense, aspect, mood, copula and case inflection in Kafinoonoo in comparison with other Omotic languages. Tolemariam (2009) describes causatives and passives in Kafinoonoo. His finding shows that the vowels *i* and *e* have two different functions. Root-finally they function as thematic vowel, but when they are attached to the verb stem they become causative and passive markers, respectively.

Dawit (2004) focuses on code switching between Kafinoonoo and Amharic while Honelign (2009) writes on the issues of using Kafinoonoo as a medium of instruction and analyzes the efficiency of students in mother tongue education.

Orient (1967) discusses the cultural and religious spirit mediator *ʔibèdèttʃinó*, the *doottʃ-i èkk'ó* 'Dochay cult', and social and family organization. Lange (1982) deals with the kingdom of Gonga, especially the ruling system of the Kafa noble classes.

2.2 Review of Works on Linguistic Documentation

According to Himmelmann (2006: 2), language documentation is concerned with the production of a long-lasting, multipurpose record of a language. The major reason to engage in language documentation is that a substantial number of languages spoken in the world are endangered. Thus, the comprehensive documentation of little-known languages will become an essential base for language revitalization in the future.

Since language is a central part of cultural and ethnic identity, it should be documented before extinction (Himmelmann 2006: 15).

Language documentation is a new discipline in Ethiopia. Many of its moribund languages are not documented yet. Although Kafinoonoo is not an endangered language, the documentation and description of its noun morphology, as attempted in this thesis, is a major contribution for its linguistic promotion and future standardization.

CHAPTER THREE: GENERAL GRAMMATICAL OVERVIEW

3.1 Phonology

3.1.1 Segmental Inventory

3.1.1.1 Consonant Phonemes

Fleming (1976a) examines previous studies made on the Gonga languages for the purpose of historical reconstruction and classification. This also includes a thorough investigation of Gonga phonology and morphology. In his analysis of phonemes, he states that Kafinooonoo has 22 consonants, and 5 short and 5 long vowels. Tadesse (1999) adapted the consonant inventory from Fleming for his own study. Theil (2007:1) proposes two types of phoneme inventories for Kafinooonoo, which he calls Kafa I and Kafa II. He argues that Kafa I display the recent stage of Kafa phonology while Kafa II is the phoneme system before loanwords from Amharic entered into Kafinooonoo. According to my data, he misrepresents sounds in his analysis. For example, he mixes *ʔ* with *p*, or *f* with *s* (Theil 2007: 7). Further, he missed sounds like *dʒ* and *tʃ*, and claims that *ʔ*, *s*, *l* and *z* are loan sounds. Except for *z*, I disagree with his analysis. Further, he includes *l* in his Kafa II (Theil 2007: 10) and, thus, contradicts himself. According to Theil (2007: 10), there are 22 consonants in Kafinooonoo when the Amharic loan sounds are included; otherwise it has only 18 consonants. The consonant inventory based on Fleming (1976b) is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: The Consonant Phonemes of Kafinooonoo

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b p'	t d t'		k g k'	ʔ
Affricates			tʃ dʒ tʃ'		
Fricatives	f		ʃ		h
Nasals	m	n			
Liquids		l r			
Approximants	w		j		

Adapted from Fleming (1976b: 355)

3.1.2 Suprasegmentals

3.1.2.1 Consonant Gemination

According to Taddese (1999), consonant gemination is phonemic. Gemination usually occurs word-medially in Kafinoonoo but not in word-initial or -final position. Similarly, Fleming (1976b) notes that gemination is very common, but never word-initially.

Table 4: Minimal Pairs for Consonant Gemination

Consonant	Single	Gloss	Geminate	Gloss
<i>b</i> vs. <i>bb</i>	<i>áàbò</i>	‘sun’	<i>áàbbòó</i>	‘forty’
<i>t</i> vs. <i>tt</i>	<i>àtò</i>	‘bud’	<i>àttó</i>	‘medicine’
	<i>màt’ó</i>	‘bee’	<i>màtt’ó</i>	‘migration’
<i>tʃ</i> vs. <i>ttʃ</i>	<i>k’átʃ’òó</i>	‘sand’	<i>k’àttʃ’òó</i>	‘leprosy’
	<i>mátʃ’ò</i>	‘horse’	<i>màttʃ’òó</i>	‘population’
<i>n</i> vs. <i>nn</i>	<i>gènnòó</i>	‘name of ensete’	<i>gènnòó</i>	‘females’

Taddese (1999: 21) mentions one exception for word-final gemination, namely the negative marker *-aattʃ* with final geminate *ttʃ*. I claim that not only the negative marker, but also most deictic expressions in Kafinoonoo end in geminate consonants, as shown in (2).

- (2) a. *gùbb* ‘behind’
 b. *dágg* ‘to the center’
 c. *ókk* ‘there’
 d. *hàttʃ* ‘here’

The glottal stop *ʔ*, the glottal fricative *h*, the alveolar liquid *r*, the labial fricative *f*, and the approximants *w* and *j* are always non-geminate consonants while the consonants *tʃ* (but not the ejective fricative *tʃʼ*), *p*, and *l* are always geminate consonants. The remaining consonants occur both as geminate and as singleton. Based on my data, I disagree with Tadesse (1999: 21) concerning the palatal affricate *dʒ*. He generalized

that it only occurs as a geminate sound. This is basically right but when *dʒ* immediately follows a nasal, it never geminates, as in *mándʒò* ‘Manjo (group name)’, *gèndʒòó* ‘tall’, etc.

3.1.2.2 Consonant Distribution and Co-Occurrence Restrictions

The consonant distribution in Kafinoonoo, as shown in Table 6, has never been treated before.

Table 5: Non-Geminate Consonant Distribution in the Word

CONSONANT	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
<i>b</i>	<i>bàgó</i> ‘sheep’	<i>dùíbó</i> ‘song’	<i>gùbb</i> ‘behind’
<i>p’</i>	<i>p’illò</i> ‘insect’	<i>k’èp’èró</i> ‘garbage’	<i>óp’</i> ‘hole’(imperative)
<i>t</i>	<i>tàátòò</i> ‘king’	<i>mátò</i> ‘twins’	<i>mìt</i> ‘press’
<i>d</i>	<i>dàllòò</i> ‘thin’	<i>bèdó</i> ‘enough’	<i>ùd</i> ‘shut up!’
<i>t’</i>	<i>t’ànò</i> ‘breast’	<i>màt’ó</i> ‘bee’	<i>kùt’</i> ‘cut’
<i>k</i>	<i>kèllò</i> ‘gate’	<i>mòókò</i> ‘cheese’	<i>òkk</i> ‘there’
<i>g</i>	<i>gàròó</i> ‘clear’	<i>bàgó</i> ‘sheep’	<i>bàg</i> ‘hit’
<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔùtʔ’òó</i> ‘rat’	<i>mìʔò</i> ‘hold’	<i>mìʔ</i> ‘be unhappy (curse)’
<i>f</i>	<i>fàrtʔijó</i> ‘untimely teeth’	<i>tùrfó</i> ‘ingredient’	<i>dùf</i> ‘throw’
<i>ʃ</i>	<i>fókkò</i> ‘empty’	<i>óʃjó</i> ‘common cold’	<i>káf!</i> ‘breath’

CONSONANT	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
<i>h</i>	<i>hàllòó</i> 'completion'	<i>gàáhòó</i> 'buffalo'	<i>bàh</i> 'throw'
<i>tf'</i>	<i>tf'èéllò</i> 'red'	<i>bìtf'éròó</i> 'mule'	<i>màátf'</i> 'Cut!'
<i>m</i>	<i>mèénó</i> 'meat'	<i>dàmòó</i> 'blood'	<i>màm</i> 'eat'
<i>n</i>	<i>nòónòó</i> 'language, lip'	<i>t'ànó</i> 'breast'	-
<i>w</i>	<i>wóllò</i> 'leave'	<i>fòwòò</i> 'earth'	<i>dèéw</i> 'bring'
<i>j</i>	<i>jàmòó</i> 'plan'	<i>màájò</i> 'food'	<i>?ùj</i> 'drink'
ONLY WORD-INITIALLY AND -MEDIALLY			
<i>k'</i>	<i>k'èèné</i> 'bed'	<i>?íkk'òó</i> 'ability'	-
ONLY WORD-MEDIALLY			
<i>s</i>	-	<i>wàásélò</i> 'Waselo (ethnonym)'	-
<i>r</i>	-	<i>bàrò</i> 'pepper'	-

According to the above data, the consonants *dʒ*, *l*, *p* and *tf* do not occur word-initially, while *n*, *k'*, *r* and *s* do not occur word-finally. The consonant *s* occurs only word-medially. The remaining consonants occur word-initially, -medially and -finally.

Table 6: Geminate Consonant Distribution in the Word

CONSONANT	MEDIAL	FINAL
<i>pp</i>	<i>òppó</i> 'hole'	<i>òpp</i> 'to the hole'
<i>bb</i>	<i>àbbó</i> 'plate'	<i>gùbb</i> 'behind'
<i>pp'</i>	<i>nàpp'ó</i> 'test'	<i>òpp'</i> 'split'
<i>tt</i>	<i>k'èttòó</i> 'neck'	-
<i>dd</i>	<i>mùddòó</i> 'nose'	<i>bàdd</i> 'other (place)'
<i>tt'</i>	<i>àátt'òó</i> 'expensive'	-
<i>kk</i>	<i>ʔikkòó</i> 'one'	<i>òkk</i> 'there'
<i>gg</i>	<i>màggòó</i> 'heavy'	<i>dàgg</i> 'to the center'
<i>kk'</i>	<i>èkk'ó</i> 'cult'	-
<i>ttf</i>	<i>ʔàttf'òó</i> 'skin'	<i>màáttf</i> 'outside'
<i>ddʒ</i>	<i>èddʒò</i> 'milk'	-
<i>ttf'</i>	<i>màttf'òó</i> 'population'	<i>màáttf'</i> 'cut'
<i>ss</i>	<i>hòssòó</i> 'ending of funeral song of males'	-
<i>mm</i>	<i>jàámmò</i> 'fly'	-

CONSONANT	MEDIAL	FINAL
<i>nn</i>	<i>gènnòó</i> 'females (honorific)'	-
<i>ll</i>	<i>mùlló</i> 'heart'	<i>mùll</i> 'to heart'

As shown in Table 6, words in Kafinoonoo never begin with geminate consonants, and also not with consonant clusters. The geminate consonants *tt*, *tt'*, *ddʒ*, *mm*, *nn* do not occur in final position; *ss* occurs only word-medially. Geminate *ff* does not exist in the language; *f* is always a singleton consonant.

The maximum consonant cluster in Kafinoonoo consists of three consonants cf. Table 7. In most cases, a consonant cluster contains one of the nasals *n* or *m*, the labial fricative *f* or the alveolar liquid *r*. Word-final consonant clusters always start with a nasal. Word-medial consonant cluster with two consonants have as second consonant the voiceless bilabial *b*, the velar stop *g*, the alveolar stop *d* or the labial fricative *f*. Consonant clusters with three consonants are rare and always have the nasal *n* comes as first liquid *r* as third member.

Table 7: Consonant Clusters

WORDS	GLOSS
WORD-FINAL	
<i>hàmb</i>	'go'
<i>fùmb</i>	'kiss'
TWO CONSONANT CLUSTERS WORD-MEDIALY	
<i>gùmbó</i>	'stick'
<i>gòndó</i>	'bad'
<i>k'òndòó</i>	'pot'
<i>tʃ'àngìjó</i>	'pole'
<i>àrfóó</i>	'blade'
<i>tùrfò</i>	'ingredient'

WORDS	GLOSS
THREE CONSONANT CLUSTERS WORD-MEDIAALLY	
<i>mèngrèt't'òó</i>	'kind of tree'
<i>dànggrèt'tòó</i>	'kind of tree'

Tadesse (1999:22) is of the opinion that the maximum consonant cluster consists of two consonants. I do not agree with his analysis but argue that the maximal consonant cluster consists of three consonants, as shown in Table 7.

3.1.2.3 Vowel length

According to Fleming (1976a), long vowels are a common phenomenon in Kafinooonoo, while Taddese (1999: 21) states that vowel length is phonemic.

According to the data presented below, all vowels can occur short or long.

Table 8: Minimal Pairs by Vowel Length

Vowel	Word	Word
<i>a</i> vs. <i>aa</i>	<i>àfó</i> 'man'	<i>àáfò</i> 'hiding'
<i>e</i> vs. <i>ee</i>	<i>bèròó</i> 'name of a tree'	<i>bèèròó</i> 'traditional bed'
<i>i</i> vs. <i>ii</i>	<i>dìròó</i> 'horse'	<i>dìiròó</i> 'blessing'
<i>o</i> vs. <i>oo</i>	<i>k'òt'f'ó</i> 'culture'	<i>k'òót'f'ó</i> 'inserting'
<i>u</i> vs. <i>uu</i>	<i>mùlló</i> 'heart'	<i>mùúlló</i> 'smooth'

3.1.2.4 Vowel Distribution

According to Tadesse (2007), all vowels occur word-initially, -medially and -finally. However, according to my data, words ending with the low central vowel *a* are limited; they are usually place names or masculine imperative forms of verbs. Words ending with the mid back vowel *u* are also limited; they are commonly feminine imperative forms of verbs. In general, all short vowels occur word-initially, -medially

and -finally. In the case of long vowels, however, the low central vowel *aa*, the high front vowel *ii*, and the high back vowel *uu* do not occur word-finally.

Table 9: Vowel Distribution

	INITIAL		MEDIAL		FINAL	
SHORT VOWELS						
<i>a</i>	àfò	‘man’	màtf’ò	‘horse’	màamá	‘let him eat’
<i>e</i>	èlló	‘listening’	bèròó	‘tree name’	èmmifè	‘goat (F)’
<i>i</i>	ʔikkòò	‘one’	fikkòó	‘knife’	màt’i	‘bee (F)’
<i>o</i>	ʔòlló	‘trap’	mòtf’òó	‘grass’	dòró	‘sheep’
<i>u</i>	ùrò	‘man’	mùlló	‘heart’	màmù	‘let her eat’
LONG VOWELS						
<i>aa</i>	ààtf’ó	‘water’	bèèllòó	‘clever (M)’	-	-
<i>ee</i>	èèllòó	‘gorilla’	bèèllèé	‘clever (F)’	ágèné	‘moon (dim)’
<i>ii</i>	ìttf’òó	‘rat’	dìròó	‘blessing’	-	-
<i>oo</i>	òófò	‘old’	dòónó	‘man (HON)’	màtf’òó	‘collecting’
<i>uu</i>	ùùkkòó	‘shouting’	gùúdó	‘surrounding’	-	-

3.1.2.5 Tone

According to Taddese (1999: 23), tone is phonemic in Kafinoonoo. Only the phonemic feature, inflectional and derivational purposes of tone is discussed in this thesis. It is because; the objective of the thesis is documentation and description of noun morphology. Nominal contrasts via tone are presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Tone as Phonemic Feature

Word		Word	
<i>bàròó</i>	‘forehead’	<i>bàróó</i>	‘another’
<i>bìütfó</i>	‘her’	<i>bìütfò</i>	‘his’

Word		Word	
<i>màát'ó</i>	'swing instrument'	<i>màát'ó</i>	'outside'
<i>hàllòó</i>	'complexion'	<i>hàllòó</i>	'making, creating'
<i>àttfóó</i>	'name of cabbage'	<i>àttfòò</i>	'skin'

As can be seen from the above examples, the change in tone brings about a change in meaning. According to Tadesse (1999:55), Kafinoonoo has high, low, low-high, high-low and low-high-low tone patterns. A low-high-low-high pattern is possible but only at the underlying level.

3.2 Syllable structure

According to Tadesse (1999:22), Kafinoonoo has the following syllable types: V, VV, VC, VVC, VCC, CV, CVV, CVC, or CVVCC, as presented in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Syllable Types in Kafinoonoo

Syllable	Example		Syllable	Example	
<i>V</i>	<i>àfò</i>	'man'	<i>CVV</i>	<i>báróó</i>	'forehead'
<i>VV</i>	<i>àáfò</i>	'eye'	<i>CVC</i>	<i>màndèrò</i>	'darkness'
<i>CV</i>	<i>ámùkko</i>	'termite'	<i>CVVC</i>	<i>dòòllòó</i>	'antelope'
<i>VCC</i>	<i>ànd</i>	'now'	<i>CVVCC</i>	<i>jüütf'</i>	'yesterday'
<i>VVC</i>	<i>àáf</i>	'in front'			

Tadesse (1999) missed the syllable type CVVCC in his analysis.

3.3 Typological Overview

The common word order in Kafinoonoo is Subject-Object-Verb, as shown in (3a) with an intransitive verb, or in (3b) with a transitive verb. Accusative marking with direct object is not obligatory. The word order is important to distinguish between subject and object. In addition, verb agreement is used for subject reference. Object reference

on the verb is not possible. Additional indirect objects, as in (3c), are marked for dative case and usually precede the direct object but follow the subject.

- (3)
- a. *kùnàánòó* *bùkkiìb-èét-è.*
 dog bark-PROG-3SG
 ‘(A) dog is barking.’
- b. *bùfòó* *kòfó* *màá-t-è.*
 boy injera eat-PST-3MSG
 ‘(A) boy ate injera.’
- c. *kèrì* *màttf’ì-ttf* *k’òrèddòó* *kèmè-t-è.*
 Kero:NOM Macho-DAT clothes buy-PST-3MSG
 ‘Kero bought Macho clothes.’

Noun phrases may be simple or complex. Simple noun phrases consist only of a head noun, as in (3), whereas complex noun phrases have additional modifiers that always precede the head noun. Modifiers may be juxtaposed adjectives, as in (4a), genitive-marked nouns, as in (4b-c), or possessive pronouns, as in (4d).

- (4)
- | | |
|---|---|
| a. <i>òógè dòró</i>
big sheep
‘big sheep’ | c. <i>gàtt-èé kè mó</i>
ox-GEN purchase
‘ox buying’ |
| b. <i>dòr-è</i> <i>mèénó</i>
sheep-GEN meat
‘sheep’s meat’ | d. <i>tà</i> <i>mànòó</i>
I:GEN brother
‘my brother’ |

Kafinonoo is a nominative-accusative language, in which nominative case is usually unmarked (cf. 4.3).

Simple nouns in their citation form, i.e., the functionally and morphologically unmarked form of a noun in isolation as it usually occurs in dictionaries, most frequently end in the vowel *-o~oo*, less frequently in *-e~ee* or *-i*. Depending on the

noun class, the terminal vowels may change into the thematic vowels *-e* or *-i* if certain suffixes are attached to them.

Kafinoonoo nouns inflect for gender, number and case. Nouns with animate referents in Kafinoonoo distinguish between two genders, masculine and feminine, and two numbers, singular and plural. Countable nouns with inanimate referents, in contrast, semantically, distinguish between general number, singular and plural. Morphologically, however, only plural is marked whereas general number and singular are not distinguished by morphology but uniformly expressed through the unmarked citation form of the noun. The grammatical gender distinction only occurs in singular.

The terminal vowels of nouns in citation form have several functions according to the context. The vowel *-o~oo* in the citation form of nouns with animate referents denotes masculine gender and singular number. For nouns with inanimate referents in their citation form, however, it marks either general number or singular. The vowels *-e~ee* or *-i* as terminal vowels on nouns in citation form with animate referents mark feminine gender and singular number.

In marked contexts, however, these final vowels express additional grammatical meanings. The vowel *-o~oo* is used as plural marker for nouns with animate feminine referents, or may denote the augmentative with inanimate nouns. The vowels *-e~ee* or *-i*, in turn, are used to express the diminutive when attached to inanimate nouns but may also function as thematic vowel when the noun is followed by suffixes.

CHAPTER FOUR: INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

According to Dixon (2010: 142), inflection is a morphological process that obligatorily applies to a root or derived stem of a certain word class producing a grammatical word. In this section, the different inflectional forms of nouns for gender, number and case are discussed. Definiteness is expressed morphosyntactically but not marked by specific grammatical morphemes.² Therefore, it will not be discussed here.

4.1 Gender

According to Dixon (2010: 155), gender refers to the three expressions: *masculine*, *feminine* and *neuter* or only to *feminine* and *masculine*. According to Lyons (1968: 283), gender is one of the categorization of nouns, pronouns and adjectives into masculine, feminine and neuter (with no sex) in some languages based on whether a noun, pronoun, or adjective is considered as male, female or neither of the two. Crystal (1997: 165) distinguishes between two types of gender: natural vs. grammatical. Natural gender refers to the natural sex of animate nouns, while grammatical gender refers to morphologically marked gender classes, which need not to be defined through sex.

According to Taddese (1999: 53), Kafinooonoo has two genders: masculine and feminine. Animate nouns ending with *-o~oo* are of masculine gender in singular³ while animate nouns ending with *-i* or *-e~ee* are of feminine gender in singular. Thus, the gender of singular referents of animate nouns is clearly indicated through these vowels, as shown in Table 12.

² Tilahun (2009: 15), however, postulates that nouns in their citation form express definiteness. I do not agree with this statement.

³ Note that the vowel *-o~oo* also functions as plural marker for nouns whose natural gender is feminine.

Table 12: Gender Inflection

FEMININE REFERENT		MASCULINE REFERENT	
<i>bùf-éè</i>	‘daughter, girl’	<i>bùf-óò</i>	‘boy’
<i>bítʃ`èr-éè</i>	‘mule (F)’	<i>bítʃ`èr-óò</i>	‘mule (M)’
<i>kùr-è</i>	‘jenny’	<i>kùr-ó</i>	‘jackass’
<i>dòr-è</i>	‘ewe’	<i>dòr-ó</i>	‘ram’
<i>màt`-ì</i>	‘bee (F)’	<i>màt`-ó</i>	‘bee (M)’
<i>tʃ`àáj-ì</i>	‘porcupine (F)’	<i>tʃ`àáj-ó</i>	‘porcupine (M)’

In the documentation part, the following examples were recorded:

- (5)
- a. *mèn ʔùr-ó* ref elan Kafa doc 00:00:53
that man-M
‘that man’
- b. *mèn bùf-óò* ref elan Kafa doc 00:01:00
that boy-M
‘that boy’
- c. *kùnààn-éè bùkk-áà-béèt-èn*
bitch-F bark-THV-PRG-3FS
‘(The) bitch is barking.’
- d. *bítʃ`èr-óò gènnéè-n k`ápp-i-t-è*
mule-M woman-ACC kick-THV-PST-3MS
‘The mule kicked the woman.’
- e. *kéri dór-ó kè̀m-è-t-è*
Kero:NOM sheep-M buy-THV-PST-3MS
‘Kero bought the sheep.’

Tilahun (2009: 14) suggests that the morphemes *-e* and *-i* also function as feminine gender marker for inanimate objects. However, according to my data, the vowels *-i* and *-e~ee* are only used as feminine marker with animate nouns. When attached to inanimate nouns, they function as diminutive marker. Concerning gender, the vowel *-o~oo* also has two functions. It is the masculine gender marker for animate nouns but can also denote an augmentative with inanimate nouns. The interpretation of semantically unmarked vs. augmentative noun with inanimate referents depends on the context; the form of the noun as such is ambiguous.

Table 13: Secondary Functions of Gender Markers

AUGMENTATIVE		DIMINUTIVE	
<i>mìt'-ó</i>	'wood'	<i>mìt'-ì</i>	'small pieces of wood'
<i>mèèn-ó</i>	'meat'	<i>mèèn-ì</i>	'small piece of meat'
<i>ààc-ó</i>	'water'	<i>ààtf'-ì</i>	'little water'
<i>t'ák'k'-ò</i>	'stone'	<i>t'ák'k'-è</i>	'small stone'
<i>kòf-ò</i>	'injera'	<i>kòf-ì</i>	'piece of injera'

The following examples also illustrate the various functions of the vowels:

- (6)
- a. *bùn-èé-n* *ʔùttf-ì-t-è* ref elan Kafa doc 00:08:40
 coffee-DIM-ACC drink-THV-PST-3MS
 'He drank coffee.'
- b. *bùf-èé* *mìt'-ì-n* *màátf'-àá* *wàá-t-èn*
 girl-F wood-DIM-ACC collect-THV come-PST-3Fs
 'Collecting small pieces of wood, the girl came.'
- c. *bùf-èé* *k'ònd-òó* *tùttf-è-t-èn*
 girl-F pot-AUG break-THV-PST-3FS
 '(The) girl broke the pot.'

- d. *àábèt mòók-è mà-á-t-è*
 Abeto cheese-DIM eat-THV-PST-3MS
 ‘Abeto ate a bit of cheese.’

Ethnonyms in Kafa also inflect for gender. As with other nouns, the morpheme *-o--oo* indicates masculine gender for singular referents or is used with generic terms, while the inflectional morpheme *-t/èe* marks feminine gender with singular referents. Table 14 shows the gender inflection with ethnonyms.

Table 14: Gender Marking with Ethnonyms

GENERIC	MASCULINE	FEMININE ⁴
<i>hìnnìgèttfòò</i>	<i>hìnnìgèttf-òò</i>	<i>hìnnìgèttf-è-tfèé</i>
‘Hingecho clan’	‘Hingecho man’	‘Hingecho woman’
<i>màáttòó</i>	<i>màátt-òó</i>	<i>màátt-è-tfèé</i>
‘Mato clan’	‘Mato man’	‘Mato woman’
<i>hìnnùúttfòó</i>	<i>hìnnùúttf-òó</i>	<i>hìnnùúttf-è-tfèé</i>
‘Hinucho clan’	‘Hinnucho man’	‘Hinucho woman’
<i>dàddzèwòó</i>	<i>dàddzèw-òó</i>	<i>dàddzèw-è-tfèé</i>
‘Dajewo clan’	‘Dajewo man’	‘Dajewo woman’
<i>gàwàáttòó</i>	<i>gàwàátt-òó</i>	<i>gàwàátt-è-tfèé</i>
‘Gawato clan’	‘Gawato man’	‘Gawato woman’
<i>màndzò</i>	<i>màndz-ó</i>	<i>màndz-è-tfèé</i>
‘Manjo tribe’	‘Manjo man’	‘Manjo woman’
<i>màánnòó</i>	<i>màánn-òó</i>	<i>màánn-è-tfèé</i>
‘Mano tribe’	‘Mano man’	‘Mano woman’

The use of ethnonyms is demonstrated in the following examples:

⁴ Note that the vowel *-è* preceding the feminine marker with singular referents is a thematic vowel.

- (7) a. *kèémèti-nàá màttf'áálli-nà hìnùúttf-èè-nà?ó-nè*
 Kemeto-CONJ Machalo-COR Hinucho-THV-PL-COP
 'Kemeto and Machalo are (from the) Hinucho clan.'
- b. *tà indèé bìfàáf-è-ttfèé-nè*
 I:GEN mother Bushasho-THV-F-COP
 'My mother is from (the) Bushasho clan.'

When the feminine marker *-ttfèe* is attached to a generic ethnonym ending with the vowel *-o~-oo*, the terminal vowel, in most cases changed by the thematic vowel *-e* in order to take the feminine marking morpheme.

Demonstrative pronouns form paradigms that contrast for masculine and feminine gender by change of tone, as shown in Table 15. Low tone on the terminal vowel of the pronouns marks masculine gender but high tone marks feminine gender. Demonstratives also have an honorific form, which ends in the vowel *-o*.

Table 15: Gender and Politeness Distinctions with Demonstrative Pronouns

MASCULINE	FEMININE	HONORIFIC	GLOSS
<i>hìnì</i>	<i>hìní</i>	<i>hìnò</i>	'this (proximal)'
<i>mènì</i>	<i>mèní</i>	<i>mènò</i>	'that (distal)'
<i>òkkèbì</i>	<i>òkkèbí</i>	<i>ókkèbò</i>	'that (more distal)'
<i>bèk'attfèbì</i>	<i>bèk'attfèbí</i>	<i>bèk'attfèbò</i>	'that (most distal)'
<i>dàmbèébi</i>	<i>dàmbèébí</i>	<i>dàmbèébò</i>	'that (distal up)'
<i>dèfèbi</i>	<i>dèfèbí</i>	<i>dèfèbò</i>	'that (distal down)'

Sentential examples are presented below:

- (8) a. *hìní kòó mètftfèé-nè*
 this:Fwhose wife-COP
 'Whose wife is this?'

- b. *mèní gàáwì bìf-èé-nè*
 that:F Gawo girl-TVH-COP
 ‘That is Gawo’s daughter.’
- c. *òkkèbì tá mànòó-nè*
 that:M I:GEN brother-COP
 ‘That is my brother.’
- d. *hìní bèèllòó-nè*
 this:M clever-COP
 ‘This one (M) is clever.’
- e. *bèk’k’áttfèbí bì indèè-nè*
 that:F he:GEN mother-COP
 ‘That is his mother’

4.2 Number

Lyons (1968: 281) defines number as the distinction between singular and plural forms of persons, animals, and objects. According to Dixon (2010: 338), singular involves reference to just one person and plural to more than one.

In Kafinoonoo, singular and general number is unmarked, i.e., it is not overtly marked by grammatical morphemes. Plural, in contrast, is marked by various morphemes.

4.2.1 General Number

According to Corbett (2000: 32), general number is a form of the count noun without reference to number. Examples are given in Table 16.

Table 16: Nouns in General Number

GENERAL NUMBER	GLOSS
<i>kùró</i>	‘donkey/s’
<i>àǒ</i>	‘man/men’
<i>àátǔ’ó</i>	‘river/s’
<i>t’ìbòó</i>	‘relative/s’
<i>kùnàánòó</i>	‘dog/s’

The nouns in Table 16, which end in the vowel *-o~oo* in their citation form, are unmarked for number and can, thus, refer generic form which may be either singular or plural referents in the English translation.

- (9)
- a. *kùró* *kè-tfì* *gìddzòò-nè*
 donkey:S/PL house-GEN animal-COP
 i. ‘A donkey is a tame animal.’ (lit. ‘animal of house’)
 ii. ‘Donkeys are tamed animals.’
- b. *dòró* *gàáwè* *gìddzòò-nè*
 sheep:S/PL good animal
 i. ‘A sheep is a good animal.’
 ii. ‘Sheep are good animals.’
- c. *kùnàánòó* *kèt’ò-n* *kùjè-h-è*
 dog:S/PL house-ACC keep-PRT-3MS
 i. ‘A dog guards (a) house.’
 ii. ‘Dogs guard houses.’
- d. *kàttǔ’èmmóó* *bágóò-n* *màà-t-è*
 hyena:S/PL sheep-ACC eat-PST-3MS
 i. ‘A hyena ate a sheep.’
 ii. ‘Hyenas ate sheep.’

- e. *gáttòó* *gòjó-tf* *gàáttf'ì-j-è*
 ox:S/PL plough-to use-PRT-3MS
 i. 'An ox is used for ploughing.'
 ii. 'Oxen are used for ploughing.'

In Kafinoonoo, the general number form of a noun can be considered a singular if and only if the noun has a masculine referent.

4.2.2 Plural Formation

Tilahun (2009:12) mentions that the morpheme *-e(e)naʔo*⁵ is the plural marker for regular nouns. In his analysis, he was not able to identify the morpheme boundaries between the base and the plural morpheme because plural is only indicated by the suffix *-naʔo*.⁶ Fleming (1976b: 372), too, analyzes *-nàʔó* as plural marker but only for masculine or unmarked nouns, while the suffix *-niʔó* should be attached to feminine nouns to mark plural. In general, there is no morpheme *-niʔó* in Kafinoonoo. I strongly argue that the morpheme *-niʔó* is not a plural marker for nouns with feminine gender because plural nouns in Kafinoonoo do not distinguish between masculine and feminine gender, as shown in Table 17. Instead, as Fleming (1976b) also mentions, nouns with natural feminine gender mark their plural by the morpheme *-oo*. Another plural marker is reduplication.

4.2.2.1 Plural Marker *-nàʔó*

Table 17 illustrates plural formation by attaching the suffix *-nàʔó*. The morpheme *-nàʔó* is the most common plural marker in Kafinoonoo. The terminal vowel *-oo* of generic, masculine and augmentative forms changed or dissimilated to *-ee* to take the PL marker *-nàʔó* via phonological process. In the case of generic and augmentative

⁵ In most cases, Tilahun (2009) fails to indicate the correct vowel length and consonant gemination.

⁶ The plural noun *gìrèttfìnàʔo* 'of the poor (people)' in example (10a) clearly shows that the genitive marker intersects between thematic vowel *e* and plural marker *-nàʔó*.

form, the gender of PL form is generic form but there is still the terminal vowel of singular noun *-oo* that changes to *-ee* through dissimilation.⁷ In the case of naturally masculine gender, PL forms have masculine gender. Nouns marked for feminine simply attach the PL marker *-nàʔó* to the singular base without any other morphological changes. Even if the PL marker *-nàʔó* is attached to feminine marked nouns, the PL form has semantically generic gender.

Table 17: Plural of Regular Nouns

SINGULAR NOUN	GLOSS	PLURAL NOUN	GLOSS
<i>bàákkòó</i> (M)	'hen'	<i>bàákk-èé-nàʔó</i>	'hens'
<i>bàákkèé</i> (F)			
<i>gàttòó</i>	'ox'	<i>gàtt-èé-nàʔó</i>	'oxen'
<i>èmmìfó</i> (M)	'goat'	<i>èmmìf-èé-nàʔó</i>	'goats'
<i>èmmìfé</i> (F)			
<i>màtf'ó(hàrèfòó)</i> (M)	'horse'	<i>màtf'-èé-nàʔó</i>	'horses'
<i>màtf'é(bàràájè)</i> (F)			
<i>dòró</i> (M)	'sheep'	<i>dòr-èé-nàʔó</i>	'sheep'
<i>dòré</i> (F)			

In plural formation with regular nouns, the terminal vowel of the singular noun is changed to the thematic vowel *e* in lengthened form.

⁷ Personal communication with Prof. Baye Yimam.

- (10) a. *gìrè-ttɸi-nàʔó* *hàddóò* *dittɸ'-ìi-béèt-è*
 poor-GEN-PL number grow-THV-PRG-3MS
 ‘The number of poor (people) is increasing.’
- b. *kùr-éè-nàʔó* *k'ítɸ'ó* *mìʔè-h-éèt-è*
 donkey-THV-PL baggage carry-PRT-PL-3MS
 ‘The donkeys carry baggage.’
- c. *ùkkìr-éè-nàʔó* *ìndʒóò-tɸéè* *wàà-t-éèt-è*
 cabinet-THV-PL meeting-ABL come-PST-PL-3MS
 ‘The cabinet (members) came from a meeting.’

As mentioned above, the plural forms are unmarked for gender.

4.2.2.2 Plural Marker -o~-oo

According to Fleming (1976b: 372), nouns with natural feminine gender ending with the vowel *-e~-ee* in the singular, form their plural by replacing the terminal vowel *-e~-ee* of the singular feminine noun to *-o~-oo*, as shown below:

Table 18: Plural of Natural Feminine Nouns

SINGULAR	GLOSS	PLURAL	GLOSS
<i>ìnd-èè</i>	‘mother’	<i>ìnd-òò</i>	‘mothers’
<i>màttɸ-èè</i>	‘female’	<i>màttɸ-òò</i>	‘females’
<i>gènn-èè(HON)</i>	‘woman’	<i>gènn-òò</i>	‘women’
<i>mèttɸ-èè</i>	‘wife’	<i>mèttɸ-òò</i>	‘wives’
<i>gídèr-èè</i>	‘heifer’	<i>gídèr-òò</i>	‘heifers’

As can be seen in Table 18, the feminine marker *-e~-ee* is changed to the plural marker *-o~-oo*.

- (11)
- a. *gènn-óò gàáróò-tf hàmm-ì-t-è*
 woman-PL wedding-LOC go-THV-PST-3MS
 ‘The women went to a wedding.’
- b. *máàttf-óò bìllá tátoò-nè*
 female-PL all equal-COP
 ‘All females are equal.’
- c. *ébi gènn-óò kòò mèt看f-óò-nè?*
 those woman-PL who:GEN wife-PL-COP
 ‘Whose wives are those women?’
- d. *nò mèt看f-óò ùndzòò-tf hàmm-ì-t-è*
 we:GEN wife-PL meeting-LOC go-THV-PST-3MS
 ‘Our wives went to a meeting.’
- e. *gìdér-óò dìttf’-ì-t-è*
 heifer-PL grow-THV-PST-3MS
 ‘(The) heifers grew.’

4.2.2.3 Reduplication

According to Dixon (2010: 338) reduplication is a morphological process that repeats an entire root or parts of it either before or after or in the middle of a word.

In few lexical items and predominantly adjectives and interrogative pronouns, form their PL by reduplication as presented in Table 19.

Table 19: Plural by Irregular Processes

	SINGULAR	GLOSS	PLURAL	GLOSS
a.	<i>bùfòó</i>	‘boy’	<i>bùfífòó</i>	‘boys’
b.	<i>gìfó</i>	‘small (S)’	<i>gìfífó</i>	‘small (PL)’
c.	<i>òógòó</i>	‘big (S)’	<i>ògòógòó</i>	‘big (PL)’
d.	<i>gèndzòó</i>	‘tall (S)’	<i>gèndz-gèndzòó</i>	‘tall (PL)’
e.	<i>k’ábìnó</i>	‘short (S)’	<i>k’ábìn-k’ábìnó</i>	‘short (PL)’
f.	<i>kòní</i>	‘who (S)’	<i>kòn-kòní</i>	‘who (PL)’
g.	<i>àábì</i>	‘where (S)’	<i>àáb-àábì</i>	‘where (PL)’

Three types of reduplication occur in Table 19. In (a-b), the second syllable is reduplicated and the terminal vowel of the singular form is changed from *òó* to *ìí* because of dissimilation. This phonological process occurred because it is not grammatical to say *bùfòófòó* and the correct form is *bùfífòó*.⁸ In the case of (b), similarly the final syllable of the adjective is reduplicated and the long vowel preceding the first consonant in the singular form is shortened. The final *ò* of singular adjective changes to *ìí* by dissimilation.

Tilahun (2009:13) was not able to analyze the reduplicated form and proposes that *-ìífòó* is a suffix attached to the noun *bùfòó* ‘child’. Another type of PL formation occurs in (c) in Table 19. Here, the final syllable *gòó* is reduplicated. In addition, the initial vowel of the singular adjective is shortened from *òó* to *ò*. The last two examples (d-e) in Table 19 reduplicate the whole word. The terminal vowel of the first or singular occurrence of the reduplicated noun is deleted.

4.2.2.4 Plural Markers with Pronouns

The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (cf. Table 15 in section 4.1) regularly form their plural by attaching the suffix *-fí*, as shown below:

⁸ I thank Prof. Baye Yimam who brought this phonological process to my attention.

Table 20: Plural of Demonstrative and interrogative Pronouns

SINGULAR	GLOSS	PLURAL	GLOSS
<i>hìní</i> (F)	‘this’	<i>hìnó-fì</i>	‘these’
<i>hìnì</i> (M)			
<i>hìnó</i> (HON)			
<i>mèní</i> (F)	‘that (far)’	<i>mènó-fì</i>	‘those’
<i>mèní</i> (M)			
<i>mènó</i> (HON)			
<i>òkkèbí</i> (F)	‘that (farther)’	<i>òkkèbó-fì</i>	‘those’
<i>òkkèbí</i> (M)			
<i>òkkèbó</i> (HON)			
<i>bèk’attfèbí</i> (F)	‘that (very far)’	<i>bèk’k’attfèbó-fì</i>	‘those’
<i>bèk’attfèbí</i> (M)			
<i>bèk’attfèbó</i> (HON)			
<i>dàmbèébí</i> (F)	‘that (up)’	<i>dàmbèébó-fì</i>	‘those’
<i>dàmbèébí</i> (M)			
<i>dàmbèébó</i> (HON)			
<i>kòní</i>	‘who’	<i>kònó-fì</i>	‘who(L)’
<i>àbí</i>	‘which’	<i>àbó-fì</i>	‘which(PL)’

When the plural marker *-fì* is attached to the demonstratives and interrogatives, their terminal vowel changes to *o*.

- (12) a. *dèfèbó-fì* *tà* *màn-èè-nà?ó-nè*
that:down-PL I:GEN brother-THV-PL-COP
‘Those (down) are my brothers.’

- b. *mènò-fi kòó dòr-èè-nà?ó-nè*
 that-PL who:GEN sheep-THV-PL-COP
 ‘Whose sheep are those?’
- c. *òkkèbò-fi àátt’ì bìfìf-èè-nà?ó-nè*
 that-PL Ato:GEN child-THV-PL-COP
 ‘Those are Ato’s children.’
- d. *hìnó-fi nó kùnàán-èè-nà?ó-nè*
 this-PL we:GEN dog-THV-PL-COP
 ‘These are our dogs.’
- e. *bèk’àttfèbó-fi màllèttfi t’ìb-èè-nà?ó-nè*
 that(far)-PL Malleche:GEN relative-THV-PL-COP
 ‘Those are Malleche’s relatives.’

Similarly, the independent personal pronouns of the second and third person indicate plurality by the morpheme *-fi* (see Table 21 below). According to my data very few or only the third person masculine honorific independent pronoun *doono* forms its plural by attaching the morpheme *-dzo*:

- (13) a. *dòónò* ref elan Kafa doc 00:03:23
 he:HON
 ‘he (HON)’
- b. *dòón-dzò dàfòó-tf hám-m-ì-t-è*
 man-PL communal_work-DAT go-THV-PST-3MS
 ‘He (HON) went to communal work.’

4.3 Case

According to Dixon (2010: 332) case is a way of nominal inflection to mark the syntactic function of nouns or noun phrases. As stated by Anderson (1971: 10-11), case is a grammatical relation of nouns and pronouns to express the nature of their participation in a clause.

Kafinonoo belongs to the accusative-nominative type of languages, in which common nouns in subject or agent position are unmarked.

- (14) *kèrì mît'òó-ttf kèttfi-j-è*
Kero:NOM⁹ tree-LOC climb-PRS-3MS
'Kero climbs a/the tree.'

In Kafinonoo, nouns can inflect for accusative, genitive, dative, allative, locative, comitative and instrumental cases.

4.3.1 Accusative Case

Crystal (1997: 5) defines accusative case as the form taken by a noun phrase that is the direct object of the predicate.

Tilahun (2009: 16) and Fleming (1976b:373) Tadesse (2007:327) mentions only the morpheme *-n* as an accusative marker in Kafinonoo. However, accusative case can

⁹ Kafinonoo personal names are uniformly rendered into Amharic in their vocative form ending in the vowel *-o* instead of *-i*. The vowel change that can be observed between the Kafinonoo data line and the glossing line does not represent a change in case but is due to translation.

be marked variously in Kafinoonoo: by the morpheme *-n*, by vowel lengthening or it can be unmarked. Examples for the use of *-n* as accusative marker are given in (15).

- (15)
- a. *tà mìmì-n bàfi-j-è.* ref elan Kafa doc 00:05:13
 I:GEN cow-ACC slaughter-PRT-3MS
 ‘He slaughters my cow.’
- b. *gàttòó-n kèmi-j-è* ref elan Kafa doc 00:05:15
 ox-ACC sell-PRS-3MS
 ‘He sells an ox.’
- c. *dòónò gènnèé-n t’òóbb-ì-t-òn-è*
 man woman-ACC hit-THV-PST-3HON-3MS
 ‘The man hit the woman.’
- d. *dòddzè-tfó dòyè-tfò-n t’òóbb-ì-t-è*
 teach-AGN:M learn-AGN:M-ACC beat-THV-PST-3MS
 ‘The teacher beat (the) student.’
- e. *kòttîti jìttf tà-à(-n) nàágg-ì-t-è*
 Kochito:NOM yesterday I-THV-ACC insult-THV-PST-3MS
 ‘Kochito insulted me yesterday.’
- f. *àábèttfi nè-è(-n) fūn-àáttf-èn*
 Abeche:NOM you-THV-ACC like-NEG-3FS
 ‘Abeche dislikes you.’

The independent personal pronouns, too, are marked for accusative case by attaching the morpheme *-n* to the base pronouns, as shown in Table 21.

Table 21: Independent Personal Pronouns in Nominative and Accusative Case

PERSON		NOMINATIVE	GLOSS	ACCUSATIVE	GLOSS
1 st	S	<i>tà</i>	‘I’	<i>tà-á-n</i>	‘me’
	PL	<i>nò</i>	‘we’	<i>nò-ò-n</i>	‘us’
2 nd	S	<i>nè</i>	‘you’	<i>nè-è-n</i>	‘you’
	PL	<i>ittò-fì</i>	‘you’	<i>ittò-fì-n</i>	‘you’
	HON	<i>ittó</i>	‘you’	<i>ittò-n</i>	‘you’
3 rd	S	DIS <i>bì</i>	‘she/he’	<i>bì-í-n</i>	‘her’
		DIS <i>bó</i>	‘he (HON)’	<i>bì-ì-n</i>	‘him’
				<i>bò-ó-n</i>	‘him (HON)’
	PL	DIS <i>bòónò-fì</i>	‘they’	<i>bòónò-fì-n</i>	‘them’
	MS	PRX <i>áròó</i>	‘he’	<i>áròó-n</i>	‘him’
	FS	PRX <i>árèé</i>	‘she’	<i>árèé-n</i>	‘her’
	PL	PRX <i>árèé-nà?ó</i>	‘they’	<i>árèé-nà?ó-n</i>	‘them’

The 1S, 1PL, 2S, 3FS, 3MS, 3S HON, 3S DIS, lengthen their terminal vowel of the base form in the nominative when the accusative marker *-n* is attached to them. 3MS proximal pronoun *áròó* ‘he’ and 3FS proximal pronoun *árèé* ‘she’, are obligatorily marked for accusative by the morpheme *-n*; the remaining nouns are optionally marked for accusative by lengthening their terminal vowel or by the morpheme *-n*.

- (16) a. *gòjó gòjò tà-à(-n) wodij-àáttf-è* ref elan Kafa doc 00:02:15
 farming farm I-THV-ACC change-NEG-3MS
 ‘Farming cannot change me.’
- b. *nò-ò(-n) fàáttf’-ì-ì-t-è* ref elan Kafa doc 00:2:35
 we-THV-ACC hunger-THV-CAU-PST-3MS
 ‘We felt hungry.’

- c. *ùró bi-ì(-n) tʃ'èègg-ì-t-è*
 man she-THV-ACC call-THV-PST-3MS
 'The man called her.'

ref elan Kafa doc 00:2:37

Pronouns and personal names can also be marked for accusative case by lengthening their terminal vowel.

- (17) a. *ʔùró màttfàállì-ì t'òóbb-ì-ì-è*
 man Machalo-ACC hit-THV-PRS-3MS
 'The man hits Machalo.'
- b. *bùfèè tà-à(-n) fùnn-à-h-àn*
 girl I:ACC like-THV-PRT-3FS
 'The girl likes me.'
- c. *kééti nè-è(-n) tʃ'èègg-ì-bèèt-è*
 Keto:NOM you:ACC call-THV-PRG-3MS
 'Keto is calling you.'

4.3.2 Genitive Case

According to Dixon (2010: 335), genitive is a case that marks a possessive relation of two nouns in a noun phrase. The noun marked for genitive is the possessor of the item encoded by the other noun. As mentioned by Fleming (1976b: 373), genitive case in Kafinooonoo is marked by the suffix *-e~-ee* or by fricativization of the final consonant. However, according to my data, the genitive case can be marked by the suffixes *-e~-ee*, *-ttfì*, or *-dʒi~-ddʒi* (with the allomorph *-ttfì*), or even be unmarked. In the exceptional case of manner nominals, the genitive is expressed by the vowel *i*, as in *mamo* 'to eat' that changes to *mam-i hinnoo* 'manner of eating'. The use of the vowel *-e~-ee* as genitive marker is shown below:

- (18)
- a. *fòw-èè* *k'àtó* ref elan Kafa doc 00:11:16
 land-GEN half
 'half of the land'
- b. *gàtt-èè* *mèèno* ref elan Kafa doc 00:1:23
 ox-GEN meat
 'meat of an ox'
- c. *ìnd-èè* *máátòò* ref elan Kafa doc 00:2:02
 mother-GEN affection
 'affection of a mother'
- d. *gààr-èè* *kètò* ref elan Kafa doc 00:2:23
 wedding-GEN house
 'house of a wedding'

The morpheme *-dzi~ddzi* is another morpheme to mark genitive case. It most frequently occurs with nouns that end in a nasal consonant followed by a vowel but also with some nouns ending in a vowel. In some cases, morphological processes occur which yield internal changes and deletion of terminal vowel in the genitive, like *m* → *n* in *màámó* 'calf' to *maan-dzi* 'of a calf', *mìimó* 'cattle' to *miin-dzi* 'of cattle', etc.

- (19)
- a. *wàá-ddzi* *àáhò*
 ear-GEN hole
 'hole of the ear'
- b. *màán-dzi* *mòtfòó*
 calf-GEN grass
 'grass of the calf'
- c. *mìin-dzi* *kèt'ó*
 cow-GEN house
 'house of the cow'

The genitive suffix *-dzi~-ddzi* has the allomorph *-tʃi* that usually occurs with nouns ending in a vowel, as shown below:

- (20)
- a. *dòónò-tʃi* *mètʃèè*
 man-GEN wife
 ‘wife of a man’
- b. *bùfòò-tʃi* *bàátòó*
 boy-GEN leg
 ‘leg of a boy’
- c. *mèè-tʃi* *tʃ’ábbòó*
 meat-GEN soup
 ‘soup from meat’
- c. *mì-tʃi* *wàámó*
 tree-GEN leaf
 ‘leaf of a tree’
- d. *dàngè-tʃi* *gà’ó* ref elan Kafa doc 00:16:02
 elephant-GEN tooth
 ‘Tooth of an elephant.’

In contrast, Tilahun (2009:17) considers the morpheme *-tʃi* to be the genitive marker. But, according to my data, it is rather a dative marker (see section 4.3.3).

Further, the genitive case can be unmarked for nouns that end in the vowel *-o~-oo*. In this case, the genitive nouns occur in their citation form.

- (21)
- a. *bò* *nàájò* ref elan Kafa doc 00:03:36
 he:GEN(HON) member
 ‘his member’

b. *bùfóò táhò*
 boy-GEN clothes
 ‘clothes of a boy’

c. *ùró kifòò*
 man:GEN hand
 ‘hand of the man’

Genitive with personal pronouns can be unmarked, as in (21a). The possessed nouns are preceded by the pronouns that indicate the possessor.

Table 22: Expression of Possession

PRONOUN	GLOSS	GENITIVE PHRASE	GLOSS
<i>tà</i>	‘I’	<i>tà kòddzòó</i>	‘my bag’
<i>nè</i>	‘you’	<i>nè hèèràáwòó</i>	‘your mirror’
<i>bì</i>	‘he/she’	<i>bì màtf’ó</i>	‘his/her horse’

In (22) more examples for the use of possessive pronouns are given:

- (22) a. *tà gàttòò* ref elan Kafa doc 00:05:15
 I:GEN ox
 ‘my ox’
- b. *nè áàfó*
 your(S):GEN eye
 ‘your eye’
- c. *bì k’òrèddòó*
 he:GEN clothes
 ‘his clothes’

4.3.3 Dative Case

According to Dixon (2010: 334), dative case is a grammatical case that marks the beneficiary of ‘give’ or ‘tell’ or the entity to whom something is shown. According to Fleming (1976b: 373), the suffix *-tʃ* is the marker for dative case in Kafinoonoo. Nouns mark dative case by the morpheme *-tʃ* (or its allomorph *-dʒi~ddʒi*), which is the voiced alternate of the former. Tilahun (2009:18) fails to find out the correct dative marker and considers it to be the morpheme *-tʃ(i)*.

- (23) a. *kèt'òó-tʃ* *hàmmì-j-è* ref elan Kafa doc 00:04:13
house-DAT go-PRS-3MS
‘He goes to the house.’
- b. *dòj-é-tʃò* *kóòrtʃ'óò-n* *dòddʒ-è-tʃò-tʃ* ref elan Kafa 00:4:28
learn-THV-AGN book-ACC teach-THV-AGN-DAT
imm-ì-t-è
give-THV-PST-3MS
‘A student gave (a) book to a teacher.’
- c. *bùfòó* *bùfèè-tʃ* *tòttfòò-n* *gèttì-t-è* ref elan Kafa doc 00:4:34
boy girl-DAT story-ACC tell-PST-3MS
‘(A) boy told a story to a girl.’

In addition to the suffixation of *-tʃ*, the terminal vowel of pronouns is lengthening when marked for dative, as presented in Table 23.

Table 23: Personal Pronouns in the Dative Case

PRONOUNS	GLOSS	DATIVE	GLOSS
<i>tà</i>	‘I’	<i>tà-á-tʃ</i>	‘to me’
<i>nè</i>	‘you’	<i>nè-é-tʃ</i>	‘to you’
<i>arèé/òó/bì</i>	‘he/she’	<i>àrèé/òó-tʃ</i>	‘to him/her’
<i>bò</i>	‘he (HON)’	<i>bò-ó-tʃ</i>	‘to him(HON)’

b. *ʔùrè mì-tʃi dètʃì-tʃ kòtáá-bèét-èn*

woman tree-GEN under-LOC sit-PRG-3FS

‘(The) woman is sitting under (the) tree.’

c. *màráàkì kèt’òó -tʃ gǐjè-t-èn*

Marake:NOM house-LOC enter-PST-3FS

‘Marake entered the house.’

d. *ʔùrè ùút’òó-tʃ hàmmè-t-èn*

woman ensete-LOC go-PRS-3FS

‘The woman went into the ensete field.’

The morphemes that express dative and locative case are the same but their purpose differs. Locative marks the spatial location of nouns while dative marks the beneficiary or the entity to whom something is shown.

4.3.5 Allative

According to Crystal (2008:45), the allative expresses the meaning of motion ‘to’ or ‘towards’ a place. The suffix *-waan* is the allative case marker for nouns and pronouns in Kafinoonoo.

(26)

a. *nè-wàán fǎggì-t-è*

you-ALL reach-PST-3MS

‘He reached towards you.’

ref elan Kafa doc1 00:9:42

b. *màttʃ’àállì mààkkìr-ì-wàán hàmm-ì-t-é*

Machalo:NOM Maakkir-THV-ALL go-THV-PST-3MS

‘Machalo went towards Makkira.’

c. *kòtááttʃi:NOM gimbò-wàán hàmm-ì-t-é*

Kotacho Gimbo-ALL go-THV-PST-3MS

‘Kotacho went towards Gimbo.’

- d. *dòrè* *bì-wàán* *hàmmè-t-èn*
 sheep:NOM he-ALL go-PST-3FS
 ‘The sheep went towards him.’

4.3.6 Ablative

According to Crystal (2008: 28), the ablative case denotes the origin/source of motion. Fleming (1976b: 373) considers the suffix *-na* to be the ablative marker, while I claim that the ablative is marked by the morpheme *-waanee* ‘from’, as shown below. The suffix *-na* marks the instrumental case (cf. section 4.3.7).

- (27) a. *bòóngì-wàánèè*
 Bonga-ABL
 ‘from (around) Bonga’
- b. *kèrì* *t’àllòó-wàánèè* *wàá-t-è*
 Kero:NOM Tello-ABL come-PST-3MS
 ‘Kero came from Tello.’
- c. *kééti* *bì* *mànèè-wáánèè* *dórò* *dàámì-t-è*
 Keto:NOM his sister-ABL sheep take-PST-3MS
 ‘Keto took a/the sheep from his sister.’

The morpheme *-wáánèè* is obligatorily used with personal names. But with regard to place names, it only occurs if the origin of the motion is not specifically known but approximated by the place name. If the origin of the motion is known to start specifically at a certain place, the place name can optionally be marked by the suffix *-èè* or rarely *-tífèé*, as in *bòóng-èè* ‘from Bonga’ or *t’àllòó-tífèé* ‘from Tello’ (unmarked place name is *t’àllòó* ‘Tello’).

4.3.7 Instrumental Case

Dixon (2010: 336) defines the instrumental case as a marker for the referent of a noun phrase that is used in to fulfill the verbal activity. In Kafinonoo, the morpheme *-na* is the marker for instrumental case.

- (28) a. *ʔùt'èròó-n gàttfòó-nà ʔùt'èrè-t-è* ref elan Kafa doc100:3:40
fence-ACC Gacho-INST fence-PST-3MS
'He fenced the fence with Gacho.'¹⁰
- b. *ùró dààhèròó-n k'áwòò-nà wut'-ì-t-è*
man lion-ACC gun-INS kill-THV-PST-3MS
'The man hit (the) lion with a stick.'
- c. *jèérkìfi-nàà bì mànòó-nà t'àk'k'òó-nà t'òób-è-tèè-t-è*
Yerkisho-COR he:GEN brother-COR stone-INS
hit_each_other-PST-3MS
'Yerkisho and his brother hit each other with a stone.'

4.3.8 Comitative Case

Dixon (2010: 332) defines the comitative case as 'accompanied by'. In Kafinonoo, the comitative is a complex construction, in which the accompanying noun phrase is marked for instrumental case followed by a form of *tòókkòó* 'together'. In the comitative construction, the terminal vowel of *tòókkòó* 'together' is changed to *-ii* or *-aa* yielding *tòókkii* or *tòókkàá*. The comitative with the terminal vowel *-ii* marks 3SG or 3PL referents while the comitative with terminal vowel *-aa* marks 1SG, 1PL, 2SG or 3FS. Tilahun (2009:20), in contrast, presents the morpheme *-na* alone as comitative marker.

¹⁰ *Gacho* is the name of a plant.

- (29) a. *tà nihòó-nà tòókkàá gòttfē-t* ref elan Kafa doc1 00:2:11
 I:GEN father-INST COM ploughed-PST
 ‘I ploughed together with my father.’
- b. *àáttfì jèérkifì -nà tòókkàá gàáròó-ttf hám-m-è-t-én*
 Ache:NOM Yeerkisho-INST COM wedding-DAT go-THV-PST-3FS
 ‘Ache went to the wedding together with Yeerkisho.’
- c. *àtf’imááttfì jàwùritì-ná tòókkìì mììmì kè-m-è-t-é*
 Achimacho:NOM Yawurit-INST COM cow buy-THV-PST-3MS
 ‘Achimacho bought the cow together with Yawurite.’
- d. *bùf’ááfi kèémèti-nà tòókkàá ùndzòó-ttf hám-m-è-t-èn*
 Bushashe:NOM kemeto-INS COM meeting-DAT go-THV-PST-3FS
 ‘Bushashe went to the meeting together with Kemeto.’

4.3.9 Comparative Case

According to Crystal (2008: 91), the comparative case is used for a comparison between two entities. The comparative case is marked by the morpheme *-jee* in Kafinoonoo, which is attached to the nouns that are compared with a standard, as in the following example.

- (30) a. *kòttf’i-jèè kòótàáttf gèndzòó-nè*
 Kochito-COMP Kotacho tall-COP
 ‘Kotacho is taller than Kochito.’
- b. *kèémèti-jèé bì mèt’fèé p’itt’ááfè-è-nè*
 Kemeto-COMP he:GEN wife beautiful-THV-COP
 ‘Kemeto’s wife is more beautiful than he is.’

c. *kòfò-jèè* *k'òttf'òò* *fùnnò*
injera-COMP pith_from_ensete like
'I like ensete pitha/kocho more than injera.'

No morphological changes occur with the noun to which the comparative case marker is attached.

CHAPTER FIVE: DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Dixon (2010: 334), Beard (2001: 64), and Baur (2003) define derivation as an optional morphological process that applies to a stem to form a new stem that may change the word category.

In Kafinoo, affixation is the main morphological process for noun derivation beside change of tone or compounding. The terminal vowels are changed to thematic vowels to form the derived nouns. Nouns can be derived from other nouns, verbs, or adjectives.

5.1 Abstract Nouns by Suffixing *-ttino*

Abstract nouns are derived from less or non-abstract nouns or adjectives. Tilahun (2009: 22) identified the morpheme *-itino* as the abstract nominalizer but according to my data it is *-ttino*. With abstract nominals, categorical change is not observed.

Table 24: Derivation of Abstract Nouns from Nouns

BASE NOUN	GLOSS	ABSTRACT NOUN	GLOSS
<i>bùfòó</i>	‘child’	<i>bùf-ì-ttino</i>	‘childhood’
<i>àfò</i>	‘man’	<i>àf-ì-ttino</i>	‘manhood’
<i>tàátòó</i>	‘king’	<i>tàát-ì-ttìnò</i>	‘kingdom’
<i>ìndèé</i>	‘mother’	<i>ìnd-ì-ttìnò</i>	‘motherhood’
<i>nìhòó</i>	‘father’	<i>nìh-ì-ttìnò</i>	‘fatherhood’

As shown in Table 24, the terminal vowel *o* of the base nouns is changed to *i* in their abstract nominal derivation. The use of abstract nouns in sentences is shown in the examples below.

- (31) a. *bùf-ì-ttìnó* *k’áàk’k’-èè* *góòróò-nè*
 child-THV-ABST fire-GEN time-COP
 ‘Childhood is the time of fire.’

- b. *kàf-í táàt-ì-ttìnò mìnìlìkì-ná kóttf-è-t-è.*
 Kafa-GEN king-THV-ABST Menilik-INS conquer-THV-PST-3MS
 ‘The kingdom of Kafa was conquered by Menilik.’
- c. *ìnd-ì-ttìn-è máàt’óò úbbè máàt’óò-jéè*
 mother-THV-ABST-F affection all affection-COMP
bèṣóò-nè
 great-COP
 ‘Motherhood affection is greater than everything else.’
- d. *nè àf-ì-ttìnò bàròó-tf nè ìmm-àá-bèèt*
 you man-THV-ABST other-DAT you give-THV-PRG
gàtìjòó-n fàáh-ì-j-è
 value-ACC seem-PRT-3S
 ‘Your manhood seems to be of the value that you give to others.’

Abstract nouns can also be derived from adjectives by attaching the same derivational morpheme *-ttino* to the adjectival base, as shown in the examples below.

Table 25: Derivation of Abstract Nouns from Adjectives

ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	ABSTRACT NOUN	GLOSS
<i>tʃ'èéllò</i>	‘red’	<i>tʃ'èéll-ì-ttìnò</i>	‘redness’
<i>òógòò</i>	‘big’	<i>òóg-ì-ttìnò</i>	‘bigness’
<i>nòótʃò</i>	‘sweat’	<i>nòótʃ'-ì-ttìnò</i>	‘sweetness’
<i>bèéllóó</i>	‘clever’	<i>bèéll-ì-ttìnò</i>	‘cleverness’
<i>gàmìnò</i>	‘wide’	<i>gàmìn-ì-ttìnò</i>	‘wideness’
<i>k'àbìnò</i>	‘short’	<i>k'àbìn-ì-ttìnò</i>	‘shortness’

When the suffix *-ttino* is attached to the adjectival base, the final vowel of its citation form changes to a thematic vowel.

5.2 Agent Nouns by Suffixing *-ttf-o~-ttf-i*

According to Comrie (1985), agentive nouns are nouns derived from verbs of action and have the meaning ‘one who does the action of the verb’. In Kafinooonoo, agent nouns can be derived by suffixing *-ttf-o~-ttf-i* to the stem of a verb. The derived agent nouns are gender specific. The terminal vowel *-o* is the marker for masculine singular but *-i* indicates feminine singular, as seen in Table 26.

Table 26: Derivation of Agent Nouns

VERB	GLOSS	AGENT NOUN (M)	AGENT NOUN (F)	GLOSS
<i>kòór-òó</i>	‘to write’	<i>kòór-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>kòór-è-ttf-i</i>	‘writer’
<i>gój-ò</i>	‘to plough’	<i>gòttf-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>gòttf-è-ttf-i</i>	‘farmer’
<i>wótf-ò</i>	‘to run’	<i>wóttf-e-ttf-ò</i>	<i>wóttf-è-ttf-i</i>	‘runner’
<i>fúùn-ò</i>	‘to work’	<i>fúùn-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>fúùn-è-ttf-i</i>	‘worker’
<i>dúùb-ò</i>	‘to song’	<i>dúùbb-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>dúùbb-è-ttf-i</i>	‘singer’
<i>máj-ò</i>	‘to wash’	<i>màtf-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>màtf-è-ttf-i</i>	‘washer’
<i>kááj-ò</i>	‘to play’	<i>káàttf-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>káàtf-è-ttf-i</i>	‘player’
<i>dòj-òó</i>	‘to learn’	<i>dòj-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>dòj-è-ttf-i</i>	‘learner’
<i>tf’íín-ò</i>	‘to obserb’	<i>tf’íín-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>tf’íín-è-ttf-i</i>	‘observer’
<i>dòddz-òó</i>	‘to teach’	<i>dòddz-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>dòddz-è-ttf-i</i>	‘teacher’
<i>kèémó</i>	‘to tell’	<i>keem-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>kèèm-è-ttf-i</i>	‘fortune teller’
<i>jàkkiròó</i>	‘to welcome’	<i>jàkkir-è-ttf-ò</i>	<i>jàkkir-è-ttf-i</i>	‘receptionist’

In agent noun derivation, inflectional morphology also occurs. The verb stem is not gender-specific whereas the agent nouns are clearly marked for masculine or feminine gender by the final vowels *o* or *i*, respectively. The following examples show the use of agent nouns in sentences:

- (32) a. *dòj-è-tfó* *dòj-éè* *kèt'òò-tf* *hàmmi-t-è.*
 learn-THV-AGN:M learning-GEN house-DAT go-PST-3MS
 'The student went to school'
- b. *fùùn-èè-tfò* *fùùnòò-tf* *hàmm-ì-t-è.*
 work-THV-AGN:M work-LOC go-THV-PST-3MS
 'The worker went to work.'

In the process of agent noun derivation, the final consonant of certain verb stems is replaced by another consonant, as in *gòttfè-tfò* 'farmer' (<*gòj-ó* 'to farm'), where stem final *j* changes to *tf* in the agent noun, or *èépp-è-tfò* 'mourner' (<*èéf-ó* 'to mourn'), where stem final *f* is replaced by *pp*.

5.3 Result Nouns by Change of Tone

According to Dixon (2010: 140), morphological process can involve change of tone in tone languages. This is true for Kafinonoo, as can be seen in the following table:

Table 27: Derivation of Result Nouns

VERBAL NOUN	GLOSS	RESULT NOUN	GLOSS
<i>dàfó</i>	'to cut and clearing'	<i>da`fò</i>	'communal work'
<i>kèèt'ó</i>	'to tear'	<i>kèèt'ò</i>	'torn out'
<i>màggó'</i>	'to be heavy'	<i>mággò</i>	'stall'
<i>gàáhó</i>	'to split'	<i>gàáhò</i>	'split'
<i>kìihó</i>	'to slice'	<i>kìihò</i>	'salt'

The use of result nouns in sentences is shown in the following examples:

- (33) a. *da`fò* *gàáwè* *fùùn-èè* *k'òtf'òó-nè*
 communal_work:RN good work-THV culture-COP
 'Communal work is good working culture.'

b. *kùbbòó-n* *dàfó* *shùídʒdzèròó-n* *wùt'òó-nè*
 forest-ACC cut:VN generation-ACC kill:RN-COP
 ‘Cutting forest is killing generation.’

c. *bàákk-èé* *bàfòó* *màgg-è* *fúúnòó-nè*
 chicken-GEN slaughter:RN difficult-THV work-COP
 ‘Slaughtering chicken is difficult work.’

d. *bàfòó`* *k'òtʃ'-è* *kèt'ò-nè*
 cottage:RN culture-THV house-COP
 ‘A cottage is a cultural house.’

As discussed above, the change from high to low tone on the terminal vowel changes verbal nouns to result noun.

5.4 Compounding as Derivational Device

5.4.1 Adjective-Noun Compounds as Euphemisms

Nouns can be derived from nouns and adjectives through exocentric compounding. Exocentric compounding refers to “a compound that is derived from two nouns or adjectives whose meaning is different from the meaning of parts” (Bauer 1983: 35). Exocentric compounding is limited to euphemized speech in Kafinoo.

Table 28: Adjective-Noun Compounds as Euphemisms

ADJ/NOUN	GLOSS	NOUN	GLOSS	EUPHEMISM	GLOSS
<i>ààʔò</i>	'black'	<i>tʃ'òót'ò</i>	'wild animal'	<i>ààʔ-i</i> <i>tʃ'òót'ò</i>	'ant'
<i>òógòò</i>	'big'	<i>dòónò</i>	'man (HON)'	<i>òóg-è</i> <i>dòónò</i>	'lion'
<i>àátʃ'ò</i>	'water'	<i>màátʃ'ò</i>	'stomach'	<i>àátʃ-è</i> <i>màátʃ'ò</i>	'invisible pregnancy' ¹¹
<i>bàátòò</i>	'leg'	<i>t'ùgò</i>	'hindrance'	<i>bàát-èé</i> <i>t'ùgò</i>	'menstruation'
<i>màátʃ'ò</i>	'stomach'	<i>jèt'ó</i>	'hit'	<i>màátʃ'-è</i> <i>jèt'ó</i>	'diarrhea'

In the process of compounding, the terminal vowels of the adjective and nouns change to thematic vowels. The other feature seen in compounding is internal change of consonants.

5.4.2 Verb and Noun *hìnnòó* as Manner Nominals

Manner nominals refer to “the way of doing something” (Comrie 1985: 354). In Kafinooonoo, the noun *hìnnòó* means ‘way, manner’.

A manner nominal is derived by compounding a verbal stem, in which the terminal vowel changes to the thematic vowels *-e~-ee* or *-i*,¹² in order to receive the noun *hìnnòó* / *hàllòó*, as shown in Table 29.

¹¹ Period of pregnancy from the first to the fourth month.

¹² Verb stems ending in the palatal approximant *j* change it to the geminated affricate *ttʃ* in the manner nominal compounds.

Table 29: Manner Nominals

VERBAL NOUN	GLOSS	MANNER NOMINAL	GLOSS
<i>màmó</i>	‘eating’	<i>màm-ì hìnnòó</i>	‘manner of eating’
<i>wòtʃ’ó</i>	‘running’	<i>wòtʃ’-ì hìnnòó</i>	‘manner of running’
<i>ùjó</i>	‘drinking’	<i>ùttf-ì hìnnòó</i>	‘manner of drinking’
<i>kàájò</i>	‘playing’	<i>kàáttf-ì hìnnòó</i>	‘manner of playing’
<i>kòóròó</i>	‘writing’	<i>kòór-èé hìnnòó</i>	‘manner of writing’
<i>kàárò</i>	‘quarreling’	<i>kàár-è hìnnòó</i>	‘manner of quarreling’
<i>fèmmò</i>	‘reading’	<i>fèmm-è hìnnòó</i>	‘manner of reading’

The following examples show the use of manner nominals in sentences:

- (34)
- a. *kàámèti-ttʃ màm-ì hìnnòó fùttf-ìt-h-è*
 Kameto-GEN eat-THV manner interest-THV-PRT-3MS
 ‘The manner of Kameto’s eating is interesting.’
- b. *jèérìttʃf-ì kàáttʃf-ì hìnnòó gàáwètò-nè.*
 Yericho-GEN play-THV manner good-COP
 ‘The manner of Yericho’s playing is good.’
- c. *nè fèmm-è hìnnòó*
 you read-GEN manner
 ‘manner of your reading.’
- d. *dòónò ùttf-ì hìnnòó*
 he:HON drink-GEN manner
 ‘way of his drinking’

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY

The main concern of this paper was to document and describe the noun morphology of Kafinooonoo by distinguishing between inflectional and derivational morphology.

With regard to inflection, nouns in Kafinooonoo mark gender, number, and case.

Animate nouns are inflected for gender by distinguishing between masculine and feminine. In Kafinooonoo, the suffix *-o~oo* is the masculine marker for animate nouns, but also serves as augmentative for inanimate nouns, as plural marker for nouns with natural feminine gender, and as the terminal vowel in the citation form of a noun. The vowels *-e~ee* and *-i* are the marker of feminine gender for animate nouns, or the diminutive marker for inanimate nouns. The suffix *-tt/ee* is another feminine gender marker whose occurrence is mainly restricted to ethnonyms, i.e., names for ethnic groups and subdivisions of them. Tone also serves as gender marker in demonstratives and independent personal pronoun in direct object position. High tone marks feminine gender and low tone marks masculine gender.

Regarding number, singular nouns are unmarked in Kafinooonoo. The citation form of a noun is in general number that can have either singular or generic referents. A singular reading occurs only if the referent of the noun has masculine gender. Regular nouns are inflected for plural number by attaching the inflectional morpheme *-na?o* to them. When PL marker *-na?o* is attached to the base nouns, whether the gender is masculine or feminine, it neutralized to general gender. Very few nouns and most adjectives inflected for number by partial or whole reduplication. Naturally feminine gender nouns inflected for number by changing the singular feminine gender marker *-e~ ee* to plural *-o~oo*.

Case is another inflectional category of the noun. Kafinoonoo distinguish between nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, allative, ablative, comitative, instrumental and comparative cases. While the nominative case is not marked overtly, the accusative case can be marked in different ways: suffixing *-n*, lengthening the terminal vowel, or unmarked. Genitive case is marked by the thematic vowel *-e~ee*, by the suffixes *-tʃi* or *-dʒi~ddʒi* or by juxtaposing two nouns. Dative and Locative case is marked by the same morpheme *-tʃ* but dative can be marked also by lengthening of terminal vowels. Allative case is marked by *-waan*, ablative by *-waanee*, *-e~ee* and *tʃee*, comitative case by *-tookii~tookkaa*, instrumental case by *-na*, and comparative case by *-jee*.

With regard to derivational morphology, nouns in Kafinoonoo can be derived from other noun bases, adjectives, or verbs. Abstract nouns are derived from nouns and adjectives by the suffix *-tʃinó* with a change of the terminal vowels of the base forms. Agent nouns are derived from verbs by the derivational morpheme *-tʃo~tʃi*, which distinguishes between masculine and feminine gender respectively.

During morphological process, the terminal vowels of verbs change to thematic vowels. Verbs ending with the palatal approximant change it into the geminate ejective *-tʃʷ*. Result nouns are derived from verbal nouns by change tone. Euphemized nouns are derived from nouns or adjectives via compounding. Manner nouns are derived by compounding nominalized verbs with the noun *hinnòó* ‘manner, condition’.

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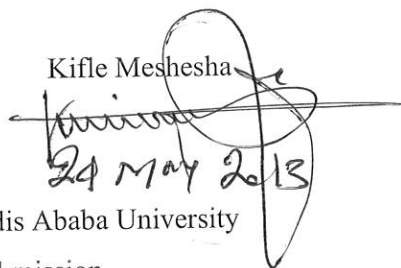
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