REVIEW ARTICLE

NOUN FORMATION OF KAFI NOONOO

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	This paper attempts to describe how the nouns of Kafi Noonoo formed. To do so the intended data was collected from the native speaker of the language and analyzed. Since the language is tonal Praat Software was used to identify the high and low tone of the syllable in the word. The result obtained showed that noun is the main of speech that is formed from different types of words such as noun, verb, and adjective. Different types of nouns such as abstract, agentive, instrumental, action, gerundive (infinitival), and manner are mainly derived from nouns, adjectives and verbs suffixation.

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INTRODUCTION

Kafa is the name of an old kingdom located in the south western part of Ethiopia, south of the Gojeb River between roughly 37^0 E and 35^0 30′ E, bordering the Omo River Valley generally on the south on its east-west run along approximately 7^0N (Fleming, 1976a). The people call themselves in different ways based on gender. The males are called *Kèfíčó* and the females Kèfíčé (Fleming, 1976a). The Kafa people are primarily agrarian; their livelihood depends on agricultural products. Their stable food is *inset* 'false banana', but corn, wheat, barley, teff are also important. In addition to agriculture, they are known for cattle rearing and producing honey (Taddese, 2001). According to the population and housing census of Ethiopia in 2007, Kafi Noonoo is spoken by 870,213 people in the area (C.S.A, 2008: 24). Kafi Noonoo[1] is one of the Omotic languages which is spoken in Kafa zone, and around Bonga, in the south west of Ethiopia. According to Fleming (1976a) Kafi Noonoo is an Omotic language which is categorized under Northern Omotic of Kafa-Gimojan in the sub-group of Kafa. The Kafa sub-group is alternatively called Gonga[2]. Kafi Noonoo belongs to South Gonga.

Regarding the dialects of Kafi Noonoo, Fleming (1976a) states that, linguistically Kafi Noonoo consists of a number of slightly varying dialects. Even if, they are basically geographical dialects, neither of them is well described. The following is the family tree of Omotic languages. Until recently, Kafi Noonoo was only used as spoken language. Following the policy of the existing government which recognizes the right of nation and nationalities to use their languages for all forms of communication in their respective regions, Kafi Noonoo has been introduced as a medium of instruction at the elementary level and as one subject at high school; it is also the administrative language in the Kefa zone. Despite the fact that Kafi Noonoo is one of the languages that is spoken in south western Ethiopia, little research has been done on the language. Of course, various reasons contributed to this. One of the main problems is the inconvenient situation before 1991. After 1991, some foreigners and Ethiopians have been working on the language, especially on phonology and morphology. But, as far as I am concerned, no work has been done on word formation of Kafi Noonoo. Hence, this study gives an in depth account only for nominal formation process of the language.

METHODOLOGY

To carry out this study different methods have been employed. First available materials concerning Kafi Noonoo were reviewed. Then, the necessary data were collected and recorded from native speakers of the language, Bonga dialect

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[1] According to Taddese (2001), the term *nóónòò* means mouth, and *kàfá* is the name of the land. When kàfá is used as an adjective, it becomes Kàfí. Hence, Kàfí Nóónòò literally means the mouth of the Kefa.
[2] The term Gonga has a long tradition of use in the literature as a linguistic term. It represents a language sub-group consisting of Kafi Noonoo, Anfillo, Bosha, Amuru, Naga, Boro (Shinasha) and Guba (Fleming, 1976a).

through elicitation based on questionnaires. Finally, the collected data was described and analyzed through the software Audacity and Praat since the tone pattern difference in the word has its own role in the word formation of the language.

Review of Related Literature: There is limited linguistic research done on Kafi Noonoo. Most of the previous works have been limited to lists of words, phonology and grammatical sketches. But recently some Ethiopians and foreigners have been studying it. Some of those (the previous & recent) works are reviewed below. Cecchi (1887) is the first researcher to make a grammatical sketch of Kafi Noonoo with a glossary of several hundred words. Cerulli (1951) is another scholar who focuses on the description of the phonology, morphology and more generally, the grammar of the language. In this work, he greatly improved earlier descriptions of the language. Leslau (1958) is the first linguist to identify Mocha, a dialect of the Kafa cluster that has three types of tone: high, low and falling. High and falling tone can occur on short or long vowels, but a low level tone only on long vowels. Moreover, he described the phonemes and deals with the main features of the phonological system. Kasa (1970) studies the phoneme system of Kafi Noonoo. He states that the language has 5 vowels and 22 consonants. Moreover, he identified the segmental phonemes and the phonemic value of consonant gemination and vowel length.

Fleming's (1976a) work is concerned with examining studies made on Gonga languages for the purpose of historical reconstruction and classification. In addition to this, he investigated some aspects of Gonga phonology and morphology for the purpose indicated above. Moreover, he described the phonemes and attempts to describe the verb and nominal morphology of Kafi Noonoo. In his analysis of phonemes, he states as Kafi Noonoo has 22 consonant and 5 short and long vowel phonemes. They are presented as in table 1 and 2 below. Fleming (1976b) notes that gemination is very common in the language, but not appears at the beginning of the word. Regarding the vowels, he states that diphthongs are rare in the language. Except before /y/ and /w/ or noun suffixes /o/, /e/, or /i/, vowels do not combine as diphthongs. Taddese (2001) deals with the tonology of Kafi Noonoo. He identifies that the language has rising and falling tones in addition to the two basic tones, high and low. He states that absorption and bridging are the two most pervasive phonologically accountable pitch phenomena in Kafi Noonoo tonology. It means in Kafi Noonoo, when a bimoraic syllable with LH contour occurs followed by H, the sequence LHH undergoes tone absorption resulting in LH. He classifies the nominals and verbs in to different classes (i.e. class I, II, and III) since the Kafi Noonoo tonal alternations are associated with morphological processes. This means there are different vowels referred to as theme vowels[3] that pop up when some suffixes are attached to root forms. Consider the following examples from Taddese (2001, p. 51).

Class I Nominals

(a) *kèt'ó → kèt' + - náʔo → két'ínáʔó* 'house' PL 'houses'

b) *ànàámó → ànàám - + - náʔo → ànàámínáʔó* ' male' PL 'males'

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

Class II Nominals

(a) *bágò → bág- +- náʔó → bágènáʔó* 'sheep' (SG) PL 'sheep'(PL)
b) *máćò → máć - + -náʔó → máćènáʔó* 'horse'   PL 'horses'

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

Class III Nominals

(a) *káfòó → káf _+_ náʔó → káfénáʔó* 'bird' PL 'birds'
b) *k'áwòó → k'áw _ + _ náʔó → k'áwénáʔó* 'gun' PL 'guns'

In this class the terminal vowel is long, i.e.,/oo/ and has an underlying rising tone. The theme vowel of this class bears underlying H tone. But the root can have L or H tone. Since rising tones are disallowed after a H tone, the underlying LH will turn into surface HH tone by the bridge rule. Moreover, he describes Kafi Noonoo has eight syllable structure. These are V, VV, VVC, VCC, CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC or CVVCC. The following examples are adopted from Taddese (p.42).

V	àʃò	'man'
VV	àáfò	'eye'
CV	hàmó	'to go'
VC	ámbúkkó	'termite'
VCC	ànd	'now'
VVC	àáf	'infront of'/ 'before'
CVV	báróó	'forehead'
CVC	màndèrò	'darkness'
CVVC	dóóllóó	'antelope'
CVVCC	yìíc'c'	'yesterday'

Tilahun's (2009) M.A thesis is on the morphology of Kafi Noonoo. His finding shows that nouns are inflected for number, gender, definiteness and case; and verbs for agreement, tense, mood and polarity. Besides, he shows that, nouns can be derived from nouns, adjectives and verb stems; adjectives from verbal and noun stems and verbs from verbal stems. Moreover, different grammatical functions of morphemes of the language and four types of pronouns are identified. Even though he discusses some points of the present study, he did not include all types of derived nouns and verbs. Even, some of the morphemes identified need correction. For instance, he identified /-ítínó/ as abstract noun marker. But the middle /t/ should be doubled. Tolemariam (2009) deals with causatives and passives of Kafi Noonoo in his Ph.D dissertation. His finding shows that vowel /-i-/ and /-e-/ have two different function. When they come at the root final they function as thematic vowel. But, when they come next to the stem final vowel they become causative and passive markers respectively.

Theoretical Framework: Interest in word-formation has probably always gone hand-in-hand with interest in language in general, and there are scattered comments and works on the subject of word-formation from the time of Panini, who provided a detailed description of Sanskrit word-formation,

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[3] Theme vowel is the name that represents the stem-final vowel. In kafi Noonoo these vowels do not serve any semantic function; it appears that they are just inflectional class markers, but at the same time they are trigged by the present and past tense morphemes (which are only consonant) due to the syllable structure of the language which does not allow a cluster of consonants or a geminate consonant with in a syllable in word-medial position. They do not show up in cases where suffixes start with a vowel (Taddese, 2001, p.37).
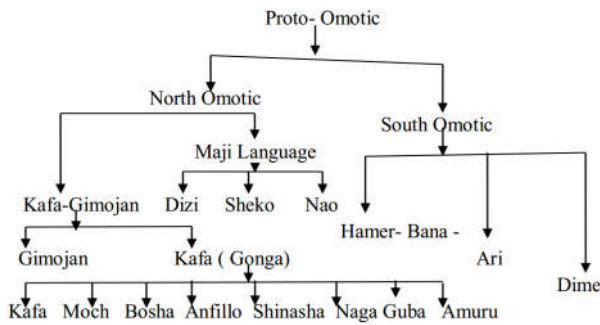
Figure-1 Family Tree of Omotic adapted from Fleming (1976a, p. 300)

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

	Labial	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b p'	t d t'			k g	ʔ
Fricative	F		ʃ			h
Affricate				tʃ dʒ tʃ'		
Nasal	M	N				
Liquids		l r				
Glides	W			J		

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

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

Table 3. Abstract Nominals from Concrete Nouns

Nouns	Gloss	Derived Nominals	Gloss
a. má:čé	'woman'	má:č- ìttìnò	'womanhood'
b. gìdí:rè	'girl'	gídí:r- ittìnò	'girlhood'
c. gú:nò	'slave'	gú:n- ìttìnò	'slavery'
d. bùšò	'child'	bùš- ìttìnò	'childhood'

right up to the present day (Bauer, 1983, p. 2). However, its development even at present is not that much advanced than what was before. Part of the reason for this is the disagreement between the scholars in using unitary approach in dealing with word formation. Among them for instance, Jespersen, (1974) managed word formation by merging synchronic and diachronic approaches but, others like Bloomfield (1935) considered word formation totally from synchronic point of view; and Koziol (1937) totally from diachronic point of view (Bauer, 1983, p. 2). If all the above scholars were in position to use a composition of the two, it could be possible to see a better development. In other words, since different linguist had been following a different theoretical assumption after the diachronic and synchronic distinction drawn by De Saussure (1916), it had been difficult to come up with a clear view of word formation (Bauer, 1983, pp. 2-3). There are also other scholars who have a completely different idea on word-formation. These are American Structuralisms and early Transformational Generative Grammarians. They had not been interested in word formation. Because, the former major interest had been in units smaller than word and the latter was in units larger than word, i.e., the structure of phrases and sentences. Even if it is so, the "Chomskyan Revolution" in 1957, with the publication of Syntactic Structures (Chomsky, 1957) radically changed the approach to language taken by the majority of the most influential linguists. "This was the time in which word-formation research found itself"(Bauer, 1983, p.

2). Moreover, word formation was treated by two different hypotheses since this time: Transformation list and Lexica list. In the transformation list hypothesis, works such as Chomsky (1957) and Less (1960) did not consider word formation rules as an autonomous system located in the lexicon. They rather considered word formation process to be part of the transformational component. According to these scholars, the only items in the lexicon were simple words, i.e. those are neither compounds nor derived forms. But it is claimed, since their treatment of word formation process has showed a number of inadequacies. Among these the entire word formation operation was extremely complicated because the rules were unconstrained (Chomsky, 1970). Furthermore, syntactic transformations, which are regular processes, could not account for the idiosyncrasy found in the derivation of complex lexical items (Chomsky, 1970).

On the contrary, the lexica list approach advocates that syntax does not have access to the internal structure of words. Thus, Chomsky (1970) strongly argues that words with derivational features cannot be derived syntactically from the deep structure as they should be part of that (Chomsky, 1970; Selkirk, 1982). The study of word-formation became more important within the Transformational Generative paradigm with the publication of "Remarks on Nominalization" (Chomsky, 1970). It was in this paper that the dichotomy between the 'Lexica list' and the 'Transformation list' approaches to lexical insertion was set up as one of the major divisions within the transformational school. This dispute brought the data of word-formation into the centre of linguistic interest, although no change was made in the basic assumption that the words formed were special kinds of sentences whose internal shape was determined by the phonology (Chomsky, 1970; Bauer, 1983, p. 5).

Following Chomsky's (1970) remarks, two main approaches have emerged within the lexicalist hypothesis: the Strong and Weak Lexicalist approaches. The Strong Lexicalist approach, as discussed by Lieber (1980) and Kiparsky (1982), among others treat both derivation and inflection in the lexicon, and thus, as a morphological process. On the other hand, the Weak Lexicalist approach as proposed by Siegel (1994) and Aronoff (1976), among others, assumes that derivations treated in morphology, whereas inflections in syntax. Still some others like Scalise (1984) believe that inflections can be treated under phonology. According to Bauer (1983), "word-formation process is classified as derivational and compounding."(p. 34). She states also that derivation is a process obtained through affixation. Since this study aims at showing how new lexical items are formed by the process of affixation I follow the framework of the Weak Lexicalist hypothesis outlined in Halle (1973), Jackendoff (1975), and Aronoff (1976) among others. The lexicalist hypothesis stipulates that words with derivational morphology and compounding are not formed by syntactic transformation but rather by morphological transformation in the lexicon. As syntax defines possible sentences, morphology defines possible words in a language (Aronoff, 1976, p. 30). As Halle (1973) proposes, when dealing with lexical items, we take into account the actual and the possible but not the impossible and the non-existent words based on specific language rules. For the formation of rules, the framework developed by Selkirk (1982) is followed. Her framework shows that "any language has a particular grammar of word structures, which conforms to certain general principles governing the possible word structures in the language" (Selkirk, 1982, p. 9). She adds that while phrase

structure rules operate in the syntax, word structure rules operate in the lexicon, and word formation rules constitute one sub-component of the lexicon. The other sub components are the dictionary consisting of freely occurring words and the extended dictionary which includes the list of affixes and other bound forms (Selkirk, 1982, p.10). She adds that native speakers of a language have intuitions about the internal structure of words in their language. Such intuitions are said to be captured by the word structure rules of the language which are known as context free rewriting rules. Every new word formed by a word formation rule must be in the domain of one of the major lexical categories. The assignment of such lexical category helps to infer the relation between mother and daughter nodes in word structures. Furthermore, the relation between mother and daughter nodes, in turn, is related to the head theory of Selkirk (1982), which proposes that every complex word has a head, which bears the features of the mother node. In light of this, the element with the same category feature with the mother node is considered as the head of the word. In most cases, affixes have the same category features as their dominating nodes, and thus, can be heads. In following this frame work, the study tries to describe the word formation process of Kafi Noonoo.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

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

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

Abstract Nominals Derived From Nouns and Adjectives: In Kafi Noonoo abstract nominals are derived from other nominals or adjectives by adding suffix */-ìttìnò/* to noun. When this suffix is added to nouns or adjectives, the final vowels of the nouns or adjectives are deleted. This is illustrated in the tables 3 and 4 below respectively. The above table shows that while the suffix */-ìttìnò/* is added to nouns, all the terminal vowels are deleted to avoid impermissible sequence of two non-identical vowels in the language. Such derived nominals can occur as NP in the sentences like the following:

1a) *àré: gídí:rè-nè*
    she   girl-be.PRS
    'She is a girl'

In sentence (1a) *gìdí:rè* 'girl' uses as a noun phrase or noun in the verbal phrase *gìdí:rènè* 'is a girl' since its category is noun. When we compare the words *gìdí:rè* 'girl' and *gìdí:rìttìnò* 'girlhood', though both of them are nouns, their sub category is different, i.e. the former is concrete and the latter is abstract noun.

This difference emanates from the suffix added to the base noun. It means [+ABST.] feature percolates from suffix to the

whole noun. Thus, concrete noun is changed to abstract. Tilahun (2009, p.22) identifies */-ítínó/* as abstract noun marker. But, my data shows that the /t/ of the suffix should be geminated and all of the tones in the suffix are low. As can be observed from the above table, even though most of the abstract nouns derived from an adjectival base take morpheme */-ìttìnò/*, there are some words for instance, *á:ngó:* 'fat or fatness' which does not take */-ìttìnò/* or any other overt morpheme. In this case it is zero morpheme that replaces morpheme */-ìttìnò/*. Thus, it is possible to conclude as zero morpheme is an allomorph of */-ìttìnò/*. Moreover, morpheme */-ìttìnò/* in table-4 is category changing since it changes the adjectives to abstract nouns. Let us see the following examples.

2a) *àró: k'àbìnì àšó - nè*
    he   short   person-be.PST
    'He is a short person'

2b) *bí - k'àbìn- ittìnò wàrgànìmmó: -nè*
    3GEN- short- ABS.N   admirable   - be.PST
    'His shortness is admirable'

The above examples show that the word *k'àbìnì* 'short' in (2a) is used as an adjective that modifies the noun following it, but in (2b) it is employed as a noun since it holds the subject position. It is the suffix */-ìttìnò/* that changes the adjective to noun or in the percolation concept the feature of abstract noun percolates from the suffix to the whole word. Thus, this suffix is the head of a word. It is possible to formulate the following word formation rule to the derivation of abstract nominals. $[[x]_{N/Adj} + -ìttìnò / ø] \rightarrow [x]_{Abs. N}$

Nominals Derived from Verbs: In Kafi Noonoo different types of nominals such as instrumental, agentive, result, action, gerundive, infinitival and manner are derived from verbs by adding different morphemes to the verb stems. This will be discussed below.

Instrumental Nominals: Instrumental nominal are derived by adding the morphemes */-ó ~-óó~-čó~-èèčó/* on the verb stems. Consider the following table.

This table shows that while morphemes */-ó ~ -óó ~ -čó ~ -è:čó/* are added to the verb stems, the words change to instrumental nouns. Among these morphemes /ó/is the basic morpheme since it occurs in different environment than the others. The rest are allomorphs of the morpheme. In the process of deriving instrumental nominal the theme vowels of the stems which are dissimilar with the suffix are deleted. The category type of the derived word is different from the stem of the base word. It is because the derived word has [+N] category feature that is obtained from the suffix in percolation process. As any nominal, it can occur as a subject or object of the sentence. Consider the following examples.

àré: kèt'ó-n   hìdí- t- án
    she   house-ACC clean-PFV-3SG.F
    'She cleaned a house'
àré: hìd-ó: kèmé - t- án
    she   sweep-INST   buy - PFV- 3SG.F
    'She bought a broom'
hìd-ó: kèmé- è -t- án

Table 4. Abstract Nominals from Adjectives

Adjectives	Gloss	Derived Nominals	Gloss
a.gá:wò	'good'	*gá:w- ìttìnò*	'goodness'
b. nàc'c'òó	'white'	*nàc'c'- ìttìnò*	'whiteness'
c. àc'ó	'wise'	*àc'- ìttìnò*	'wisdom'
d. dù:ró:	'foolish'	*dù:r- ìttìnò*	'foolishness'

Table 5. Instrumental Nominals from Verbs

Verb Stems	Gloss	Nominilizer	Instrumental Nominals	Gloss
a.hìdí-	'sweep'	-ó:	*hìdó: (gù:dí hìdó:)*	'broom'
b. c'účí-	'tie'	-ó	*Cúyó*	'rope/fiber'
e. kòčí-	'pierce'	-ó (-čó)	*kóyó(kóčíčó)*	'spear'
f. kà:c'c'i-	'comb'(ᵥ)	-čó	*kà:c'c'íčó/kàp'óó*	'comb'(ₙ)
i. dókkí-	'erase'	-è:čó	*dókkè:čó*	'eraser'

Table 6. Agentive Nominals from Verbs

Verb Stems	Gloss	Nominilizer	Agentive Nominal	Gloss
a.wút'i-	'kill'	-èč-ó	*wùt'èčó*	'killer'
b.dódʒdʒí-	'teach'	-èč-ó	*dódʒdʒèčó*	'teacher'(m)
c dódʒdʒí-	'teach'	-èč-í	*dódʒdʒèčí*	'teacher'(f)
d. k'údʒé-	'keep'	-èč-ó	*k'údʒèčó*	'keeper'
e. á:čí-	'hide'	-èč-ó	*á:čèčó*	'hider'
f. kèmé-	'buy'	-č-ó	*kèméčó*	'buyer'
l.dàbbé-	'hunt'	-č-ó	*dàbbéčó*	'hunter'

Table 7. Experiencer Nominals from Verbs

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

Table 8. Result Nominals from Verbs

Verb Stems	Gloss	Nominilizer	Result Nominals	Gloss
a.imí-	'give'	-ó	*ìmó*	'gift'
b. àrií -	'know'	-ó	*àríyó*	'knowledge'
e.èmirí-	'happy'	-óó	*èmìró:*	'happiness'
f. mà:c'í-	'decide'	-ó	*mà:c'ó*	'decision'
g. tààhí-	'exhaust'	-óó	*tààhó*	'exhaustion'

Table 9. Action /Process Nominals from Verbs

Verb Stems	Gloss	Nominilizer	Action Nominals	Gloss
a.wòc'í-	'run'	-ó	*'wòc'ó'*	running
b.kóté-	'sit'	-ó	*'kótó'*	'sitting'
c. hàmmí-	'go'	-ó	*hàmó*	'journey'
d. dìhí-	'fall down'	-ó	*dìhó*	'falling down'
e. kémé-	'buy'	-ó	*kémó*	'buying'

Table 10. Gerundive/Infinitival Nominals from Verbs

Verb Stems	Gloss	Nomi-nilizer	Gerundive Nominals	Gloss
a.wòc'í-	'run'	-ó	*wòc'ó*	'running/to run'
b.ùčí-	'drink'(ᵥ)	-ó	*Ùyó*	'drinking/to drink'
c. màčí-	'wash'	-ó	*Mayo*	'washing/to wash'
e. gù:rí-	'slaughter'	-óó	*gù:ró:*	'slaughtering/to slaughter'
f. kà:čí-	'play'(ᵥ)	-ó	*kà:yó*	'playing/to play'
g. hìdí-	'sweep'	-óó	*hìdó:*	'sweeping/to play'

Table 11. Manner Nominals from Verbs

Verb Stems	Gloss	Manner Nominals	Gloss
a. kòté-	'sit'	*kòté hìnnó:*	'manner of sitting'
b. ùčí-	'drink'(ᵥ)	*ùčí hìnnó:*	'manner of drinking'
c. né:t'é-	'stand'	*né:t'é -é hìnnó:*	'manner of standing'
d. wòc'c'í-	'run'	*wòc'c'í -í hìnnó:*	'manner of running'
e.hàmmí-	'go'	*hàmmí hìnnó:*	'manner of going'

sweep-INST.N   buy –PASS- PFV- 3SG.F
   'A broom was bought'

The sentence in (3a) shows the occurrence of *hìdí-* 'sweep' as a verb. But, in sentences (3b) and (3c) the instrumental nominal *hìdó:* 'broom' is used as an object and subject respectively. The derivation process of these nominals can be represented by the following rule:

$$[[x]_v + \text{-ó /-óó / -čó / -è:čó}] \rightarrow [x]_{Inst.N}$$

Agentive Nominals: Agentive nominals are nominals which show the doer of the action. Hence, they have [+HUMAN] feature. Comrie and Thompson (1985) define these nominals as follow. "Agentive nominals are derived from verbs of action and have a meaning like 'one who does the action of the verb' " (p.351). In Kafi Noonoo agentive nominals are derived from transitive verbs by adding suffix /-èč ~ -č / to the verb stems. When the derived agentive nominals are masculine the last vowel of the morpheme is /ó/. But, If they are feminine it becomes /í/. The following examples illustrate this. This table shows that morpheme /-èčó~-čó/ is the morpheme that is used to form masculine agentive noun even though the stem of the word is noun or verb. Morpheme/-èčó/ is attached on the stem in the theme vowel /i/ whereas /-čó/ on the stems which end with /e/. In this process the theme vowel of the verb stems is deleted to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels in the language. Tilahun (2009, p.23), identifies just the morpheme/-èčó/ as agentive nominal marker. Such nominal affixes are category changing in that, derived nominals have [+N] category feature while the stems which are derived have a [+V] category feature. The features of nominals come from the suffix that is added to the verb stem. These nominals occur as subject of the sentence unlike the stems' that occur as verb. Consider the difference between the verb *dù:bbí* 'sing' with the derived nominal *dù:bbèčó* 'singer' in the following examples.

tàsfáyì dù:bbó dù:bbí-t-e
   Tesfaye sing   sing-PFV-3SG.M
   'Tesfaye sang a song'

dù:bb-èčó   wáá-t-é
   singer-AGN.N come-PFV-3SG.M
   'The singer came'

The first sentence shows the occurrence of the stem *dù:bbí-* 'sing' as a verb whereas the second shows the occurrence of derived agentive nominal *dù:bbèčó* 'singer' as a subject. When /-èčó~-čó/ is added to intransitive verb stems, it is used to derive masculine experiencer nominals. But, while the morpheme last vowel is changed to /i/ the exepreiencer nominals become feminine. Look at the following examples.

The above table shows that experiencer nominals are derived from intransitive verb stems by taking the same morpheme with agentive nominals. The only difference between them is that, the former shows the agent of the action whereas the later shows the experiencer. The derivation of these nominals can be represented by the following word formation rule.

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

Result Nominals: Result nominals are derived from verb by suffixation of the morpheme   /-ó~ óó / on the verb stems.

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

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

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

má:<y>ò   kàšòò-č k'à:wí: -h-é

   eat<EPN>NOM   life- for   important-IMPV-3SG.M
    'Food is important for life'

àró: má:<y>ò   k'ànnàyí<y⁴>é

   he   eat<EPN>NOM   prepare <EPN>3SG.M
    'He prepares food'

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

$$[[x-]_V + \text{-ó/-óó}] \rightarrow [x]_{Res. N}$$

Action Nominals: According to Comrie & Thompson (1985) process/action nominals refer to "the fact, the act, the quality or occurrence" (p. 350) of the base from which such nominals are derived. In Kafi Noonoo they are derived from the verb stem by suffixation of /-ó/ as shown in the table below. As shown in the above table, when morpheme /-ó / is added to the stem of the verb, the theme vowel is deleted. Besides, the stem of the verb that has /č/ sound next to the theme vowel is changed to /y/ (cf. **f** above). The following examples show the occurrence of such nominal in structure.

6a) *k'òc'ìtí dó:jè kèt'ó-č wóc'c'í<y>é*
    Kochit   school –ALL   run<EPN>3SG.M
     'Kochit runs to school'

6b) *wòc'-ó   í:wìttínó: -č gá:wètò-né*
    run-NOM   health -for   good-be.PRS
     'Running is good for health'

In (6a) the stem of the verb *wòc'í-* 'run' is used as a verb whereas in (6b) the derived action nominal *wòc'ó* 'running' is employed as a subject of the sentence. The reason for

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

gemination of the consonant in sentence (6a) is related to the tense. It means in Kafi Noonoo there are words those geminate while inflected for tenses (Taddese, 2001, p. 54).

The following word formation rule may formulate for these nominals.

$$[[x-]_{V_s} + -\acute{o}/\grave{o}] \rightarrow [x]_{ACT.N}$$

Gerundive Nominals: Gerundive nominals are nominals which have a distribution of nominal features as well as verbal properties (Siegel, 1994). In Kafi Noonoo gerundive nominals are derived from verbs when morpheme /- ó ~ - óó / is added on the verb stems. This is illustrated in the following table. As can be observed in the above table, gerundive or infinitival nominals are derived when suffix /-ó/ or /-óó/ is attached to the verb stems. Morpheme*/óó/* is added on the verb roots end with alveolar or voiced consonants whereas /ó/ is attached to verb roots end with any consonant. In this process the category type of the verb is changed to [+N] since the affix added to the verb stem has [+N] feature. Like any noun these nominals also occur in the structure of noun phrase in the sentence. Look at the following examples.

àró: tàhó: -n   màčí-h-é
    he   cloth-ACC   wash-IMPV-3SG.M
     'He washes the cloth'
àró: tàhó: -n   mày-ó   šùnní<y>é
    he   cloth-ACC   wash-GER   like<EPN>3SG.M
     'He likes washing the cloth'

In sentence (7a) the stem *màčí-* 'wash' stands as a verb in the verb phrase *tàhó:n màčíhé* 'washes the cloth'. But in (7b) the derived gerundive nominal *màyó* 'washing' stands as a noun in the noun phrase *tàhó:n màyó* 'washing the cloth' that is subsumed in the verb phrase *tàhó: -n màyó šùnníyé* 'like washing cloth'. Even though this investigation shows the above fact, Tilahun (2009, p.24) states that the morpheme /ò/ and /ó/ are gerundive and infinitival nominal markers respectively.

The possible word formation rule for such nominals is:

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

Manner Nominals: Manner nominals refer to "the means or ways of doing something" (Comrie & Thompson 1985, p.354). Even if manner nominal in Kafi Noonoo is shown by word *hinno:* that is equivalent to the English word 'manner', the stem of some verbs take morpheme /-e ~ –i/ before the independent word *hinno: .* Look at the following table.This table shows that manner nominals are derived from the verb by attaching morpheme/-í or -é/ and *hìnnó:*. But, there are some manner nominals formed by taking only the word *hìnnó: .* In this process, the stems with /i/ theme vowel take the morpheme /-í / and those end with /e/ take /- é/. Consider the following examples.

8a) *àró: á:c'ò   ùčí<y>é*
         he   water   drink<EPN>3SG.M
          'He drinks water'
8b) *bí   ùčí   hìnnó: wàrgànìkkìmmó-né*
         3GEN   drink   manner   admirable - be
          'His manner of drinking is admirable'
8c) *àró: wòc'c'í<y>é*

    he   run<EPN>3SG.M
     'He runs'
8d) *bí   wòc'c'í: hìnnó: wàrgànìkkìmmó-né*
    3GEN   running   manner   admirable -be.PRS
     'His manner of running is admirable'

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

The possible word formation rule for these nominals is:

$$[[x-]_{Vs} + (-\acute{i}/\acute{e}/) + hìnnó\acute{o}] \rightarrow [x]_{MAN.N}$$

Conclusion

In general most of the derived nominals take morpheme /-(o)o/. This does not mean that those all derived nominals take the same morpheme. Even though they seem the same, since their functions are different when they are attached to different verb roots or stems, they are different. Such types of morphemes are called homonymous. All of the nominalization processes shown so far except some, are category changing. It means, while the suffix is attached to the root/stem of the verb or adjective the category type of the stem is changed because, the affixes have the category feature [+N] that percolates up to the derived nominals. This process is shown as follow. The affix in the above representation is the head since its category feature percolates up to the nominal. This suggests that, in this language the head of derived word is found on the right side of the root/stem. Based on this, it is possible to formulate the general rule of nominalization of Kafi Noonoo as follow:
This rule indicates that, in this language, it is possible to form nominals by adding a nominal morpheme with [+N] feature to the noun, Adjective or Verb root (stem).

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