

## **The Presence of the Causative Morpheme –*issi*- in Shakkinoonoo and –*ičči*<sup>1</sup>- in Kafinoonoo in Terms of Language Contact**

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**Abstract:** *In this article I shall show that the causative morpheme –*issi*- in Shakkinoonoo and –*ičči*- in Kafinoonoo are borrowed from Oromo. Further I shall show that the morpheme –*ičči*- is the same as the morpheme –*issi*-. The paper is divided into four sections. The first section introduces geographical area, language contacts, language affiliations, and attitudes of the speakers of the two languages. The second section discusses the basic and the borrowed causative markings of Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo. The third section argues that the morpheme –*ičči*- is the same as –*issi*-. The fourth section compares the causative markings of neighboring languages and gives conclusion.*

### **Introduction**

According to the 1994 population and housing census the total number of Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo speakers is 725, 086. Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo are spoken in the state of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' (SNNP) regional state which is situated in the southern part of Ethiopia. Shakka zone, the zone where Shakkinoonoo is spoken as a mother tongue, is bordered by Oromiya regional state in the North, North-East and North West, by Bench in South, by Majang in South and North West, by Kafa zone in the East and South-East. Two additional languages with similar names, namely Shakko<sup>2</sup> and Sheko are spoken in the Shakka zone. Shakko speakers reside to the West of Shekka near to the town of Geeč'a. Sheko speakers reside to South-West of Shakkinoonoo speakers. Concerning their zonal administrative region Sheko speakers are divided into two places; those who live in and around Tepi town in Shekka zone; and those who live in and around Sheko town in Bench-Maji zone. Sheko is an Omotic language which

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<sup>1</sup> The following sounds are used: **č**, voiceless palatal affricate; **š**, voiceless palatal fricative; **t'**, dental ejective; **k'**, velar ejective;

<sup>2</sup> Shakko is referred as Shabo in the literatures; yet, people of the surrounding area do not understand Shabo but Shakko.

is quite different from Shakkinoonoo. Shakko is also a different language from Shakkinoonoo ; its family is not settled yet. Kafinoonoo is bordered by Oromo in the North, Me'en and Benchnoon in the south, Shakkinoonoo in the West, Konta in the East and Nayi in the South-East.

Both Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo enjoy extended contact with Oromo speakers. Shakkichos and Kafichos developed positive attitude towards Oromos. Shakkichos and Kafichos are allowed to marry Oromos. There is also intermarriage between Kullos\*<sup>3</sup> and Kafichos. Shakkichos and Kafichos look down up on Bench, Shako, Shakko, and Majang which are the minorities and the segregated nationalities. Many Shakkichos are bilinguals; they are fluent in Oromo. I have not come across a Shakkicho who does not understand Oromo. All my informants of Shakkicho are fluent in Oromo. There are also some Kafichos who are fluent in Oromo. One of my Kaficho informant is fluent in Oromo while the other is fluent in Kullo\*. I have not come across any Shakkicho who speaks either Sheko or Shakko even though many Shekos and all Shakkos live in Shakka zone. I came across Kafas who speak both Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo. The following table shows affiliations, places and names of Shakkinoonoo, Shakko, Sheko and Kafinoonoo.

**Table 1: Neighboring languages and their affiliations**

Language Name	Affiliation	Zone	People
Shakkinoonoo	Kefa language	Shakka	Shakkicho, Shekki
Sheko	Maji	Shakka, Bench-Maji	Sheko
Shakko(Shabo)	Not known	Shakka	?
Kafinoonoo	Kefa language	Kafa	Kaficho

Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo are believed to be dialects (see Leslau, 1958; Lange, 1982; Taddese, 1999). I observed that Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo are mutually intelligible languages. They have many words in common. Their derivational morphemes are similar. They have the same word order. Similar phonological

<sup>3</sup> The name Kullo is derogative. Now days the name Konta includes the name Kullo; yet linguistically there are differences between Kullo and Konta. For this reason I use both names in this paper.

processes are observed in both Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo. These languages show the same system of case assignment but differ in their agreement elements. They also share similar phonemic inventory except that the fricative sound /s/ is not found in Kafinoonoo (see Taddese, 1999). Yet Shakkichos and Kafichos believe that they speak different languages. They do not agree if Shakkichos and Kafichos might prepare common teaching material. Kafichos have already prepared their own teaching material using Latin script. Although Shakkichos have a plan to prepare their own teaching material using Latin script, currently they are using Sabeian script and Amharic is employed as a medium of instruction.

### **The Causative in Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo**

#### **The Causative Marking –i-**

The basic causative marking in Kafinoonoo and Shakkinoonoo is the morpheme –i-. This morpheme is productively suffixed to all types of verb stems. In general, there are two types of verbs in Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo which form opposition to the causative verbs: verbs with final –i- and verbs with final –a-/-e-. Both types of non-causative verbs productively form their causative verb counterparts by the suffixation of the causative marking –i-. Let us observe some instances where the –a-/-e- non-causative form contrasts to the –i- causative form as in (1-4):

- 1a.**    **á**ró    **tókkár-à-yè (S)**<sup>4</sup>  
 he    sleep-MID-3MSS  
 'He slept.'
- 1b.**    **á**ró    **náámí-n**    **tókkár-ì-hè (S)**  
 he    boy-ACC    sleep-V-3MSS  
 'He made a boy sleep.'
- 2a.**    **aro**    **tokkar-e-te (K)**<sup>5</sup>  
 he    sleep-MID-3MSS  
 'He slept.'
- 2b.**    **aro**    **bušoo-n**    **tokkar-i-te (K)**  
 he    boy-ACC    sleep-V-3MSS<sup>6</sup>  
 'He made a boy sleep.'
- 3a.**    **máhóó** **békk-à-yè (S)**  
 tiger    appear-MID-3MSS  
 'A tiger is seen.'
- 3b.**    **á**ró    **máhóó-n**    **békk-ì-hè (S)**  
 he    tiger-ACC    appear-V-3MSS  
 'He saw a tiger.'
- 4a.**    **mahoo** **bekk-e-te (K)**  
 tiger    appear-MID-3MSS  
 'A tiger is seen.'
- 4b.**    **aro**    **mahoo-n**    **bekk-i-te (K)**  
 he    tiger-ACC    appear-V-3MSS  
 'He saw a tiger.'

<sup>4</sup> (S) indicates Shakkinoonoo.

<sup>5</sup> (K) indicates Kafinoonoo.

<sup>6</sup> The following abbreviations are used: MID, the middle; 3MSS, third person masculine singular; V, verbalizer and causative morpheme, ACC, accusative; DAT, dative; 3PS, third person plural; INS, instrument case; CAUS, causative.

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Instances given in (1) and (3) show Shakkinoonoo non-causative and causative contrasts while the ones given in (2) and (4) show Kafinoonoo non-causative and causative contrasts. (1a) and (3a) are examples of intransitive structures. In these structures the non-causative verbs are marked by the morpheme **-a-**. These verbs are associated with only one external arguments each. In both cases the external arguments are the agents of the corresponding structures. The same case is repeated in (2a) and (4a). The difference is that in Shakkinoonoo the non-causative verb is marked by the morpheme **-a-** whereas in Kafinoonoo the morpheme **-e<sup>7</sup>-** is used. In both Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo the causative verbs are formed by replacing the non-causative morpheme **-a-/-e-** by the causative morpheme **-i-** as shown in (1b), (2b), (3b) and (4b). In all cases the causative verbs are associated with two arguments, the causer and the causee.

If the non-causative verb is formed by the morpheme **-i-**, then the causative verb is formed by simply adding one more **-i-** to the non-causative base as shown below:

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<sup>7</sup> In the Bonga dialect of Kafinoonoo the morpheme **-e-** is used but in the Geesha dialect the morpheme **-a-** is employed. In this paper I use only the morpheme **-e-**.

- 5a.**    **á**ró    **d**áháro-**n**    **w**ìt'-ì-yè (S)  
 he    lion-ACC    kill-V-3MSS  
 'He killed a lion.'
- 5b.**    **ò**ónóší    **á**ró-**n**    **d**áháro-**n**    **w**ìt'-ì-ì-hèèè (S)  
 they he-ACC    lion-ACC    kill-V-V-3PS  
 'They made him kill a lion.'
- 6a.**    **a**ro    **d**aharo-**n**    **w**ìt'-i-te (K)  
 he    lion-ACC    kill- V -3MSS  
 'He killed a lion.'
- 6b.**    **b**onoší **a**ro-**n** **d**aharo-**n**    **w**ìt'-i-i-teete (K)  
 they he-ACC lion-ACC    kill-V-V-3PS  
 'They made him kill a lion.'
- 7a.**    **á**ró    **b**ágó-**n**    **k**ém-ì-yè (S)  
 he    sheep-ACC    buy-V-3MSS  
 'He bought a sheep.'
- 7b.**    **á**ró    **b**ágó-**n**    **n**á? ò-nàà    **k**ém-i-ì-hè (S)  
 he    sheep-ACC    boy-INS    buy-V-V-3MSS  
 'He had a sheep sold by a boy.'
- 8a.**    **a**ro    **b**ago-**n**    **k**em-i-te (K)  
 he    sheep-ACC    buy-V-3MSS  
 'He bought a sheep.'
- 8b.**    **a**ro    **b**ago-**n**    **b**ušo-naa    **k**em-i-i-te (K)  
 he    sheep-ACC    boy-INS    buy-V-V-3MSS  
 'He had a sheep sold by a boy.'

(5a), (6a), (7a) and (8a) are instances of transitive verbs. These verbs have the morpheme *-i-* as attached to the corresponding verb stems. Each of these transitive verbs are associated with two arguments, agents and patients. But, instances shown in (5b), (6b), (7b) and (8b) are causative structures. Causative verbs of these structures are derived from transitive verbs by suffixing the causative morpheme *-i-* to the corresponding transitive verb stems. In the causative structures three arguments appear: the causer, the causee, which is expressed as oblique noun phrase, and the direct object.

A different instance of morphophonological feature of the causative morpheme *-i-* is that it is accompanied by change of quality of root final consonants. The most common change of quality of root final vowel is palatalization. Some bilabial, dental and palatal sounds are changed into the palatal sound /č/ when the morpheme *-i-* is suffixed to the verb root to derive the causative verb. For instance, the phoneme /t'/ is changed into /č/ in the following causative structures:

- 9a.**    **mákíínó**            **néèt'-à-yè (S)**  
           car                    stop-MID-3MSS  
           'A car stopped.'
- 9b.**    **makiino**            **neet'-e-te (K)**  
           car                    stop-MID-3MSS  
           'A car stopped.'
- 10a.**    **áró**    **mákíínó-n**        **nééčč-i-yè (S)**  
           he        car-ACC            stop-V-3MSS  
           'He made a car stop.'
- 10b.**    **aro**    **makiino-n**        **neečč-i-te (K)**  
           he        car-ACC            stop-V-3MSS  
           'He made a car stop.'

(9a) and (9b) show intransitive structures. In these structures the non-causative verbs are marked by the morpheme **-a-** and **-e-** in Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo respectively. The causative structures shown in (10a) and (10b) have two arguments each, the causer and the patient. The causative verbs are formed by replacing the non-causative morpheme **-a/-e-** by the causative marking **-i-**. But the suffixation of the causative marking changes the quality of verb root final consonant /t/ into 'č'. Other verbs such as **kímm-ì-yè** 'to cross', **kííčč-ì-yè** 'to make cross' (S); **gàbinn-ì-yè** 'be wide', **gàbìčč-ì-yè** 'to make wide' (S); **gaminn-i-te** 'be wide', **gamičč-i-te** 'to make wide' (K); **kátinn-ì-yè** 'be approach', **kátìčč-ì-yè** 'to make approach'(S); **katinn-i-te** 'to approach', **katičč-i-te** 'to make approach' (K); are included here.

### The Causative Marking **-issi-** and **-ičči-**

In some cases, the morpheme **-issi-** in Shakkinoonoo and the morpheme **-ičči-** in Kafinoonoo are used as causative morphemes. The morpheme **-issi-** is relatively productive while the morpheme **-ičči-** is less so. The morpheme **-issi-** could be optionally suffixed to many verbs but the morpheme **-ičči-** has a rare distribution.

- |      |                    |                                      |  |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 11a. | <b>á</b> ró<br>he  | <b>má</b> hóó- <b>n</b><br>tiger-ACC | <b>bé</b> kk-ì- <b>hè</b> (S)<br>appear-V-3MSS             |
|      | 'He saw a tiger.'  |                                      |  |
| 11b. | <b>á</b> ró<br>he  | <b>má</b> hóó- <b>n</b><br>tiger-ACC | <b>bé</b> kk- <b>issi</b> -yè (S)<br>appear-V-3MSS         |
|      | 'He saw a tiger.'  |                                      |  |
| 12a. | <b>a</b> ro<br>he  | <b>ma</b> hoo- <b>n</b><br>tiger-ACC | <b>bek</b> k- <b>i</b> - <b>te</b> (K)<br>appear-V-3MSS    |
|      | 'He saw a tiger.'  |                                      |  |
| 12b. | <b>*a</b> ro<br>he | <b>ma</b> hoo- <b>n</b><br>tiger-ACC | <b>bek</b> k- <b>ičči</b> - <b>te</b> (K)<br>appear-V-3MSS |
|      | 'He saw a tiger.'  |                                      |  |



As shown in (11a) and (11b) Shakkinoonoo expresses the same causative concept into two different ways. In (11a) the causative verb is marked by the common causative morpheme **-i-** while in (11b) the causative verb is marked by the morpheme **-issi-**. But, unlike Shakkinoonoo, Kafinoonoo expresses the same concept of causation in only one way; the causative verb is only marked by the causative morpheme **-i-**, the morpheme **-ičči-** is not permitted in this particular instance.

In the following instances, however, Shakkinoonoo must employ only the causative marking **-issi-** while Kafinoonoo must use only the morpheme **-i-**:

- 13a.**    **áró**    **šút'ó-n**            **géd-r-issi-yè(S)**  
           he     stone-ACC            roll-CAUS-3MSS  
           'He rolled a stone.'
- 13b.**    \***áró**    **šút'ó-n**            **géd-r-i-yè(S)**  
           he     stone-ACC            roll-V-3MSS  
           'He rolled a stone.'
- 14a.**    **aro**    **šut'o-n**            **gedar-i-te (K)**  
           he     stone-ACC            roll-V-3MSS  
           'He rolled a stone.'
- 14b.**    \***aro**    **šut'o-n**            **gedar-ičči-te (K)**  
           he     stone-ACC            roll-CAUS-3MSS  
           'He rolled a stone.'

As shown in (13a) Shakkinoonoo derives the causative verb by the morpheme **-issi-**, not by the common causative marking **-i-** as shown from ungrammatical structure of (12b). Unlike Shakkinoonoo, Kafinoonoo derives the causative verb by the morpheme **-i-**, not by the morpheme **-ičči-** in this particular instance. Similarly, the causative morpheme **-issi-** is suffixed to the verb root **bátt-** 'forget' to derive the causative verb **bátt-issi-hànè** 'she forgot' in Shakkinoonoo; whereas Kafinoonoo uses the morpheme **-i-** as in **batt-i-te** 'he forgot'.

But in the following instances both Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo show similar distribution with regard to the morpheme **-issi-** and **-ičči-**.

**15a.**    **á**ró    **má**□**ó-n**    **šáww-issi-yè (S)**  
           he    food-ACC    taste good-CAUS-3MSS  
           'He made food delicious.'

**15b.**    **aro**    **mayo-n**    **šaww-ičči-te (K)**  
           he    food-ACC    taste good-CAUS-3MSS  
           'He made food delicious.'

**16a.**    **á**ró    **á**ró-n    **kék'k'-issi-yè (S)**  
           he    he-ACC    terrify-CAUS-3MSS  
           'He terrified him.'

**16b.**    **aro**    **aro-n**    **kek'k'-ičči-te (K)**  
           he    he-ACC    terrify-CAUS-3MSS  
           'He terrified him.'

As shown in (15a) and (16a), causative verbs are derived by the morpheme **-issi-** in Shakkinoonoo. Similarly, in (15b) and (16b) causative verbs are derived by the suffixation of the morpheme **-ičči-** in Kafinoonoo.

There are also cases where the causative morpheme **-issi-** and **-ičči-** are found on some deponent bases as the following instances show:

- 17a.**    **á**ró    **hét't'issi<sup>8</sup>-yè (S)**  
           he    sneez:CAUS-3MSS  
           'He sneezed.'
- 17b.**    **aro**    **het't'ijji-te or hek'k'-ičči—te (K)**  
           he    sneez:CAUS-3MSS  
           'He sneezed.'
- 18a.**    **á**ró    **ótissi-yè (S)**  
           he    cough:CAUS-3MSS  
           'He coughed.'
- 18b.**    **aro**    **ošijji-te (K)**  
           he    cough:CAUS-3MSS  
           'He coughed.'

As shown in (17a) and (18a) the morpheme **-issi-** is attached to deponent bases \***het't'**- 'to sneeze' and \***ot-** 'to cough'. In Kafinoonoo, as shown in (17b), the form **-ijji-** or **-ičči-** could be attached to a deponent base \***het't'**- 'to sneeze'. But in (18b) it is only **-ijji-** that is attached to a deponent base \***oš-** 'to cough'

The unproductive causative allomorph **-ssi-** and **-čči-** are found in Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo respectively<sup>9</sup>. Both forms are part of deponent bases as shown in the following instances:

<sup>8</sup> Whenever I come across fossilized verb forms, I do not use morpheme breaks between the root and the causative morpheme.

<sup>9</sup> In these cases it is a matter future research whether **-ssi-** and **-čči-** are part of the root or borrowed causative morphemes.

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- 19a.**    **á**ró    **á**ác'c'ó    □ **ú**ssi-yè (S)  
           he    water            drink:CAUS-3MSS  
           'He drank water.'
- 19b.**    **a**ro    **aa**č'č'ó    ? **u**čči-te (K)  
           he    water            drink:CAUS-3MSS  
           'He drank water.'
- 20a.**    **á**ré    **g**ášóó-n    **k**óssí-hàné (S)  
           she    teeth-ACC        colour: CAUS-3MSS  
           'She colored teeth.'
- 20b.**    **a**ree    **g**ašoo-n    **k**očči-tane (K)  
           she    teeth-ACC        colour:CAUS-3MSS  
           'She colored her teeth.'
- 21a.**    **á**ró    **k**ássi-yè (S)  
           he    play:CAUS-3MSS  
           'He played.'
- 21b.**    **a**ro    **ka**čči-te (K)  
           he    play:CAUS-3MSS  
           'He played.'

As shown in (19a), (20a) and (21a) the morpheme **-ssi-** is part of deponent bases of the corresponding verbs ? **ússi-**, 'to drink' **kóssí-**, 'to color' and **kássi-** 'to play'. Similarly the morpheme **-čči-** is found on frozen bases as shown in (19b), (20b) and (21b). As different from the morpheme **-issi-** and **-ičči-**, the morpheme **-ssi-** and **-čči-** are not simply suffixes because they cannot be detached from the corresponding verb roots. They are part and parcel of deponent bases to suggest that these morphemes got frozen themselves. Because of this reason forms such as ? **ússi**, 'he drank' **kóssí**, 'he colored' and **kássi** 'he played' are acceptable<sup>10</sup>. Besides a passive form such as ? **ússi**<y>**à-yè** 'was drunk' is acceptable while the form

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<sup>10</sup> Proper causative verbs never end with **-i-**; they must add the agreement element **-ye**. Yet, intransitive or transitive verbs can be **-i-** final verbs only in Shakkinoo.

\*? **úì<y>à-yè** is not. This means that the form **–ssi-** does not alternate with the passive morpheme **–ì<y>à-** simply because the morpheme **–ssi-** got fossilized. The same is true with the morpheme **–čči-**. For instance, ? **učč-e-te** is the passive form of ? **učči-te** ‘he drank’; the morpheme **–čči-** does not alternate with the passive morpheme **–e-**. It is only the morpheme **–i-** that alternates with the passive morpheme **–e-**.

### Is the Morpheme **-ičči-** the Same as **–issi-**?

As compared to the morpheme **–i-**, the causative morpheme **–issi-** is less acceptable in Shakkinoonoo; and the morpheme **-ičči-** is much less acceptable in Kafinoonoo. This case suggests that the morpheme **–issi-** and **-ičči-** are borrowed from neighboring languages.

In fact the morpheme **–issi-** in Shakkinoonoo is realized as the morpheme **-ičči-** in Kafinoonoo. The main reason for such sound change is that there is no sound [s] in Kafinoonoo (see Taddese, 1999:19). The sound /s/ in Shakkinoonoo is replaced by the sound /č/ in Kafinoonoo in all distributions as shown below:

22. **áš-ís** ‘to a man’ (S)
23. **aš-ičč** ‘to a man’ (K)
24. **bì-wút’-ís** ‘(he) to kill’ (S)
25. **bi-wut’-očč** ‘(he) to kill’ (K)
26. **káàssì** ‘having played’ (S)
27. **Kaačči** ‘having played’ (K)
28. **késsá hett-ì** ‘he is out /lit. he said out’ (S)
29. **kečč (y)-e-te** ‘he is out/lit. he said out’ (K)

As shown in (22), (23), (24) and (25) the postposition **–is** in Shakkinoonoo is realized as **–čč-** in Kafinoonoo. In (26) and (27) the /s/ in medial position in Shakkinoonoo is replaced by the sound /č/ in Kafinoonoo. In (23) the morpheme **–čč-** is preceded by the sound /i/ but in (25) it is preceded by the vowel /o/. In (27) this morpheme is

preceded by the vowel /a/ and followed by the vowel /i/. Generally speaking the change of /s/ to /č/ is motivated by regular correspondence and loan word adaptation.

In fact, as it has been mentioned earlier, there are ample phonological rules that change the quality of verb root final consonants into /č/. Some of these cases are shown in (28-29):

- 28a.** kimm-i-yè 'he crossed sth.' (S)  
**28b.** kíičč-i-yè 'he made sb. to cross sth.' (S)  
**29a.** kimm-i-te 'he crossed sth.' (K)  
**29b.** kimm-i-i-te 'he made sb. to cross sth.' (K)  
**30a.** gàbinn-i-yè 'it became wide' (S)  
**30b.** gàbičč-i-yè 'he made sth. wide' (S)  
**31a.** gaminn-i-te 'it became wide' (K)  
**31b.** gamičč-i-te 'he made sth. wide' (K)  
**32a.** néèt'-à-yè 'it stopped' (S)  
**32b.** nééčč-i-yè 'he made stop sth.' (S)  
**33a.** neet'-e-te 'it stopped' (K)  
**33b.** neečč-i-te 'he made stop sth.' (K)

(28-33) show the change of the quality of verb root final consonants as a result of causative verb derivation. In (28) the phoneme /m/ is changed into /č/ in Shakkinoonoo while such palatalization is not observed in Kafinoonoo as shown in (29). But (30) through (33) show such palatalization of verb root final consonant is clear in both Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo; the sound /n/ and the sound /t/ are changed into the sound /č/. In general there are two phonological rules concerning the sound /č/ in Kafinoonoo: phonological rule that is applicable to regular correspondence and borrowed sounds and phonological rule of palatalization that is

applicable to verb root final consonant as the result of the suffixation of the causative marking –i-.

### From Which Language is –issi-/ičči- Borrowed?

Now the main question is the causative marking –ss-/čč- is borrowed from Oromo or neighboring Omotic languages. In order to know from which language the causative morpheme –issi-/ičči- is borrowed we need to know what kind of causative markings are used in neighboring languages. For this reason I shall give variants of causative morphemes of Oromo, Sheko, \*Kullo, Konta and Benchnoon respectively as follows:

#### Oromo

34a. **muč'a-n raf-e**  
baby-NOM sleep-3MSs  
'A baby slept.'

34b. **inni muč'a raff-is-e**  
he.NOM baby sleep-CAUS-3MSS  
'He made a baby sleep.'

35. **č'ab-s/-ss-** 'to break'

36. **gurač-ess-** 'to make black'

**Sheko** (Hellenthal, 2007: PC)

37. **t'er-u-s-** 'to roll'

38. **č'or-š-** 'to finish'

39. **see-s-** 'to show'

\***Kullo**<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Kullo is derogative and the language is called 'Konta' nowadays; yet there is variation between Kullo and Konta which is why I still use the name 'Kullo'.

- 40a. ? oysey            **tiil-isi**  
 butter.NOM        melt-3MSS  
 ‘Butter melted.’
- 40b. iza        ? oysa            **tiil-s-aso**  
 she        butter.ABS        melt-CAUS-3FSS  
 ‘She melted butter.’

### Konta

- 41a. **haatsay**            **irt'-eedda**  
 water.NOM        cool-3MSS  
 ‘Water cooled.’
- 41b. **hiny**                **haatsaa**            **irt'-is-eedda**  
 he.NOM            water.ABS        cool-CAUS-3MSS  
 ‘He cooled water.’

### Benchnoono (Rapoled, 2006: 286-287)

- 42a. **hàz-** ‘to throw’
- 42b. **hàz-ās** ‘to cause to throw’
- 43a. **ts'ál** ‘to walk, stride’
- 43b. **ts'áy-s** ‘[to cause to walk, stride]’
- 44a. **wòt** ‘to fall’
- 44b. **wót-s** ‘[to make fall]’
- 45a. **wòt'** ‘to kill’
- 45b. **wòt'-ās** ‘[to make kill]’
- 46a. **šābk'-n** □ ‘to spilit (int.)’
- 46b. **šābk'-š** ‘[to spilit (tr.)’

Neighboring languages such as Oromo, Sheko, Benchnoon, Kullo\* and Konta derive the causative verb by the suffixation of the form –s-. Sheko and Benchnoon



use causative morphemes such as **-us-** and **-as-** respectively. These forms are somewhat different from the **-issi-** form of Shakkinoonoo and Kafinoonoo. Kullo\*, Konta and Oromo employ the form **-is-** which is somewhat similar to the **-issi-** form since the vowel /i/ precedes the form **-s-**.

In conclusion, one may argue that **-issi-** /- **-ičči-**, in Kafanoono and Shakkinoonoo, is a retention of Proto Afro-Asiatic cognate; and that **-i-** is an innovated form. We argue that **-i-** is not an innovated form. But even if it were, it is not borrowed because it is not used in neighboring languages as a complete causative marking as such; it could very well be a retention since the vowel **-i-** is present in other Afro-Asiatic languages in the region. We argue that **-issi-** / **-ičči-** is a borrowed form from Oromo (and \*Kullo/Konta) because: Oromo is the only neighboring language that employs a geminated form of the causative **-s-** (see Tolemariam, 2009:12-13). Borrowed words from Oromo strengthen this claim. For instance the verb **yébb-á-** 'to climb on' in Shakkinoonoo is **yaabb-at-** in Oromo. This word has a different form in Kafinoonoo as **keč-i-**. The verb **mááčč-a-** 'to wash' in Shakkinoonoo is **mačč-** in Kafinoonoo and **miič' č'** in Oromo. The verb **bòòr-i-** 'become impure' in Shakkinoonoo is **boor-ah-** in Oromo but **kud-e-** in Kafinoonoo. Other possibly borrowed derivational morphemes from Oromo is also observed in Shakkinoonoo. For instance, in Shakkinoonoo verbs such as **bòòr-àt-à-** 'became impure' and **k'ann-at-a-** 'to be jealous' have the middle marking morpheme **-at-** of Oromo. The verb **miit'-am-** 'to be hurt' in Shakkinoonoo is expressed as **miid'-am-** in Oromo. This instance shows that the passive marking of Oromo is borrowed by Shakkinoonoo. Kafinoonoo does not have the **-at** derivation; nor the **-am**.

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