



Gender/Definiteness and Number in Kara

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to examine the noun inflection for gender/definiteness and number in the Kara language, which is spoken by approximately 1,000 people. The data for this study were collected using communicative events and elicitation. Kara nouns distinguish gender/definiteness and number. Kara has two-way gender distinctions for animates: the masculine and the feminine, and it is semantically motivated. Some inanimate Kara nouns are feminine by default, and some are masculine by default. The inanimate noun that is feminine by default may sometimes take the masculine gender marker to express smallness or less importance. On the contrary, an inanimate noun that is masculine by default may take the feminine gender marker to refer to largeness or more importance. One of the fascinating features of the Kara nouns is that it uses feminine gender to express augmentative value, but it uses masculine gender to express diminutive semantic value. The masculine and feminine gender are marked by the suffixes **-(t)a** and **-(to)no** respectively. Kara also uses different lexical items to denote feminine and masculine gender, and these lexical items or nouns particularly refer to human entities. Gender and definiteness markers are portmanteau in Kara; in other words, the gender markers mark both gender and definiteness simultaneously. Indefiniteness, contrary, is not morphologically marked. Unlike general nouns, the particular noun forms show the number distinction-. singular and plural. Both animate and inanimate nouns use the suffix **-na** or **-a** to mark plural numbers; however, the singular number is not morphologically marked. Besides, modifiers agree in number with their head.

Keywords: Gender, Number, Kara, Ethiopia

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the noun inflection for gender/definiteness and number in Kara which is the name of the language, the land, and the people. The Kara, one of the least studied people, live on the eastern banks of the Omo River in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Regional State of Ethiopia, particularly in South Omo Administrative Zone. The Kara people call themselves ‘Kara’, but the local government officials and the neighboring ethnic groups call them ‘Karo’ (Matsuda 1996:4). According to this author, Karo includes the Surmic people, Koegu, which are different both culturally and linguistically from the Kara; in this research, the researcher prefers to use Kara instead of Karo.

Kara is one of the Afro-Asiatic languages spoken in Ethiopia, and it is genetically classified under the Omotic family of the South Omotic subfamily together with Hamar-Banna, Ari, and Dime (Fleming 1976). . The Kara people call their language **Kara-appo** which means ‘mouth of the Kara’ (Gezehagn 1994). As the official website of Ethnologue, and the 2008 housing census of Ethiopia depict, the total population of the Kara-speaking community is about one thousand (1000); however, the informants claim that the total population of Kara is more than one thousand.

Kara is closely related to the South Omotic language groups, particularly to the Hamar language. According to Tsuge (1996), Blench (2006), and Moges (2015), Kara is closely related to Hamar and Banna. Tsuge (1996) found that there is phonemic correspondence among Aari, Hamar, Kara, and Dime languages, but his data reveals that the highest correspondence is between Hamar and Kara followed by Aari.

2. Noun inflection

Kara nouns contain a wide range of inflectional morphemes. The nouns are commonly inflected for number, gender, and case. They are also inflected for definiteness though gender and definiteness are inseparable in Kara. As the major objective of this study is to examine noun inflections for number and gender/definiteness, this paper focuses on the first two cases (number and gender/definiteness) of noun inflection in subsequent sections.

3. Gender

In most Omotic languages, gender is generally semantically motivated, i.e., gender is assigned according to the inherent gender of animate entities (Mulugeta 2008, and Hellenthal 2010). Similarly, gender in Kara often correlates with the biological gender of a person or animal. Hence, Kara has two-way gender distinctions: masculine and feminine. All naturally male animals are assigned masculine gender and all female animals are assigned feminine gender. Inanimate entities can also be classified as feminine and masculine. Some inanimate nouns are feminine by default, and some are masculine by default. However, the inanimate noun that is feminine by default may sometimes take the masculine gender marker to express smallness or less importance. On the contrary, an inanimate noun that is masculine by default may take the feminine gender marker to refer to largeness or more importance.

Unlike many Ethiopian languages, including closely related South Omotic languages such as Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Ari (Fekede 2011) in which feminine is used for diminutive and pejorative, in Kara, the feminine is used to denote big and major things (more important things); whereas masculine is used to denote small and minor things (less important things).

Gender markers are attached either to the citation form of the noun without dropping the terminal vowel or to the root of the noun (without a terminal vowel) though no regular rule has been found why they are attached in some cases to the root, and in others to the citation form of the noun. As Table (6) demonstrates the suffix **-(t)a** and **-(to)no** are used to mark the masculine and feminine, respectively.

1.	Stem nouns	Gloss	M and F nouns	Gloss
(a)	<i>Gaaja</i>	‘monkey’	<i>gaaji-ta</i> <i>gaaji-tono</i>	‘he monkey’ ‘she monkey’
(b)	<i>Waaki</i>	‘cattle’	<i>waak-a</i> <i>waŋ-ŋo</i>	‘ox’ ‘cow’
(c)	<i>k'uli</i>	‘goat’	<i>k'ul-ta</i> <i>k'ul-tono</i>	‘he goat’ ‘she goat’
(d)	<i>k'aski</i>	‘dog’	<i>k'ask-a</i> <i>k'aski-no</i>	‘he dog’ ‘bitch’
(e)	<i>Guduri</i>	‘hyena’	<i>gudur-ta</i> <i>gudur-tono</i>	‘he hyena’ ‘she hyena’
(f)	<i>Zobo</i>	‘lion’	<i>zob-ta</i> <i>zob-tono</i>	‘he lion’ lioness
(g)	<i>k'aara</i>	‘ape’	<i>k'aar-ta</i> <i>k'aar-tono</i>	‘he ape’ ‘she ape’
(h)	<i>Ooto</i>	‘calf’	<i>oot-a</i> <i>ooto-no</i>	‘bull’ ‘heifer’
(i)	<i>Doŋar</i>	‘elephant’	<i>doŋar-ta</i> <i>doŋar-tono</i>	‘he elephant’ ‘sheelephant’

As the majority of the examples in the above example show, the terminal vowel of noun stems is deleted before the masculine marker */-ta/* and the feminine marker */-tono/*. However, when the feminine marker */-no/* is used, the terminal vowel is not deleted as in 6 (d) and (h). The terminal vowels may sometimes change their form as in (6a) above, the terminal vowel (hereafter TV) */a/* in *gaaja* ‘monkey’ is changed to */i/* after suffixation.

The suffix *-s* is also used as a masculine marker in Kara. The same morpheme is used as a masculine marker in Ari, one of the South Omotic Languages (Fekede 2011). This morpheme, as far as the data on hand show, is used with nouns that end by the terminal vowel *-a* which retains even when we add the gender marker suffix. See the examples in (2):

2.	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Masculine form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	kariya	kariya-s	‘he bird’
	bird	bird-M	
	karaka:ra	kaara-s	‘he fish’
	fish	fish-M	
	parda	parda-s	‘he horse’
	horse	horse-M	
	ba:tfa	baatfa-s	‘the cock’
	cock	cock-M	

In Kara, demonstratives, and adjectives, in their singular form, are marked for gender. Demonstratives and adjectives agree in gender with the head noun as the following examples demonstrate:

3. (a) **ukul-ta s'iya-s geb-a naʔ-id-i-na**
 donkey-M black-M big-M come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The big black (he) donkey came’
- (b) **ε:j-a ka-a dzinka-bara naʔ-id-i-na**
 man-M DEM:PROX-M jinka-ABL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man came from Jinka’
4. (a) **ukul-tono s'iya-no geb-no naʔ-id-i-na**
 donkey-F black-F big-F come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The big black donkey came’
- (b) **naa-no ko-no dzinka-bara naʔ-id-i-na**
 Child-F DEM:PROX-F jinka-ABL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘This girl came from Jinka’

As can be seen in (3a), since the head noun *ukul-ta* ‘he donkey’ is masculine, the adjective that modifies the head noun, following the head noun ‘donkey’ is also inflected for masculine gender. On the contrary, the feminine gender marker is suffixed to the adjective in (9c) as the head noun is feminine in gender. The proximal demonstratives *ko-no* ‘this’ in (9b) and *ka-a* ‘this’ in (3b) are used to refer to nouns with feminine and masculine gender respectively. Similarly, the distal

demonstratives *ogo-no* ‘that’ and *aga-a* ‘that’ are also used to refer to feminine and masculine nouns respectively as in (5) below:

5. (a) **aga-a** **ukul-ta**
 DEM:DIST-M donkey-M
 ‘that he donkey’
- (b) **ogo-no** **ukul-tono**
 DEM:DIST-F donkey-F
 ‘that she donkey’

From the above examples, we can understand that the adjective and demonstrative concord help us to identify the gender of the noun which they modify.

The Kara language does not distinguish gender when the noun is in plural form. Similarly, the demonstratives and the adjectives do not mark gender when the head noun is plural. Look at the examples in (6) :

6. **mεε-na** **lama-na** **gudubi-na**
 woman-PL two-PL tall-PL
 ‘the two tall girls’

Kara also uses different lexical items to denote feminine and masculine gender, and these lexical items or nouns particularly refer to human entities.

7. **anza** ‘girl’
 ange ‘boy/male/husband’
 mεε ‘wife/woman/female’
 amba ‘father’
 abuyi ‘uncle’
 andakana ‘aunt’

As stated above, the default gender of the inanimate nouns can be either feminine or masculine, but the majority of Kara nouns are inflected for both feminine and masculine gender and vice-

versa. Nouns that are feminine by default can be inflected for masculine gender to designate Diminutiveness. The illustrative examples are presented as follows:

8. (a) **i=nante halpa-s-im im-ma**
 1SG-DAT knife-M-ACC give-IMP
 ‘Give me the knife (the small one)’
- (b) **i=nante halpa-n im-ma**
 1SG-DAT knife-F:ACC give-IMP
 ‘Give me the knife (the big one)’
9. (a) **i=nante sun-a-m im-ma**
 1SG-DAT stone-M-ACC give-IMP
 ‘Give the stone to me (the small one)’
- (b) **i=nante suni-n im-ma**
 1SG-DAT stone-F:ACC give-IMP
 ‘Give the stone to me (the big one)’
10. (a) **ko-no ɔɔno-no**
 DEM:PROX-F house-F
 ‘this house (the big one)’
- (b) **ka-a oon-a**
 DEM:PROX-M house-M
 ‘this house (small one)’

In examples (8a) and (9a) above, masculine is the default gender. According to my informants, the masculine gender is used with *halpa* ‘knife’ and *suuni* ‘stone’ unless their sizes of them are identified as ‘big’. When the size is identified as large or big, these nouns take the feminine marker *-no* as in 8(b) and 9(b). However, the noun *ɔɔno* ‘house’ is feminine by default but is marked as masculine when the size is recognized as small.

On the contrary, some of the inanimate nouns in Kara are inherently feminine and some are inherently masculine. Words such as ‘grass’, ‘sun’, ‘land’, ‘water’, ‘river’, and ‘sky’ are inherently feminine and cannot be inflected for masculine gender. ‘egg’, ‘tree’ and ‘mountain’

are some examples of inherently masculine inanimate nouns, and these nouns do not have a feminine counterpart. Below are some more examples:

11. **hak'a-s** **gemar-ta** **zara-na** **ki=do**
 tree-M mountain-M on-ADCL 3SGM-exist
 'The tree is on the mountain'
12. (a) **hayo-no** **tfoo-bara-na** **ko=ard-aj**
 Sun-F down-ABL-ADCL 3SGF-rise-IPF
 'The sun sets in the west'
- (b) **nunk'o-no** **ojida-na** '
 water-F hot-ADCL
 'The water is hot'

Many nouns also make gender distinction by using the modifiers **ange** 'boy/male' or **mɛɛ** 'women/female'. The former is used with masculine animate nouns, whereas the latter is used with feminine animate nouns. The word **anza** 'girl' can also be used with feminine nouns. For example, in Kara, the compound noun **indanana** refers to siblings. So, to clarify whether **indanana** refers to either 'brothers' or 'sisters', we need to use either **ange** or **mɛɛ** as in (13) below. We also use these modifiers when we portray an indefinite animate noun that is either masculine or feminine as in (14). The examples in (13) and (14) show the gender distinctions made with these modifiers:

13. (a) *inta* *ange-na* *indana-na* *lama-na-m* *hap-id-i-na*
 I boy-PL sibling-PL two-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'I saw my two brothers'
- (b) *inta* *anza-na* *indana-na* *lama-na-m* *hap-id-i-na*
 I girl-PL sibling-PL two-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'I saw my two sisters'
14. (a) *waaki* *mɛɛ* *kala* 'a cow'
 cattle female one
- (b) *waaki* *ange* *kala* 'an ox'
 cattle male one

The noun **waaki** in (14) is generic and indefinite; in such a case we use **mεε** ‘woman/female’ and **ange** ‘boy/male’ to identify the gender of the cattle.

4. Definiteness

One cannot speak about definiteness without mentioning gender, for the same morpheme is used as definiteness and gender marker. Thus, gender and definiteness markers are portmanteau in Kara; in other words, the gender markers mark both gender and definiteness simultaneously. Indefiniteness, on the other hand, is not morphologically marked. Some examples are given below:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 15. | (a) | εεj-a | | ‘the man’ |
| | (b) | εεdi (kala) | | ‘a man’ |
| 16. | (a) | εεsi-no | | ‘the woman’ |
| | (b) | mεε (kala) | | ‘a woman’ |
| 17. | (a) | ɟark'a-s | zawu-na | ‘The calabash (a small one) is red’ |
| | | calabash-M | red-ADCL | |
| | (b) | ɟark'a-no | zawu-na | ‘The calabash (large one) is red’ |
| | | Calabash-F | red-ADCL | |
| | (c) | ɟark'a | (kala) zawu-na | ‘A calabash is red’ |
| | | Calabash | one red-ADCL | |

The morphemes **-a** and **-s** in (15a) and (17a) indicate masculine gender and definiteness respectively. In (16a) and (17b), the suffix **-no** signifies femininity and definiteness. Conversely, as can be seen in (15b), (16b), and (17c) no morphological marker is used to indicate indefiniteness. What is the grammatical function of *kala* ‘one’ then?

Definiteness is not marked for nouns that are naturally masculine or feminine as the following examples depict:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------------|
| 18. | anza | ‘the girl/ a girl’ |
| | ange | ‘the boy/ a boy’ |

Similar to gender, definiteness is not marked when the noun is in plural form. See the examples in (19) below:

19. (a) **hak'a-na** **gebi-na-na** 'The trees are big'
 tree-PL big-PL-ADCL
- (b) **ε:-na** **gebi-na** 'The tall men'
 man-PL tall-PL
- wəŋ-ŋa** **s'ija-na** 'The black oxen/cows'
 cow/ox-PL black-PL
- (c) **inta** **parda-na** **hap-id-i-na**
 I horse-PL see-PF-PST-ADCL 'I saw horses'

Indefinite nouns are not morphologically marked in Kara. Kara nouns are classified as generic and particular and only the particular forms are marked for gender, number, and definiteness (Alemgena 2018). Gender is marked when the noun is definite, but when the noun is indefinite, the citation or generic form is used. Below are illustrative examples :

20. (a) **εεdi** 'man'
 mε: s'e:di 'short woman'
 εεdi gebi 'tall man'
- (b) **no** **mεε** **gebi** **hap-id-i-na**
 he woman tall see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'He saw a tall woman'
- (c) **no** **εεdi** **gebi** **hap-id-i-na**
 he man tall see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'He saw a tall man'

As shown in example (21) below, when the noun is indefinite, the generic form of the noun can be used along with the numeral **kala** 'one' which is optional.

21. (a) **hurro** **(kala)** **nunk'o** **wutj' -id-i-na**
 cat one water drink-PF-PST-ADCL
 'A cat drank water '
- (b) **k'aski (kala)** **kariya (kala)** **des-id-i-na**

dog one bird one kill- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘A dog killed a bird’

5. Number

As stated above Kara nouns are classified as general and particular. The particular forms specify gender, number, and size, whereas the general forms are non-specific. Accordingly, only the particular forms show the number distinction in Kara. A Two-way number distinction, singular, and plural, is attested in Kara. Both animate and inanimate nouns use the suffix **-na** or **-a** to mark plural numbers; however, the singular number is not morphologically marked, and this seems common among all South Omotic languages such as Dime (Mulugeta 2008), Ari (Fekede 2011), and Hamar (Lydall 1986 and Andreas 2011).

The plural suffix **-na**, as the examples in Table (22) depict, can be directly attached to the generic or citation form of the noun:

22.	karija	‘bird’	karija-na	‘birds’
	anza	‘girl’	anza-na	‘girls’
	guno	‘snake’	guno-na	‘snakes’
	ɔ:no	‘house’	ɔ:no -na	‘houses’
	ange	‘male’	ange-na	‘males’
	atsi	‘tooth’	atsi-na	‘teeth’
	mɛ:	‘woman’	mɛ:-na	‘women’
	a:n	‘hand’	a:ni-na	‘hands’

As can be seen from examples in (22) above, the majority of Kara nouns are pluralized by suffixing the plural marker **-na** to the basic (citation) form of the nouns. In the last example **aani-na** ‘hands, the high front vowel **i** is inserted as geminated **n** is not attested in Kara (Alemgena 2018). However, in some instances the plural marker, as shown in Table (23) below, is attached to the root, but no regular rule has been found to account for the fact that suffixes are attached in some cases to the root and other cases to the citation form of the noun.

23.	naasa	‘boy’	naa-na	‘children’
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naano	‘girl’	naa-na	‘children’
ijeti	‘sheep’	ije-na	‘sheep’
uutini	‘rat’	uuti-na	‘rats’

In Kara, when the last consonant of a noun that immediately comes before the terminal vowel is a liquid, the terminal vowel is omitted and the suffix **-a** is used instead of **-na** to change the singular noun to its plural form. Look at the illustrative examples given in (24):

24. (a) **k'uli** ‘goat’ **k'ul-a** ‘goats’
 (b) **ukuli** ‘donkey’ **ukul-a** ‘donkeys’
 (c) **guduri** ‘hyena’ **gudur-a** ‘hyenas’

As can be seen in example (24a-c) the terminal vowels following the liquid consonants, /l/ and /r/ in this case, are omitted. The plural suffix **-a** appears immediately after the liquids.

Kara nouns that end by a liquid consonant /r/ or /l/ also take **-a** instead of **-na** as a plural marker as shown in (25) below:

25. **gemar** ‘mountain’ **gemar-a** ‘mountains’
dɔŋar ‘elephant’ **dɔŋar-a** ‘elephants’
gɔɔl ‘married woman’ **gɔɔl-a** ‘married women’
hamar ‘Hamar person’ **hamar-a** ‘several hamar’

Modifiers of nouns like the numerals and adjectives, which usually come after the head noun, agree in number with their head nouns. Thus, singular head nouns require singular modifiers, and plural head nouns require a plural form of the modifiers. Illustrative examples are provided below:

26. (a) **anza-na** **lama-na** **gob-te-na** **kɛ=do**
 grl-PL two-PL run-PORG 3PL-exist
 ‘The two girls are running’
 (b) **laale** **diibi-na** **lama-na-m** **hap-id-i-na**
 lale thief-PL two-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Lale saw the two thieves’
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27. (a) **no** **waŋ-ŋa** **s'ija-na-m** **hap-id-i-na**
 3SGM ox-PL black-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'He saw the black oxen'
- (b) **na** **εε-na** **gudubi-na-m** **hap-id-i-na**
 3SGF man-PL tall-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'She saw the tall men'

The numeral **lama** 'two' and the adjectives **s'ija** 'black' and **gudubi** 'tall' are pluralized in the above cases to agree with the heads of the noun phrases: **anzan-na** 'girls', **diib-na** 'thieves', **waŋ-ŋa** 'oxen' and **εε-na** 'men' respectively.

According to Lydall (1986), Hamar has two kinds of plural, particular plural and global or general plural. She states that the particular plural refers to several instances of the particular noun; whereas the global or general plural refers to the item considered as a whole. A similar pluralization system is observed in Kara. The plural marker **-na** is used to show several cases of the particular nouns, for example, **kaara-na** refers to 'several Karas', not all Karas; to refer to the whole Kara people, we need to use the gender marking suffix **-no**. so, **kaara-no** has the meaning 'all Kaara'. More examples are provided as follows:

28. (a) **mursa-na** 'Mursis'
 (b) **murso-no** 'all Mursis'
29. (a) **hamar-a** 'Hamars'
 (b) **hamar-ro** 'all Hamars'
30. (a) **haami-na** 'farm lands'
 (b) **haami-no** 'all farm lands'
31. (a) **εε-na** 'men'
 (b) **εεdi-no** 'all men'

The Kara people call **Mursi** as **Murso**; thus in (28 a) the terminate vowel /o/ is changed to /a/ to harmonize with the vowel of the plural suffix /-na/. In (29b), the alveolar nasal consonant /n/ of **-no** is totally assimilated to /r/ and becomes **-ro**. The meaning of the suffix **-no** is complex in Kara unless we use context since it is used to indicate singular feminine gender or general plural.

6. Summary

Gender is a salient property of nominals in Kara. In Kara, gender is expressed obligatorily when the noun is made definite, but the indefinite nouns are not morphologically marked for gender. However, we can use modifiers along with the generic form of the animate nouns to identify the gender of the noun. From these points, one can infer that the gender markers in Kara are also definiteness markers.

In Kara, masculinity is indicated by suffixes: **-ta**, or **-a**, or **-s**. The masculine gender marker **-s** is suffixed to nouns with the terminal vowel **a**. In this language, masculinity is used not only to signify male sex but it is also used to connote infrequently used or found, small, minor, seldom found items in inanimate nouns. The masculine markers also show singularity in animate nouns. Unlike many Ethiopian languages and closely related languages such as Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Ari (Fekede 2011), masculinity is associated with smallness, less frequently used items, and less important things. Femininity, on the other hand, is expressed by suffixes: **-tono** or **-no**. The feminine gender markers, in Kara, designate female sex and singularity in animate nouns, but in inanimate nouns, these morphemes are used to indicate items which are frequently used or found, large in size or quantity. They also show a common place or a group. Furthermore, the feminine marker **-no** is used to specify the item considered as a whole or all cases of an item. In contrast to masculinity, femininity is associated with big size, more frequent, and very important things. Thus, the masculine gender marker is used to express diminutiveness whereas the feminine gender is used to express augmentative in Kara, and the same holds in Hamar, a very closely related South Omotic Language (Lydall 1976 and 1986).

In general, Kara has a two-way distinction between number: singular, and plural. The plural number is further classified into two; the particular plural and the general plural. The particular plural refers to several cases of the object or item, whilst the general plural refers to all of the items as a whole. Another interesting point about the number system in Kara is that the modifiers agree in number and gender with the head noun. Adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives that might come following or preceding the head of the noun phrase become singular or plural based on the number of the head noun; they become singular if the head noun is in singular form and plural if the head noun is in plural form. Hence, it is the head of the noun phrase that governs the number of modifiers that modify the head.

List of Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular
3PL	third person plural
3SGF	third person singular feminine
3SGM	third person singular masculine
ABL	Ablative marker
ACC	accusative
ADCL	affirmative declarative
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
F	Feminine
IMP	imperative
IPF	imperfective marker
M	masculine
PF	perfective marker
PL	plural marker
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PST	past tense marker
TV	terminal vowel
=	clitic ???

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