NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN KAMBAATA

BY

TESSEMA WACHEMO

A Linguistic Project submitted to the Graduate School in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

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March, 2003

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN KAMBAATA

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other College or University for academic credit.

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed)

Tessema Wachemo

March, 2003

ABSTRACT

In this work my concern is to describe some linguistic expressions of causation and a useful starting point of the causative construction situation or event as a whole in Kambaata. This description is being thought as it has its own place in Bible Translation.

In order to accomplish this study I have come up with four main chapters, the fifth chapter is the conclusion. Chapter one mainly deals with the general background of the Kambaata people group and overall information on the language described and the methodology used in this work. The second chapter has to do with the general information of the verbal categorization in relation to suffixation. The third chapter deals with the actual causative constructions in Kambaata. Chapter four describes how causatives can be applied in discourse.

The findings reveal that Kambaata makes use of quite a number of causative constructions that occur even in the discourse. The evidence is given by the Kambaata text in the appendix.

My parents for their deep love for me and for my wife Amarech Ayele whose support has enabled me to finish this work

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am very grateful to the Almighty God for enabling me to complete this work. I have no words to express His sufficient grace in every aspect of my life and my family's life during our study time. Glory be to Him.

I was planning to work on a different topic, however, by the advice of Margaret Sim I have decided to describe causative constructions in Kambaata. I am therefore, grateful to Mrs. Sim for having enabled me to explore this new area and for her continual assessment and correction as far as the description of my language (Kambaata) is concerned. My advisor, Dr. George L. Huttar, whose encouragement, comment and time made it possible for me to complete this work, I thank him from deep down my heart for his concern and love. My appreciation goes to Dr. Ronnie Sim, for his special contribution in this work.

I also want to express heartfelt gratitude to the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) for having sponsored my studies at NEGST. I also extend my appreciation to the Ethiopian Kale Heywot Church central office to the joint effort that has been made with SIL and their continual prayer and encouragement until the completion of my studies at NEGST.

My appreciation is so great for my wife, Amarech Ayele, who has played a very significant role in each and every aspect of the course and the success of my studies.

Thanks to Gijs van de Kolk and his family for their continual prayer, encouragement and the foundation that they have built as monument in my life.

Finally, I am indebted to many friends and relatives here at Nairobi and at a distance (Ethiopia), and whom I cannot name individually.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1sg 1st person singular

1pl 1st person plural

2sg 2nd person singular

2pl 2nd person plural

3sgfem/pl 3rd person singular feminine/plural

3sgmasc 3rd person singular masculine

Abs Absolutive

Cs Causative

Dat Dative

HEC Highland East Cushitic

Imprf Imperfect

Inf Infinitive

Neg Negative

Nom Nominative

NP Noun phrase

Poss possessive

Prsprf Present perfect

Ps Passive

QM Question marker

Smprf Simple perfect

SOV Subject-object-verb

INTRODUCTION

One of the reasons for this linguistic project is to portray the morphological as well as semantic features of causative constructions in Kambaata. As far as I know this area has not yet been explored in detail by any of the people who have carried out previous work on the language. So there is no doubt of its importance in relation to other linguistic works on the language.

In describing these major grammatical categories one of the things which I describe is the verbal categories in regard to person, gender and number markers and as a whole suffixation on the given verb. In Chapter One the general background of the Kambaata people and their language are described. Chapter Two deals with the description of verbs in Kambaata. Then Chapter Three describes the processes of causatives. Finally, I will describe how causatives can be applied in discourse.

In writing this work I use some signals for marking glottal and ejectives. For glottal stop I use /?/ and I use apostrophe to signal the ejective sounds.

Chapter One

1. The Description of the Kambaata People

1.1 Location and the population

The Kambaata community lives in the southeastern part of Ethiopia about 330 kilometers from Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. The area is found between the River Omo in the west and the River Bilate in the east (see map p.45). With the new administration policy of the country the area is known as Kambaata, Alaba, Tambaaro (KAATA) zone. Durame is the main town.

Originally the Kambaata peoples, in a general sense were and are, peasants. They are well known for their skilled techniques of farming. Besides all kinds of crops and grains growing the *ensete* plant is of special interest of the people. Because of this the Kambaata people have been able to survive in times of need and famine.

Before the missionaries came into the area there was very little literacy done. This little teaching was done by the Ethiopian Orthodox church in Amharic and its emphasis was to enable people to read the Scripture. However, nowadays in this densely populated area education is extensive and this has led many young people to seek employment elsewhere in the country. As a result today many educated and non-educated Kambaata people are widespread in some parts of the country, for example to the northeast on the Mathahara (one of the government's) sugar plantation. Today Kambaata farmers are producing oranges and sugar for the Ethiopian market.

According to Grimes (2000, 114) the number of mother-tongue speakers is about 606,241 including 487,655 Kambaatas. Tambaro is a dialect of Kambaata while Alaba most closely, Sidamo, Libido, and Haddiyya are related languages.

Grenstedt (2000, 41) pointed out that the name Kambaata is first referred to in a song of praise in honour of Emperor Yeshak (1414-29). He annexed Kambaata, which as a province of the Christian Ethiopian Empire then designated an area between the Rivers Omo and Bilate (see map p.45)

1.2 Language

The Kambaata language belongs to the Afro-Asiatic language family, and is a Cushitic language of Ethiopia. Linguists refer to these languages as Highland East Cushitic (HEC) languages (see map p 46). Typologically, it is SOV; it has passive, bnefactive and causative verbs and subject and object are marked on the verbs, with suffixes distinguishing person, number and gender.

1.2.1 Phonology

1.2.2 Kambaata Orthography

Kambaata has traditionally been written in the Ethiopic script (fidal), but in recent literacy activities has been written in Latin script particularly for primary education materials. For this work I will be using a Latin one that is easier to read and write in comparison to the newly developed Latin script.

1.2.3 Morphology and Syntax

Kambaata has suffix systems in the verbs for person, aspect and other pragmatic and syntactic functions. As mentioned above, basic constituent order is SOV: that is, the subject precedes direct and indirect objects, which in turn precede the verb. However, in some cases the word order is flexible. Sentences with order other than SOV differ primarily in the relative positions of the verb. Kambaata is rigorous in marking number and gender agreement.

1.3 Previous works

Hudson listed the following previous works on HEC languages in an updated bibliography on 25th June 2002 on the internet web page http://www.msu.edu/~hudson/HEC refs.htm. The morphophonemics of five Highland East Cushitic languages including Burji by Abebe, Sim, and Wedekind (1985), an analysis of Kambaata proverbs by Berhanu (1986), the Highland Cushitic hypothesis and HEC Dictionary by Hudson (1988 and 1989 respectively), a dialect study of Kambaata-Hadiyya parts1-2 by Korhonen Saksa, and R. Sim (1986), first notes and additional notes on Kambaata by Leslau (1952, 1956), the syntactic analysis of simple affirmative in Kambaata by Markos (1986), palatalization and gemination in the Kambaata verb by M. Sim (1988), the diachronic derivation of the verb in northern Highland East Cushitic by R. Sim (1988a), and Kambaata folktales by Abbute (1984). Since all these lists are found from Hudson's web site I have no idea which ones deal with causatives, or that none of them does. According to Sim's comment he is also not sure about it.

Besides these works the Kambaata New Testament was dedicated in 1992. As I mentioned earlier, after many years, in 1991 the country embraced a policy of multilingual education. As a result elementary education has been started in Kambaata and educational materials have been prepared in Kambaata in the Latin script.

Causatives have been treated by many linguists; in this work I have consulted Comrie (1985, 1989), Murrell (2000), Palmer (1994), and Payne (1997). In my description I have basically followed Payne's model, including his idea of causatives described with the following construction:

Cause (x, p) = x causes p.

Methodology

The data which are used for this work were collected from several sources: myself and my wife, since we are Kambaata native speakers, and some other Kambaata native speakers who kindly provided stories and some texts that I recorded.

Chapter Two

Since causative is mostly expressed with verbs, before I proceed to its construction I would like to discuss some parts of the verbal categories in order to simplify the description of causatives in the Kambaata language. I know the issues which are going to be discussed in this chapter as they are discussed by Sim and other linguists some years back. Since the typical Kambaata verb categories like aspect, voice, person, number, gender and negation can be signaled including causative marker in a final verb of a clause, I think it is necessary to make a few background notes about this matter. Almost all of them occur in causative constructions.

2.1 Simple Clause

A simple clause in Kambaata is made up of a noun in the subject position followed by the verb. However, the absence of subjects in the sentences is common, but since person and number agreement is required, these forms are derived from sentences with underlying subjects. Examples (1 and 2) may be reduced to the verb alone since person and number are carried in verbal affixes. In other words a verb alone can be a sentence since person and number agreement is carried in it. As is stated by Givón (1984, 361), 'diachronically, pronouns provide a major source of agreement morphology, progressing from full pronouns to clitics to inflections.'

1. Ch'ilu wall-o

child come-Smprf

'The child came'

2. Ch'ilat wal-t-o

children

come-3pl/sgfem-Smprf

'The children came'

3. Wal-t-o

come-3sgfem/pl-Smprf

'she/they came'

With transitive verbs the object of a noun phrase occurs between the subject and final verb and this gives the subject object verb constituent order typology.

4. Manchu lalu hirr-o

man cows sell-Smprf

'The man sold cows'

The verb is complex, consisting of a stem and a number of suffixes. A stem is followed by a suffix that indicates subject person, number, gender and aspect. This is illustrated by Sim (1986, 438). In addition to this some markers can be found two times in a verb for certain persons. Sim marked them in the following way:

person Aspect person Aspect

Root - - - -

marker 1 vowel 1 marker 2 vowel 2

2.2 Person

Kambaata verbs carry person-marking affixes, both subject and object. These person markers usually have first, second and third person distinctions. The person affix is zero for third person masculine. First person singular is marked by -m, first person plural -nn with additional marker -m, and second person singular and plural -t and -nt respectively. Third person feminine and third person plural have the same person marker -t. In addition to this there is a third person polite/respect form which is suffixed by -ma. As I have mentioned earlier the person markers can be found two times in a verb for certain persons. To be sure, the stem for 'come' is still wall but the ll is assimilated before 1 of stem wall is assimilated before -t in 2 sg, 2 pl, 3 sg and 3 pl. In short wal + n = wann.

5. wall-o-m

come-Smprf-1sg

wann-o-m

come-Smprf-1pl

wal-t-o-nt

come-2sg-Smprf-2sg

wal-t-ee-nta

come-2-Smprf-2pl

wall-o

come-Smprf-ø (3sg masc)

wal-t-o

come-3femsg/pl-Smprf

wall-e-ma

come-Smprf-3pl polite

2.3 Number

Number in verbal suffixes is only differentiated in connection with pronouns and human nouns. Third person singular masculine has no overt suffix (i.e. is zero-marked).

6. Sg 1st k'ell-o-m 'I won' an 2^{nd} k'el-t-o-nt 'you won' at 3rd iss k'ell-o 'he won' 3rd fem.isse k'el-t-o 'she won' P1 1st na?ot k'enn-o-m 'we won' 2nd a?no?ot k'el-t-ee-nta 'you won' 3rd isso?ot k'el-t-o 'they won'

Wall and wann in (5), and k'ell and k'enn in (6), are not different morphemes; see what is explained in 2.2.

2.4 Gender

Gender in verbs is significant only in third person singular, where masculine and feminine contrast. The feminine aligns with the *t* of second person and third person plural rather than third person singular masculine. Unless the pronoun is prefixed in a sentence Kambaata does not follow through in differentiating feminine in third person plural.

(Agreement in gender within the NP is also common, for instance adjectives may agree with their head noun in gender.

7.a haro-ha

kamela

new-Sg.masc

car

'a new car'

b. haro-ta

kamel-chu

new-Sgfem

car-Sgfem

'a new car'

The adjective selects its form according to the noun, because in 7a. it takes -ha and this shows the noun kamela 'car' is of masculine gender. In 7b. it takes -ta because the alternative word for 'car' kamelchu agrees with the suffix -ta feminine marker.)

Agreement in the person, gender and number categories between subject and verb is rigorous. Let's consider the following example:

8. ga?ta

dikuta

a?no?ot

mar-ten-a-n-indo

tomorrow

market

you pl

go-2pl-Imp-2-Qm

'will you go to the market tomorrow?'

9. ga?ta

dikuta

a?no?ot

*mar-t-a-n-indo

tomorrow

market

you pl

go-2sg-Imp-2-Qm

2.5 Aspect

The aspect system in verbs in Kambaata is based on a perfect or imperfect dichotomy. As has been discussed by Sim (1986,433ff.) Kambaata has three aspects: imperfect marked by -a, simple perfect marked by -o (-ee 2nd pl), and present perfect marked by -e.

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2.6 Voice

In Kambaata passive voice is the most frequent voice affix, especially in narrative discourse. It brings the recipient of the action or the undergoer into prominence and deemphasizes the agent or actor of the verb. It is signaled by -am suffixed to the verb.

10 a. Manchu kinu torr-e?i

man stone throw-3sg

'The man threw the stone'

b. Kinu (manch-in) torr-am-o

stone (man-with) throw-ps-Smprf

'The stone was thrown (by the man)'

c. Kinu torr-am-unta ass-e?i

stone throw-Ps-Inf make-3sg

'He made the stone to be thrown.'

2.7 Negation

Kambaata has bound morphemes which negate the entire proposition. These morphemes are marked with the verb and nouns without changing its form. We have two kinds of negation markers; -ba?a is used with declaratives, and -ot and -ka with imperatives. Like the negative pronouns and quantifiers the negative morphemes may come two times in a causative sentence. To make the idea clear the adverb itself and the morpheme -ba?a, which is suffixed to the verb, occur.

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11. met'u-ba?a soh-sis-a-n-si-ba?a

no where send-Cs-Imp-1sg-3sg-Neg

'I will not make him to be sent anywhere.'

Chapter three

3.1 Definition of Causatives

Many languages have grammatical or semi-grammatical devices for expressing the general notion of causing someone to perform a certain action, and the devices are referred to as causatives. Payne (1997, 176) describes causative as a linguistic expression that contains in semantic/logical structure a predicate of cause, one argument of which is a predicate expressing an effect. And its construction can be symbolized as cause (x, p) = x causes p.

When we are talking about causative constructions two things that we are dealing with are causee and causer. The causee is an agent of the caused event or the one being made to do something. In other words it gives a new argument that represents the notional causee, which can be considered as having the semantic role of agent. On the other hand the causer is the agent of the predicate of cause, the one making the other (the causee) do something.

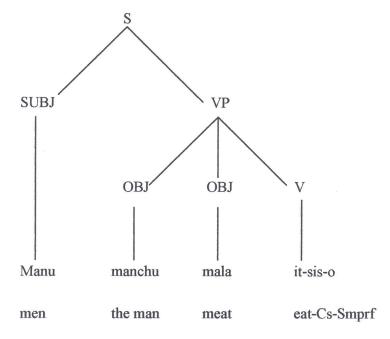
Generally, it is referred to as the agent of cause. Generally, causative constructions are thus valence-increasing, because of the addition of the causer into the sentence. Let's see the following examples:

- 12. Manch-u hogga?-o
 the man-Nom cultivate-Smprf
 'The man cultivated'
- 13. Man-u manch-u hogga-sis-o.

 the men-Nom the man-Abs cultivate-Cs-Smprf.

'The men made the man cultivate'

In examples (12 and 13) the subjects of the sentences are different. The subject in (12), the man is demoted to the object position before the verb in (13) in the causative sentence, and a new subject, *manu*, is added. This shows the valence increase, in a causative based on the transitive sentence. As Givón pointed out in embedding languages, these structures are broadly patterned on switch subject complementation of manipulative verbs (make, cause, force, let etc.) (1995, 283). In SOV languages, the main causative verb in switch subject complementation always winds up adjacent to the complement verb. From the below example adapted from Givón what we observe is a complex bi-transitive verb with two objects, one the causee, the other the patient, of 'eat'.



'The men made/caused/forced the man to eat the meat'

3.2 Formation of Causatives

Comrie (1985, 331) pointed out three ways in which causatives are formed. These three basic ways are termed analytic (or syntactic), morphological (or synthetic), and lexical (331).

3.2.1 Lexical Causatives

As far as my knowledge is concerned formation of lexical causative constructions in Kambaata is very little in comparison to morphological and analytic. However, for the sake of this paper I would like to mention briefly what lexical causatives all are about. Payne mentioned three subtypes of lexical causatives and in each case the notion of cause is wrapped up in the lexical meaning of the verb itself. Out of these three subtypes of lexical causatives Kambaata fits only to the second and third types of construction. Let's consider them in the following examples:

3.2.1.1 some idiosyncratic change in verb

14 a. hak'uchu ubb-o

the tree fell-Smprf

'the tree fell.' (Non-causative)

b. Matewos hak'uchu ujje

Matthew the tree felled

'Matthew felled the tree.' (Causative)

3.2.1.2 different verb

15 a. Manchu rehe

the man died

'the man died' (Non-causative)

b. Mark'os manchu she?i

Mark the man killed

'Mark killed the man' (Causative)

3.2.2 Morphological Causatives

Morphological causatives are very common in Kambaata. The marker of the causative immediately follows the verb stem. Its form is signaled by -si; however, this causative marker precedes -sh with 1^{st} person singular and 3^{rd} person singular masculine only with simple perfect and present perfect tense which is triggered by -joom of suffix. In other words s+j=sh whereas with other tenses and persons this -si causative marker precedes -s in all cases which is equivalent to person marker. But in the following work I use sish and sis as causative markers without referring to any person marker for -sh and -s respectively.

16. an marr-o-m

I go-Smprf-1sg

'I went'

17. iss-u mar-sish-o-m

he-Abs go-Cs-Smprf-1sg

'I made him go'

18. an marr-a-m

I go-Imp-1sg

'I will/go'

19. iss-u

mar-sis-a-m

he-Abs

go-Cs-Imp-1sg

'I will/make him go'

In a causative construction the causee sometimes is direct object, and sometimes indirect object. Basically this can be distinguished by case markers in the following examples of morphological causatives of intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. In Kambaata causative constructions one of the things which needs to be addressed is the case marking system. As Sim (1989, 115) pointed out in common with other studies of Cushitic languages case declensions considered to be confined to marking a four-term absolutive, nominative, dative and genitive system, by means of a simple vowel suffix. In some cases the embedded subject is demoted to the other position with the different case marker. So the embedded subject of the causative of an intransitive verb always turns up as a direct object, that of the causative of a transitive verb with much greater than chance frequency as an indirect object. According to Sim (1989, 110) in relation to the grammatical case marking the citative form is the absolutive, most Cushiticists avoiding the term accusative for several reasons. In addition to this Sim pointed out that for proto-Cushitic absolute case was marked by *-a. In Kambaata nominative is marked -u and -o. The absolutive occurs with final a, u or i vowel. Sometimes the absolutive also occur with final e vowel especially when the subject has ø marker. In this case the absolutive and dative are differed only with stress and its context. The dative case suffixed -eba, -iba, -i and -iin to the noun stem. Let's see how the embedded subject of the

causative of an intransitive verb turns up as a direct object, and how that of the causative of a transitive verb as indirect object.

Intransitive

20. addab-o mann-a k'orab-o

the boy-Nom men-Abs people wait-Smprf.

'The boy waited for men'

21. mann-u addab-a k'orab-sis-o

the men-Nom boy-Abs wait-Cs-Smprf.

'The men made the boy wait'

As I have mentioned the subject of the basic verb 'wait' in (20) *addabo* is expressed as a direct object in the causative version in (21). This sentence means something like *mannu* forced *addaba* to wait.

Transitive

22. ch'il-u muz-a ich-o

child-Nom banana-Abs eat-Smprf

'The child ate banana'

23. a?nn-u ch'il-i muz-a it-sish-o

father-Nom child-Dat banana-Abs eat-Cs-Smprf.

'The father made the child eat the banana'

Here with transitive the prediction is that the subject in (22) is demoted to the status of indirect object in (23) by taking the form of dative case. From my own intuition in example

(21) I can see a direct physical action on the part of the causer, while in example (23) the clause involves more removed, a direct control in other words it has less direct causation.

Ditransitive

- 24. Yohannes-ø Markos-e dabdabet-a t'af-o

 John-Nom Mark-Dat letter-Abs write-Smprf

 'John wrote a letter to Mark'
- 25. Marta-ø Yohannes-e Mark'os-e dabdabet-a t'af-sis-o
 Martha-Nom John-Abs Mark-Dat letter-Abs write-Cs-Smprf.

'Martha made John write a letter to Mark'

In the above example (25) with ditransitive the direct object *Yohannese* and the indirect object *Mark'ose*, even though they have the same case marker, can be distinguished only from the context, since in Kambaata word order is flexible in both indirect and direct object so it does no part in guiding the hearer's interpretation except the stress and the context.

3.2.3 Analytic (syntactic) Causatives

One of the differences between the morphological and analytic causative formations is that the analytic causative contains two verb forms either of which may be modified adverbially, whereas the morphological causative contains only one. Mostly the analytic causative is with a separate causative verb, the second verb. This causative verb carries subject, tense, and object causee. This separate causative verb occurs with intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. Especially, the causative verb ass, 'to make', 'to force' is the most semantically neutral verb in Kambaata analytic causatives, whereas ka?l, 'to help', kul, 'to tell' and amans, 'to persuade' are the other types of verb, semantically less neutral, in analytic causatives.

As I have said earlier causatives are characterized by an increase in the number of object nouns marked by the absolutive or dative case and an associated increase in the number of causative -si suffixes in morphological and ass 'make/force' in analytic attached to the verb. In describing causatives if the verb allows no objects, i.e. is intransitive, then with the analytic causative marker ass a new subject is added and the old subject becomes direct object. In transitive the verb allows an object which refers back to the main object of the clause, then a new subject is added and the causee becomes a second object in absolutive case.

Intransitive

26. mentichut-ø

ilt-o

the woman-Nom

give birth-Smprf

'The woman gave birth'

27. hakinch-u

mentichut-a

ilt-unta

kale?i

the doctor-Nom

the woman-Abs

give birth-Inf

help

'The doctor helped the woman to give birth'

Transitive

28. Marta-ø

oddat-a

ansh-t-o

Martha-Nom

dishes-Abs

wash-3sgfem/pl-Smprf

'Martha washed the dishes'

29. Iss

Marta- (ø)

oddat-a

ansh-t-unta

ass-e-e?i

he

Martha-Abs

dishes-Abs

wash-3sgfem-Inf

make-Prsprf-3sgmasc

'He made (forced) Martha to wash the dishes'

Ditransitive

- 30. Dawit-ø messel-e giz-a aass-e?i.

 David a girl-Abs money-Abs give-3sgmasc

 'David gave a girl money'
- 31. Addis-ø Dawit-e messel-e giz-a aass-unta-se ass-e-s

 Addis-Nom David-Abs to the girl-Dat money-Abs give-Inf-3sgfem make-Prsprf-2sg

 'Addis made David give the money to the girl'

As is discussed in 3.2.2 both absolutive and dative use e to describe the direct and indirect object respectively. In example (30) the dative marker in *mesele* has a construction which permits a benefactive to occur as the underger in the absolutive case.

3.3 Double Causatives

As I have tried to portray the formation of causatives in three ways it seems the construction of causatives is complex. In this topic I will be describing some constructions that have double, and some triple, causative marking. In double causatives there are two forms of causatives. They use a specific verb of causation, e.g. the verb *ass* 'to make', and suffixe causative marker *-si*, thus combining analytic and morphological marking.

Let's look at some examples:

32. an Amarech-e dabdabet-a t'af-unta ass-e-m

I Amarceh-Abs letter-Abs write-Inf make-Prsprf-1sg

'I made Amarech write a letter'

33. an Amarech-e Samuel-ø dabdabet-a t'af-unta ass-sish-o-m

I Amarech-Abs Samuel-Abs letter-Abs write-Inf make-Cs-Smprf-1sg

'I made Amarech make Samuel to write a letter'

From the above example (33) the subject *an* 'I' primarily caused *Amarech* to cause someone (*Samuel*) to do something (*dabdabeta t'afunta*) 'to write a letter'.

In addition to this the number of participants in single event in (32) and double causatives (33) determine the action of the event. In single and double causatives the speaker and the hearer can identify what the event is and by whom it is being done. In the above example the double marking signals another causee that is *amarech*, the intermediate person who is causee in relation to the agent *an* and causer in relation to *samuel*. This addition of another causee seems to me to always be the case with double marking of causatives. The intermediate causer/causee need not be mentioned, its presence being implied by the double causative marking on the verb. This is illustrated in the following ways:

34. an ch'il-a azut-a agg-unta ass-e-m

I the child-Abs milk-Abs drink-Inf make-Prsprf-1sg
'I made the child drink milk'

35. an ch'il-a azut-a agg-unta ass-sish-o-m

I the child-Abs milk-Abs drink-Inf make-Cs-Smprf-1sg

'I made someone make the child drink the milk'

In example (34) the idea suggests that the child was forced to drink milk against his will, while in (35), even though there is the idea of forcing to do something by someone, generally the events more closely seem to be for the child's sake that the milk is being offered to him by someone.

Generally, in this double causative construction especially the verb *ass* 'to make' in analytic causative is combined with morphological causative by suffixing another causative marker in itself. As we have seen earlier this seems to make a difference in meaning, especially from the point of the intermediate causee in example (33) *amarech*.

It is possible to add another causative extension on verbs besides double causatives even though this does not give a new meaning different than example (34); the difference is only in form, the addition of a third causative extension. Perhaps because of the appearance of three causative markers we may call it triple causatives. Let's consider the following example:

36. Mentichut-ø betus-e ollechus-e odishat-a ansh-sis-unta ass-sis-o women-Nom daughter-poss neighbor-poss clothes-Abs wash-Cs-Inf make-Cs-Smprf.

'The woman made her daughter make her neighbor wash the clothes'

From this form we may use it to show someone making someone make someone else do something. And it is an alternative expression of example (35); however, in this case it uses analytic and two morphological causatives. So the order of *mentichut*, *betuse* and *ollechuse* make their respective roles as causers and causes clear. In short from the context itself it is very obvious that *mentichut* is making *betuse* because of the causative construction at the end of the sentence *ass-sis-o* which refers back to she/they caused. At the same time *betuse* is the one causing *ollechuse* to wash the clothes by the reinforcement of *mentichut*.

3.4 Direct and Indirect Causation

Payne (1997, 181) describes the relationship between structural integration and conceptual integration between cause and effect. Within conceptual integration he refers to how integrated or "close" the cause and effect are in the message world whereas in structural integration he refers to how integrated the element expressing the cause and the element expressing the effect are in the causative construction. My primary concern at this point is

with the conceptual integration. According to Payne this conceptual integration is commonly described in terms of the distinction between direct and indirect causation.

When we are saying direct causation, the causer is directly, instantly, and probably physically responsible for the effect. On the other hand, indirect causation signifies that the causer does not have direct physical control over the causee. For example:

37. adab-a shi?

the boy-Abs kill

'kill the boy'

38. adab-a reh-unta ass

the boy-Abs die-Inf make

'cause/make the boy to die'

In example (37) the verb *sh?i* 'kill' expresses direct causation and example (38) *rehunta ass* 'cause to die' expresses indirect causation. In both cases what we observe is that the boy is going to be killed. However, there is a semantic difference between these two expressions. The first example implies an immediate connection between the causer and the dying of the boy. Perhaps this can be done by beating, shooting or by other means, whereas the second example implies rather a mediated chain of events. Probably someone causes the boy to die by using other people which is apart from his direct involvement and less direct causation or it might describe a situation in which the act that resulted in the boy's death is removed physically from the act of his dying. Comrie (1985, 332) illustrated this idea in the following ways, "where one has a causative situation, involving a causer (person, thing, force) and a situation brought about, then one relevant semantic parameter is the degree of closeness between the cause (i.e. the causer's action) and the effect (resultant situation)."

According to Givón (1990) the relation between structural integration and conceptual integration between cause and effect is instantiated in three ways. These are the predictive coding principles of causatives. Basically they deal with the degree of direct causation under the structural integration. However, as I have mentioned earlier according to Payne structural integration is shown through less structural distance, which means the fewer the number of syllables involved in the causative construction, the closer the structural integration. It is not difficult to see clear differences in structural distance when we are comparing or using different types of causatives. Morphological causatives are much more closely integrated than analytic. Givón puts this idea in the following way (1990, 556): if a language has both a periphrastic (analytic) causative and a morphological causative, the former is more likely to code causation with human agentive manipulee (causee), while the latter is more likely to code causation with an inanimate manipulee. Generally, from the above explanation Givón's idea shows that the morphological causatives have more direct causation than analytic causatives, and with inanimate causees, because an inanimate causee has a lesser degree of freedom to refuse to cooperate, whereas analytic causatives go with human causees, which have more of an opportunity to refuse. Let's check with an animate (human) and an inanimate causee.

39. Ch'il-a it-sish-o

child-Abs eat-Cs-Smprf

'he made the child eat'

40. Ch'il-a it-unta asse?i

child-Abs eat-Inf make-3sg

'he made the child (to) eat'

41. Ch'il-u odda-e?i ugg-sish-o

child-Nom things-3sg fall-Cs-Smprf

'the child made my things fall'

42. Chil-u odda-e?i ub-unta asse

child-Nom things-3sg fall-Inf make

'the child made my things fall'

From the above examples both animate (39 and 40) and inanimate (41 and 42) causees could take morphological and analytic causatives; this is Givón's prediction, which is about what is more likely to occur, not about what does or does not occur. From the hypothesis if a causal event can be expressed in these two ways, which are morphological and analytical, the question that comes to our mind is, is there any difference in meaning between the two? As I have gone through many definitions and examples I think it is a matter of semantic difference (see example 39 and 40). One of the differences between these examples is a degree of freedom to refuse one from the other.

3.5 Inanimate Causers

Inanimate causers in Kambaata are possible with both morphological and analytic causatives.

- 43. I?bb-u ch'il-a gis-sish-o

 fever-Nom child-Abs sleep-Cs-Smprf

 'The fever made the child sleep.'
- 44. Arich-o i?bb-u ch'il-a gis-unta asse
 sun-poss heat-Nom child-Abs sleep-Inf make
 'The sun's heat made the child to sleep.'

Inanimate causer can be found also with an animate causee in both morphological and analytic causatives and they are acceptable, as in both the preceding and the following examples.

45. Arichut-ø adab-a hog-sis-o-s

sun-Nom boy-Al

boy-Abs tire-Cs-Smprf-3sg

'the sun made the boy get tired'

46. Arichut-ø adab-a hog-unta ass-t-o

sun-Nom boy-Abs tire-Inf

make-pm-Smprf

'the sun made the boy get tired'

Even though both the above expressions are acceptable; example (45) is more common way of addressing someone's situation in terms of inanimate causers. The distinction of the above examples (45) and (46) on the other hand the morphological and analytic supports the coding principle of causatives; an inanimate object like *Arichut* 'the sun' is more likely to directly cause something to happen to someone (*adaba* 'the boy') than to be involved in more subtle means of causation, such as persuasion, helping or forcing, which are usually encoded in analytic causatives.

3.6 Omission of Agent and Patient

Kambaata also exhibits omission of the causee from both morphological and analytic causative clauses.

47. Alam-u

ur-sish-o

Alemu-Nom

stop-Cs-Smprf

'Alemu stood up (somebody or something, we do not know whom or what)

48. Almaz-ø wassa mur-sis-o

Almaz-Nom wasa (local food like bread) cut-Cs-Smprf

'Almaz made (someone) cut wassa (the local bread)'

49. Ababach-ø wot't-a shol-t-unta ass-t-o

Abebech-Nom sauce-Abs cook-3sgfem-Inf make-3sgfem-Smprf

'Abebech made (someone) cook the sauce'

Even though in example (49) the causee is omitted a morpheme -t, which is suffixed to the verb *shol*, is an indication for the native speaker to distinguish who is the causee referred to (someone who can be referred to with feminine singular forms). Since the third person masculine is marked \emptyset it is possible to remove this person marker so that the causee is completely unmarked.

Kambaata also exhibits omission of the patient of the caused event:

50. Danam-ø Awan-e iy-sis-o

Daname-Nom Awane-Abs carry-Cs-Smprf

'Daname made Awane carry (something)'

51. Bizunash-ø Tagasach-ø iy-t-unta ass-t-o

Bizunesh-Nom Tagesech-Abs carry-3sgfem-Inf make-3sgfem-Smprf

'Bizunesh made Tagesech carry something)'

In examples (50 and 51) the patients are not expressed in an explicit way; however, since the transitive verbs take an object then this object cannot be completely omitted even in a causative clause. As I have said earlier about the causee in example (49), the omission of a patient from a causative clause can be permissible when the patient is already known from the context.

3.7. Passivisation of Causative Clauses

One of the different constructions in causatives is the contrast between demotion to indirect object and instrumental. This would mean for the construction with the instrumental there is passivisation of the underlying subordinate clause before causativization. In example (54) the agent marking on *essa-n* 'by me' is an indication of instrumental agent or causee. On this interpretation causative constructions are identical with the constructions that promote oblique relations to object. According to this example (54) *Danam* is the principal agent with the *essa-n* as the instrumental/secondary agent. On the basis of this construction Kambaata allows the causer and the causee to be passivised in clauses containing transitive and the ditransitive.

Transitive

- 52. An Danam-e oddat-a ansh-sish-o-m
 - I Daname-Abs dishes-Abs wash-cs-Smprf-1sg

'I made Daname wash the dishes'

53. An Danam-e oddat-a ansh-sis-unta ass-am-m-o-m

I Daname-Abs dishes-Abs wash-Cs-Inf make-Ps-1sg-Smprf-1sg

'I was made to make Daname wash the dishes'

54. Danam-ø oddat-a ansh-t-unta essa-n ass-an-t-o

Daname-Nom dishes-Abs wash-3sgfem-Inf me-by make-Ps-3sg-Smprf

'Daname was made to wash the dishes by me'

With example (52) it is 'I' did something to *Daname* whereas with examples (53) 'I am the one forced or asked to make *Daname* to wash the dishes so *Daname* is more incidental to the task. In example (54) the intermediate causee 'I' is marked by agentive suffix -n.

In Kambaata as I have said earlier word order is flexible in both indirect and direct object.

Ditransitive

- 55. Zarit-u Ayan-o osso-ø odishat-a hir-sis-o

 Zaritu-Nom Ayano-Nom children-Dat clothes-Abs buy-Cs-Smprf

 'Zaritu made Ayano buy clothes for the children'
- 56. Zarit-u Ayan-u osso-ø odishat-a hir-sis-unta ass-an-t-o

 Zaritu-Nom Ayano-Abs children-Dat clothes-Abs buy-Cs-Inf make-Ps-3sgfem-Smprf

 'Zaritu was made to make Ayano buy clothes to the children'
- 57. Ayan-u osso-ø odishat-a hir-unta Zarito-n ass-am-o

 Ayano-Nom children-Dat clothes-Abs buy-Inf Zaritu-by make-Ps-Smprf

 'Ayano was made to buy the children clothes by Zaritu'

In the above examples (56 and 57) if the indirect object *osso* is fronted and passivised the meaning changes to the clause 'the children were made to buy clothes by Ayano' and drops out the passive instrument *Zaritu-n* from the clause.

3.8 The Paradigm Case

Palmer (1994, 220) states that there is a paradigm case for causative constructions, involving the hierarchy of grammatical relations. In a causative construction, if the original subject goes to anther position this can be shown by the causatives of transitives and transitives with new added causative objects.

Comrie (1985, 335) on the other hand argues that 'since few languages tolerate predicates with more than one subject noun phrase, the subject of the non-causative verb (the causee) cannot appear as a subject of the causative verb. If it appears at all, it must appear as some

other syntactic argument of the causative construction.' As is stated the subject of a clause is demoted by a causative construction; it goes to the next unoccupied place on the following hierarchy.

Subject → direct object → indirect object → oblique object

This idea has been discussed under the direct and indirect causation on p.25. I would like to limit myself to say a few things at this point. With intransitive verbs, it is predicted that when the causative is added the subject (causee) will stand as direct object. With transitive verbs, the prediction is that the subject is still in the status of indirect object/dative since the direct object is in the embedded clause. Let's consider the following example:

- 58. Bereket-ø messel-e-ta odishat-a ansh-sish-o

 Bereket-Nom a girl-Abs-fem clothes-Abs wash-Cs-Smprf

 'Bereket made a girl wash the clothes'
- 59. Addab-o Bereket-e messel-e odishat-a aass-unta ass-e?i
 the boy-Nom Bereket-Abs a girl-Dat clothes-Abs give-Inf make-3sg
 'The boy made Bereket give the clothes for a girl'

In example (59) we find that similar consistency paradigm case which Comrie talks about. In example (59) the subject is apparently demoted to direct object, although a direct object is already present. This is an exception to the paradigm case, which actually predicts that the subject will not be demoted to a position that is already occupied. Generally, Comrie's hierarchy is not very productive in Kambaata causatives with the demotion of the subject to the next unoccupied place in the hierarchy. The other point from Comrie's theory is the permission of languages that allow doubling of indirect/direct objects in a clause. He noted that double direct objects are quite common in non-causative constructions, but are rare elsewhere. As an example in (59), here according to Comrie *messele* is causee while *Berekete*

and *odishata* are direct objects, since *Berekete* is the recipient of the verb *aass* 'to give' even though *Berekete* and *mesele* have homophonous case markers for absolutive and dative, respectively. In this case having the same case marker of these two can be only distinguished with stress and context. As I have said earlier in Kambaata word order is flexible in both indirect and direct object. So the word order plays no part in guiding the hearer's interpretation.

Chapter four

4. The Pragmatics of Causative Constructions in Kambaata Discourse

4.1 Occurrence of Causatives in Kambaata Discourse

The two forms of causatives (morphological and analytic) can be found in a Kambaata discourse. In the text I looked into some causative markers found in both cases (morphological and analytic). This text is produced in the appendix, with the causatives italicised, as a sample of my text collection. I would say that even though the causatives occur in this text they are not adequately reflected in the texts I looked into. Perhaps causatives can be more prevalent in spoken language rather than written language? Is the writer's choice of text and stylistic feature informed by other considerations? I think these questions enable the writer and others interested to provoke more research than this piece of work is able to address. As a result this leads us to ask as a whole what determines or constrains the choice of a writer or speaker to use a causative construction.

4.2 Pragmatic Dimensions of Causative Constructions in Kambaata Discourse

According to Blakemore (1992) pragmatics is concerned with speaker meaning and utterance interpretation. In regard to this definition, the speaker phrases his utterance in such a way that he can have access to the intended context and draw the cognitive effects in the most efficient way. On the basis of this truth I would like to say that communication always occurs in the everyday life situation of human beings. As a result the interaction takes place either orally or in written form. Since causative causes the change of one grammatical

category into another one, there must be a deliberate intention of the speaker, and of course demonstrates his attitude towards what he is saying both orally and written.

In Kambaata a speaker, wanting to make accessible the intended context of his message in causative forms to his listener, depends on his choice of expression in terms of morphological or analytic causatives. In other words the speaker's choice between morphological (61) and analytic (62) causative constructions depends on the attitudes and intentions of a speaker to express his idea in a given context. To explore this idea I use the verb *it* 'eat' in both morphological and analytic causatives.

60. it

eat

61. it-sis

eat-cs

'cause/make him eat'

62 it-unta

ass

eat-Inf

make

'cause/make him eat'

From the above examples we can see that in (61) and (62) the speaker, by using a causative marker has changed its interpretation from example (60). However, in examples (61) and (62) the speaker intends for his listener to understand something which gives a direction to do something by someone else. On the other hand the listener can arrive at different interpretations, for instance, how can he cause him? Is it direct cause or indirect cause? Who causes whom? From the point of this example it is easy to see that the construction of causatives in Kambaata can somehow fulfill pragmatic dimensions. In short a speaker wanting to make accessible the intended context of his message to his listener will prefer

morphological causative constructions rather than analytic, since it is used to express the attitudes and intentions of a speaker in a more vivid way in a given context.

Generally, from the examples (61 and 62) we see that the two clauses basically have similar meanings but their way of expression differs: morphological versus analytic. I think in terms of the speaker's choice example (62) is used to express a predictable situation and can be found in any text while example (61) creates a sense of expectancy that something is to happen to the speaker or the listener in order to make adequate conceptual access. In regard to both examples a native speaker will automatically access the meaning of the utterance based on the schemata he has in his mind. Therefore, when a speaker chooses an alternative construction in different forms as we have in (61) and (62), the hearer is sufficiently alerted to expect a particular turn of events.

Besides this the causative allows the same participant to hold an agent role as a grammatical subject, and promote or demote another agent. Let's see the following example

- 63. Yohannes-ø addab-a she?i
 - John-Nom boy-Abs kill

'John killed the boy'.

64. Yohannes-ø Mark'os-e sh-unta-(s) ass-e-s

John-Nom Mark-Abs kill-Inf-3sgmas make-Prsprf-3sgmas

'John caused/forced/made Mark to kill him.'

In uttering (64), the speaker refers to a specific person that is also known to the hearer. From the context both the speaker and the hearer know who is going to be killed (the referent). The pronoun 'him' is the immediate referent to make a choice for the speaker and this makes the speaker confident about the fact that the hearer has the referent easily accessible. Since the referent (the boy) is suffixed twice in example (64) one of them can be an optional.

Chapter five

Conclusion

In this work, I have described some of the formations of causative constructions in Kambaata. In the first chapter I have introduced my reader to the Kambaata people and their language.

In the second chapter, I have described the simple clause in relation to its grammatical categories. The purpose of this chapter has been to identify which parts of those grammatical categories can be retained and to serve as tools to describe the causative constructions in Kambaata.

In chapter three, I have dealt with how causative constructions are formed in Kambaata.

Chapter four dealt with the pragmatic dimensions of causative constructions in Kambaata discourse.

R.J. Sim (personal communication, 2003) commented that Kambaata has a simple -(i)s causative with intransitive verbs. According to my data and time factor I could not find it very easily; more research needs to be done to ascertain whether there is any conditioning factor for its occurring in a simple clause. One of the comments which I would like to mention is that this might be an old form of causative. Throughout this work I tried to see only two forms of the causative endings i.e. is basically -sis(h) for morphological and ass 'to make', 'to force' and 'to cause' for analytic. They employ different strategies to determine which form should be used, but both allow either form in some cases, to give a different meaning.

In both morphological and analytic Kambaata allows intransitive, transitive and ditransitive causatives.

Kambaata also shows double causation by using morphological and analytic clauses in the same sentences.

The passivisation of the causer and the causee in causative clauses is permissible.

Generally, Kambaata demotes the causee to the indirect object position in transitive and ditransitive and also doubles the direct object by using the absolutive case.

Kambaata is flexible in the order of arguments before the verbs, as long as they are of different noun categories, because the meaning is made clear by the presence of subject and object markers in the verb.

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APPENDIX

Maganota Hessa 'A Narrative Text on Complaint':

Source: Samuel Wachemo From Damboya Junior and Secondary School

Matu manchu horinka abbish hawisanos betu
 one man for all very make trouble son yosikke.

he had.

'There was a man who had a son who caused a problem for everyone.'

- 2. abbise bok'machis mamatus mogutani mini manni his problem some of theft and very house men azazamu hogonsi jallankas hogonsi amannamu obedience lack and his friends lack trust 'Some of his problems were theft and disobedience to his parents and lack of trust with friends.'
- 3. addab-e hoggo-bechich Mato barre annen kan annu day this boy-poss father farm-from one hosh minis wallano-da matu olechus minintas dak'amo his neighbor spend his house come-when one in his house he met

'One of the days when this boy's father came to his home from farming he found one of his neighbors in his house.'

4. Ku mannakant t'umak'antoich zakin ku olechu ka these men greet after neighbor this that beti anna abba ebalo ku betune abish nes son's father Mr. X this your son us very

make us tired.

hoogishene

'After they greeted each other the neighbor said to the son's father "Mr. X your son made us very tired".'

- 5. Ossune hillara ros-*sish*-e-ni awannse-ni our children bad things teach-Cs-Prsprf-and follow and 'He made our children learn and follow bad things.'
- 6. Ossune issin hossu jamartoich zakin hagarusa
 our children with him spend start from after their character
 horoman dorrame.

 totally changed

'From the day our children started to spend time with him their character is totally changed.'

7. Hikani tane dandesano ikkoch betune mini?i
so possible if your son my house

wall-unka

come-not

'So if possible please do not let come your son to my house.'

8. Ku annunku kiche?e wozanin betisi k'odiman and father this sorrow with heart for his son's behalf hakan manchiha aggure?i holame jata yan met'ura forgive saying many times any man nothing ass-t-o-t kulons t'ahu ikkoda gibbe?i yan make-2sg-Smprf-2sg saying I told him he refused but

sazans-ni k'at'a?ns-ni

I counsel him and I discipline him and

'And the son's father with a sorrowful heart asked an apology on behalf of his son and said, "I have told him several times not to cause/do anything to anyone, but he refused and now I will counsel him and discipline him".'

- 9. Ku annunku fank'ash ollechus abba ebbalo this and father again his neighbor X Mr. betue?i ak'eru yoda kule?i bat-a-m yes. if there present pay-Imp-1sg he said to him my son take 'And again the son's father asked his neighbor Mr. X please tell me if my son took anything I will pay back to you.'
- 10. t'ahu ikkoda ku ollechu tesohans met'urra hassan-ba?a
 but this neighbor for now nothing need-not

lanki illunkae?i yan fank'ashe?i

second never come to me saying respond

'This neighbor responded to the son's father saying 'for now I do not want any thing but for the second time do not let come your son to my place.'

11. Ollechu minis orrok'eich zakin ku bok'amu oddbo the neighbor his house go after this bad boy

ankaren mini wallo.

at night house came

'After the neighbor went to his home the bad boy came home at night.'

- 12. Adda-e annu abba nadagin k'oranayos ikke boy-Poss father very with anger waiting for be 'The boy's father with a great anger was waiting for him.'
- 13. ku betus ozita itano illank'at'ech met'ura yimbas

 'this his son supper eat until nothing said to him

 'Until his son ate supper he didn't say anything to him.'
- 14. ichoch zakin lach'e?i affi-s wodarin mini uttubon
 eat after slowly catch-him with a rope house's pillar
 ussuros.

tied him

'Then after he ate the son's father slowly caught and tied him with a rope on the pillar of the house.'

15. Hikanich zakin ku annu ollan assera horranka

this after this father by beating what he did all

kull-unta ass-e-s

tell-Inf make-Prsprf-2sg

'After this the son's father made him tell all things what has done.'

16. t'ahu ikkoda addabo assera horrarnka kajjo.

but the boy what he did all he denied

'But the boy denied all things that he had done.'

17. ikkoda annus abbish hillaga ollan lanki

however his father very badly beating again

rossunboga t'ell-sish-o-s

not to repeat swore-Cs-Smprf-2sg

'However, the boy's father beat him very seriously and made him swear not to repeat again.'

18. Addabonk t'elelan lanki rossanba?a marrae?i yan

and the boy by swearing again learn-not forgive me saying

annas ouch'e?i

his father beg

And the boy begged his father by swearing 'I will never do it again forgive me.'

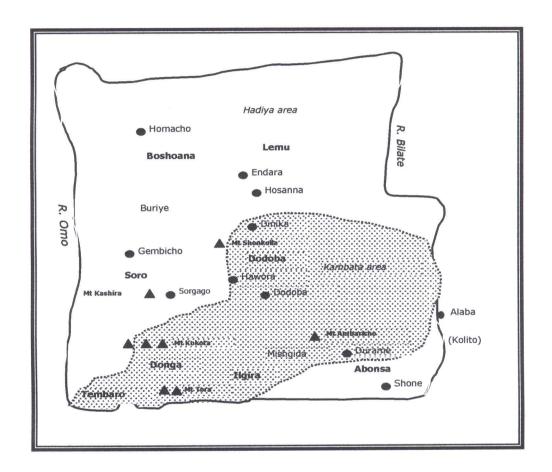
19. Annus t'elel-sish-o-s-ich zakin gafar-o-s
his father swear-Cs-Smprf-2sg-after after release-Smprf-him
'After his father made him swear he released him.'

20. Ku bok'amu betus ikkan berrech jammar annas this disobedient son from day start his father wollu kenuha azazamano-ha abisano-ha hitinnta others people obey and respect-and at the same jallas hilara tammarsunbu addaba ikk his friends bad the one who does not teach boy be le?o yema.

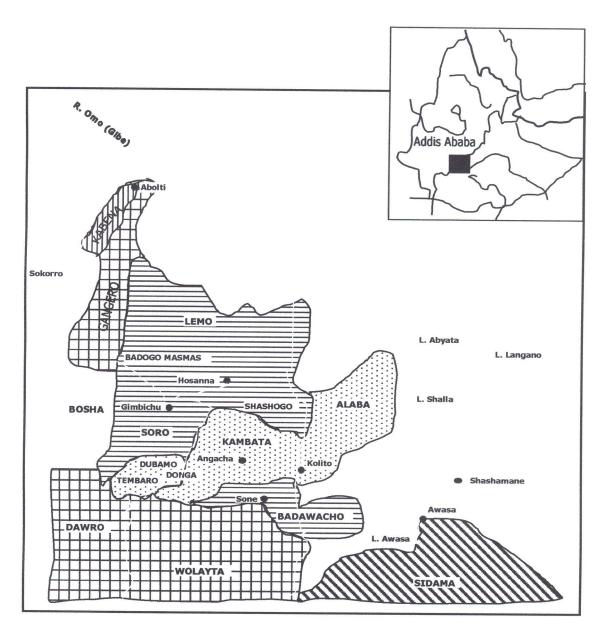
grow it said

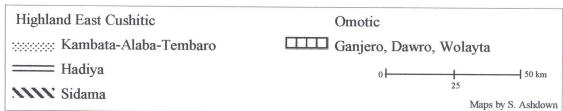
'It is said that as of that day this disobedient son started to obey and respect his parents and others and at the same time he grew up as the one who does not teach his friends bad things any more.'

Map 1: Kambaata-Alaba-Tambaro Zone and Hadiya



Map 2: Language Groups in South-Central Ethiopia





Both maps are adapted from Grenstedt (2000, 42 and 216)

CURRICULUM VITAE

Background

Name:

Tessema Wachemo

Citizenship:

Ethiopian

Marital status:
No. of children:

Married Expectant

Education

2001 - 2003: Master of Arts in Translation Studies (Candidate, NEGST)

Linguistics project: Causative Constructions in Kambaata

Translation practicum: A translation of John chapters 18 And 19

into Kambaata with commentary

1996-2000: Bachelor of Theology (Evangelical Theological College Addis Ababa

(Ethiopia)

Experience

1997 – 2000: Teaching in Bible schools (in a part time base)

1997 - 1999: Serving for Ethiopian Kale Heywot church in youth ministry as the

national committee member and secretary

1988 - 1994: Working in one of the governments factory as a machinist

Linguistic abilities

Kambaata (spoken and written)

Amharic (spoken and written)

English (spoken and written)

Interests

Sport (volleyball, football)

Music (guitar, singing)

Counseling, drama and joking