

Sociolinguistic Survey Report of the Nayi Language of Ethiopia

Written by: Aklilu Yilma

**SIL International
2001**

Contents

1. Introduction
 2. Phoneme Inventory
 3. Noun Morphology
 4. Verb Morphology
 5. Syntax
- Bibliography

1. Introduction

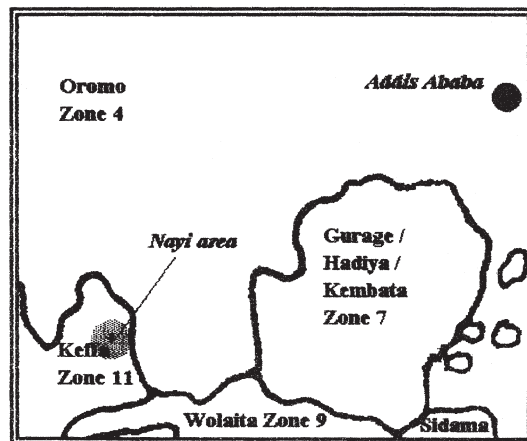
The Nayi (Na'o) language belongs to the Majoid (Dizoid) subgroup of the Omotic language family.¹ Most of the speakers of this language live in the villages Goba, Gushi, Angela-Menesh, and Udadish of the Decha Awraja, which is part of the Kefa administrative region. The nearest town is Bonga.

Many Nayi speakers have migrated from the Decha Awraja to other parts of the Kefa province—either in search of fertile land or to flee the war and other conflicts in Decha area.

Some Nayi people—all of them farmers—also live in villages near Bonga. They came to these villages in search of fertile land during the time of Emperor Haile Sellassie.

A few Nayi people live in Dulkuma, a village of the Shoa Bench Wereda (formerly Shoa Gimira Wereda), where they have settled in areas traditionally inhabited by Me'en and Bench people.

And finally, as we found out in a field trip carried out December 8–10, 1993 by Ralph and Kati Siebert and myself, a number of Nayi people also live in the villages Aybera, Kosa, and Jomdos of the Sheko Wereda, an area traditionally inhabited by speakers of Sheko, Majang, Bench, and Kefa. This group is estimated to be about 500 to 600 people. They came to these villages to flee the 1976–1977 war between the feudal lords of Decha Awraja and the military government.



Administrative Map

¹An earlier version of this report appeared as "A sketch of the Nayi Grammar", Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.). Linguistic Report 16, March 1994. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics.

2. Phoneme Inventory

For a detailed description of the Nayi phonology, and other information about the Nayi people, see Aklilu 1991.

2.1 Consonant Phonemes

| | | <i>Lab.</i> | <i>Alv.dent.</i> | <i>Retr.</i> | <i>Pal.</i> | <i>Vel.</i> | <i>Glott.</i> |
|------------|--------|-------------|------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| Stops | vd. | b | d | | | g | |
| | vl. | | t | | | k | ʔ |
| | glott. | p' | t' | | | k' | |
| Fricatives | vd. | | z | ʒ | ʒ | | |
| | vl. | f | s | ʃ | ʃ | | h |
| Affricates | vl. | | ts | tʃ | tʃ [č] | | |
| | glott. | | | tʃ' | tʃ' [č'] | | |
| Nasals | | m | n | | | | |
| Lateral | | | l | | | | |
| Trill | | | r | | | | |
| Semivowels | | w | | | j | | |

2.2 Vowel Phonemes

| | Front | | Central | | Back | |
|------|-------|----|---------|----|------|----|
| High | i | i: | | | u | u: |
| Mid | e | e: | (ä) | | o | o: |
| Low | | | a | a: | | |

The short mid central vowel (ä) is problematic. However, this vowel will be considered a phoneme in the present description.

2.3 Tone, syllabic nasals

Nayi has three phonemic tones:

| | High | Mid [unmarked] | Low |
|----------|------|----------------|-----|
| Notation | á | a | à |

There are two syllabic nasals: [m̩] and [n̩].

3. Noun Morphology

3.1 Number

Nouns are marked for plurality by suffixing the plural marker *-kis* to singular forms which are unmarked:

| Gloss | Singular | Plural |
|--------|----------|---------|
| boy | dòdù | dòdùkis |
| person | jà:b | jà:bkis |
| bird | kà:f | kà:fkis |
| cloth | afal | afalkis |

3.2 Gender

Nayi makes use of either lexical items or gender marking suffixes to distinguish gender. In most cases, where different lexical items are employed to distinguish gender, the final vowels seem to be *-u* for masculine and *-i* for feminine.

| | | | |
|---------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| father | ba:bù | mother | ba:jì |
| grandfather | áku | grandmother | égì |
| elder brother | nonu | elder sister | nijì |
| bull | zégú | cow | otì |
| yg. brother | óǰkí | yg. sister | óǰkìn |

In those cases where gender is expressed morphologically, the feminine marker *-i* is infixes in the noun root. Also, the noun is made definite by suffixing the feminine definite morpheme *-n*.

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| relative m. | tos | the relative f. | toisn |
| dog | keónù | the bitch | keìnù |
| cock | kobù | the hen | koìbù |
| he-goat | ésku | the she-goat | éiskn |
| he-rat | útù | the she-rat | útn |

3.3 Definiteness

Definiteness is expressed either by the definite masculine marker *-s* or the feminine marker *-n*.

| | | | |
|--------|-------|------------|--------|
| house | ʔi: | the house | ʔi:s |
| dog | keónù | the dog | keónùs |
| | | the bitch | keìnè |
| father | ba:bù | the father | ba:bùs |
| mother | ba:jì | the mother | ba:jì |

3.4 Pronouns

3.4.1 Subject Pronouns

In the subject pronoun, Naya distinguishes gender in the third person singular pronouns:

| Ps. | Sg. | Pl. | Honorific |
|-----|------|--------|-----------|
| 1 | nà | nàkis | - |
| 2 | jeta | itìkis | itì |
| 3m. | isi | ʔufkuʃ | ʔufji |
| 3f. | ifi | | |

3.4.2 Vocative Pronouns

| Ps. | | |
|-----|------|-----|
| 2 | masc | neá |
| 2 | fem | ne |

3.4.3 Object Pronouns

| Ps. | Sg. | Pl. | Honorific |
|-----|--------|------------|-----------|
| 1 | nākńa | năkńa | - |
| 2 | jetkńa | ʔitkis(n)a | itna |
| 3m. | is(n)a | ʔufkuʃ(n)a | ʔuf(n)a |

The suffixes *-a* and *-na* are accusative case markers.

3.4.4 Possessive Pronouns

| Ps. | Sg. | Pl. | Honorific |
|-----|-------|----------|-----------|
| 1 | nǎkń | nǎkń | - |
| 2 | jetkń | itkiskń | itkń |
| 3m. | iskń | ʔuʃkuʃkń | ʔuʃkń |
| 3f. | iʃkń | - | - |

3.4.5 Demonstrative Pronouns

Nayi demonstratives are composed of a root plus a gender marker: *ha:-* the proximal root, translated as ‘this, those’, and *nea-/ne-* the distal root, translated ‘that, those’.

Masculine demonstratives are marked by the suffix *-s*, and feminine demonstratives by *-jin*. Nayi may also suffix the plural morpheme *-kis* to the singular demonstrative pronoun optionally.

| | | |
|------------|------|--------|
| this/those | masc | ha:s |
| - | fem | ha:jin |
| that/those | masc | neás |
| - | fem | nejìn |

3.4.6 Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexivity is formed by prefixing the pronominal morphemes and suffixing the dative case marker *-iʃ* to the word *mò:t* ‘head’.

| | |
|---------------|------------|
| ń-mò:t-iʃ | myself |
| je-mò:t-iʃ | yourself |
| e-mò:t-iʃ | himself |
| iʃ-e-mò:t-iʃ | herself |
| ń-mò:t-iʃ | ourselves |
| itkis-mò:t-iʃ | yourselves |
| ekis-mò:t-iʃ | themselves |

3.4.7 Interrogative Pronouns

In the interrogative pronoun system, gender is marked in the pronoun form 'which'.

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| who? | ití |
| what? | jírá |
| where? | wo:sté |
| which? m. | hákúbos/hákúbabé |
| f. | hákúbej/hákúbejé |
| how? | á:sé |
| for what purpose/reason, | |
| why? | jébeʃ |
| how much, | |
| how many? | ambitsé |
| when? | à:sté |
| whose? | itikín |
| whom? | itùné |

3.5 Possessive Pronominal Affixes

Singular

| | |
|------------|---------|
| my child | ń-dòdù |
| your child | je-dòdù |
| his child | is-dòdù |
| her child | iʃ-dòdù |

Plural

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| our child | ń-dòdù |
| your child | itkis dòdù |
| their child | ?uʃkuʃ dòdù |

The first person singular and plural possessive affixes of nouns are differentiated by tone.

3.6 Case

The Nayi language marks case in the following ways:

3.6.1 Nominative *-i*

jà:b-i sub-a
 person-NOM die-PAST
 A man died.

3.6.2 Accusative *-a/-na*

isi keónù-s-a mútn-a
 he dog-DEF-ACC hit-PAST
 He hit the dog.

gäbäri-s ušá-na kom-tég-a
 farmer-DEF horn-ACC take-go-PAST
 The farmer took the horn.

3.6.3 Dative *-if/itf*

isi keónù-s-if ášku áts-a
 he dog-DEF-DAT meat give-PAST
 He gave meat to the dog.

jebn-if na:k na áts-a
 woman-DAT money I give-PAST
 I gave money to the woman.

The dative case marker *-tji* occurs in the first person singular and plural pronouns, as well as in the second person singular pronoun.

je-tji zungu ñ-šofn-a
 you-DAT sheep I slaughter-PAST
 I slaughtered a sheep for you.

c'oánt'ambe zanga ñ-tji átsam-beš if-jég-a
 small sorghum I-DAT give reason she-come-PAST
 She came to give me some sorghum.

3.6.4 Genitive *-kn*

Possession is usually expressed by a construction in which the possessor is followed by the possessed item.

keás ì:
 chief house
 chief's house

Inalienably possessed nouns can also be expressed by the morpheme *-k'í* optionally.

keónù atf'u/keónùk'í atf'ù
 dog tooth/dog tooth
 dog's tooth

o:t t'eámu/o:tk'í t'eámu
 cow udder/cow udder
 cow's udder

Alienable relations, however, cannot be marked by *-k'í*.

*dòdùk'í keónù
 *Boy-INALIENABLE-'s dog

Proper nouns suffix *-ba* to indicate possession.

wondim-ba afal
 Wondemu's cloth

3.6.5 Locative *-k'a*

isi ha:j-k'a wú:t-a
 he water-LOC fall-PAST
 He fell in the water.

3.6.6 Directional *-ta*

gäba-tá ñ-tég-a
 market-DIR I-go-PAST
 I went to the market.

tu:r ba-ta bäj wu:t-a
 earth on-DIR monkey fall-PAST
 A monkey fell on the ground.

3.6.7 Vocative *-e/-jo*

ñ-dòd-e
 my-boy-VOCAT
 Oh my boy!

ja:be-jo
 man-VOCAT
 Oh man!

ñ-dòdù-s-kis-jo
 my-child-DEF-PL-VOCAT
 Oh my children!

3.7 The Numeral System

In arithmetical counting, numerals have the following forms:

- 1 jísn
- 2 t'à:gn
- 3 kädú
- 4 kubní
- 5 útj:ú
- 6 jǎku
- 7 tu:su
- 8 zìét
- 9 ságn
- 10 támmù

14

From 11 to 19, the respective units are added after *tam* 'ten' and the conjunction is *-ka* 'and'.

11 *támka jísñ*

12 *támka t'à:gn*

13 *támka kädú*

14 *támka kubní*

15 *támka útʃ:ú*

16 *támka jǎku*

17 *támka tu:su*

18 *támka zìét*

19 *támka ságn*

For multiples of ten, either the first part of the respective unit—or the entire unit—precedes the number *tám* 'ten'.

20 *t'à tám*

30 *ka tám*

40 *kubní tám*

50 *útʃ tám*

60 *jǎku tám*

70 *tu:sn tám*

80 *zét tám*

90 *ságn tám*

For 20 to 90, there is a conjunction *-ka* between the multiples of ten and the units that follow.

- 21 t'àtámka jísɲ
 33 katámka kädú
 55 útʃtaam útʃ:ú
 82 zéttámka t'à:gn
 94 ságn támka kubní

For 100 and its multiples, the word *bálla* is employed, and the word for 1000 is *wuma*.

- 110 bálla-ka támmuka
 200 t'à-bálla
 535 útʃ:ú bálla-ka katám-ka útʃ:ú

3.8 Derived Agent Nouns

Agent nouns can be derived from nouns by suffixing the morphemes *käba/käbe* or *-bab/-bej*.

| | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| gáʔna | wealth |
| gáʔnakäba/gáʔnkäbe | rich one, m. |
| gáʔnakäba/gáʔnabej | rich one, f. |
| deáhn | work (noun) |
| deáhnkäba/deáhnbab | worker, m. |
| deáhnkäbe/deáhnbej | worker, f. |

3.9 Postpositions

Postpositions always suffix either the direction case marker *-ta* or the locative marker *-k'a*.

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| here | a:stá |
| there/over there | i:stá |
| there (not far) | eka ha:stá |
| way down there | wòk ha:s-tá |
| up there | sóha:s-tá |
| under, below | òʃtá |
| in front of (san 'face') | san-tá |
| above (mo:t 'head') | mo:t-tá |
| near, beside | gibuk'a |
| between | betnk'a/betntá |
| inside | ba:zk'a |

4. Verb Morphology

In Nayi, the verbal system basically has four tenses (past, present, future and present progressive), six aspect-like distinctions (pluperfect, present perfect, future perfect, past progressive, future progressive and immediate) and two moods (imperative and jussive).

4.1 The Copula

The copula plays an important role in the Nayi verb morphology. Its form is *te-/to-*, and the elements *-na* present and *-kɛ* past, are suffixed to it to indicate the state of the action. The copula *tena* has a meaning equivalent to Amharic *nāw* or *allā*, and its past form *tokɛ* corresponds to the Amharic *nābbārā*. However, unlike Amharic, the copula does not inflect for person, number, or gender.

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| na téna | I am |
| na tokɛ | I was |
| jeta téna | you are |
| jeta tokɛ | you were |

In addition, the copula has the following functions:

- (1) It occurs in predicate sentences of the equational type:

isi koʃkuba téna
 he farmer is
 He is a farmer.

isi fängù téna
 he bad is
 He is bad.

Some sentences of the above type have been recorded in which the copula is absent.

neás jà:b-us ʃiʃkns ja:b
 that man-DEF good man
 That man is good.

boanga ʃeáts kätäm
 bong a big town
 Bonga is a big town.

(2) It occurs following noun phrases which are in focus.

?uʃkuʃ m-aba ʃoala téna
 they eat-REL injera is
 It is injera what they ate.

(3) It also compounds with the aspectual morphemes (past, present/future, or present progressive) and the relative pronoun marker *-ba*, to form different types of verbal aspects.

nà m-a-ba téna
 I eat-PAST-RP AUX
 I have eaten.

nà m-a-ba tokn
 I eat-PAST-RP AUX
 I had eaten.

nà m-ki-ba téna
 I eat-PROG-RP AUX
 I have been eating.

The aspects of the Nayi verb forms are like embedded sentences; for instance, the first of the preceding examples (*na maba tena*) could be translated literally as ‘I, who eat it-is’.

4.2 Past

The past tense refers to a complete past action, and it is expressed by the suffix morpheme *-a*. In the following paradigm, only the first and third person pronominal markers are prefixed to the verb stem.

Singular

- 1 *nà jég-a/n-jéga*
 I come-PAST
 I came.
- 2 *jeta jég-a*
 you SG come-PAST
- 3m. *is-jég-a*
 he-come-PAST
- 3f. *ij-jég-a*
 she-come-PAST

Plural

- 1 *nákis jég-a/n-jéga*
 we come-PAST
- 2 *itkis jeg-a*
 you PL come-PAST
- 3 *?uʃkuʃ jeg-a*
 they come-PAST

4.3 Present/Future

The present or future tense marker is *-am*; it expresses a present or future state of an action. However, the morphemes *ba/bej*, which are physically identical with the relative pronoun forms, are suffixed to the present/

future stem optionally. The exact meaning of these morphemes is not entirely clear, but it seems that they refer to an action that is going to be fulfilled.

Singular

- 1 nà jég-am(ba)/n-jégam(ba)
 I come-NON-PAST
 I come/shall come.
- 2 jeta jégam(ba)
- 3m. is-jégam(ba)
- 3f. if-jégam(bei)

Plural

- 1 nakis jégam(ba)
- 2 itkis jégam(ba)
- 3 ʔufuf jégam(ba)

4.4 Present Progressive

The present progressive is formed by suffixing the verb of existence, *-ki*, to the verb root.

Singular

- 1 nà jé-ki/n-jéki
 I come-PROGR
 I am coming.
- 2 jeta jéki
- 3m. is-jéki
- 3f. if-jéki

20

Plural

1 nákis jéki

2 itkis jéki

3 ʔuʃkuʃ jéki

4.5 Aspect

As mentioned above, aspect is formed by compounding the various simple tense stems and the relative pronoun marker with the copula *tena* or *tokn* (cf. section 4.1, part (3)).

4.5.1 Pluperfect

The pluperfect is formed from the past stem by means of the relative pronoun and the copula *tokn*. The pronominal markers do not affix the verb stem in the aspect form.

Singular

1 nà jég-a-ba tokn
 I come-PAST-RP copula
 I had come.

2 jeta jégaba tokn

3m. isi jégaba tokn

3f. ifi jégabej tokn

Plural

1 nakis jégaba tokn

2 itkis jégaba tokn

3 ʔuʃkuʃ jégaba tokn

4.5.2 Present Perfect

The present perfect is formed from the past stem, a relative pronoun, and the copula *téna*.

Singular

1. *nà jég-a-ba téna*
 I come-PAST-RP copula
 I have come.
- 2 *jeta jégaba téna*
- 3m. *isi jégaba téna*
- 3f. *ifi jégabej téna*

Plural

- 1 *nákis jégaba téna*
- 2 *itkis jégaba téna*
- 3 *?uʃkuʃ jégaba téna*

4.5.3 Future Perfect

The future perfect is formed from the present/future stem, the relative pronoun and the copula *téna*.

Singular

- 1 *nà jég-am-ba téna*
 I come-NON-PAST-RP copula
 I will have come.
- 2 *jeta jégamba téna*
- 3m. *isi jégamba téna*
- 3f. *ifi jégambej téna*

Plural

- 1 nákis jégamba téna
- 2 itkis jégamba téna
- 3 ?uʃkuʃ jégamba téna

4.5.4 Past Progressive

The past progressive is formed from the present progressive stem, the relative pronoun and the copula *tokn*.

Singular

- 1 nà jég-ki-ba tokn
I come-PROG-RP copula
I was coming.
- 2 jeta jékiba tokn
- 3m. isi jékiba tokn
- 3f. ifi jékibej tokn

Plural

- 1 nakis jékiba tokn
- 2 itkis jékiba tokn
- 3 ?uʃkuʃ jékiba tokn

4.5.5 Future Progressive

The future progressive is formed by compounding the progressive verb stem and the relative pronoun with the copula *téna*.

Singular

1 na jé-ki-ba téna
I come-PROG-RP copula
I will be coming.

2 jeta jékiba téna

3m. isi jékiba téna

3f. ifi jékibej téna

Plural

1 nákis jékiba téna

2 itkis jékiba téna

3 ?uʃkuʃ jékiba téna

4.5.6 Immediate Aspect

The immediate aspect is formed from the present/future tense stem, the auxiliary *-ne* which marks the inception of an action, and the verb of existence (the present progressive tense marker) *-ki*.

Singular

1 na jég-am-ne-ki
I come-PRES/FUT-PROGR
I am about to come.

2 jéta jégamneki

3m. isi jégamneki

3f. ifi jégamneki

Plural

1 nakis jégamneki

2 itkis jégamneki

3 ʔuʃkuʃ jégamneki

4.6 Negation

There are two negative markers, *-oa* and *-kaj*. These markers alternate freely in various tenses and aspects. Generally, it seems that the negative past tense and the pluperfect are formed by suffixing *-oa* to the verb root or stem.

godn isi jégoa
He did not come yesterday.

na fadn-*oa*
I did not count.

na jégaboa tokn
I had not come.

The negative pluperfect, future perfect of the third person sg. fem. is formed by changing the third person sg. relative marker *-bej* to *-boj*. Compare the following sentences.

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| ifi jégabej tokn | She had come. |
| ifi jégaboj tokn | She had not come. |
| ifi jégaboj tena | She will not have come. |

Negative present/future tenses and negative predicative sentences of the equational type are expressed by the morpheme *kaj* which means ‘there be/will not/has not’.

nà fadn-*a kaj*
I count-INF NEG
I do/will not count.

beárn nà je kaj
 tomorrow I come NEG
 I will not come.

neá-s ja:b-us ʃiʃkns kaj
 that-MASC man-DEF good NEG
 That man is not good.

iʃkú gida kaj
 she-GEN force NEG
 She does not have strength.

goibi ʔeáts kätäm kaj téna
 Goba big town NEG copula
 Goba is not a big town.

4.7 Imperative

The singular imperative is the basic form of the verb. It may take an optional suffix *-n(e)*.

m/m-ne
 Eat!

jäg/jé-ne
 Come!

täg/té-ne
 Go!

The plural imperative is formed by suffixing *-(n)it* or *-te* to the singular imperative form. The plural imperative suffix *-te* occurs following the syllabic nasal *-ŋ*.

mit
 Eat! (pl.)

ténit
 Go! (pl.)

jénit
Come! (pl.)

ʃufkn-te
Wash! (pl.)

átn-te
Hold! (pl.)

Negative imperatives infix the auxiliary *-k'o*, the verb 'to remain', between the verb root and the imperative morphemes.

| Singular | Plural |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| tāk'on Do not go! | tāk'onit |
| jék'on/jégàk'on Do not go! | jék'onit/jégàk'onit |

The imperative suffix *-te* does not seem to occur in the negative plural imperative.

4.8 Jussive

The jussive form has a singular imperative stem plus the pronominal affixes in the second person. The first person has a pronominal prefix followed by an infinitive verb. The negative jussive in the second person is formed from the negative imperative stem and the person marking suffixes. The first person, however, has a prefixed pronominal marker, plus the verb root, the auxiliary *-k'e* 'to remain', and the present/future tense marker *-am*.

Affirm./Negative

Singular

| | |
|---|--|
| 1 | <p>ñ-täg-a/ñ-täg-k'e-ám I-go-INF/I-go-AUX-PRES/FUT Let me go/don't let me go</p> |
|---|--|

3m. té-is/tä-k'on-is
 go-IMP-he/go-AUX-he
 Let him go/don't let him go

3f. té-iʃ/tä-k'on-iʃ
 go-IMP-she/go-AUX-she
 Let her go/don't let her go

Plural

1 n-täg-a/n-täg-k'e-am
 we-go-INF/we-go-AUX-PRES/FUT
 Let us go/don't let us go

3 té-n-ʔuʃ/tä-k'on-ʔuʃ
 go-IMP/go-AUX-they
 Let them go/don't let them go

4.9 Passive

The passive morpheme is *-t'/-t*. These two forms of passive markers seem to occur in free variation. Observe the following examples:

| | |
|------|-----------|
| m | mt'a |
| Eat! | was eaten |

| | |
|-------|------------|
| wu:ʃ | wu:ʃta |
| Kill! | was killed |

| | |
|-------|------------|
| éʃk | éʃkut'a |
| Call! | was called |

4.10 Reciprocal

The reciprocal morpheme is *-k'u*. The reciprocal verb stem has the following structure:

VB ROOT + *-k'u* + PASS (PL.IMPV) (TENSE)

fá:z-k'u-t-nit
 insult-RECIPR-PASS-PL.IMPV
 Insult each other!

?uʃkuʃ fá:z-k'u-t-a
 they insult-RECIPR-PASS-PAST
 They insulted each other.

ń-fá:z-k'u-t-a
 we-insult-RECIPR-PASS-PAST
 We insulted each other.

?uʃkuʃ mút-k'u-t-a
 they hit-RECIPR-PASS-PAST
 They hit each other.

5. Syntax

5.1 Word Order

The usual sentence word order is SOV. Observe the following examples:

bà:jà-s keónù-s-a wuʃ:-a
 lion-DEF dog-DEF-ACC kill-PAST
 The lion killed the dog.

keónù-s bà:jà-s-a wuʃ:-a
 dog-DEF lion-DEF-ACC kill PAST
 The dog killed the lion.

jeìb-ń keónù-s-ìʃ aʃku áts-a
 woman-DEF dog-DEF-DAT meat give-PAST
 The woman gave meat to the dog.

5.2 Relative Clauses

The relative clause is marked by the morphemes *-bej* in the third person feminine, and by *-ba* in other persons.

godn jég-a-ba ja:bu-s ʃub-a
 yesterday come-INF-RM man-DEF die-PAST
 The man who came yesterday died.

bà:jà-s wuʃ-m-bej oit-̀n dep'-t'-a
 lion-DEF kill-INF cow-DEF bury-PASS-PAST
 The cow which the lion killed was buried.

5.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are formed from the verb root, the verb of existence *-ki*, and the participle marker *-te*, or a morpheme *-n* which expresses an immediate sequential action.

í:ta jé-ki-té ku:t-tá iʃ-wu:t-a
 house-DIR come-PROGR-PARTIC road-DIR she-fall-PAST
 She fell on the ground when she was coming home.

nà fetu-ki-n òn-wút-am
 I run-PROGR-SEQU I-(will) fall
 When I am running I (will) fall.

5.4 Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are indicated by the morpheme *-k'ata*.

isi fet-k'ata is-wút-am
 he run-if he-fall-PRES/FUT
 If he runs he will fall.

m-k'eá-k'ata òn-nca-am
 eat-AUX/REMAIN-if I thin-PRES/FUT
 If I do not eat I will remain thin.

5.5 Reason Clauses

The morpheme *-bef* is added to the verb stem to express purposive action.

̀n-aʃku-na is-komt-a-beʃ keónù-s-a òn-mú:tn-a
 I meat-ACC it-take-INF-because dog-DEF-ACC I-hit-PAST
 I hit the dog for the reason that it took my meat.

dämbäka ʃiʃkn iʃ-wor-n-bef iʃ-a n̄-utn-a
 very good she-happen-INF-because she-ACC I-love-PAST
 I loved her because she is very beautiful.

k'a:lu-na wo:ʔ-am-bef n̄-ha:ʃn-ki
 coffee-ACC drink-PRES/FUT-because I-want-PROGR
 I want to drink coffee.

5.6 Conjunctions

The morpheme *-ka* is suffixed to all noun phrases which are coordinated.

nà-ka jet-ka ha:s-ka neas-ka
 I and you this and that

iʃi keonu-s-iʃ aʃku-ka ha:j-ka áts-a
 she dog-DEF-DAT meat-and water-and
 She gave meat and water to the dog.

Noun phrases of alternative types are conjoined by *wäje* in declarative sentences and by the morpheme *ma* in questions.

nà wäje jeta nà mà jeta
 I or you. I or you?

ʃoala mà gobʒa jeta ha:ʃn-ki
 injera or taro you want-PROG
 Do you want injera or taro?

When consecutive clauses which have the same subject are conjoined, the antecedent verb takes the converb stem (participle form) obligatorily.

k'aj-te n̄-deh-a
 rise-having we-work-PAST
 We got up and worked.

aʃku-s-a kom-te i:ta té-ne
 meat-DEF-ACC take-having house-DIR go-IMPV
 Take the meat and go home!

Bibliography

- Aklilu Yilma. 1988a. Sheko phonology and grammar. Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University (mimeographed).
- Aklilu Yilma. 1988b. The phonology of Sheko. M.A. Thesis in Linguistics, Addis Ababa University.
- Aklilu Yilma. 1988c. Sheko phonology and morphophonemics: Paper read at the Tenth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Aug. 23–26, 1988. Paris.
- Aklilu Yilma. Two phonological processes in Nayi: palatalization and labialization. In: Taddese et al., eds, 1990.
- Alan, Edgar J. 1976. Dizi. In: M. L. Bender, ed., 1976, 377–392.
- Bender, Marvin L., ed. 1976. The Non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia. East Lansing: Michigan State University.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1925. Sui Linguaggi dei Naa e dei Ghimira (Sce) nell'Etiopia Meridionale. *Rendiconti della reale Accademia dei Lincei (Serie Sesta)* 1:621–636.
- Lange, W. J. 1975. Gimira: remnants of a vanishing culture. Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, Frankfurt/Main: J. W. Goethe Universitaet.
- Taddese Beyene, R. Pankhurst, and Ahmed Zekaraia, eds. 1990. Proceedings of the First National Conference of Ethiopian Studies. April 11–12, 1990. Addis Ababa: AAU.