

VERB INFLECTIONS IN NAYI

BY  
EPHREM DEJENE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE  
STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

SEPT, 2007  
ADDIS ABABA

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

VERB INFLECTIONS IN NAYI


BY  
EPHREM DEJENE

INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES

APPROVED BY:

\_\_\_\_\_  
ADVISOR

  
SIGNAURE

  
EXAMINER

  
SIGNAURE

  
EXAMINER

  
SIGNAURE

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Dr. Girma Awgichew for his valuable advices, material supports and encouragements.

For comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of portions of this study, I wish to thank Dr. Melley Mulugeta, and Dr. Mullugeta Siyum.

Then, my thanks go to my informants Baharu Dubale and Melerasha Demesse Bongo who have contributed the language samples that are cited in the text. While I was in the field, they helped me in many respects besides providing me the necessary data.

My father Dejene Mekuria and my mother Emebet Kebede stand out as deserving special appreciation for efforts above and beyond what, I could possibly have expected.

Some important acknowledgements however, certainly have been omitted, for which I am truly sorry.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Acknowledgement .....	iii
List of Abbreviations and Symbols .....	vii
List of Charts, Figures and Tables .....	ix
Abstract.....	x
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction .....	1
1.1. Background of the Study .....	1
1.1.1. The People .....	1
1.1.2. The Language .....	2
1.2. Statement of the Problem.....	5
1.3. Objective of the Study .....	6
1.4. Methodology .....	6
1.5. Scope of the Study .....	7
1.6. Limitations of the Study .....	8
1.7. Significance of the Study .....	8
1.8. Review of Related Literature .....	9
1.8.1. Previous Works on Nayi .....	9
1.8.2. Theoretical Framework.....	14
CHAPTER TWO: Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Nayi .....	18
2.1. Tense System in Nayi .....	18

2.1.1. The Simple Past Tense.....	19
2.1.2. The Non- Past Tense.....	21
2.2. Aspect in Nayi .....	25
2.2.1. The Progressive Aspect .....	25
2.2.1.1. Present Progressive .....	26
2.2.1.2. Past Progressive .....	28
2.2.1.3. Future Progressive .....	29
2.2.2. The Perfective Aspect.....	31
2.2.3. The Perfect Aspect.....	31
2.2.3.1. Present Perfect .....	32
2.2.3.2. Past Perfect (Pluperfect) .....	33
2.3. Moods in Nayi .....	34
2.3.1. The Indicative Mood in Nayi.....	35
2.3.2. The Interrogative Mood in Nayi .....	38
2.3.3. The Imperative Mood in Nayi .....	41
2.3.4. The Jussive Mood in Nayi .....	43
CHAPTER THREE: Nominal Agreement in the Verbs of Nayi.....	47
3.1. Subject Agreement in Nayi.....	47
3.1.1. Subject Agreement in the Indicative Mood of Nayi .....	48
3.1.2. Subject Agreement in Other Moods of Nayi .....	50
3.1.2.1. Subject Agreement in the Interrogative Mood of Nayi .....	51

3.1.2.2. Subject Agreement in the Imperative Mood of Nayi.....	55
3.1.2.3. Subject Agreement in the Jussive Mood of Nayi .....	56
3.2. Honorific Subject Agreement in Nayi .....	57
3.3. Copula and Subject Agreement in Nayi .....	58
3.4. Object Agreement in Nayi .....	60
CHAPTER FOUR: Some Notes on the Voice and Valency Change in Nayi .....	62
4.1. Active and Passive Construction in Nayi .....	62
4.2. Valency Change in Nayi .....	66
4.2.1. Valency Decrease in Nayi.....	66
4.2.2. Valency Increase in Nayi.....	69
CHAPTER FIVE: Summary and Recommendations .....	71
References	

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<b>AGR</b>	Agreement
<b>CAUS</b>	Causative
<b>COR</b>	Coordinator
<b>DAT</b>	Dative Case
<b>E</b>	Epenthetic Vowel
<b>F</b>	Feminine
<b>↗</b>	Final-Rising-Intonation
<b>FUT</b>	Future Tense
<b>GEN</b>	Genitive
<b>HON</b>	Honorific
<b>IMP</b>	Imperative
<b>INTRRECIP</b>	Intransitive Reciprocal
<b>M</b>	Masculine
<b>NEG</b>	Negative
<b>PAT</b>	Particle
<b>PASS</b>	Passive
<b>PAST</b>	Past Tense
<b>PERF</b>	Perfective Aspect
<b>P</b>	Person

<b>PL</b>	Plural
<b>POSP</b>	Postpositional Phrase
<b>PRES</b>	Present Tense
<b>SG</b>	Singular
<b>TAM</b>	Tense, Aspect, Mood
<b>T</b>	Terminal Vowel
<b>:</b>	Vowel Lengthening

## LIST OF CHARTS, FIGURES, AND TABLES

Chart 1	Consonant Phonemes of Nayi .....	9
Chart 2	The Revised Consonant Phonemes of Nayi .....	11
Chart 3	Vowel Phonemes of Nayi .....	11
Figure 1	The Genetic Classification of Omotic Languages.....	3
Table 1	The Personal Pronouns of Nayi .....	49

## ABSTRACT

This study attempts to answer the necessity of language (in this case ‘endangered’) documentation. The research focuses on the description of the grammar of Nayi, which is one of the least known and endangered languages of Ethiopia. According to Bender (1976), Nayi is an Omotic language which is grouped under the Northern branch of the Dizoid subgroup. It is also one of the tonal languages in the group. It has three (high, mid and low) phonemic tone levels.

This study is purely a descriptive work on the specific parts of the grammar of Nayi, particularly its verb inflections. Therefore, most of the inflections which are born by the verbs of the language are observed. This includes that argument agreements (like; person, number, gender, and honorific), grammatical tense, aspect, and mood of the language. In addition, this research contains some notes on the voice and valency change of Nayi. Beside to identifying their morphological realizations of the inflections of the verbs of the language, their nature and syntactic role in some sections of the study are also discussed. This is mainly because; inflectional morphology of a language has a lot to do with the whole construction of a phrase and/or a sentence.

Regarding argument agreement, it depends on the moods of the language. Except in the indicative mood, in other moods of Nayi, argument agreement is expressed through the pronominal forms of the respective personal pronouns. However, in the indicative mood of the language, only gender is marked morphologically in the verbs of the constructions. There are some exceptions. Gender is marked morphologically only in some tense and

aspect formations of the language. Moreover, in Nayi, tense, aspect and mood are marked morphologically in its verbs. There are, however, some exceptional cases. In relation to this, the indicative mood of the language is not totally marked. Moreover, in some aspects, beside to morphological elements, Nayi uses its copula verbs. By the same token, Nayi applies morphological element to change active sentences into passive counterparts. Valency change is also expressed in the verbs of the language morphologically. To do this, Nayi uses some mechanisms for valency decrease and increase.

# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

This chapter of the study presents some basic introductory remarks. These include the background information about the people of Nayi and their language, statement of the problem, objective, methodology, scope, limitation and significance of the study. In addition, the chapter also incorporates review of related literature, which focuses on reviewing some of the existing works on the language in question and on inflectional morphology at large.

### 1.1. Background of the Study

#### 1.1.1. The People

Most of the speakers of Nayi live in Udadish, Goba, Angela-Menesh and Gushi villages of the Decha district of the Kafa-zone in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS, for short). Some members of the ethnic group live in the district's main town Chiri (currently, renamed as Awrada). In addition, we also find few members of the group inhabiting in Bonga town. Moreover, according to Aklilu (1997), very few Nayi live in other Weredas of the Kafa zone; such as, in the Shoa-Bench and Sheko Weredas. The Nayi

migrated from their original place (i.e. Decha district), to these Weredas either in search of fertile land or to flee war and other conflicts which occurred in the past in their original homeland (ibid).

Other ethnic groups, who dwell in the same area together with the Nayis, have given different names to the Nayi people. For example, according to Aklilu (1991), the Sheko, the Me'en (menit), the Chara, and the Kafa ethnic groups use to call them 'Tolcho', 'Laandi', 'Tol', and 'Nao' respectively. Different literature have also used different names like, 'Nao', 'Naʔo', 'Naa' and 'Nayi' to refer to this people and the language as well. However, the speakers of Nayi prefer to call themselves-'Nayi'. Generally, the name 'Nayi' refers to both the people and the language.

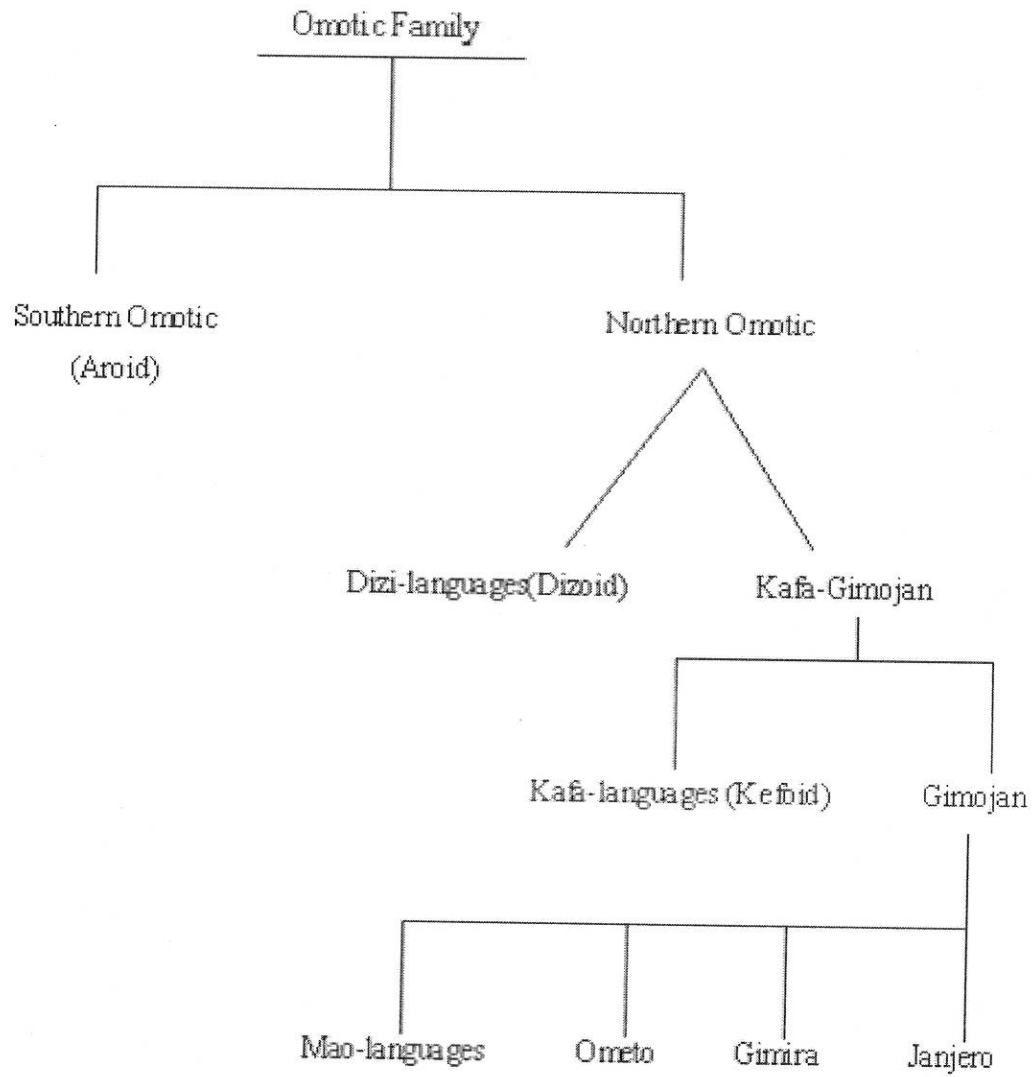
According to Zelalem (2004:37), the number of the people is 4,004. Of these, 3168 (i.e., 79%) speak the language as their mother tongue. Of the total number of the group, only 1137 (i.e., 28%) are monolinguals. While the majority of them, which accounts for 2867 (i.e., 71.6%) are bilinguals.

Basically, they are engaged in farming for their living. They also practice animal husbandry. Their typical food is *ibu*, which is called *k'očč'o* in Amharic. This is the edible part of the root of *údu* or *ínsät* in Amharic.

In terms of belief, almost all of them are Orthodox Christians with some recently baptized Protestants. Some of the Orthodox Christians of this ethnic group also practice traditional belief, which is called *käy*.

### **1.1.2. The Language**

According to Bender (1976:11), Nayi belongs to the Dizoid sub-group under the Northern sub-branch of the Omotic language family. It is one of the tonal languages in the group; and according to Aklilu (1997), Nayi has three phonemic tone levels. These are, *high* tone marked by /'/, *mid* tone (unmarked) and *low* tone marked by /ˋ/. In Nayi, there are also two syllabic nasals: /m/ and /n/, and both of them carry tone. Through out this study, I have adopted Aklilu's way of marking the three phonemic tone levels of the language. Below is the classification of the Omotic family.



**Figure 1** The Genetic Classification of the Omotic Languages

Adopted from Bender (1976:4)

The language in question has strong genetic affiliation with the Dizi languages like Sheko, which is spoken north of the Me'en between Gurraferda and Mizan

Teferi (cf. Marcus, 1976:605). The similarity between Dizi and Nayi is estimated around 65% in terms of vocabulary correlation (ibid).

Further more, Nayi is one of the least known and endangered languages of Ethiopia. Explaining the reason for the endangerment of Nayi, Aklilu (1997), Zelalem (2004), and Bender (2000), among other reasons, relate it to the fact that Nayi is a relatively smaller ethnic group as compared to the other neighboring ethnic groups. The people of Nayi have been leaving their language out and are becoming speakers of the dominant language spoken around (i.e., Kefinono); this assimilation assumes other cultural transitions as well. As a result, these days, most of the speakers of Nayi speak Kefinono. By the same token; most of 'Nayi' youngsters have started speaking Kefinono as their first language. So, these young people are Nayi only by blood and flesh but not by the language they use. Many of them also speak Amharic in addition to Kefinono. There are, in fact, very few youngsters who still speak Nayi at home domain. There are some factors that contributed for the language shift to be very fast among the young generation of Nayi. Among other reasons, the fact that Kefinono becoming the medium of instruction and working language in the zone has influenced the language use of the zone.

According to Aklilu and Siebert (1995) as cited in Zelalem (2004), intermarriage between Nayi and other ethnic groups such as Kafa, Chara, Dime, Amhara is claimed to be the other reason for the endangerment of the language. But mostly, Nayi people get married to members of Kafa ethnic group. In such situations, the Nayi usually ignore their language and get assimilated to their spouse's culture and language. The reason for this is that relatively almost all of the other ethnic groups who dwell in the area together with Nayi are more dominant in size than Nayi. In general, the language is really at the brink of extinction.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

There are approximately 6,700 distinct languages spoken worldwide. Around 4,000 of them have received little or no significant linguistic description (cf. Grimes 1992 in Payne, 1997). Hence, the pace of extinction of many of the world's endangered languages has been accelerated. According to Krauss (1992), as cited in Payne, (1997), about 3,000 of the 6,700 or so languages spoken today in the world will become extinct in the present century. In this regard, as stated above, Nayi is one of the languages that are facing this acute problem.

According to Payne (1997:1), when a language dies without written records, there is no doubt that almost all potential assets for enriching societal experiences and

wisdoms of that culture which are embedded in the oral tradition will be lost forever. Though, description of a language alone does not totally solve the problem of languages and cultures extinction, it is an important and primary part of the solution (ibid).

Nayi, like many other endangered and least known languages of Ethiopia, is neither documented, nor described sufficiently. However, few attempts have been made to describe part of its grammar as we will see in the literature review section of this study. As this thesis is bounded by time and other constraints, it will not attempt to describe the entire grammatical facts existing in the language. Rather, it deals with just one part of the grammar of Nayi, that is, verb inflections.

### **1.3. Objectives of the Study**

The basic objective of this study is to make a description of the verb inflections of Nayi. This includes:

- ▶ identifying the different types of tenses, aspects, and moods which are marked inflectionally in the verbs of the language,

► presenting some facts about verbal agreements (such as, person, number, gender and honorificity), and

► the study also aims at examining the voice and valency change of Nayi.

#### **1.4. Methodology**

For the purpose of this research, first, different books, articles, published and unpublished paperbacks, which are relevant for the work from various sources including from the internet have been reviewed. The aim of such a review was to have good understanding of inflectional morphology (in this case, verbal inflections) of a language. It was also done for the sake of having some information on the language and the people of Nayi.

Next, word lists, phrases, sentences and texts to be elicited from native speaker of the language were prepared. Then, data collection has been taken place. The techniques which were employed to collect the data were tape-recording along with transcription. The recording was mainly meant for rechecking the data for accuracy and, for further future reference or documentation.

The subsequent stage was the analysis of the data. This was carried out carefully and attentively. Finally, rechecking of the data was done. The data was checked with the old people of this ethnic group whose mother tongue is Nayi. This was to avoid the tremendous influence of the area's dominant language (i.e., Kefinono).

The person from whom the data was elicited is Baharu Dubale. He is thirty-five-year old and a native speaker of Nayi. He also speaks Kefinono and Amharic as his second and third languages respectively. He was born and grew up in Udadish village, where many of the ethnic group lives in. Currently, he lives in Chiri. He is friendly to work with and cooperative.

### **1.5. Scope of the Study**

This study is limited to morphology, particularly identifying the different verbal inflections of Nayi. However, it is clear that the inflectional part of morphology has much interface with syntax. In other words, though inflectional morphemes are morphological elements, but their functions are correlated with the whole construction of a phrase and/or a sentence. So, in some sections of the paper, syntactic issues become mandatory to be discussed. Hence, the scope of this study at some points will go to the extent of touching aspects of morphosyntax. However, verbal inflections are the main focus of the study.

## **1.6. Limitations of the Study**

Because of time and other constraints, this research lacks a detailed description of tone. This is mainly because no grammatical function of tone is recognized. Therefore, the study shows tone as it is serving just lexical function. In addition, this research could not find out the status of the morpheme /-b-/, which occurs in the indicative constructions only in some tenses and aspects of the language.

## **1.7. Significance of the Study**

The results of this study will be significantly applicable in several ways. Among others, this research will have some contributions for the documentation of the language (i.e., Nayi), which is endangered. In addition, this piece of work is also hoped to initiate other language researchers to conduct further studies on the language. Last but not least, this study, of course, will add some information to the already existing linguistic knowledge of the language.

## **1.8. Review of Related Literature**

In this section, some of the existing works on the language in question are reviewed. In addition, in relation to the focus of this research, some relevant theoretical issues about inflectional morphology are also discussed.

### **1.8.1. Previous Works on Nayi**

In fact, there are very few works which have been done on the language. According to Aklilu (1997), the consonant and vowel phonemes of the language look as follows.

#### **Consonant Phonemes of Nayi**

The language has twenty-nine consonant phonemes. These are presented below:

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
stops	Voiced	b	d			g	
	Voiceless		t ts	č	ç	k	
Fricatives	Voiced		z	ž	ʐ		
	Voiceless		s	š	ʂ		h
Nasals		m M	n N				
Trill			r				
Semi-vowel		w		y			
Glottalized		p'	t' s'	c'	ç'	k'	ʔ

**Chart 1** Consonant Phonemes of Nayi  
Adopted from Aklilu (1997:601)

Some modifications to the above consonant chart have been made. The modifications are: (1) the term that Aklilu uses to refer to the glottal egressive sounds is 'glottalized'; and I prefer to label them as Ejectives for the term glottalized would not be confused as if it is meant to refer to a phonological process (like labialization or palatalization). (2) Aklilu considers /ts/ and /c/ as voiceless stops but these sounds are actually affricates; and as a result, another row with a status of affricate, which does not exist in Aklilu's chart, has been introduced to hold these phonemes separately.

(3) The symbols /M/ and /N/ are represented, in Aklilu's chart, as bilabial and alveolar nasals respectively together with the most common bilabial and alveolar nasals, i.e., /m/ and /n/. Since /N/, in Nayi, is found to be a uvular nasal and since, as far as the present knowledge of the world languages' sounds are concerned, it is not plausible that two different nasal phonemes would be produced at the alveolar ridge; therefore, this sound (/N/) is put in the uvular column.

The case with /M/ is a bit different; because the words having this sound are related to food and eating. For instance, 'food' is pronounced just like the English interjection /Uhhmm/, which is a paralinguistic utterance and is difficult to separate the /m/ sounding segment from the rest part of the utterance. Because /m/, in this case, is not said out as a distinct sound but rather as resonance—which is the main difference between speech sounds during speaking and singing (Ladefoged, 2001). Because of this fact and since this variant of /m/, if at all, it can be called /m/, occurs only in some words just word initially, and since, virtually, like stated above, it is not heard of two sounds (/m/ and /M/) appearing as bilabial nasals. Thus, it would be reasonable to take /M/ off from the phonemic chart of Nayi considering it as an allophone of /m/; and the /M/ used hereunder in the text represents the /Uhhmm/ just due to the absence of an IPA symbol representing it. The resulting consonant chart looks like the following:

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
stops	Voiced	b	d			g		
	Voiceless		t		ç	k		ʔ
Fricatives	Voiced		z	ž	ʐ			
	Voiceless		s	š	ʂ			h
Affricates			ts	c				
Nasals		m	n				N	
Trill			r					
Semi-vowel		w		y				
Ejectives		p'	t' s'	c'	ç'	k'		

**Chart 2** The Revised Consonant Phonemes of Nayi

### **Vowel Phonemes of Nayi**

The language has six short vowel phonemes. Except the mid-central vowel, the remaining five short vowels of the language have long counterparts. However, according to Aklilu (1991), the status of /ä/ needs further investigation. The vowel phonemes of Nayi are the following ones;

	<b>Front</b>	<b>Central</b>	<b>Back</b>
<b>High</b>	i, i:		u, u:
<b>Mid</b>	e, e:	(ə)	o, o:
<b>Low</b>		a, a:	

**Chart 3** Vowel Phonemes of Nayi  
Adopted from Aklilu (1997:602)

According to Aklilu (1991), in Nayi, phonological processes especially palatalization and labialization are common. Most of the consonants of the language can be palatalized and labialized in some specific environments. Regarding the vowel phonemes of Nayi, they can be retroflexed when they appear before and/or after retroflex consonant. In Nayi, gemination is phonemic (Aklilu 1991). Aklilu identifies the most common syllable types of the language that are: CV (consonant-vowel) and CVC (consonant-vowel-consonant).

Aklilu (1991), discusses also some other phonological facts about the distribution of the phonemes of the language. Accordingly, he claimed that except the affricates /c, c'/ and the lateral /l/, which only occur word medially and finally, almost all the other consonantal phonemes of the language can occur in all positions of the language's lexemes. A consonant cluster is only permitted at word medial and final positions. The clusters of the consonants should not exceed

more than two consonants. On the other hand, regarding the distribution of the vowels, he states that except the mid-central vowel, all the remaining vowels can occur in all positions in the words of the language. But, the mid-central vowel, i.e., /ä/, does not occur at word initial position.

Aklilu (1997) also presents some general grammatical notes on the language under study. For example, the basic word order of Nayi is SOV; nouns, in Nayi, are inflected for number, gender, definiteness and case. Like noun, in Nayi, adjectives too are inflected for number, gender, and definiteness. In noun phrases, adjectives precede the head noun. Regarding the verb morphology particularly the verb inflection of the language, he states that the verbs of Nayi are inflected for tense, aspect and mood. Accordingly, the language has three tenses, six aspects, and two moods (ibid). In fact, the focus of this study, to some extent, overlaps with that of Aklilu's work. However, this research covers a wide range of verb inflections of the language. This study attempts to fill some of the gaps that were not considered by Aklilu. For instance, this study examines nominal agreement in the verbs of Nayi and a detail description of tense, aspect, and mood. In general, as I have just mentioned, Aklilu's work is a kind of grammatical sketch. So, the main difference between this study and Aklilu's work lies on the degree of emphasis.

In addition, Bender has contributed a lot on the description of Omotic languages. He has also touched upon some of the grammatical issue of Nayi for the purpose of comparison that he has made in related languages with in the Omotic family. Bender (2000), for example, displays a comparative work on the morphology of these languages. Accordingly, based on his morphological analysis, he puts Dizoid and Aroid together. Moreover, Bender (2003) presents another work on the lexicon and phonology of Omotic languages. According to this work, Bender has grouped Nayi under the 07 Dizoid<sup>1</sup> with Dizi and Sheko. This is based on their lexicon and phonological similarities. In short, Bender's works are comparative in nature.

Moreover, Firehiwot Takele (2001), which is a B.A thesis on the noun phrase of Nayi, tries to identify the different constituents of noun phrase and how they are distributed within larger constructions (mainly within sentences). She has also presented how the constituents of noun phrase are patterned along with their different functions within sentences.

---

<sup>1</sup> 07 Dizoid is a name which is given by Bender to refer to Nayi, Sheko and Dizi which share many lexical and phonological features.

### 1.8.2. Theoretical Framework

Linguistics is a dynamic science. It has been undergoing through different developmental stages by formulating different approaches<sup>2</sup> to the study of human languages. These approaches and theories have been flourishing at different times in the history of Linguistics in order to have good and creditable grammatical descriptions of the world languages. Hence, a linguist is expected to describe languages' grammars in light of one of these linguistics approaches.

To describe the grammar of an endangered language, it would be a success if it is as detailed as possible and if it is possible to avoid (or at least minimize) the influence of the dominant language(s) in the area, in the study (description of the endangered language). This implies that while an endangered language is demanding basic descriptions, and while there are a number of other 'healthy' languages, trying to test different linguistic approaches on an endangered language would sound unfair.

---

<sup>2</sup> The most prominent approaches include: traditionalists, structuralists, generativists, minimalists. These theoretical camps have their respective unique positions though they emerged from common grounds.

Therefore, this study does not aim at testing any of the theories of linguistics. Rather, it focuses on the structural description of Nayi, which, in turn, would mean that the study aims at documenting a part of the language's grammar i.e., verb inflections. This is because the case of endangered languages is quite special. An endangered language is different from other healthy languages in many respects. Among others, its grammar could not be as original as it was in its healthy time, code switching, code mixing, borrowing of words from another language(s) from which the dominant and the viable language(s) are very much common. Generally, an endangered language may lose many of its original features. Let us now consider some theoretical issues which are relevant for the topic of this study.

Morphology, one of the sub-fields of linguistics, is defined by Matthews (1991:9) as "the branch of grammar that deals with the internal structure of words". Morphology has other sub-fields. An inflectional morphology and word-formation processes (which include derivational morphology and compounding) are its sub-divisions. Only inflectional morphology is given much attention in the review presented below for it is the central subject of this study.

Though, the two sub-fields (i.e., derivation and inflection) of morphology are defined differently, it is often very difficult to draw a clear line between them. For

many years, linguists have tried to characterize the two sub-fields differently. However, they could not present a satisfactory borderline. Among others, the followings are the major characteristics which are expected to show by inflections, and the opposite of these characters define derivations.

According to Spencer (1991), inflections do not change class category of a given word into which they are attached. They have also a regular meaning and they are considered to be more productive than the derivational ones. Moreover, inflections are peripheral affixes to the root of a given word and they are closed set of affixes. However, in some languages, the above mentioned features of inflections may be shared by derivations as well; and therefore our definition of inflection and derivation separately would not account for the actual fact in all languages of the world.

Inflectional morphology, in addition to the above mentioned features, is also characterized as follows:

...inflectional properties are “syntactic” in the relevant sense insofar as they are assigned to words by principles which make essential reference to larger syntactic structures. This entails “inflectional” status for categories which are necessarily accessible to such a principle in order for it to operate on some

other form; that is , if an agreement rule causes item X to agree with item Y in property P, then P is an inflectional property for both X and Y (Anderson 1982:87-88).

In the grammars of particular languages the section of inflection will describe the ‘declensions’ of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, and the ‘conjugations’ of verbs, according to selected models of formation, or ‘paradigms’<sup>3</sup> Lyons (1968:195).

In light of the above definitions and characteristics of inflectional morphology, it is logical to infer the fact that although inflections are morphological elements that are found in the internal structure of words, their roles/functions go to the extent of syntax. Spencer (1991) also strengthens this claim by saying the following:

Inflectional operations leave untouched the syntactic category of the base, but they too add extra elements. These are elements of meaning (for example, tense, aspect, mood, negation and so on) and also grammatical function. For instance, an inflectional operation may turn an intransitive verb

---

<sup>3</sup> According to Lyons (1968), the term paradigm refers to selected model or example by giving all the forms for one chosen member of the type.

into a transitive one or an active verb form into a passive one (though some morphologists would regard such alternations as derivational morphology). The two most wide spread and important types of grammatical function served by inflection are agreement (or concord) and government (Spencer, 1991:21).

Thus, most of the issues touched upon in this section would be of great values in framing this study. For example, the research attempts to look into most of the inflections of Nanyi whose functions go to the level of syntax. In other words, this study would treat intersection areas between morphology and syntax, that is, morphosyntax for short. Yet verb inflections are the main concern of the study.

29/10/23

## CHAPTER TWO

### Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Nayi

According to Payne (1997), tense, aspect, and mode<sup>o</sup> (TAM, for short) are operations that anchor or ground the information expressed in a clause according to its sequential, temporal, or epistemological orientation. Tense is associated with the sequence of events in real time, aspect with the internal temporal "structure" of a situation while, <sup>mood</sup> mode relates the speaker's attitude toward the situation or the speaker's commitment to the probability that the situation is true. Tense, aspect and mode are sometimes difficult to tease apart (Payne, 1997:233). This implies that in a grammatical description of a language like this one, the most challenging and sometimes overlapping aspect is the system of tense, aspect, and mood.

In Nayi, the system of TAM is the property of verb and it is marked inflectionally in the verbs. The following sections of this part will deal with this point. Thus, in addition to their morphological realization, syntactic manifestations of tense, aspect and mood will also be discussed.

## **2.1. Tense System in Nayi**

According to Lyons, (1968), the essential characteristic of the category of tense is that it relates to the time of the action, event or state of affairs referred in the sentence at the time of utterance (the time of utterance being 'now'). Tense is, therefore, a deictic category, which is like all syntactic features partly or wholly dependent upon deixis. Deictic category refers to the 'orientation' features of a language which are relative to the time and place of utterances. It is simultaneously a property of the sentence and the utterance (Lyons, 1968:305). In relation to this, there are two types of tense distinctions in Nayi. These are the past and the non-past tenses. The past one refers to the simple past tense of the language. However, the non-past tense refers to present and future tenses. In Nayi, both tenses are marked morphologically in the verbs of their respective constructions. In the following sections, each of them is presented independently.

### **2.1.1. The Simple Past Tense**

The simple past tense is marked morphologically in the verbs of the language. The suffix /-a/ indicates both the past and completive action (much will be said about this in the section of 'aspect'). It is attached to the stem verbs of the constructions. Consider the following example:

(1) a. nà M-a

I eat-PAST

'I ate'

b. nákis M-a

we eat-PAST

'We ate'

c. yätä M-a

you<sub>(SG M)</sub> eat-PAST

'You ate'

d. yätä M-a

you<sub>(SG F)</sub> eat-PAST

'You ate'

e. itkis M-a

you<sub>(PL)</sub> eat-PAST

'You ate'

f. is M-a

he eat-PAST

'He ate'

g. iš M-a

she eat-PAST

'She ate'

h. ʔuškuš M-a

they eat-PAST

'They ate'

As we can see from the above data, the verbs of the language are marked morphologically for the simple past tense by the suffix /-a/. This holds true even when the subjects of the constructions are changed.

### 2.1.2. The Non-Past Tense

The non-past tense of Nayi includes present and future tenses. In Nayi, the two tenses (present and future) are not varied in structure. In order to indicate present and future tenses, the language employs one and the same morphological element by directly attaching it to the stem verbs. Therefore, it is the contexts of the utterance and/or by using adverbial phrases which can express the time of a given action that we realize whether or not a given construction is meant for present or future tense. The marker of this tense (i.e., non-past) is the infix /-am-/. Consider the following example:

(2) a. nà k'eak'u c'ak'-am-b-á

I wood chop-FUT/PRES-b-M

'I (will) chop wood'

- b. nákis k'eak'u c'ak'-am-b-á  
 we wood chop-FUT/PRES-b-M  
 'We (will) chop wood'
- c. yätä k'eak'u c'ak'-am-b-á  
 you<sub>(SG M)</sub> wood chop-FUT/PRES-b-M  
 'You (will) chop wood'
- d. yätä k'eak'u c'ak'-am-b-éy  
 you<sub>(SG F)</sub> wood chop-FUT/PRES-b-F  
 'You (will) chop wood'
- e. itkis k'eak'u c'ak'-am-b-á  
 you<sub>(PL)</sub> wood chop-FUT/PRES-b-M  
 'You (will) chop wood'
- f. is k'eak'u c'ak'-am-b-á  
 he wood chop-FUT/PRES-b-M  
 'He (will) chop wood'
- g. iš k'eak'u c'ak'-am-b-éy  
 she wood chop-FUT/PRES-b-F  
 'She (will) chop wood'
- h. ʔuškuš k'eak'u c'ak'-am-b-á  
 they wood chop-FUT/PRES-b-M  
 'They (will) chop wood'

As can be seen from the above example, the tense marker is followed by the gender markers. Here, the gender markers are /-á/ and /-éy/, the former indicating a masculine gender and the later one showing a feminine gender (see section 3.1.1. for a detail discussion of this point).

In addition to the main verbs of the language, the copula verbs too are varied for the past and non-past tense formations. However, their difference is not marked morphologically rather, it is lexical. Look at the following example:

(3) a. p'it'a    nà    téna

beautiful I copula(PRES)

'I am beautiful'

b. p'it'a    nákis    téna

beautiful we copula(PRES)

'We are beautiful'

c. p'it'a    yátá    téna

beautiful you<sub>(SG M)</sub> copula(PRES)

'You are handsome'

d. p'it'a    yàtà    téna

beautiful you<sub>(SG F)</sub> copula(PRES)

'You are beautiful'

- e. p'it'a itkis téna  
 beautiful you<sub>(PL)</sub> copula(PRES)  
 'You are beautiful'
- f. p'it'a is téna  
 beautiful he copula(PRES)  
 'He is handsome'
- g. p'it'a iš téna  
 beautiful she copula(PRES)  
 'She is beautiful'
- h. p'it'a ʔuškuš téna  
 beautiful they copula(PRES)  
 'They are beautiful'

As it is clearly shown in the above example, the copula verb /téna/ is used in the present tense formation. But, in order to make its past counterpart, the language uses the copula /tókN/. See the following example:

- (4) a. p'it'a nà tókN  
 beautiful I copula(PAST)  
 'I was beautiful'

b. p'it'a nákis tókN

beautiful we copula(PAST)

'We were beautiful'

c. p'it'a yätä tókN

beautiful you<sub>(SG M)</sub> copula(PAST)

'You were handsome'

d. p'it'a yätä tókN

beautiful you<sub>(SG F)</sub> copula(PAST)

'You were beautiful'

e. p'it'a itkis tókN

beautiful you<sub>(PL)</sub> copula(PAST)

'You were beautiful'

f. p'it'a is tókN

beautiful he copula(PAST)

'He was handsome'

g. p'it'a iš tókN

beautiful she copula(PAST)

'She was beautiful'

h. p'it'a ʔuškuš tókN

beautiful they copula(PAST)

'They were beautiful'

The examples (3) and (4) above justify the fact that the difference between the copulas is not marked morphologically although they differ in the case of past and non-past tense formations. Therefore, in Nayi, tense is not marked inflectionally in the copula verbs; but this is not the case in the main verbs of the language, where it is marked inflectionally.

Moreover, the copula verbs of Nayi are also used in the formations of different aspects. In this case, they are used as a tense marker for a certain aspect. Thus, tense can be differentiated by the use of the copulas in various aspects. This assertion will be clear in the next section, which will mainly deal on grammatical aspect of Nayi.

## **2.2. Aspect in Nayi**

Contrary to the category of tense, which is a deictic category, aspect is not relative to the time of utterance. It describes the internal temporal shape of events or states (cf. Payne, 1997:238). As the system of tense, aspect too is inflected morphologically in the verbs of Nayi. Accordingly, there are three types of aspect in the language. These are the progressive, perfective, and perfect aspects. Each of them is discussed below in some details.

### **2.2.1. The Progressive Aspect**

In Nayi, the progressive aspect is marked inflectionally. This inflectional element is the suffix /-ki/, and the progressive aspect can be formed in relation to the tenses that are found in the language. The following sub-sections will examine the progressive aspect in connection to the tenses of the language.

#### **2.2.1.1. Present Progressive**

As can be seen in the example below, in order for a given statement to be in the present progressive aspect, the language uses the suffix /-ki/. However, there is no element showing the fact that the sentence is in the present tense. As mentioned earlier, in Nayi, present tense (if it is not uttered in relation to any aspect) is marked by the infix /-am-/. However, in the present progressive aspect, its tense (i.e., present tense) is completely unmarked. The copulas (which normally mark tense in different aspects) are not used totally here in the present progressive aspect formation.

When the progressive aspect marker is attached, the form of the stem verb will be modified. This is particularly true if the stem verb ends with /g/ sound. In this case, /g/ will lose its voicedness and becomes /k/. This is a regressive assimilation

process which is triggered by the attachment of the progressive aspect marker suffix /-ki/. This is obviously because /k/, which is the first sound of the suffix /-ki/, is the voiceless counter part of /g/. This is also shown in the past progressive aspect formation too; because, there also, the verb ends with /g/ sound. However, in the future progressive aspect, where the verb ends with another consonant (not ended with /g/), this kind of phonological processes does not occurred. To verify all these points, see the following example:

(5) a. nà yäg-ki

I come-PROG

‘I am coming’

b. nákis yäg-ki

we come-PROG

‘We are coming’

c. yätä yäg-ki

you<sub>(SG M)</sub> come-PROG

‘You are coming’

d. yätä yäg-ki

you<sub>(SG F)</sub> come-PROG

‘You are coming’

e. itkis yäg-ki

you<sub>(PL)</sub> come-PROG

‘You are coming’

f. is yäg-ki

he come-PROG

‘He is coming’

g. iš yäg-ki

she come-PROG

‘She is coming’

h. ʔuškuš yäg-ki

they come-PROG

‘They are coming’

### 2.2.1.2. Past Progressive

Like the present progressive aspect, the past progressive aspect too is marked inflectionally in the verbs of the language. The past progressive aspect is marked too by the morpheme /-ki/ which serves similar purpose (i.e., marking progressive aspect). Therefore, the form of the main verb in the past progressive and present progressive aspects is the same. Yet, in the past progressive aspect, the copula verb /tókN/ (that is the past tense form of /téna/<sup>4</sup>) is used to indicate the tense (i.e., past tense) of a given past progressive aspect construction. As mentioned earlier, the morphological element that designates the simple past tense of a given

---

<sup>4</sup> For a detail discussion about the nature of the copulas of the language, see section 2.1.2.

construction is the suffix /-a/. However, in order to show the past tense of a given past progressive aspect, the language uses the past form of the copula verb /téna/ that is, /tókN/. The following example will make the above points clear.

(6) a. nà teg-ki-b-á tókN

I go- PROG-b-M copula(PAST)

‘I was going’

b. nákis teg-ki-b-á tókN

we go- PROG-b-M copula(PAST)

‘We were going’

c. yätä teg-ki-b-á tókN

you<sub>(SG M)</sub> go- PROG-b-M copula(PAST)

‘You were going’

d. yätä teg-ki-b-éy tókN

you<sub>(SG F)</sub> go- PROG-b-F copula(PAST)

‘You were going’

e. itkis teg-ki-b-á tókN

you<sub>(PL)</sub> go- PROG-b-M copula(PAST)

‘You were going’

f. is teg-ki-b-á tókN

he go- PROG-b-M copula(PAST)

‘He was going’

g. iš teg-ki-b-éy tókN

she go- PROG-b-F copula(PAST)

‘She was going’

h. ʔuškuš teg-ki-b-á tókN

they go- PROG-b-M copula(PAST)

‘They were going’

### 2.2.1.3. Future Progressive

The other type of the progressive aspect that is also marked morphologically by the suffix /-ki/ in the verbs of the language is the future progressive aspect. In Nayi, the future progressive aspect is formed in the same way as the present and past progressive aspect formations. This is true only regarding the form of the main verbs of the constructions. However, in the future progressive aspect formation, the copula verb /téna/ that is, in its present tense form is used. The present and/or future tense marker (i.e., the infix /-am-/) does not occur here in the future progressive aspect construction of the language. Consider the following example:

(7) a. nà hà:y ídN-ki-b-á téna

I water fetch-PROG-b-M copula(PRES)

‘I will be fetching water’

- b. nákis hà:y ídN-ki-b-á téna  
 we water fetch-PROG-b-M copula(PRES)  
 ‘We will be fetching water’
- c. yätä hà:y ídN-ki-b-á téna  
 you<sub>(SG M)</sub> water fetch-PROG-b-M copula(PRES)  
 ‘You will be fetching water’
- d. yätä hà:y ídN-ki-b-éy téna  
 you<sub>(SG F)</sub> water fetch-PROG-b-F copula(PRES)  
 ‘You will be fetching water’
- e. itkis hà:y ídN-ki-b-á téna  
 you<sub>(PL)</sub> water fetch-PROG-b-M copula(PRES)  
 ‘You will be fetching water’
- f. is hà:y ídN-ki-b-á téna  
 he water fetch-PROG-b-M copula(PRES)  
 ‘He will be fetching water’
- g. iš hà:y ídN-ki-b-éy téna  
 she water fetch-PROG-b-F copula(PRES)  
 ‘She will be fetching water’
- h. ʔuškuš hà:y ídN-ki-b-á téna  
 they water fetch-PROG-b-M copula(PRES)  
 ‘They will be fetching water’

### **2.2.2. The Perfective Aspect**

This aspect is marked morphologically in the verbs of the language. To indicate this, Nayi uses the suffix /-a/ by attaching it to the stem verbs. As we have seen earlier, the simple past tense of the language is also marked by the same suffix (i.e., /-a/). Hence, the suffix /-a/ is used as a homophonous morpheme by indicating two different grammatical phenomena (i.e., the simple past tense and the perfective/completive aspect). The example which was presented in section 2.1.1 can also be considered as the perfective aspect construction.

### **2.2.3. The Perfect Aspect**

Nayi forms the perfect aspect by using the perfective aspect verb form and the two copula verbs of the language, the copulas marking tense. These are the past and the non-past—in this case, the non-past tense refers to only the present one—not to the future. So, the past and the non-past tenses are marked by the two different copulas. As a result, we will have one perfect aspect having one of the copulas to mark present tense and another perfect aspect having the other copula marking the past tense. Below, this aspect is going to be discussed in relation to the tenses of the language.

### 2.2.3.1. Present Perfect

This grammatical aspect tells about the action of the verb which is completed in the past but, its outcome still exists in the present time. To form this, Nayi uses the perfective aspect verb form. However, in order to indicate the tense of a given present perfect aspect (in this case, present tense), the language uses the copula verb /téna/ which is the present tense form of /tókN/. To verify this point, look at the following data:

(8) a. nà ba:yá wuš-a-b-á téna

I lion kill-PERF-b-M copula(PRES)

‘I have killed a lion’

b. nákis ba:yá wuš-a-b-á téna

we lion kill-PERF-b-M copula(PRES)

‘We have killed a lion’

c. yätä ba:yá wuš-a-b-á téna

you<sub>(SG M)</sub> lion kill-PERF-b-M copula(PRES)

‘You have killed a lion’

d. yätä ba:yá wuš-a-b-éy téna

you<sub>(SG F)</sub> lion kill-PERF-b-F copula(PRES)

‘You have killed a lion’

e. itkis ba:yá wuš-a-b-á téna  
you<sub>(PL)</sub> lion kill-PERF-b-M copula(PRES)

‘You have killed a lion’

f. is ba:yá wuš-a-b-á téna  
he lion kill-PERF-b-M copula(PRES)

‘He has killed a lion’

g. iš ba:yá wuš-a-b-éy téna  
she lion kill-PERF-b-F copula(PRES)

‘She has killed a lion’

h. ʔuškuš ba:yá wuš-a-b-á téna  
they lion kill-PERF-b-M copula(PRES)

‘They have killed a lion’

### 2.2.3.2. Past Perfect (Pluperfect)

The past perfect aspect is formed in the same way as the present perfect one. That is, by making use of the same perfective aspect verb form. Their difference lies in the use of the copulas. In the past perfect aspect formation, the copula verb /téna/- which was used in the present perfect aspect—is changed into its past form (i.e., /tókN/). The reason for this is that in order to indicate the tense of a given pluperfect aspect (i.e., past tense). Consider the following example:

(9) a. nà sok'-a-b-á tókN

I sleep-PERF-b-M copula(PAST)

'I had slept'

b. nákis sok'-a-b-á tókN

we sleep-PERF-b-M copula(PAST)

'We had slept'

c. yätä sok'-a-b-á tókN

you<sub>(SG M)</sub> sleep-PERF-b-M copula(PAST)

'You had slept'

d. yätä sok'-a-b-éy tókN

you<sub>(SG F)</sub> sleep-PERF-b-F copula(PAST)

'You had slept'

e. itkis sok'-a-b-á tókN

you<sub>(PL)</sub> sleep-PERF-b-M copula(PAST)

'You had slept'

f. is sok'-a-b-á tókN

he sleep-PERF-b-M copula(PAST)

'He had slept'

g. iš sok'-a-b-éy tókN

she sleep-PERF-b-F copula(PAST)

'She had slept'

h. ʔuškuš sok'-a-b-á tókN  
they sleep-PERF-b-M copula(PAST)  
'They had slept'

### 2.3. Mood in Nayi

According to Palmer (1986:21), mood is not expressed in all languages within the verbal morphology. It may be expressed through modal verbs. In Nayi, in addition to grammatical tense and aspect, some of the mood types are expressed inflectionally in the verbs. For instance, the imperative and jussive moods of the language are the major ones. This is the case when these moods are in their respective affirmative and negative forms. However, some other moods of the language are not marked totally. The best example for this is that the indicative mood of the language. Beside to the imperative and jussive moods of the language, however, the indicative mood also shows its negative counterpart morphologically.

Moreover, though the affirmative-interrogative mood of the language is not expressed morphologically, its negative counterpart is marked morphologically. In relation to this, the interrogative mood of Nayi is expressed by a final-rising

intonation. Therefore, in Nayi, there are about four<sup>5</sup> types of moods. In the following sections of this part, each of them will be discussed.

### **2.3.1. The Indicative Mood in Nayi**

The indicative mood is also named as declarative mood. According to Lyons (1968:307), declarative sentences are types of sentences which express simple statements of fact, unqualified with respect to the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying. In relation to this, the indicative mood of a language is strictly speaking a non-modal ('unmarked') for mood. This is also true in Nayi. This mood is not marked morphologically in the verbs of the language. Indicative structures are uttered without any inflectional element which would show the indicative mood. The data used above make the assertion just made clear. However, all the data which were discussed in the above sections are presented in the affirmative form of this mood. But, in this section, the indicative mood will be discussed in relation to its negative counterpart.

---

<sup>5</sup> In fact, the language could also have other types of moods which are expressed by modal verbs. However, the ones are enough to show how the verbs of the language and some of its moods go together.

In Nayi, when some constructions are uttered in the negative-indicative mood, the verbs of the constructions are marked morphologically only for negation. Contrary to this, the verbs are not inflected for the affirmative form of indicative mood. Consider the following examples:

- (10) a. is godN yäg-ó-a  
 he yesterday come-NEG-PAST  
 ‘He did not come yesterday’
- b. nà fadN-ó-a  
 I count-NEG-PAST  
 ‘I did not count’
- c. nà yäg-a-b-ó-á tókN  
 I come-PERF-b-NEG-M copula(PAST)  
 ‘I had not come’
- d. iš yäg-a-b-ó-éy tókN  
 she come-PERF-b-NEG-F copula(PAST)  
 ‘She had not come’
- e. iš yäg-a-b-ó-éy téna  
 she come-PERF-b-NEG-F copula(PRES)  
 ‘She will not have come’

According to the above data, the verbal infix /-ó-/ is used as a negative marker. The negative marker precedes the tense marker. This is true especially if a

sentence is in its simple past tense form like the above ones (10a) and (10b). In the pluperfect and present perfect aspect forms, the perfective aspect marker precedes the negative marker and its respective tense is expressed by the copulas, which come at the end of the constructions.

The morphemes which are shown in the above data (10c), (10d) and (10e) (that are /-á/ and /-éy/) are there just to give some information about the subjects of the constructions and they have nothing to do with TAM. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

On the other hand, when a given indicative construction is uttered in the simple non-past tense formation of the language, negation is not marked inflectionally as it is marked in the simple past tense, pluperfect and present perfect aspect forms. Rather, it is expressed analytically by a negative particle. In this case, the non-past tense marker (i.e., the infix /-am-/) does not occur and non-past tense is represented by a zero morpheme. Consider the following example:

- (11) a. nà fadN käy  
I count NEG(PAT)  
'I do/will not count'

b. bearN    nà    yag    käy

tomorrow I    come NEG(PAT)

‘I do/will not come’

c. iš-kN    gida    käy

she-GEN    force    NEG(PAT)

‘She doesn’t have strength’

d. buánga    ʔeats    kätám    käy    téna

bonga    big    town    NEG(PAT) copula

‘Bonga is not a big town’

As we have just seen, the negative marker of the negative-indicative construction which is in the simple non-past tense form is the negative particle /käy/.

Broadly speaking, when the mood of a given construction remains the same and the tense and/or aspect of the construction (are) is changed, the mood marker will also be changed. This is true particularly when the mood of the utterances is in the negative-indicative form. This implies that, in Nayi, tense, aspect and mood function with respect to each other. In other words, one is dependant on the other.

### 2.3.2. The Interrogative Mood in Nayi

In linguistics, the term interrogative refers to the type of statements which are in question forms. It is known that all languages probably have devices for asking questions. Some languages have a syntactic device that does not belong to any modal system. Other languages have interrogative particles, and it is also often indicated by intonation (cf. Palmer, 1986:30). Regarding this, in Nayi, the interrogative mood of a given construction can be expressed by a final-raising intonation. In this section, this mood will be discussed in its affirmative and negative forms. Consider the following example:

(12) a. hà:y ídN-am-n-è ↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-1<sup>st</sup>P SG-T

‘Shall I fetch water?’

b. hà:y ídN-am-n-è ↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-1<sup>st</sup>P PL-T

‘Shall we fetch water?’

c. hà:y ídN-am-è ↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-T

‘Shall you(SG) fetch water?’

d. hà:y ídN-am-it-è ↗  
water fetch-PRES/FUT-2<sup>nd</sup> P PL-T

‘Shall you fetch water?’

e. hà:y ídN-am-is-è ↗  
water fetch-PRES/FUT-3<sup>rd</sup> P SG M-T

‘Shall he fetch water?’

f. hà:y ídN-am-iš-è ↗  
water fetch-PRES/FUT-3<sup>rd</sup> P SG F-T

‘Shall she fetch water?’

g. hà:y ídN-am-uš-è ↗  
water fetch-PRES/FUT-3<sup>rd</sup> P PL-T

‘Shall they fetch water?’

As the above example show, the interrogative mood is expressed through a final-rising intonation. The diagonal arrow [ ↗ ] shows the final-rising intonation. When the above data appear in their negative counterparts, we find something like the following:

(13) a. hà:y ídN-ók'-am-n-è ↗  
water fetch-NEG-PRES/FUT-1<sup>st</sup> P SG-T

‘Shall I not fetch water?’

- b. hà:y ídN-ók'-am-n-è ↗  
 water fetch-NEG-PRES/FUT-1<sup>st</sup> P PL-T  
 'Shall we not fetch water?'
- c. hà:y ídN-ók'-am-è ↗  
 water fetch-NEG-PRES/FUT-T  
 'Shall you (SG) not fetch water?'
- d. hà:y ídN-ók'-am-it-è ↗  
 water fetch-NEG-PRES/FUT-2<sup>nd</sup> P PL-T  
 'Shall you not fetch water?'
- e. hà:y ídN-ók'-am-is-è ↗  
 water fetch-NEG-PRES/FUT-3<sup>rd</sup> P SG M-T  
 'Shall he not fetch water?'
- f. hà:y ídN-ók'-am-iš-è ↗  
 water fetch-NEG-PRES/FUT-3<sup>rd</sup> P SG F-T  
 'Shall she not fetch water?'
- g. hà:y ídN-ók'-am-uš-è ↗  
 water fetch-NEG-PRES/FUT-3<sup>rd</sup> P PL-T  
 'Shall they not fetch water?'

Based on the above data, the negative form of the interrogative mood is marked morphologically. Negation is marked by the infix /-ók'-/. It is immediately attached to the stem verb and then followed by the tense marker. Here, the tense is

the non-past tense, which is marked by an infix /-am-/. It has to be noted that it is still the final-rising intonation pattern that shows the constriction is an interrogative; what the infix /-ók'-/ does is just indicating negation. The vowel /è/ which comes at the end of the construction, both in the affirmative and negative forms of this mood, is used as a terminal vowel. This vowel serves similar purpose in some other cases; for example, in the imperative mood of the language.

### 2.3.3. The Imperative Mood in Nayi

Most languages have a form that is typically used to express commands. The obvious term for this is the imperative (cf. Palmer 1986:29). Therefore, sentences which are in the imperative mood express command or instruction. In relation to this, among other types of moods which are found in Nayi, the imperative mood is one of the mood types that are inflected morphologically in the verbs of the language. This is true in both the affirmative and negative forms of this mood. The following data is presented with this mood type.

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
(14) a. M-n-é	M-n-it-é
eat-IMP-T	eat-IMP-2 <sup>nd</sup> P PL-T
‘Eat (You SG)!’	‘Eat (You PL)!’

b. yäg-n-é	yäg-n-it-é
come-IMP-T	come-IMP-2 <sup>nd</sup> P PL-T
‘Come (You SG)!’	‘Come (You PL)!’
c. tég-n-é	tég-n-it-é
go-IMP-T	go-IMP-2 <sup>nd</sup> P PL-T
‘Go (You SG)!’	‘Go (You PL)!’

As has been clearly shown in the above example, the verbal infix /-n-/ is used to indicate the imperative mood. When the imperative mood marker is infixated, the form of the stem verb will be modified. For instance, if the stem verb ends with /g/, to attach the imperative mood marker that is /-n-/, the last consonant of the stem verb will be deleted. The possible reason for this is that in Nayi, two consecutive consonants the first being a voice velar and the later nasal, is not permissible as it is shown in (14b) and (14c). But, this is not true if the stem verb ends with another consonant, (see (14a)). Now, let us see the negative form of the imperative mood of the language. Consider the following example:

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
(15) a. tég-k’ó-n-é	tég-k’ó-n-it-é
go-NEG-IMP-T	go-NEG-IMP-2 <sup>nd</sup> P PL-T
‘Don’t go (You SG)!’	‘Don’t go (You PL)!’

b. yäg-k'ó-n-é

come-NEG-IMP-T

'Don't come (You SG)!'

yäg-k'ó-n-it-é

come-Neg-IMP-2<sup>nd</sup> P PL-T

'Don't come (You PL)!'

As can be seen from the above data, the imperative mood marker is still there when the imperative construction is in its negative form. In addition, the language marks negation morphologically using the infix /-k'ó-/. This morpheme comes before the imperative mood marker. Like in the case of interrogatives, the vowel /é/ which comes at the end of the constructions functions as a terminal vowel. As it is the case in the affirmative form of the imperative mood, in the negative too, the final sound of the stem verb will also be changed. The reason for this is discussed above in connection to the affirmative form of this mood.

According to Palmer (1986), the imperative mood of a language is not marked for most of the other categories associated with the verb, especially for tense and person. Accordingly, the reason for the absence of tense is because the required action is always in the future. Regarding person, it is assumed that the imperative will have only second person form, referring to the hearer (cf. Palmer 1986:108-109). The fact holds true in Nayi as well. As we have seen in the above example, in the singular affirmative and negative imperative constructions, the language does not show person agreement. It shows agreement of person only in the plural

form of this mood both in the affirmative and negative imperative constructions.

The term 'jussive', however, is used for the other (first and third) persons.

#### **2.3.4. The Jussive Mood in Nayi**

The jussive form has a singular imperative verb stem plus the pronominal suffixes in the third person. When suffixing the pronominal forms, the language deletes the final /é/ sound which is used as a terminal vowel in the imperative constructions. The reason for this is that the initial sounds of the pronominal pronouns are vowels and therefore, the language deletes the terminal vowel of the stem verb (i.e., the imperative form of the verb).

Regarding the first person jussive formation, Nayi uses a pronominal prefix / N-/ followed by the verb which is in its present or future tense forms—that is, in its non-past tense form. The marker of this tense (i.e., non-past) is the infix /-am-/. Contrary to the third person jussive form, the first person applies its pronominal as a prefix and also uses tense mark; but as stated above the third person jussive form attaches its pronominal as a suffix and no tense marker is used. Consider the following example:

(16) a. *Ń-yäg-am*

I-come-PRES/FUT

‘Let me come’

b. *Ń-yäg-am*

we-come-PRES/FUT

‘Let us come’

c. *yäg-n-is*

come-IMP-he

‘Let him come’

d. *yäg-n-iš*

come-IMP-she

‘Let her come’

e. *yäg-n-uš*

come-IMP-they

‘Let them come’

In the case of third person, as the affirmative jussive form is formed from the affirmative imperative stem, the negative jussive too is formed using singular negative imperative stem together with the suffix person marker pronominal pronouns. Like in the case of the affirmative jussive form, in order to attach the pronominal forms, the final /é/ (which was serving as a terminal vowel in the negative imperative form) will be deleted in the case of negative jussive forms as

well. The verb in its first person jussive form prefixes the pronominal. In this case, the verb is inflected for tense also (for present or future tenses). The negative marker infix is attached to the stem verb by preceding the tense marker.

Consider the following data:

(17) a.  $\acute{N}$ -yäg-k'é-am

I-come-NEG-PRES/FUT

'Don't let me come'

b.  $\acute{N}$ -yäg-k'é-am

we-come-NEG-PRES/FUT

'Don't let us come'

c. yäg-k'ó-n-is

come-NEG-IMP-he

'Don't let him come'

d. yäg-k'ó-n-iš

come-NEG-IMP-she

'Don't let her come'

e. yäg-k'ó-n-uš

come-NEG-IMP-they

'Don't let them come'

As can be seen from the above data, the infix /-k'ó-/ serves as a negative marker both in the imperative and 3<sup>rd</sup> p jussive moods. However, in the case of first

person jussive form /-k'ó-/ will be changed into /-k'é-/. The possible reason could be in the first person jussive mood there is the tense marker that begins with the vowel /a/, and it could be the case that Nayi does not allow /ó + a/ kind of vowel sequence.

By the same token, the negative marker for the interrogative mood of the language is the infix /-ók'-/. However, in the imperative and jussive moods, negation is marked by the infix /-k'ó-/. This is because since the negative interrogative constriction ends with two consonants and since Nayi, as stated in the literature review section, does not allow more than two consonant cluster, /-k'ó-/ will be changed into /-ók'-/.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Nominal Agreement in the Verbs of Nayi**

This part of the study focuses on some of the nominal agreements such as person, number, and gender that exist in the verbs of Nayi. This is observed in larger constructions (usually in sentences). Here, the term “nominal” refers to the subject of a given construction, when the verb is intransitive. However, in the case of transitive verbs, the term nominal implies to the subject and the object(s) of the constructions. Lyons (1968:275) also concurs on this fact by saying “it is not uncommon in languages for intransitive verbs to have inflections indicating their subject, while transitive verbs may have inflections indicating both the subject and object.”

#### **3.1. Subject Agreement in Nayi**

It is known that, in many languages, some of the qualities (such as person, number and gender) of a given subject can be inflected in the verbs. According to Lyons (1968:276), semantically, the category of person is clearly definable with reference to the notion of participant-roles. The ‘first’ person is used by the speaker to refer to himself as a subject of discourse; the ‘second’ person is used to

refer to the hearer; and the 'third' person is used to refer to persons or things other than the speaker and hearer. Regarding number, the most common manifestation is the distinction between singular and plural, which is found in many languages of the world. In addition, in languages, it is possible that gender is also marked morphologically. Although there are different labels of gender in different languages, the most common categories of gender are masculinity and femininity. In Nayi, there is a nominal agreement, which is marked morphologically. In relation to this, in Nayi, nominal agreement depends on grammatical moods. In other words, there are differences in ways of marking nominal agreement according to the moods of the language. Therefore, in the following sections, we will be looking at how nominal agreement will be treated differently in the indicative mood as compared to how it is marked in other moods of the language.

### **3.1.1. Subject Agreement in the Indicative Mood of Nayi**

In the indicative mood, Nayi verbs do not show subject agreement inflectionally on their own, in deed, with few exceptions. In the indicative mood, the verbs are not inflected at all for person and number; but, in some tenses and aspects, gender is marked morphologically. For this consider (2), (6), (7), (8) and (9) in the previous chapter. The mentioned data show gender being marked morphologically in the non-past (i.e., present and future) tense, and in the following aspects: past

progressive, future progressive, present perfect and past perfect respectively. Therefore, it is the verbal suffixes /-á/ and /-éy/ that mark gender.

More specifically, when a subject is a second or third person singular feminine, the language uses the suffix /-éy/. Whereas, the suffix /-á/ indicates a masculine gender when the subject is either plural or first person singular or second and third person masculine. In the case of plurals, the gender(s) could be masculine, feminine or mixed subjects. This tells that, in Nayi, gender is not specified for first person and for second and third person masculine and plural forms. Therefore, the verb is in its masculine form which is marked by /-á/.

To strengthening the above claim, let us examine the situation in relation to the pronoun system of the language. In the personal pronouns, Nayi does not specify gender in the first person singular and plural pronouns. The same is true in the second and third person plural forms of the pronoun system as well. It is specified only in the second and third person singular pronouns. This is what the verbs of the language also show. The personal pronouns of Nayi are presented in the table below.

nà	‘I’
nákis	‘We’
yätä	‘You <sub>(SG M)</sub> ’
yätä	‘You <sub>(SG F)</sub> ’
itkis	‘You <sub>(PL)</sub> ’
is	‘He’
iš	‘She’
ʔuškuš	‘They’

**Table 1** The Personal Pronouns of Nayi

From the above discussion, we can, therefore, infer that in some tenses and aspects, which are in the indicative mood, only the gender quality of a given subject will be inflected morphologically in the verbs of the language. When the language marks gender, the gender markers are always preceded by a morpheme /-b-/. However, the status of this morpheme is not clear for me. It needs further investigation and therefore this can be considered as a gap of this research.

Like in the case of the affirmative-indicative constructions, the negative-indicative constructions also employ the same morpheme to mark the gender quality of a given subject (refer data (10)). So, in the negative-indicative

constructions, the suffix /-á/ and /-éy/ are used to indicate the masculine and the feminine gender of a given subject respectively.

In this case, the proceeded morpheme of the gender markers (i.e., the morpheme /-b-/) seems to be an epenthetic consonant. The main reason for this claim could be since /-b-/ occurs between the aspect and negative markers, which are both represented by vowels, and since there is an additional vowel that marks gender, the number of vowels would become three if /-b-/ is not inserted into them. On top of that, because, in Nayi, a cluster of vowels (especially, a cluster within a single word is not a common phenomenon, the insertion of /-b-/ as an epenthetic consonant which would break the impermissible vowel sequence is therefore quite plausible.

### **3.1.2. Subject Agreement in Other Moods of Nayi**

In other grammatical moods of Nayi, subject agreement is marked by personal pronouns. In this case, however, the personal pronouns are used in their respective pronominal forms. In other words, the personal pronouns of Nayi will be changed into their respective reduced form. In fact, this situation is also observed in the other Omotic languages particularly in the East Ometo varieties (cf. Hirut 2003:138). Let us now discuss nominal agreement in relation to the interrogative,

imperative, and jussive moods of Nayi. Our discussion of nominal agreement will be both in the affirmative formations of the stated moods and in their respective negative counterparts.

### 3.1.2.1. Subject Agreement in the Interrogative Mood of Nayi

The following example is presented in the interrogative mood.

#### Interrogative mood

(18) a. hà:y ídN-am-n-è ↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-1<sup>st</sup> P SG-T

‘Shall I fetch water?’

b. hà:y ídN-am-n-è ↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-1<sup>st</sup> P PL-T

‘Shall we fetch water?’

c. hà:y ídN-am-è ↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-T

‘Shall you (SG M) fetch water?’

d. hà:y ídN-am-è ↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-T

‘Shall you (SG F) fetch water?’

e. hà:y ídN-am-it-è↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-2<sup>nd</sup> P PL-T

‘Shall you fetch water?’

f. hà:y ídN-am-is-è↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-3<sup>rd</sup> P SG M-T

‘Shall he fetch water?’

g. hà:y ídN-am-iš-è↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-3<sup>rd</sup> P SG F-T

‘Shall she fetch water?’

h. hà:y ídN-am-uš-è↗

water fetch-PRES/FUT-3<sup>rd</sup> P PL-T

‘Shall they fetch water?’

As the above examples show, in the interrogative statements of the language, nominal agreement is marked morphologically. As mentioned earlier, it is the reduced or pronominal forms of the personal pronouns that mark the nominal agreement. Accordingly, the pronominal infix /-n-/ is used to indicate first person singular and plural as can be seen in (18a) and (18b) above. In the case of second person singular, Nayi does not use nominal agreement. The possible reason for this could be addressed from historical investigations of the situation, which is beyond the scope of this study. But, the situation is clear in the plural form of this person. In this case, Nayi uses the pronominal infix /-it-/. Regarding third person,

the language uses the pronominal infixes /-is-/, /-iš-/ and /-uš-/, which is clearly shown in (18f), (18g) and (18h) respectively. For a better understanding of this point, compare and contrast the pronominal forms with their respective personal pronouns which were presented in Table 1. The following counter example is presented in the indicative mood just for comparison.

### Indicative mood

(19) a. nà hà:y ídN-am-b-á

I water fetch-PRES/FUT-b-M

‘I (will) fetch water’

b. nákis hà:y ídN-am-b-á

we water fetch-PRES/FUT-b-M

‘We (will) fetch water’

c. yätä hà:y ídN-am-b-á

you<sub>(2nd P SG M)</sub> water fetch-PRES/FUT-b-M

‘You (will) fetch water’

d. yätä hà:y ídN-am-b-éy

you<sub>(2nd P SG F)</sub> water fetch-PRES/FUT-b-F

‘You (will) fetch water’

e. itkis hà:y ídN-am-b-á

you<sub>(2nd P PL)</sub> water fetch-PRES/FUT-b-M

‘You (will) fetch water’

f. is hà:y ídN-am-b-á

he water fetch-PRES/FUT-b-M

‘He (will) fetch water’

g. iš hà:y ídN-am-b-éy

she water fetch-PRES/FUT-b-F

‘She (will) fetch water’

h. ʔuškuš hà:y ídN-am-b-á

they water fetch-PRES/FUT-b-M

‘They (will) fetch water’

As we see from the above example, nominal agreement in the indicative mood is, however, different. Verbs, in this mood, are not inflected for nominal agreement (subject, in this case) by pronominal pronouns. In some tenses and aspects, though the constructions are in the indicative mood, gender is marked morphologically. In this case, the markers are not the pronominals but a separate morphological element, as discussed in section 2.1.1. To see what has been claimed, compare and contrast the above examples which were presented in connection to the two separate moods of Nayi.

When we see the positions of the nominal agreement pronominals in the interrogative constructions, they always occur after the tense marker (in this case,

the tense is the non-past tense), which is attached to the stem verb. The terminal vowel /è/ occurs after the nominal agreement markers.

Like in the case of the affirmative form of the interrogative mood, nominal agreement is marked by pronominals in the negative-interrogative mood too. Let us now see the situation only in second person. Consider the following example:

- (20) a. hà:y    ídN-ók'-am-è ↗  
          water fetch-NEG-PRES/FUT-T  
          'Shall you (SG) not fetch water?'
- b. hà:y    ídN-ók'-am-it-è ↗  
          water fetch-NEG-PRES/FUT-2<sup>nd</sup>P PL-T  
          'Shall you not fetch water?'

As the above examples clearly indicate, in the negative-interrogative construction, the nominal agreement markers occur after the negative-interrogative and the tense markers. Regarding second person plural, the agreement marker is the pronominal /-it-/. The same is also true in the affirmative form of this mood. However, in the singular form of this person, nominal agreement is not marked, which also needs a historical explanation.

### 3.1.2.2. Subject Agreement in the Imperative Mood of Nayi

In the singular imperative constructions, Nayi does not show nominal agreement.

But, in the case of plural, Nayi shows nominal agreement by using the pronominal infix /-it-/ that occurs after the mood marker and followed by a terminal vowel /é/.

For this, see the example below:

(21) a. yäg-n-é	yäg-n-it-é
come-IMP-T	come-IMP-2 <sup>nd</sup> P PL-T
‘Come (You SG)!’	‘Come (You PL)!’

Likewise, the language does not show nominal agreement in the singular negative-imperative formation too. As it was in the case in the affirmative imperative, in the plural form of this mood, Nayi shows nominal agreement using the pronominal infix /-it-/ that occurs after the mood marker. Then, it is followed by a terminal vowel /é/. Consider the following example:

(22) a. yäg-k’ó-n-é	yäg-k’ó-n-it-é
come-NEG-IMP-T	come-NEG-IMP-2 <sup>nd</sup> P PL-T
‘Don’t come (You SG)!’	‘Don’t come (You PL)!’

### 3.1.2.3. Subject Agreement in the Jussive Mood of Nayi

The first person jussive form uses its pronominal forms as prefixes. However, third person jussive uses its pronominal forms as suffixes. The fact holds true both in the affirmative and negative formation of this mood. Consider the following example:

<b>Affirmative</b>	<b>Negative</b>
(23) a. $\acute{N}$ -yäg-am	$\acute{N}$ -yäg-k'é-am
I-come-PRES/FUT	I-come-NEG-PRES/FUT
‘Let me come’	‘Don’t let me come’
b. $\acute{N}$ -yäg-am	$\acute{N}$ -yäg-k'é-am
we-come-PRES/FUT	we-come-NEG-PRES/FUT
‘Let us come’	‘Don’t let us come’
c. yäg-n-is	yäg-k'ó-n-is
come-IMP-he	come-NEG-IMP-he
‘Let him come’	‘Don’t let him come’
d. yäg-n-iš	yäg-k'ó-n-iš
come-IMP-she	come-NEG-IMP-she
‘Let her come’	‘Don’t let her come’
e. yäg-n-uš	yäg-k'ó-n-uš
come-IMP-they	come-NEG-IMP-they
‘Let them come’	‘Don’t let them come’

The other possible feature of a given nominal that can be also inflected in the verbs of a given language is honor. The next section will discuss about honor in a considerable detail.

### 3.2. Honorific Subject Agreement in Nayi

This section discusses some points about agreement of honor. In this case, the term “honorable” is used to refer to an aged person. In Nayi, in the indicative constructions, honor is not marked morphologically in verbs rather it is expressed through honorific terms (I can say ‘pronouns’). In other words, Nayi verbs, when they are in the indicative mood, do not show the social status of nominals inflectionally. See the following example:

(24) a. ʔíšu yäg-a

he come-PAST

‘He came’

b. ʔíšu tég-a

he go-PAST

‘He went’

c. bejibe yäg-a

she come-PAST

‘She came’

d. bejibe tég-a

she go-PAST

‘She went’

Honor, as shown in the above examples, is expressed through honorific terms/pronouns of the language. Since there is separate elements that mark honor (i.e., honorific terms), verbs do not tell any thing about honor. This happens in the indicative mood. In other moods, in order to indicate agreement of honor, Nayi uses its personal plural pronouns in their pronominal forms. For instance, this is particularly true when the constructions are in the imperative mood. Consider the following example:

(25) a. M-n-it-é

eat-IMP-AGR<sub>(HON)</sub>-T

‘Eat (you Hon)!’

b. wúk’-n-it-é

enter-IMP-AGR<sub>(HON)</sub>-T

‘Enter (you Hon)!’

### 3.3. Copula and Subject Agreement in Nayi

In this section, the discussion focuses on subject agreement in relation to the copula verbs of Nayi. This will show the fact that the copulas of Nayi do not show subject agreement unlike the main verbs<sup>6</sup>. As discussed earlier, in the indicative construction, the main verbs of Nayi are marked morphologically for gender only in some tenses and aspects. Consider the following example:

(26) a. p'it'a    nà   téna

beautiful    I   copula(PRES)

'I am beautiful'

b. p'it'a    nákis   téna

beautiful    we   copula(PRES)

'We are beautiful'

c. p'it'a    yátá   téna

beautiful    you<sub>(SG M)</sub>   copula(PRES)

'You are handsome'

d. p'it'a    yàtà   téna

beautiful    you<sub>(SG F)</sub>   copula(PRES)

'You are beautiful'

---

<sup>6</sup> Usually, the main verbs of a language express states of affairs, actions, events, processes, and the likes.

- e. p'it'a      itkis   téna  
 beautiful   you<sub>(PL)</sub>   copula(PRES)  
 'You are beautiful'
- f. p'it'a      is   téna  
 beautiful   he   copula(PRES)  
 'He is handsome'
- g. p'it'a      iš   téna  
 beautiful   she   copula(PRES)  
 'She is beautiful'
- h. p'it'a      ʔuškuš   téna  
 beautiful   they   copula(PRES)  
 'They are beautiful'

The copula verb /téna/, as clearly shown in the above example, is not inflected for any of the agreements (such as person, number and gender) of the subject.

### 3.4. Object Agreement in Nayi

In Nayi, as opposed to the case in the subjects, no property of a given object is marked morphologically in the verbs. For example, as stated earlier, the gender of a given subject is marked morphologically in some tenses and aspects that are in

the indicative mood. So, in this case, the object must exist in order to communicate the properties of the object of a given verb. Consider the two different transitive verbs used for discussion in the following example.

(27) a. nà itkis-iš muza pùr-a

I you<sub>(PL)</sub>-DAT banana buy-PAST

‘I bought banana for you’

b. yätä nákis-iš muza pùr-a

you<sub>(SG M)</sub> we-DAT banana buy-PAST

‘You bought banana for us’

c. is iš-iš nák ?ats-a

he she-DAT money give-PAST

‘He gave her money’

d. yätä is-iš nák ?ats-a

you<sub>(SG F)</sub> he-DAT money give-PAST

‘You gave him money’

e. nà itkis-iš nák ?ats-a

I you<sub>(PL)</sub>-DAT money give-PAST

‘I gave you money’

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Some Notes on the Voice and Valency Change of Nayi**

Languages in general have ways of altering the relationship between a verb and its arguments (i.e., its subject and object(s)); and this process, in traditional grammar, is treated within the notion of voice or valency change. In many languages such relationships are signaled by inflections borne by the verbs (Spencer (1991:23)).

Like other languages that exhibit voice and valency changes, Nayi also has its own way of showing these relationships. To show this, only structures in the simple past tense and perfective aspect that are in the indicative mood are used. This is because; it would be unmanageable to treat voice and valency change of Nayi in all tenses, aspects, and moods that exist in the language.

#### **4.1. Active and Passive Construction in Nayi**

It is known that, in the case of active constructions, languages give priority to the doer of the action so that it holds a subject position. The same is also true in Nayi. Consider the following example:

- (28) a. is muza pùr-a  
 he banana buy-PAST  
 'He bought banana'
- b. is ba:yá wúš-a  
 he lion kill-PAST  
 'He killed a lion'

As the above data shows, the speaker utters the sentences with paying much attention to the doer of the action, which is, /is/-'he'. The speaker intends to tell the hearer who bought banana and who killed the lion. Regarding passivization, in Nayi, it is possible to change active sentences like the above ones into their passive counterparts. For instance:

- (29) a. muza pùr-t'-a  
 banana buy-PASS-PAST  
 'The banana was bought'
- b. ba:yá wúš-t'-a  
 lion kill-PASS-PAST  
 'The lion was killed'

Contrary to the active constructions, the above passive statements focus on giving information about what is being bought (not on who has bought) and what is being killed (not on who has killed). Therefore, the passive constructions give

priority to the patient of the active constructions. This implies that an element which has been an object of a given active construction becomes a subject of its passive counterpart. This is only true when the constructions have transitive verbs. So, it is important to examine the situation in relation to intransitive verbs both in the active and passive constructions. Consider the following example:

(30) a. is sók'-a

he sleep-PAST

'He slept'

b. is hák'a sók'-a

he today sleep-PAST

'He slept today'

c. sók'-u-t'-a

sleep-E-PASS-PAST

'Was slept'

d. hák'a sók'-u-t'-a

today sleep-E-PASS-PAST

'Was slept (today)'

The above data tells us that, in Nayi, even in the case of intransitive verbs, it is possible to change active sentences into their passive counterparts. To do this, both in the transitive and intransitive constructions, the verb form which has been

used in the active constructions will be changed in the passive constructions. This is signaled by morphological element borne by the verb. For example, if we look at data (28a) and (28b), the verbs in the active constructions are /pùr-a/ and /wúš-a/ which mean 'bought' and 'killed' respectively. However, when the constructions are changed into their passive forms, the form of the verbs is changed into /pùr-t'-a/ and /wúš-t'-a/ which mean 'was bought' and 'was killed' respectively (see (29)).

In all of the cases, as clearly seen in the passive constructions, the morphological marker, which is the infix /-t'-/, marks passivization. This is the case in both transitive and intransitive verbs of the language. The passive marker is attached to the stem verb and it is followed by the suffix /-a/ which marks the simple past tense in both transitive and intransitive forms. Though, in the case of the active constructions, the tense marker /-a/ is suffixed to the stem verb; both voices are inflected morphologically for the same tense that is, simple past by /-a/. This means that when a given active construction is changed into its passive form, its tense is not changed. However, in the passive constructions, due to the addition of the passive marker the tense marker changes its original position and will come after the passive marker.

Usually, the number of argument(s) in a passive construction is less than its active counterpart. In an active construction having transitive verb, the direct object is an obligatory element to come in its passive form, the remaining argument(s) of an active statement are optional to occur in its passive counterpart. If the optional arguments are to occur in their passive counterparts, they are introduced through postpositional phrases (see, (28) and (29)). When the subject of a given active construction occurs in its passive counterpart, its agentive nature still remains in its passive formation. The attached adpositional phrase (in this case, postposition) helps to keep its agentive attribute.

Moreover, in addition to the subject and object(s) of a given active construction, some of its other constituents can also appear as a subject of the passive counterpart. This is clearly presented in (30b) and (30d). In this case, the time adverb of the active statement becomes the subject in the passive form.

#### **4.2. Valency Change in Nayi**

Though, the nature of the verb plays the principal role in determining the number and type of arguments in a given construction, valency also plays a great role in the deletion or addition of argument(s). In relation to this, Nayi has morphological

processes that are taken place on verbs to decrease and increase the number of arguments.

#### **4.2.1. Valency Decrease in Nayi**

Regarding valency decrease, passivization, which is marked morphologically, is one of the grammatical processes applied by the language. As discussed in the above section, when a verb appears in its passive form, it deletes all the arguments found in the active construction. This is true if the verb type is in the intransitive form. However, if the verb type is in the transitive form, the language uses the direct object of the active construction to be its subject in its passive form. In short, the subject and the indirect object of a given active construction having a transitive verb can be ignored when the construction is in its passive form.

In addition to passivization, Nayi uses another valency decreasing mechanism which is also marked morphologically; that is, when a reciprocal-intransitive verb is formed from the reciprocal-transitive one. In this case, both the subject and direct object of the reciprocal-transitive form become the subject of the reciprocal-intransitive form. For example;

(31) a. a:bab-ká kabad-ká t'us-u-s-t'-a

ababa-COR kabada-COR introduce-E-INTRRECIP-PASS-PAST

‘Ababa and Kabada introduced each other’

b. a:bab-ká kabad-ká wo:s'-u-s-t'-a

ababa-COR kabada-COR fight-E-INTRRECIP-PASS-PAST

‘Ababa and Kabada fought each other’

As the above data shows, /a:bab-ká/ and /kabad-ká/ serve as a subject for both of the predicates /t'us-u-s-t'-a/ and /wo:s'-u-s-t'-a/. We don't expect these verbs to have an object because the verbs are in the intransitive-reciprocal form. The sentences in (31a) and (31b) are derived from the following constructions, which have reciprocal-transitive verb forms.

(32) a. a:bab kabad-ká t'us-t'-a

ababa kabada-POSP introduce-PASS-PAST

‘Ababa was introduced with Kabada’

b. a:bab kabad-ká wo:s'-t'-a

ababa kabada-POSP fight-PASS-PAST

‘Ababa fought with Kabada’

Contrary to the intransitive-reciprocal verb forms, i.e., /t'us-u-s-t'-a/ and /wo:s'-u-s-t'-a/, the above verb forms, in (32a) and (32b), i.e., /t'us-t'-a/ and /wo:s'-t'-a/

are in the transitive-reciprocal form. Therefore, the transitive-reciprocal forms need at least two arguments (subject and direct object). Accordingly, the argument /abab/ and /kabad-ká/ are used as a subject and object respectively. Based on this, we can infer that, in Nayi, the process of forming the reciprocal-intransitive form from reciprocal-transitive form can be considered as a valency decreasing mechanism.

When two arguments (subject and object) of a given reciprocal-transitive verb come together serving as a subject of a given reciprocal-intransitive verb, the verb form is changed into its reciprocal-intransitive counterpart. The change is marked by the infix /-s-/, which is attached to the stem verb of a given reciprocal-transitive verb. If the stem verb ends with two consonants, in order to infix /-s-/, the vowel /u/ is inserted to break three consonant clusters, which Nayi does not allow, as mentioned in the literature review section. In both transitive and intransitive reciprocal cases the stem verb is in its passive form (see, (31) and (32)). The transitive-reciprocal verb form is the same as the passive verb form of the language. So, the insertion of the infix /-s-/ shows only the intransitive-reciprocal form of the stem verb.

In addition to the change from a reciprocal-transitive verb form into reciprocal-intransitive form, the language also marks the arguments morphologically. When

both the subject and object of a construction, having a transitive-reciprocal verb form, are used as a subject of an intransitive-reciprocal form, a coordinate marker is suffixed to the subject and object of the transitive-reciprocal form. It is the suffix /-ká/ that co-ordinates the two arguments of the transitive-reciprocal verb form (see, (31) and (32)). By and large, the above discussed mechanisms of valency decreasing are thought to be sufficient to just indicate the fact existing in the language.

#### 4.2.2. Valency Increase in Nayi

In this section, some of the valency increasing mechanisms of Nayi will be discussed. Like valency decrease, in Nayi, there are also processes of valency increase. Causativization is one of these mechanisms. In Nayi, when the action of a verb, like in (31), is taken place with the involvement of someone or something causing someone else or something else to do something, the structure we find look like the following.

- (33) a. kasa    a:bab-ká    kabad-ká    t'us-u-s-a  
           kasa    ababa-COR    kabada-COR    introduce-E-INTRRECIP-PERF  
           ‘Kasa has introduced Ababa and Kabada’

b. kasa a:bab-ká kabad-ká wo:s'-u-s-a

kasa ababa-COR kabada-COR fight-E-INTRRECIP-PERF

'Kasa has fight Ababa and Kabada each other'

The verbs, in the above example, that are causativized need another argument serving as a causer for the actions to be performed. The argument /kasa/, therefore, is there as a causer. Being one of the processes of valency increase, causativization, in Nayi, is marked morphologically. In this case, the verb form looks like the reciprocal-intransitive form like in (31). But, in the causativization case, the passive marker (i.e., /-t'-/) is deleted; and therefore, the verb form does not have a passive form as its base. But this is not true in the intransitive and transitive reciprocal forms.

In Nayi, there is also another valency increasing mechanism apart from causativization. That is done by changing a reciprocal-intransitive verb into its reciprocal-transitive form morphologically. For example, this is true when the structure in (31) is changed into the construction in (32); but the opposite change would result in valency decreasing.

In general, in Nanyi, passivization and valency change are marked morphologically. When passivisation and valency change are formed, nominal agreement is not marked inflectionally.

Like in the active verbs, tense and aspect, however, are marked inflectionally in passive ones and in cases of valency change.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Summary and Recommendations

In Nayi, verbs are inflected for subject agreement though the process is highly dependant on the moods of the language. In the indicative mood, for example, subject agreement is not marked morphologically. The case with gender is, in fact, exceptional. Gender, both in the affirmative and negative indicative mood, is marked morphologically only in some tenses and aspects. However, in other moods, subject agreement is marked by the pronominal forms. Regarding agreement of honor, except in the indicative mood, in other moods, it is marked by the plural pronominal forms. In the indicative mood of the language, however, it is expressed through honorific terms (pronouns).

In Nayi, the system of TAM is also marked morphologically, though there are some exceptions. Regarding tense, Nayi has two tense distinctions: past and non-past tenses. The later includes the present and future tenses. The present and future tenses are expressed by one and the same morphological element. The context, in which a given structure is uttered, tells us whether the structure refers to present or future tense. Otherwise, time adverb is needed. But, the past tense of the language refers to the simple past tense marked by a morpheme /-a/, which also marks the perfective aspect.

Broadly speaking, Nayi has three grammatical aspects: progressive, perfective, and perfect aspects. In Nayi, the progressive and perfect aspects are formed in accordance with the tenses of the language. Usually, tense in the progressive and perfect aspects is expressed by the copula verbs of the language. There is in fact, an exception, that is, in the present progressive aspect; the tense (present tense) is expressed by a zero morpheme.

With regard to mood, the imperative and jussive moods of the language are marked morphologically both in their affirmative and negative forms. Negation, in these moods, is also marked by a separate morphological element. Distributionally, the negative marker is attached to the stem verbs and then followed by the mood marker. There are, of course, some exceptional moods, which are not completely marked. The indicative mood of the language is the best example when it is in its affirmative form. When it is in its negative counterpart, however, only negation is marked morphologically. But, in some tenses and aspects of this mood, negation is expressed analytically through negative particle like when an indicative construction is presented in the non-past tense formation. Furthermore, in Nayi, the interrogative mood is expressed by a rising intonation. However, when this mood is in its negative form, only negation is marked morphologically.

Moreover, in Nayi, passivization and valency changes are marked morphologically. In other words, the verbs of the language are marked for the alteration of the two voices (i.e., active and passive) and also for the changes in valency (i.e., decreasing and increasing). In Nayi, passivization and intransitive-reciprocal are used for valency decrease while causativization and transitive-reciprocal for valency increase.

As a final point, there are some points to be recommended especially on the phonology of the language under study. As mentioned earlier, Nayi is one of the tonal languages in the Omotic group. However, no satisfactory work has been done on the tone system of the language except two or three statements made by Aklilu (1991). Therefore, an exhaustive investigation on this area is so important that other grammatical descriptions which will be done on the language would benefit a lot.

## References

- Aklilu, Y. (1991) "Two Phonological Processes in Nayi: Palatalization and Labialization" in Pankurst, R. et. al (eds.). In Proceedings of the First National Conference of Ethiopian Studies. Addis Ababa. Addis Ababa University (pp. 433-448).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) "Some Notes on the Nayi Grammar" in Fukui, K. et. al (eds.). In Proceedings of the International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. Ethiopia in Broader Perspective. Vol. 1. Kyoto (pp. 601-618).
- Aklilu, Y. and Siebert, R.. (1995) Survey of Chara, Dime, Melo, and Nayi. SLLE Linguistic Report No. 25.
- Anderson, R. S. (1982) "Where is Morphology?" in Samuel, K. J. et. al. (eds). Linguistic Inquiry. Journal, Vol. 13. No. 4. (pp. 571-612).
- Bender, M. L. (1976) The Non-Semetic Languages of Ethiopia. African Studies Center. Michigan State University East Lansing: Michigan.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (2000) Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages.  
Muenchen Lincom Europa.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2003) Omotic Lexicon and Phonology. Southern Illinois  
University Carbondale, IL 62901, U.S.A.
- Firehiwot, T. (2001) The Noun Phrase in Nayi. B.A Thesis. Addis Ababa: Addis  
Ababa University.
- Barbara, G. (ed.) (1992) Ethnologue (12th edition). Consulting editors: Richard S.  
Pittman and Joseph E. Grimes. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hirut, W. (2003) The Grammar of Haro with Comparative Notes on the Omoto  
Linguistic Group. Ph.D. Thesis. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University.
- Krauss, M. (1992) The World's Languages in Crisis. Language 68.1.4-10.
- Ladefoged, P. (2001) A Course in Phonetics. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Heinle & Heinle, a division  
of Thompson Learning, Inc.
- Lyons J. (1968) Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge  
University Press.

- Matthews H. P. (1991) Morphology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Muldrow, M. W. (1976) "Languages of the Maji Area" in Bender, M. L. (ed.).  
The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia. Michigan: East Lansing  
Michigan. (pp. 603-607).
- Palmer, R. F. (1986) Mood and Modality. Cambridge: Cambridge University  
Press.
- Payne T. E. (1997) Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spencer A. (1991) Morphological Theory: An Introduction to Word Structure in  
Generative Grammar. Blackwell Publishers.
- Zelalem L. (2004) "The Fate of Endangered Languages in Ethiopia" in Argenter  
J. A. and Brown R. M. (eds.). The Margins of Nations: Endangered  
Languages and Linguistic Rights. In the Proceedings of the 8<sup>th</sup> FEL  
Conference. The Foundation for Endangered Languages UK Registered  
Charity 1070616. (pp. 35-45).

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for degree in any university and that all sources of materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name Ephrem Dejene

Signature Ephrem D.

Place \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Submission \_\_\_\_\_

This thesis has been submitted with my approval as a thesis advisor.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature Simon A. Demer