

A Descriptive Syntax of Naayì

Andualem Adal Tessema

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Linguistics in
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Linguistics**

**Addis Ababa University College of Humanities,
Language Studies and Journalism & Communication
Department of Linguistics and Philology**

**May, 2020
Addis Ababa**

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Adivisor: Endalew Assefa (PhD)

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation is my original work; it has never been presented for any academic study in any other university, and all sources of materials used for this work are duly acknowledged.

Name: Andualem Adal Tessema

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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Addis Ababa University

College of Humanities, Language Studies and Journalism and Communication

This is to certify that the dissertation written by Andualem Adal Tessema, entitled "**A Descriptive Syntax of Naayi'**" and submitted to the Department of Linguistics and Philology in partial fulfillment for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in linguistics complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Members of the Examining Committee:

Advisor _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Examiner _____ Signature _____ Date _____

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviation or Symbol	Name or Meaning
()	Optional Constituent Representation
//	Phonemic Representation
[]	Phonetic Representation, Constituent Representation
{}	Exclusive Constituent representation
=	Subject Clitic Boundary
↗	Rising Intonation
...∅	A gap position of relativized NP in relative clause
1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
Adj	Adjective, Aspect
ACC	Accusative Case
ADFOC	Additive focus marker
ADJZ	Adjectivizer
Adv	Adverb
AdvP	Adverb Phrase
AP	Adjective Phrase
C	Consonant, Complement Constituent
C ₁ C ₂	A Cluster of Two Different Consonants
CAUS	Causative Derivation
COM	Comitative Case
COND	Conditional Clause marker
CONJ	Conjunctive coordinator
COP	Copula
COP _{ZERO}	Zero Copula
CO-SUBS	Co-subjects, or Conjoined Subjects
CSV	Complement-Subject-Verb Word Order

D	Determiner
DAT	Dative Case
DEF.F	Definite Feminine
DEF.M	Definite Masculine
DEGW	Degree Word
DEM	Demonstrative
DISJ	Disjunctive Coordinator
DIST	Distal Demonstrative
DISTN	Near Distal Demonstrative
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive Case
gl.	Glottal or Ejective
H	High Tone
HON	Honorific
IMP	Imperative
IN	Inessive Case
INST	Instrumental Case
INTJ	Interjection
Q	Interrogative
IO	Indirect Object
IRR	Irrealis Assertion Mood
ISR	Intransitive Subject Reference
JUSS	Jussive
L	Low Tone
lit.	Literal meaning
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine, Mid Tone, Mood
N	Syllabic Nasal, Head Noun
n.	Noun Class
N.ASS	Negative assertion Mood
NEG	Negative

NMLZ	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative Case
NON.PAST	Non Past Tense
NP	Noun Phrase
NP _{rel}	Relativized Noun Phrase
O	Direct Object
∅	A gap or zero
PRSP	Presupposition Mood
OPT	Optative
ORD	Ordinal Number
OSV	Object-Subject-Verb Word Order
PART	Participle
PASS	Passive Derivation
PAST	Past tense
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessor
PP	Postpositional Phrase
PRN	Proper Noun
PRO	Pronoun
PROX	Proximal Demonstrative
Quant	Quantifier
RCL	Relative Clause
REAL	Realis Mood
REL	Relativizer for Masculine Singular and Plural nouns
REL.F	Relativezer for Feminine Singular Nouns
RESFOC	Resultative focus marker
S	Subject
SCV	Subject-Complement-Verb Word Order
SEQ	Immediate Time Sequence of a Clause
SEQFOC	Sequential or Consecutive Focus Marker
SG	Singular

SOUR	Source
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb Word Order
sp.	Species of
SV	Subject-Complement Word Order
T	Tense
TEMP	Temporal
TOR	Transitive Object Reference
TSR	Transitive Subject reference
V	Vowel, Head Verb, Tone Bearing Unit with Mid Tone
Ṽ	Tone Bearing Unit with High Tone
̀V	Tone Bearing Unit with Low Tone
v.	Verb Class
vd.	Voiced
vi.	Intransitive Verb
vl.	Voiceless
VOC	Vocative
VP	Verb Phrase
vt.	Transitive Verb
VV	Vowel Length

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

1.1.1. The Naayi People

The Naayi people live in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS) of Ethiopia. According to the field notes of this research, originally the Naayi people had been around Dulbñ village before 1936 (1928 E.C), which is now in Maji district of Bench Maji zone in the same region. In 1936, because of drought, the Naayi people migrated to the place called Dúmá, which is by now Dúmá-Dash locality in Menit-Goldiya district of Bench Maji zone, from their original place called Dulbñ. Then, since in Dúmá also the drought continued, they all together moved to and first settled at the place called Gushi locality in Decha district of Kaffa zone (formerly, Decha Awraja of Kaffa Province during Emperor Haile Sillassie) in order to get water and fertile land for them and their cattle. Again, after living together there for about four decades, many of the Naayi people dispersed to other areas of the region in searching of more fertile land than Decha area and due to other reasons though most of the Naayi people still live in Decha district of Kaffa zone (based on field note of this research).

Aklilu (1997:601) and Samson (2012:6), also mentioned that many Naayi speakers migrated from Decha Awraja of Kaffa Province during Emperor Haile Sillassie to other parts of the Province - either in search of fertile land or to safeguard themselves from war and other conflicts in Decha. Among the Naayi speakers, most of them live in Goba, Gushi, Angela-Menesh and Udadish villages of Decha district of Kaffa zone; a few Naayi people live in Dulkuma village of Shoa-Bench district; and other few Naayi people also live in the villages of Aybera, Kosa, and Jamdos of the Sheko district, of Bench Maji zone (Aklilu 1997:601). The reason that the Naayi people came to the Dulkuma, Aybera, Kosa, and Jamdos villages was due to the war between the feudal lords of Decha Awraja and the military government in the time from 1976-1977 (Aklilu 1997:601).

Based on the elder informants of this research and CSA (2008:217), most of the Naayi speakers live in Decha district of Kaffa zone, such as Dishu, Ogya, Angela, Gebera, Bobagetጽa, Sheda, Ada, Dubiyo, Gesa, Ufa, tጽiri, Gundira-Shela, K'eshi and Shashi localities (local administrative areas) among the 63 localities of the district. From these, Naayi is mainly spoken in Dishu, Ogya and Angela localities which are about 40 up to 60kms far from Bonga town. Many other Naayi people who were dispersed to different zones of SNNPRS from Decha district of Kaffa zone live in Bench-Maji zone, Sheka zone, Welayita zone, Awassa City, and other zones of the Region (CSA, 2008:201-244). The statistical data of the 2007 Population Census shows that out of the total population, that is out of 7, 244, of Naayi people, 490 live in Bench-Maji zone, 193 live in Sheka zone, 163 live in Wolayta zone, 114 live in Awassa City, 344 live in other zones of the region. But out of these Naayi people, in Bench-Maji zone only 243, in Sheka zone only 112, in Wolayta zone 163, in Awassa 59, in other zones of the Region only 227, of them speak Naayi as a mother tongue language as indicated in table 1 below. This means that out of 7, 244 Naayi people, 5,533, i.e., 76.38% of them speak the language as their mother tongue; and 1,711, i.e., 23.62% of them do not speak the Naayi as a mother tongue language.

Table 1: The distribution of Naayi people in different zones of SNNPRS (CSA, 2008:153-244)

Zones of SNNPRS in which Naayi people live	Population of Naayi people as ethnic group member	Naayi people who speak Naayi as Mother Tongue	Naayi people who do not speak Naayi as Mother Tongue
Kaffa zone	5,940	4,729	1,211
Bench Maji zone	490	243	247
Sheka zone	193	112	81
Wolayita zone	163	163	-
Awassa City	114	59	55
other zones in SNNPRS	344	227	117
Total Population	7,244 /100%/	5533 /76.38%/	1711 /23.62%/

The people who live in Decha district and who speak Naayi call themselves *Naayi* or *Naayi yaab* 'Naayi person' and their language *Naayi* or *Naayi edú* 'Naayi or Naayi mouth'. The translator, during the field work, explained the meaning of *Naayi* or *Naayi yaab* in the

language as *naa* means 'I', *yi*¹ means 'like this/that' and *yaab* means 'person, leader'. Therefore, *Naayì* means 'I am like this/that', and *Naayì yaab* means 'I am a person/leader like this/that' which shows that the Naayì people are proud of themselves. Aklilu (1990:433) and Ephrem (2007:2) also mentioned that the name *Naayì* refers to both the people and the language. But, the widely used name of the people and the language is *nàʔó*² which is the Kaffa designation (Aklilu 1990:433). As observed in the fieldwork of this study, the informants themselves do not accept the name, *nàʔó*. Because, in the language, *nà* means 'I', *ʔó* means 'null or empty', and the meaning of *nàʔó* is 'I am null or empty'. Therefore, the researcher suggests the people and the language to be called *Naayì* rather than *nàʔó*, following the people who speak and refer to it, as Aklilu (1990:433) suggests.

The Naayì people are also designated with various names by different ethnic groups; these include *tol* by the *she*, *tolwo* by *meʔen*, and *la-andi* by the *tʼara*. The Naayì language in turn refers to the *she* and *bench* as *dizu*, the *meʔen* as *sur*, the *kaffa* as *gombara*, the *tʼara* as *s'aara*, the *gecko* as *fäku* (Aklilu 1990:433). That means, the Naayì language refers to different groups in a different way based on their original names.

According to the field note of this research, the Naayì ethnic group includes more than eighty clans. The names of some of the clans are: *màtskís*, *màtfíkís*, *fiikees*, *bersén*, *búyná*, *bwàtfá*, *byá alá*, *baytì*, *ankyaab*, *ʔyarkh̄yaab*, *ʔwamdá*, *kyándá*, *kársì*, *koysiyaab*, *zówù*, *dùská*, *dwátfákís*, *dalífkís*, *gwátá*, *gàmkís*, *gàyskís*, *góltù*, *koysìs*, and *ts'èbèryaab*.

The Naayì people are involved mainly in farming and to some extent in animal husbandry for their livelihood. Their typical food is *ibù*, which is called *k'ottf'o* in Amharic. This is the edible part of the root of *ùdù* or *insət* in Amharic. In terms of their religion, almost all of them are Orthodox Christians with some recently baptized Protestants. Some of the Orthodox Christians also practice a traditional belief, which is called *digì*.

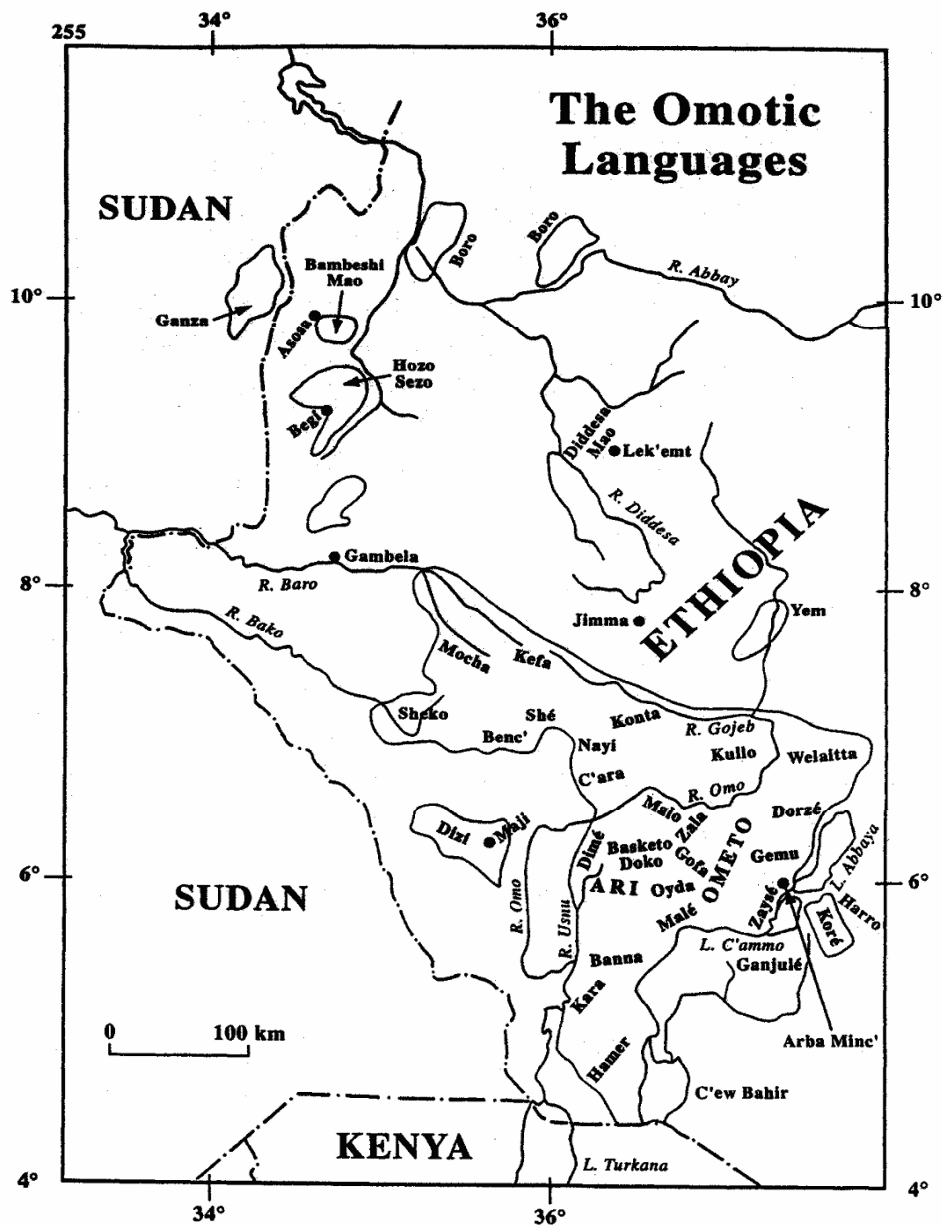
¹ In Naayì, *yi* is a verbal demonstrative and it means 'like this/that' (as discussed in §3.2.4.3.).

²The alternative names Nayi and Nao in Aklilu and other works becomes Naayì and Nàʔó here based on the fieldwork observation. Since the name Nàʔó is derogatory for the speakers, it is ignored in this work.

1.1.2. The Naayì Language

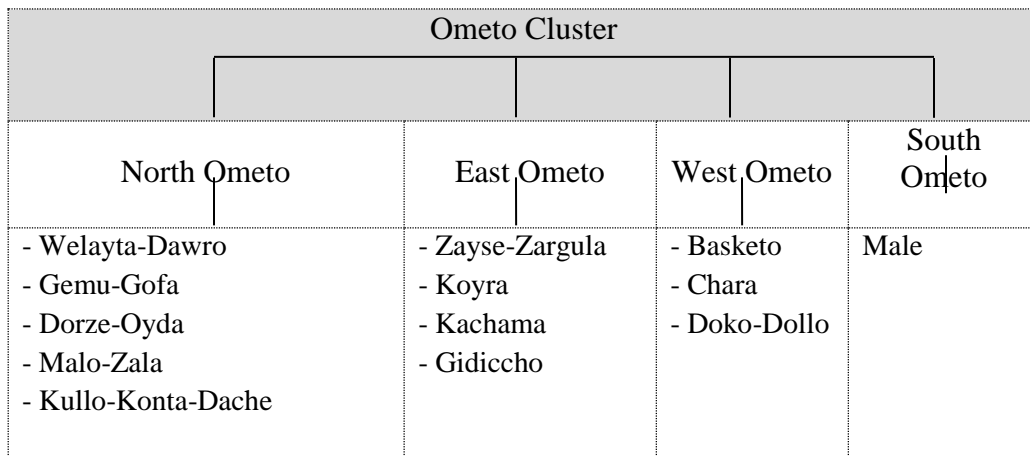
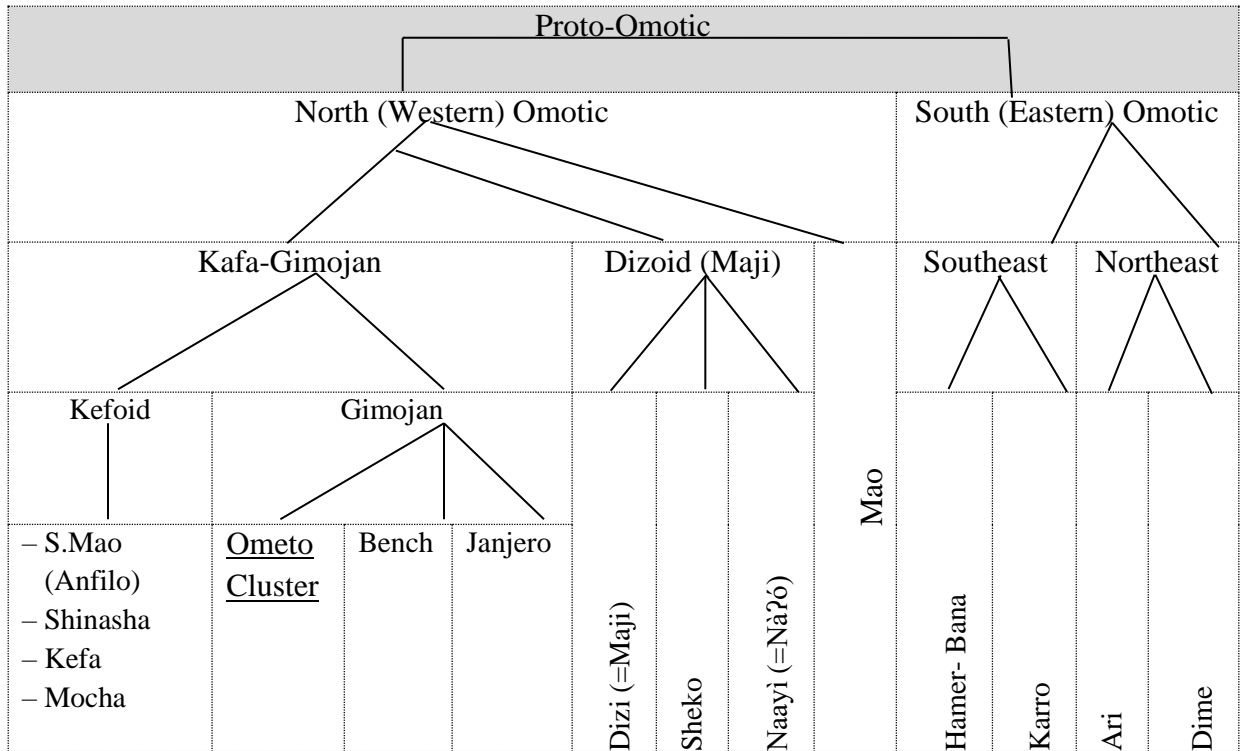
Naayì, which is a little known language and also known as Nàʔó, belongs to the Diziod (Majoid) subgroup under the northern sub-branch of the Omotic language family (Bender 2003:2; 2000:143; and Aklilu 1990:433; 1997:601). Omotic languages are spoken only in Ethiopia. Naayì, as an Omotic language member, is spoken in SNNPRS of Ethiopia. Bender (2000:255) shows the map of Omotic languages as indicated in figure 1 below.

Figure 1: The Map of the Omotic Languages (Adopted from Bender 2000:255):



The genetic classification, as shown in figure 2 below, depicts the place of Naayi within the Omotic language phylum (cf. Bender 2000:202 and 2003:1-3 & 299). The classification is done based on the morphological analysis in Bender (2000).

Figure 2: Genealogical Classification of Omotic Language Phylum and the Place of Naayi

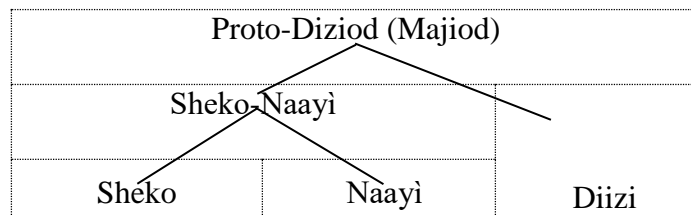


Bender (2000 and 2003) presents a revised classification of Omotic languages based on morphological and lexical analysis. The classifications of the languages in these two works are almost identical. However, the family tree of Omotic languages based on lexicon as analyzed in Bender (2003) differs from that based on morphology as analyzed in Bender (2000). Particularly, Mao is seen as the most divergent Omotic branch in morphological

terms instead of having an affinity with TN (which represents the Kafa-Gimojan branch that contains languages that have independent pronouns *ta* and *ne*, representing first and second person singular respectively) as against Dizoid (Dizi, Sheko, and Naayì) and Aroid(Ari, Hamer, Bana, Karro, and Dime). The family tree which has been structured based on the morphology of the languages is more preferable than the lexically based family tree to formulate Omotic Proto-Forms. Because, the latter is more subject to contamination by diffusion than the former (Bender 2003:299). That is why the researcher of this study presents the morphologically based family tree above to show the genetic classification of Omotic languages.

According to Bender (2000:143), under the Dizoid sub family, there are three languages, namely Dizi, Sheko, and Naayì. The name Majoid is given, because the oral history of all three groups name the area around Maji town as their place of origin; and the name Dizoid is also used, because the Diizi people were the better-known of the three groups (Aklilu 2003:59). On the internal classification of Majoid, Aklilu (2003) proposes a split between Diizi on the one hand and Sheko-Naayì on the other, based on phonological correspondence-sets, as shown in figure 3.

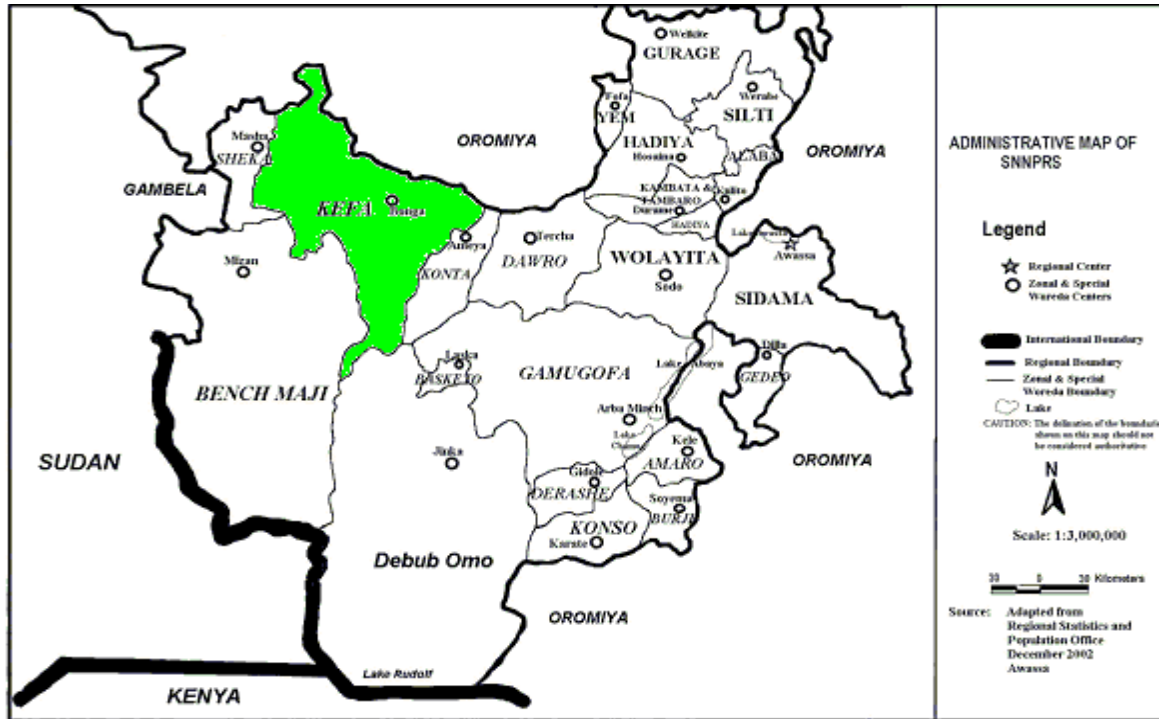
Figure 3: Internal Classification of Proto-Diziod (Majiod) Language (Aklilu 2003: 59)



These three languages are lexically equidistant, and for this reason, a typical count on lexicon is 58% which is reported by Ethnologue (264) for Diizi - Naayì (Bender 2000:143). Bender (2000:143), also indicates that all the three languages are spoken in south western Ethiopia; specifically, Dizi around the large town of Maji, Sheko to the north of the Gilo River, and Naayì to the northeast of the SNNPRS, just west of the place where the Dawro language is spoken. Naayì is mainly spoken in the area that is about 40 up to 60kms far from and to the southeast of Bonga town of Kaffa zone of SNNPRS. As shown in figure 4 below, the grey

color is the map of Kaffa zone of SNNPRS, and in which to the southeast of Bonga town the Naayi is spoken.

Figure 4: Administrative Map of SNNPRS and Kaffa Zone (Adopted from Samson 2012: 5)



Regarding the dialect(s) of Naayi, many of the previous researches simply indicate the areas in which Naayi (Nàʔó) is spoken. Aklilu and Siebert (2002:6) reported that Naayi is spoken in exactly the same way in Ada, Angla, Dish, Gebera, Goda, Gushi, Kaida, Ogeya, Ouya, Shashi Bera, Shekibamba, and Shocha villages. There are no villages where their dialect is not recognized as Naayi by others. Among these villages, Naayi is mainly spoken in Dish, Gushi and Goda villages.

Based on the field note of this study, Naayi is mainly spoken in Decha district of Kaffa zone. Decha district has 63 localities (local administrative areas). Among the sixty three localities, most of the native speakers of Naayi live in Dish, Ogya, Angela, Gebera, Bobagetjʼa, Shada, Ada, Dubiyo, Gesa, ʔufa, tʃʼiri, Gundira-Shela, Kʼeshi and Shashi localities of the district. Among these also, Naayi is spoken by many speakers mainly in Dish, Ogya and Angela localities in which the language is relatively not affected by the neighboring languages, even by Kaffinoono which is highly dominating the language in the area. When the researcher

asked one of the key informants of this research as to whether or not there is dialectal difference among the speakers living in different places of Decha district, he has mentioned that there is no dialectal difference among the speakers of Naayì who live in different places of the district.

1.2. Previous Studies

There are few researches done on Naayì in particular and on the Dizoid Languages in general. From these, some of them are old sources; and the others are recent works. The recent works done on Naayì are: Aklilu (1990), Aklilu (1994b), Aklilu (1997), Bender (2000), Firehiwat (2001), Aklilu and Siebert (2002), Ephrem (2007), Samson (2012), and Dessalegn (2013) chronologically. From these, Aklilu (1990) and Aklilu (1994a) focused on the phonology of the language; Bender (2000) and Ephrem (2007) focused on the morphology of the language; Aklilu (1997) sketched some grammatical features and touched the syntax of Naayì. Firehiwat (2001) is an attempt to describe the structure of noun phrase in Naayì. Aklilu and Siebert (2002), Samson (2012) and Dessalegn (2013) focused on the sociolinguistic situation of the Language.

Now the researcher, here, needs to review those grammatical works Aklilu (1990), Aklilu (1994a), Aklilu (1997) and Bender (2000); and then, the sociolinguistic works such as Aklilu and Siebert (2002), Ephrem (2007), Samson (2012) and Dessalegn (2013) in this section.

Aklilu (1990) describes the palatalization and labialization of consonants in the language in some detail. In many languages, it is common that palatalization and labialization of consonants occur before the front vowels *i*, *e* and the back vowels *u*, *o* respectively. However, according to Aklilu (1990:444), apart from this, the Naayì language also permits palatalization and labialization of consonants before the vowel *a* at word initial position. The palatalized and labialized consonants before the vowel *a* could be analyzed as single elements since the language does not permit consonant clusters word initially. Besides palatalization and labialization of consonants, the author also described consonant phonemes and allophones, vowel phonemes and allophones, tone, syllable structure, and distribution and co-occurrence of phonemes of the language.

According to Aklilu (1990), Naayì has twenty nine consonant phonemes and two Syllabic nasals *ŋ* and *m̩* which carry tone. It is also indicated that consonant gemination is phonemic in Naayì and the language has three tonemes: high, mid and low. Regarding the vowel phonemes, Naayì has six short vowel phonemes *i, e, ä, a, u, o* and five long vowel phonemes *i:, e:, a:, u:, o:*. He remarks that the status of the short vowel *ä* in Naayì needs further investigations; and its long counterpart is not found in the language.

Aklilu (1994b) deals with the similarity between Bench and the two Majoid languages, Sheko and Naayì. The similarities of these languages are indicated to include the following:

1. All three have identical consonants. The only exception is the Bench phoneme *p* which correspondent to Sheko and Naayì *b* or *f*. The voiced alveo-palatal affricate *dʒ* is an allophone of *ʒ* in Bench, and a free variant of *ʒ* in Sheko and Naayì.
2. All three languages have a series of palatalized and labialized consonants which mostly occur before the vowel *a*. These palatalized and labialized segments are analyzed as independent phonemes or as consonants followed by a semi-vowel in Bench, and variants of their plain counterparts in Sheko and Naayì.
3. All the three languages have retroflex fricatives and affricates *ʂ, ʐ, c, cʰ*.
4. The syllabic nasals, which are derived from an archaic **u*, have been observed as the most important features which suggest a closer relationship between Bench and the Majoid languages.
5. Bench and the Majoid languages are tonal languages.

Aklilu (1994a) also described consonant phonemes, palatalized and labialized consonants, vowel inventory, suprasegmentals (tone, and consonant and vowel length), distribution and co-occurrences of phonemes, syllable pattern and the phonological word of Bench and the two Majoid languages: Sheko and Naayì in a comparative way.

Aklilu (1997) has sketched the phonemic inventory, noun and verb morphology, and syntax of Naayì. Under phonemic inventory, the consonant phonemes, vowel phonemes, tone and syllabic nasals of the language are described though it is a kind of sketch. Regarding the morphology of Naayì, Aklilu (1997) describes the noun inflections such as number, gender, definiteness, case, in addition to pronouns, and numerals. Here also the verb inflections such

as the tenses, aspects and moods are highlighted. Under syntax, the word order, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, conditional clauses, reason clauses, and conjunctions were sketched within two and half pages.

Bender (2000), on the other hand, shows the comparative morphology of Dizoid languages: Naayì, Sheko and Dizi, and among other Omotic Languages. Here, the gender, number and case in pronouns, verbal suffixes for personal pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives have been described in Dizoid languages. In nouns of the languages also, number, gender, species, and subject and object markers were described. Moreover; case markers other than nominative/accusative; verbal tense-mode-aspect (TMA) systems, copulas and connectors, and a few nominal/verbal derivations, of Naayì, Sheko, and Dizi have been pointed out in a comparative manner.

Ephrem (2007) deals with the verb inflections of Naayì. The issues described in this work are tense, aspect, mood, nominal agreements and voice and valency change.

Aklilu and Siebert (2002) made a sociolinguistic survey on the Chara, Dime, Melo, and Naayì languages of Ethiopia based on a trip undertaken to North Omo and Kaffa zone between February 28 and March 2, 1995. The report indicates that the Naayì people are in a process of changing not only to the customs, but also to the language of the Kaffa people. The reason for this is that intermarriage occurs very frequently. As a result, young people gradually abandon Naayì in favor of Kaffa which is now predominantly being used in the families as well as in public life. As a result, Amharic and Kaffa were the best languages for publishing books for the Naayì people. Thus, Naayì might survive as a language in small and remote pockets for some time. The results of their study would seem to suggest that a development of the language into a written form would not be a worthwhile project (Aklilu and Siebert 2002:10-11).

Samson (2012) investigates the underlying factors that have contributed to language shift of the Naayì people to Kaffinoono. The key factors influencing the Naayì people to shift their language to Kaffinoono are economic factors, language contact, cultural contact (proximity), educational factor, and language attitude (Samson 2012:15-21). According to Samson (2012), generally, due to the current status of Naayì language and the different factors

influencing the Naayì people to shift their language, one can argue that Naayì is an endangered language. This is true in the sense that it fulfills parameters that are used in characterizing a language as endangered. As a result, the language Naayì currently functions in a very restricted domain. Therefore, Naayì needs a greater attention for preservation.

According to Samson (2012:15), immigration has been found to be an important factor for Naayì language shift. The Naayì people came to the present area as a result of movement from their original home land in the Bench-Maji area. The Kaffa area is a place where Kaffinoono is predominantly spoken. The immigration is followed by permanent settlement, and one of the consequences of the immigration is that most of the Naayì community have got unavoidable shift towards the use of the dominant language Kaffinoono in the area.

Dessalegn (2013), like Samson (2012) focusing on the language endangerment, particularly intends to give insight on the status of the endangered languages including the Naayì, the Shabu, the Tamma, and the Zilmamoo, which are spoken in the South Western part of Ethiopia, and to create awareness to all stakeholders and responsible bodies to take remedial action just before we lose these languages for good. It also aims at motivating and initiating projects that works on the studying and analyzing, and documenting and revitalizing of these endangered languages, oral cultures and ecological knowledge (Dessalegn 2013:4).

Regarding to the language under investigation, according to Dessalegn (2013:5), there are lots of factors that push the Naayì to endangerment. The major cause for the endangerment of the Naayì language is the disintegration of the Naayì people. The Naayì people live in three linguistically different communities the Kaffa, the Bench and Sheko. All these people have their own language and culture which is different from the Naayì. The Naayì people have adopted the languages and cultures of the Kaffa, Bench and Sheko communities. This is because the receiving communities put a strong impact on the Naayì in terms of economic activity, social norms, environmental conditions and cultural issues. The dominance of these communities in terms of political decision, language of education for the youngsters, marginalization of people who do not speak their language and the disintegration of the Naayì people are some of the factors for the endangerment of the Naayì language.

Languages in the process of dying are endangered languages (Dessalegn 2013:4). According to Dessalegn (2013:4), there are five levels of language endangerment:

- 1) A language is *potentially endangered* if the children start preferring the dominant language and learn the obsolescing language imperfectly.
- 2) A language is *endangered* if the speakers are young adults and there are no or very few child speakers.
- 3) A language is *seriously endangered* if the speakers are middle-aged or past middle age.
- 4) A language is *terminally endangered or moribund* if there are only a few elderly speakers left.
- 5) A language is *dead* when there are no speakers left at all.

Out of these five levels of language endangerment, the Naayì language falls on the second level in that its youngest speakers are young adults and it has no or very few child speakers. Therefore, because of this reason, the Naayì is classified as “status 7B”; that is, it is threatened with extinction (Dessalegn 2013: 4).

From this reviewing section, as a whole, we can infer that Naayì has relatively been well described in terms of its phonology as well as in its sociolinguistic situation, but not in its morphology and syntax.

1.3. The Present Study

1.3.1. Statement of the Problem

'Languages play a significant role in identity formation. They define personal identities, and are also part of a shared inheritance. They are again an expression of cultures, and repositories of the history of the peoples who use them. They form an integral part of the sum of human knowledge and are interpretation of human experience' (Dessalegn 2013:4). If languages have such a significant role in identity formation in general, the death of each language, therefore, results in the permanent loss of unique cultural, historical, ecological, and inherited knowledge of the people who used the language for a long period of time (Dessalegn 2013:4). From this point of view, the current researcher believes that since Naayì is an endangered language, it has to be described, documented and preserved before dying

and losing the cultural, historical, ecological, and inherited knowledge of the Naayi people. Naayi is an endangered language about to die, if actions are not taken on time. The first action that must be taken on Naayi is describing its grammar; and the second action is preparing it for education, publication, and for other social and political functions.

As we see in the review of previous studies above, Naayi is an endangered language and has not been well studied yet especially in its syntax. The works that have touched the morphology and syntax of the language are very sketchy and narrow in their scope. Thus, the present study is a worthwhile undertaking as it intends to thoroughly describe the syntax of the language. Therefore, the present researcher strongly believes that the syntax of Naayi should be described to fill the gap of the research on the area as well as to contribute to the survival and/or development of the language.

1.3.2. Objectives of the Research

The aim of this research is to describe the syntax of Naayi. Under this main objective, the following specific objectives have been achieved in this study. These are:

- a. identifying the different word classes and describing their features,
- b. describing the phrase structures of the language,
- c. describing both simple and complex clauses in the language, and
- d. analyzing the pragmatically marked constructions (focus and topic) in the language.

1.3.3. Research Questions

At the end of this research, the following key questions have been answered in order to achieve the aforementioned specific objectives:

- a. What are the word classes in Naayi and what features do they exhibit?
- b. What phrasal categories exist in Naayi and what do their structures look like?
- c. What clausal types exist in Naayi and how are they constructed?
- d. How are the pragmatically marked constructions structured in the language?

1.3.4. Relevance of the Research

The result of this research is presumed to render the following significances:

- a. Since the language is endangered, this research is important for the preservation and development of the language.
- b. Since the language has not been yet studied well especially on its syntax, this research can fill this research gap.
- c. The study as a description of an aspect of the grammar of the language is relevant for education and publication.
- d. The research can also be used as a reference for other researchers interested in working on Naayì and other related languages.
- e. This research can have advantages for the speakers of Naayì to have a higher status and recognition on their language, as well as ensuring cultural heritage of descendants of the language's speakers.

1.3.5. Delimitation of the Research

Since the syntax of Naayì has not been properly dealt with yet and for the sake of initiating an in-depth study, this research is confined only to the syntactic description of the language. With respect to the dialect of Naayì, there is no usage variation among the native speakers of the language. According to Aklilu and Siebert (2002: 6) and based on the fieldwork study of this research, Naayì is spoken by many speakers mainly in Angela, Dishì, and Ogya localities and around these places. Therefore, the data for this research have been collected from these localities or villages: Angella, Dishì, and Ogeya.

1.4. Methodology

The research follows a descriptive approach by which the data have been described based on the facts of the language. The description has been done based on *basic linguistic theory*. “Basic linguistic theory - the theory of linguistics as a natural science - consists in study and comparison of the grammatical patterns of individual languages” (Dixon 2010a:5).

1.4.1. Method of Data Collection

The data for this research have been collected from Angela, Dish, and Ogya localities; because, the greatest number of the native speakers of the language is found and language interference is relatively less in these localities. The informants of the research have been

selected based on their knowledge of the language. That means, all of them are native speakers of Naayì. Of course, no informants are monolingual. This is because; almost none of the Naayì speakers are monolingual. They speak at least Naayì and Kaffinoono and/or Amharic and/or another of the neighboring languages as the informants themselves said. Among the informants involved in this study, four of them are male and trilingual; the one is female and bilingual and the other one is male and pentalingual as indicated in table 2 below. Nevertheless, all the informants are native speakers of the language; and they have given valid data.

Table 2: Information Pertaining to the Informants

S.No.	Name of the Informants	Sex	Age	Second Language(s)	Locality or Village
1.	Baab Tamene Feysa	M	64	Menit(Sur), Kaffinoono, tʃara, and Amharic	Angella
2.	Baab Gibo Ayro	M	70	Kaffinoono and Amharic	Dishi
3.	Baab Adeto Yebo	M	55	Kaffinoono and Amharic	Dishi
4.	Baab Gizaw Yebo	M	60	Kaffinoono and Amharic	Dishi
5.	Kesṅ Birkie Ambo	F	50	Kaffinoono	Ogya
6.	Baab Takele Beyene	M	29	Kaffinoono and Amharic	Ogya

The method that has been employed to collect data in this research is *informant method*, in which the native speakers of Naayì have been interviewed with the help of a translator. In the process of interviewing, the researcher has used one of the above informants, Baab Takele Beyene, as a translator who can speak both the language under investigation and the contact language, Amharic. In using informant method, *free speech method*, by which ample and natural data can be collected, has been applied as a main tool to get a complete set of data. In doing so, oral texts have been recorded by an audio recorder. The recorded oral texts are talking about the history of the people, the cultures of the people such as marriage, mail, reconciliation, labor division of males and females, the cultural value of *gaatfû* (a type of grain) in Naayì, which is called *Tef* in Amharic, and the traditional belief of the people,

which is called *Dìgì* in Naayì. In addition to free speech method, *elicitation method* has been applied in the study when it is necessary; i.e. when some grammatical features are not available in the oral texts collected by the free speech method. In general, by using free speech method as a main tool and elicitation method as a supplementary tool, ample data pertaining to words and texts have been collected.

After collecting the data, the researcher has annotated, segmented and translated the texts in Amharic and transcribed them with IPA with help of the translator while the researcher was in the field for about one month time. The annotation, segmentation and translation of texts have been done using EUDICO Linguistic Annotator (ELAN). ELAN is an annotation tool that allows us to create, edit, visualize and search annotations for video and audio data. After returned from the fieldwork, the researcher has edited the transcribed texts with IPA by listening the audio data again and again and translated the texts in English.

1.4.2. Method of Data Analysis

After collecting and transcribing the data, the researcher arranged the content outline of the analysis part of the research; and then, the proper description has been provided based on the facts of the language using qualitative method of analysis. Qualitative method is used because of the fact that a linguist describes the observed grammatical facts and regular patterns or systems of a language qualitatively. According to Kroeger (2005:6), our approach, as linguists, to the study of grammar should be descriptive rather than prescriptive: our primary goal should be to observe, describe, and analyze what speakers of a language actually say, rather than trying to tell them what they should (not) say. Therefore, in this study, there is no need of a pre-formulated theory to study the syntax of Naayì; rather, the observed syntactic facts and patterns have been analyzed using the qualitative method.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

Here it is important to articulate, first, what is syntax and its scope of study; and then, the theoretical framework of the study is going to be explained. Syntax deals with how words are grouped together to form phrases and sentences. Mostly syntax is defined as part of grammar which means all organizing principles of a language such as the sound system, the form of

words, the structure of phrases and sentences, and so on. This is strengthened by (Tallerman 2011:1) as follows:

‘Syntax’ means ‘sentence construction’: how words group together to make phrases and sentences. Some people also use the term grammar to mean the same as syntax, although most linguists follow the more recent practice whereby the grammar of a language includes all of its organizing principles: information about the sound system, about the form of words, how we adjust language according to context, and so on; syntax is only one part of this grammar.

“The term ‘syntax’ is also used to mean the study of the syntactic properties of languages. ... So the scope of the study of syntax includes the classification of words, the order of words in phrases and sentences, the structure of phrases and sentences, and the different sentence constructions that language use” (Tallerman 2011:1).

According to Payne (2006:7), a grammar of a language is internal to the human mind, but allows the mind to “connect” to other minds that have similar grammatical patterns. Based on this assumption, we can study the grammar of a language objectively. Under the heading of “grammar” there are traditionally several subheadings, including phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. From these, phonetics and phonology have to do with how the sounds of language are produced in the human vocal organs (lungs, larynx, mouth, nasal cavity), and how sounds are systematically organized in particular languages, respectively. Morphology has to do with how words are formed; and syntax has to do with how words are combined to form phrases and sentences. Semantics has to do with the meanings of individual elements of linguistic structure and their combinations. Hence the focus of this study is syntax which deals with how words combine to form phrases and sentences.

Coming to the theoretical framework of this research, *descriptive approach* has been applied. To describe a language, we need to know the properties of the language first. According to Payne (1997:11), to describe a language, a linguistic researcher should focus on both the communicative and formal properties of the language.

Language is both a tool used by people or communication and a formal symbolic system. Any approach to linguistic description must be aware of both of these properties. The art of conceptualizing and describing a language involves analyzing its formal systematic properties and interpreting them in light of the language's essentially human and communicative character. As a linguistic researcher, my understanding of the formal systematic properties of language must be informed by an understanding of the purposes language serves and the human environment in which it exists. Similarly, my understanding of the functions of particular morphosyntactic forms in communication must be informed by an understanding of the ways in which those forms relate to one another in the formal system of the language. My understanding on either front is enriched as I concentrate on understanding the other (Payne 1997:11-12).

From the quotation, one could infer that it is “important for field linguists to have a healthy respect for the difference, and interdependence, between meaning and form”. For field linguists, form or structure derives from meaning, or form is not autonomous of meaning or language use. The two central concepts are different as: “meaning refers to what a language is used for, and form is the linguistic expressions themselves”. Hence, language is a symbolic system in which linguistic units are described as consisting of form-meaning composite (Payne 1997:4-5).

Therefore, in this study, the researcher describes the syntax of Naayi based on the free interdependence of the formal system of the language and its function, keeping that the grammar of the language is similar among all the native speakers of the language as grammar is internal to their mind. In describing the syntax of Naayi, the researcher follows the *basic linguistic theory*, which can “describe what happens in the language under study and then relate this to cross-linguistic typological parameters” (Dixon 2010a:12). Moreover, “Basic linguistic theory is concerned with comparing similar phenomena between languages and to achieve this it is convenient to apply the same label to similar phenomena in different languages” (Dixon 2010a:11). With basic linguistic theory, a linguist describes and analyzes individual natural language, and then by inductive generalization, the description of each

natural language contributes to the typological theory. Therefore, in this study, the syntax of Naayi is described and analyzed, and the rules are worked out inductively using basic linguistic theory based on the competence of the native speakers of the language.

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

This chapter focuses on some basic phonological issues that are used as a base for the description of the data in the study. Particularly, inventories of consonant and vowel phonemes, and the inventory and distribution of tonemes, the function of tone, and the morphophonemic operations in Naayì are described.

From the previous studies, Aklilu (1990) reports that there are twenty nine consonant phonemes, two syllabic nasals η and m , five short vowel phonemes i , e , a , u , and o with their long counterparts and the short mid central vowel ə (ä in his representation) without its long counterpart, and three phonemic tones: high, mid and low tones in Naayì. Again, Aklilu (2001), comes with the same result concerning these points except avoiding the alveolar affricate glottal consonant ts' (s' in his representation) from the former work. Regarding tonemes, Aklilu (1990:443) identifies three phonemic tones in Naayì. However, the morphophonemic operations of Naayì have not been touched in the previous works; but here, the issues have got due attention. Therefore, the researcher needs to revisit the phonological issues as an overview and strengthen Aklilu's work on phonemic and tonemic inventories, and to show some basic morphophonemic operations of Naayì as follows.

2.1. Consonants

This study discovered that Naayì has thirty consonant phonemes. All the consonant phonemes are presented in the consonant inventory of Naayì as follows in table 3.

<i>ziip</i>	[<i>ziip / ziiφ</i>]	‘drug or medicine’
b. <i>fiifa</i>	[<i>fiifa / fiifa</i>]	‘became odorous’
<i>tyafa</i>	[<i>tyafa / tyafa</i>]	‘good looking, polite’
<i>wafa</i>	[<i>wafa / wafa</i>]	‘forest’
<i>fiifn</i>	[<i>fiifn / fiifn</i>]	‘odor’
<i>yeeφ</i>	[<i>yeeφ / yeeφ</i>]	‘tear, weeping or mourning’
<i>aaf</i>	[<i>aaf / aaf</i>]	‘eye, fruit’
<i>kaf</i>	[<i>kaf / kaf</i>]	‘bird’

So far there has not been a report on the existence of *dz* in Naayi, Dizi, Sheko and Bench which are related languages. Based on in this study also, although the alveolar voiced affricate sound *dz* is clearly heard in the following few words of Naayi in (4), its occurrence is restricted only at medial position between two vowels. Since the number of words in which *dz* is heard is very limited and its distribution is predictable and defective, it is difficult to take it as a phoneme; rather it could be the variant of its voiceless counterpart *ts* due to voicing.

4. [<i>kèdzá</i>] (n.) ‘head water used for drinking’	[<i>tyádzá</i>] (n.) ‘cat’
[<i>gèdzá</i>] (n.) ‘lake, sea’	[<i>hadzá</i>] (n.) ‘producer/ owner, or product’
[<i>wadzá</i>] (n.) ‘award’	[<i>hádza</i>] (v.) ‘produced/ fruited, or became fruitful’
[<i>wádza</i>] (v.) ‘bestowed, or gave award’	

All consonant phonemes are attested to occur in all positions in Naayi except *ts*, *tʃ*, *tʃs*, *l*, and *r* which occur only word medially and finally (cf. Aklilu 1994b:1059).

2.2. The Phonemic Status of Syllabic Nasals

Naayi has phonemic syllabic nasal *ŋ* and *m̩* which can carry tone and be the nucleus of a syllable. In Aklilu (1990:434), it is also reported that Naayi has two syllabic nasals *ŋ* and *m̩* which carry tone, but their phonemic status is not illustrated clearly. Moreover, Azeb

2012:436) mentions, "Syllabic *n* and *m* are reported for Bench. Nayi, Nao³, Sheko, and Dizi have a syllabic alveolar nasal." However, the statements about the phonemic status of the syllabic nasals given in the previous works are not supported by minimal pairs. Therefore, in this section, the issue has got due focus and discussed with illustration.

In Naayi, the syllabic bilabial nasal *m̩* forms only two lexical items: *m̩*- which means 'eat' and *m̩*⁴ which means 'food'. These two words are semantically related, and they are contrasted with high and mid tones. However, there is one minimal pair showing that the syllabic bilabial nasal *m̩* has a status of phoneme in Naayi, as illustrated in (5).

5. *m̩*- 'eat'
m̩ 'we'

The most common occurrence place of the syllabic nasals *m̩* and *n̩* is immediately after the active transitive verb roots in which they mark a transitive subject argument and at the end of the citation form of most nouns and adjectives in which they are used as a terminal segment. However, the syllabic bilabial nasal *m̩* occurs due to assimilation of *-n̩* immediately after the bilabial consonants of the roots of verbs, nouns and adjectives, as illustrated below in (6).

³ Both *Nayi* and *Nao* refer to the same language named here as *Naayi* which is preferred and understudy by this research. The researcher of this study does not know why the two names are provided as if they were referring to two different languages. The name '*Nao* or *Nà?o*' is derogatory for the speakers since it has a meaning, 'I am empty or I have nothing' in the language.

⁴ The reason why the verb *m̩*- 'eat' and the noun *m̩* 'food, cereal' are related is because; nouns can be derived from verbs with a change of tone from high or low tone of verbs to the mid tone of nouns in the language (see section 2.7.3.2. example 87).

6. a. Transitive Verbs

<i>kót-ḥ</i>	'keep, wait'	<i>káp-ḥ</i> [<i>káp-m̩</i>]	'build, mend'
<i>bót'-ḥ</i>	'integrate, mix, merge'	<i>k'ép'-ḥ</i> [<i>k'ép'-m̩</i>]	'choose, select'
<i>dyáh-ḥ</i>	'work'	<i>fáb-ḥ</i> [<i>fáb-m̩</i>]	'tear'

b. Nouns

<i>p'alk'-ḥ</i>	'lighting'	<i>karb-ḥ</i> [<i>karb-m̩</i>]	'fence'
<i>boz-ḥ</i>	'guest, visitor'	<i>fif-ḥ</i> [<i>fif-m̩</i>]	'odor'
<i>koŋ-ḥ</i>	'(agricultural) product'	<i>tip-ḥ</i> [<i>tip-m̩</i>]	'attitude'

c. Adjectives

<i>haŋ-ḥ</i>	'wide'	<i>mark-ḥ</i>	'accurate'
<i>kool-ḥ</i>	'dry'	<i>t'alb-ḥ</i> [<i>t'alb-m̩</i>]	'pure, clean, neat'

In the above examples, the underlying morpheme marking the transitive subject reference in (6a) and the underlying terminal segment in (6b & c) is *-ḥ*, not *-m̩*. Therefore, the syllabic bilabial nasal *-m̩* is the allomorph of the syllabic alveolar nasal *-ḥ* in this environment. However, it is better to transcribe allomorph *-m̩* as it is here since the assimilation is very strong and *-m̩* is audible as a separate sound to the speakers, and it is a phoneme in the language as in (5). It means that transcribing *-m̩* as *-ḥ* following the bilabial consonants becomes very strange though the underlying form is *-ḥ*.

The syllabic alveolar nasal *ḥ* has the phonemic status in Naayì, as illustrated below in (7, 8 & 9). The other argument marker in the verbs of Naayì is the suffix *-ù* which denotes the intransitive subject argument and the transitive object argument of the verbs. The minimal pairs given in (7) confirm that the syllabic nasal suffix *-ḥ* as transitive subject reference and the vowel suffix *-ù* as intransitive subject and transitive object reference are in contrastive distribution.

7. a. <i>śádḥ-</i> (vt.)	'change'	b. <i>pádḥ-</i> (vt.)	'count'
<i>śádù-</i> (vi.)	'be changed'	<i>pádù-</i> (vi.)	'be starved'

Moreover, the syllabic nasal suffix *-ḥ*, the vowel suffix *-ù* and the vowel suffix *-á* are also used as terminal segments in many of the derived and non-derived nouns and adjectives; and

in this case, the these segments can be contrasted, as in (8). Therefore, this can prove that the syllabic alveolar nasal η has a status of phoneme in Naayi.

8. a. *tók η* (n.) 'hole, tear, leak'
 tókù (n.) 'plain, level'
 b. *wuk'ù* (n.) 'burglar, thief, theft'
 wuk' η (n.) 'entrance, gateway'
 c. *šadá* (n.) 'change'
 šad η (adj.) 'long, tall, length'

Again, in (9), the contrast between the first person singular possessive clitic η - and the third person masculine singular possessive clitic \grave{e} - can prove that the syllabic nasal η is phoneme in Naayi. These two clitics can also be used as subject clitics η = '1SG' and \grave{e} = '3MSG' and contrasted in verbs as in (10).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>9. a. <i><u>η</u>-dòdù</i>
 1SG.POSS-child
 'my child'</p> <p>b. <i><u>\grave{e}</u>-dòdù</i>
 3MSG.POSS-child
 'his child'</p> | <p>10. a. <i><u>η</u>=dyáh-η-a</i>
 1SG=work-TSR-PAST
 'I worked.'</p> <p>b. <i><u>\grave{e}</u>=dyáh-η-a</i>
 3MSG=work-TSR-PAST
 'He worked.'</p> |
|---|--|

The syllabic nasals exhibit both the features of vowels and consonants. As vowels, they can form the nucleus of a syllable and bear tone, as seen in (11a, b, c & d) below. As consonants, phonologically, both syllabic nasals can appear at word initial position as other consonants but unlike vowels in the language (11c and d). It means that the syllabic nasals are alike with consonants in their distribution in a word, not in a syllable. However, in a syllable structure, the syllabic nasals take the position of the nucleus and can bear tone, and in this case, they are alike with vowels.

11. a. *gùùd- η -a = gùù.d η .a*
 make.circle-TSR-PAST
 'surrounded'

- b. $ís=gé-t'-\grave{h} = {}^5ís.gé.t'\grave{h} \sim ?ís.gé.t'\grave{h}$
 3MSG=say-PASS-TSR
 'it is called ...'
- c. $\acute{m}-a = \acute{m}.a \sim *? \acute{m}.a$
 eat-PAST
 'ate'
- d. $\grave{h}-ákù = \grave{h}.á.kù \sim \grave{h}.?á.kù \sim *? \grave{h}.?á.kù$
 1SG.POSS-grandfather
 'my grandfather'

2.3. Vowels

Naayì has five short and five long vowel phonemes as table 4 depicts below.

Table 4: Vowel phonemes of Naayì

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
High/Close	<i>i ii</i>		<i>u uu</i>
Mid	<i>e ee</i>		<i>o oo</i>
Low/Open		<i>a aa</i>	

Apart from the above basic vowels, the central mid vowel [ə] is heard in some words infrequently as an allophone of /e/ and /a/ as illustrated in (§2.4.) below; and hence, [ə] is not included in the vowel inventory of Naayì here. The fact that Naayì exhibits the system of five basic vowels, plus phonemic vowel length goes in line with many other Omotic languages (cf. Amha 2012:436). Bender (2003:310) also reconstructed such a system; but he stated that the schwa to be possibly existent in Proto-Omotic.

⁵ The word initial glottal /ʔ/ precedes a vowel in Naayì. By convention, the word initial glottal stop is not written in this thesis, but it exists underlyingly, just as in Sheko (cf. Hellenthal 2010:77).

In Naayi, vowels are non-initial. In this thesis, the voiceless stop /ʔ/ occurs as an underlying phoneme, but it is not written conventionally at initial position. The vowels /i/, /u/, /a/ and their long counterparts occur at medial and final positions frequently in the language; whereas the vowel /e/ and its long counterpart occur at medial and final positions less frequently than the former. The vowel /o/ occurs only at medial position frequently, but not at final position except in the word /óó/ 'calm, null, empty'; and this may be because of assimilation of the semivowel /w/ to the preceding vowel /o/.

Vowel length is phonemic in Naayi. The long vowels mostly occur at word-medial position, but in some monosyllabic words, they occur at final position in the language as indicated in (12).

12. Long vowels at monosyllabic word final position:

<i>níí</i>	'tip'	<i>dìì</i>	'tomb, grave'
<i>íí</i>	'tiger'	<i>naa</i>	'T'
<i>ii</i>	'house'	<i>háá</i>	'yes'
<i>ìì-</i>	'encamp'	<i>yàà</i>	'ok'
<i>díí</i>	'cloud, fog'	<i>óó</i>	'empty, quiet'

2.4. The Phonemic Status of Central Mid Vowel (ə)

The central mid vowel (ə) is not a phoneme in Naayi. In few words of the language, it is a free variant of the central low vowel /a/ and the front mid vowel /e/, as illustrated below in (13a) and (13b) respectively.

13. a. [ə] as free variant of /e/

<i>bérgì</i>	<i>[bárgì]</i>	'year, century, date'
<i>t'èkerá</i>	<i>[t'èkərá]</i>	'viper'
<i>tʃ'erǎ</i>	<i>[tʃ'ərǎ]</i>	'adze'
<i>bersén</i>	<i>[bərsén]</i>	'one of the Naayi clans'
<i>gém-</i>	<i>[gə́m-]</i>	'say something'

b. [ə] as free variant of /a/

<i>fàná</i>	<i>[fəná]</i>	'Monday'
<i>péfaba</i>	<i>[péfəba]</i>	'absent'
<i>fanaará</i>	<i>[fənaará]</i>	'waterfall'
<i>gaʔín</i>	<i>[gəʔín]</i>	'any, ever, extent, like'

The distribution of the schwa [ə] is very limited with few words in the language as listed in (13). Sometimes, it is very ambiguous and difficult to hear and differentiate the vowel [ə]

from /e/ and /a/ because the schwa is pronounced nearly in the same manner as /e/ and /a/. Again, the pronunciation varies from person to person and even within the same person. The same is true in Sheko (Hellental 2010:56-57). In fact, in most cases /e/ and /a/ are not realized as [ə] and they are very clear to hear.

Typologically, Amha (2012:436) indicates, "a number of Omotic languages are reported to have an additional low-central (schwa) vowel. These languages are Dime, Hamer, Karo, Sheko, Nayi, Dizi, and Anfillo, and, in restricted words, Kafa." However, Aklilu (2001:6) mentions that the phonemic status of the short central mid vowel (ə) in Naayì is problematic; but, he took the vowel as a phoneme in his description by implying that it needs further investigation. Hellental (2010:57) also said that the status of schwa is difficult in Sheko and in other Omotic languages; but she includes the schwa ə in the vowel inventory of Sheko as a marginal phoneme. Bender (2003:310) does not reconstruct the schwa ə in the vowel chart of proto-Omotic.

2.5. Length

Length is a term used in phonetics to refer to the physical duration of a sound or utterance, and in phonology to refer to the relative durations of sounds and syllables when these are linguistically contrastive. Phonologically long and short values are conventionally recognized, for both vowels and consonants (Crystal 2008:299). In Naayì, there is phonemic vowel length but there is no phonemic consonant gemination based on this study. We can see the contrast between the long vowels and their short counterparts, as shown in (14). In line with this, Bender (2003:237) remarks that long vowel VV vs. ordinary vowel V seems to be significant phonemically in Dizoid-Aroid language family.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 14. a. <i>i</i> - <i>ii</i> opposition | c. <i>u</i> - <i>uu</i> opposition |
| <i>ìs</i> 'he' | <i>mùtá</i> 'flex' |
| <i>ìis</i> 'there' | <i>mùùtá</i> 'cotton' |
| b. <i>e</i> - <i>ee</i> opposition | d. <i>o</i> - <i>oo</i> opposition |
| <i>fèf-</i> 'urinate' | <i>mòdòtá</i> 'height' |
| <i>fèef</i> 'urine' | <i>mòta</i> 'shaved' |

e. *a* - *aa* opposition

mará 'tactic'

maará 'a kind of tool used for rubbing false banana for food'

2.6. Ambiguity of *Cya*, *Cyo* and *Cwa* Sequences

In Naayì, sequences of consonant(*C*)-semivowel(*y*)-vowel(*a*) i.e. *Cya*, consonant(*C*)-semivowel(*y*)-vowel(*o*) i.e. *Cyo* and consonant(*C*)-semivowel(*w*)-vowel (*a*) i.e. *Cwa* are very common at word root-initial position. There are four optional ways to analyze the palatal and labial elements in such sequences phonologically (cf. Hellental 2010:73-76). These are by analyzing the sequences as CV1V2 vowel sequence, as *C^ea*, *C^eo* and *C^ua* diphthongs, as *C^ya*, *C^yo*, *C^wa*, (i.e. palatalized and labialized consonants before /*a*/ and /*o*/), or as *CCa* and *CCo* sequences. In this thesis, the analysis follows the *CCa* and *CCo* sequences by taking each of the palatalized and the labialized elements as semivowel consonant phoneme /*y*/ and /*w*/, i.e. the *Cya*, *Cyo* and *Cwa* sequences, but not as a vowel like *Cea*, *Ceo* and *Cua*. The *Cyo* sequence is not as frequent as *Cya* and *Cwa* sequences in Naayì. Unlike the *Cyo* sequence, a *Cwo* sequence is not attested in the language.

It is necessary to choose the *CCa* and *CCo* (*Cya*, *Cyo* and *Cwa*) alternative analysis among the four alternatives such as CV1V2 vowel sequence, as *C^ea*, *C^eo* and *C^ua* diphthongs, *C^ya*, *C^yo* and *C^wa* sequences (i.e. palatalized and labialized consonants before /*a*/ and /*o*/), and *CCa* and *CCo* sequences. This is basically because of economical and typological reasons which go in line with different scholars who dealt with Omotic studies (cf. Beachy 2005; Hellental 2010; Ahland 2012; and Rapold 2006).

2.7. Tone

This section provides an overview of tone in Naayì. It shows whether Naayì is a tone language, the inventory and distribution of tone, and its function in Naayì.

2.7.1. Is Naayì a Tone Language?

First it is necessary to give the definitions of tone and a tone language before describing whether Naayì is a tone language or not. According to Yip (2002:5), tone is a linguistic term which refers to a phonological category that distinguishes two words or utterances, and is thus only a term relevant for language, and only for languages in which pitch plays some sort of linguistic role. This means that tone is the result of significant pitch change in the words or utterances and this has the contrastive use in differentiating linguistic functions in a language.

Coming to the definition of a tone language, Pike (1948:3) defines a tone language as a language having lexically significant, contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable. In line with Pike (1948), Yip (2002:1) and Ding (2009:7) state that a language is a tone language, if, and only if, all lexical words of the language can be classified into a system of pitch-based categories. This statement also emphasizes that the lexical function of tone is the crucial feature of a tone language.

On the other hand, though it is said that a tone language is critically characterized by the lexical function of tone, it may be also identified by the grammatical functions of tone either in the presence or absence of tonal minimal pairs (Welmers 1959:2, Hyman 2001a:1368 and 2006:229, Yip 2002:12 and Duanmu 2000:19). Not only in the existence of lexical tone but also in the absence of lexical tone, a language may have only grammatical tone; and hence, the language could be tonal (Goldsmith, 1994:4626 and Welmers, 1973:80).

Based on the above definitions, Naayì is a tone language. This is because, the tone of Naayì has both lexical and grammatical functions as illustrated in (§ 2.7.3). As for the typology of a stress language versus a tone language (Yip, 2002:4), Naayì is not a stress language as far as any tone-bearing unit (or every syllable) can bear any tone (free tone). The lexical items associated with tonal melodies are also chosen from an unrestricted set of words in Naayì. This means that a set of words in the same word class that have the same syllable structure can be divided into different groups just by their tone melodies' patterns. Hence, Naayì is not stress or accent language; rather it is tonal language. Therefore, this point strengthens Aklilu's (1990:443) work in which it is recognized that Naayì is tonal.

2.7.2. The Inventory and Distribution of Tone

Here, the inventory and distribution of tone are examined based on the syllable types in each major word class: nouns, verbs and adjectives. Therefore, before describing about tone, it is necessary to show the typical syllable patterns in Naayi here. The syllable patterns which are attested in Naayi are CV and CVC which occur very frequently; CN, CVV and CVVC which occur frequently; C₁C₂V, CVC₁C₂ and C₁C₂VC which occur less frequently; and CVVC₁C₂ and N which occur very infrequently or rarely. These are specified based on the major word classes of Naayi as indicated in table (5) below, and the examples are given from (15) - (73).

Table 5: The patterns and occurrence frequency level of syllables in major word classes of Naayi

Syllable patterns attested in Naayi		Occurrence frequency level in each major word class			Occurrence Frequency Level in the Language
		Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	
a.	CV	Very Frequent	Frequent	Very Frequent	Very Frequent (39%)
b.	CVC	Very Frequent	Frequent	Frequent	Very Frequent (26.2%)
c.	CN	Frequent	Frequent	Frequent	Frequent (9.4%)
d.	CVV	Frequent	Less Frequent	Less Frequent	Frequent (9%)
e.	CVVC	Frequent	Less Frequent	Less Frequent	Less Frequent (4.5%)
f.	C ₁ C ₂ V	Frequent	Not Attested	Less Frequent	Less Frequent (4.1%)
g.	C ₁ C ₂ VC	Frequent	Less Frequent	Less Frequent	Less Frequent (4.1%)
h.	CVC ₁ C ₂	Less Frequent	Less Frequent	Not Attested	Less Frequent (2.5%)
i.	N ⁶	Rare	Rare	Not Attested	Rare (0.8%)
j.	CVVC ₁ C ₂	Rare	Not Attested	Not Attested	Rare (0.4)

Naayi has three level tonemes: high(H), mid(M) and low(L). These three tonemes are attested in monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns, adjectives and verbs; and in trisyllabic nouns as shown in examples (15) - (73). The contrast and inventory of the tonal melodies have been made based on the lexical words having the same syllabic structure. The syllables on which the tonal melodies occur are either monomoraic or bimoraic, which are formed by using a short vowel or a long vowel respectively. In Naayi, most verbs, some nouns and few adjectives are monosyllabic; most nouns and adjectives, and some verbs are disyllabic; and only some nouns are trisyllabic. In general, most of the lexical words of Naayi are disyllabic.

⁶ N represents the syllabic nasal consonants, *ŋ* and *ɲ*, each of which can form a syllable alone as N in (i) or with other consonant as CN in (c) in the table above.

In order to make the inventory of tonal melodies in nouns and adjectives, the citation forms of the words are used; and, the inventory of tonal melodies in verbs is made based on their root forms.

The distribution and contrast of the tonal melodies on words of each word class have been illustrated below. The data is organized based on syllable type and by contrasting the tonal melodies of words having the same syllable structure; but from the contrast, it is found that there is no correlation between the syllable types and the distribution of tonal melodies in the syllables. This means that, for example, both monomoraic syllable types, like CV, and CVC, CN and bimoraic syllable types, like CVV and CVVC, can bear all the three tone melodies: H, M and L.

2.7.2.1. Tone Patterns in Nouns

Nouns in Naayì are monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic on which all the three level tones occur, as shown below from (15) - (51).

I. Monosyllabic Nouns

Monosyllabic nouns are very few in Naayì. The CV structures in monosyllabic nouns are N, CVV, CVC, CVC₁C₂, CVVC, CVVC₁C₂ and C₁C₂VC as illustrated below from (15) - (51). All the three level tones H, M and L are attested on the monosyllabic nouns of Naayì.

15. N form

M *m* 'food'

16. CVV form

H *díí* 'cloud'

L *dìì* 'tomb'

17. CVC form

H *báy* 'ape'

M *sum* 'name'

L *sày* 'baby, infant'

18. CVC₁C₂ form
 M *abz* 'grass'
19. CVVC form
 M *yeer* 'God'
 L *bùùr* 'flood'
 H *hááy* 'ear'
20. CVVC₁C₂ form
 M *gaans* 'ox'
21. C₁C₂VC form
 M *kyas* 'king'

II. Disyllabic Nouns

Most of the nouns are disyllabic in which all the three tone melodies with many different patterns occur on different CV structures as follows. The possible CV structures in disyllabic nouns of Naayi are CV.CV, CV.CVC, CVV.CV, CVC1.C2V, CVV.CVC, CVC1.C2VC, CVVC1.C2V, C1C2V.CVC, C1C2V.CV, CVC1.C2V, CV.CN, CVV.CN, CVC1.C2N, C1C2VC1.C2V, CV.CVC1C2, CVVC1.C2N, C1C2V.CN, C1C2VC1.C2V, and CVC1.C2VC1C2. All the possible tone patterns of the three level tones appear on these CV structures. These are H.H, H.M, H.L, M.H, M.M, M.L, L.H, L.M and L.L as shown in the data below form (22) - (40).

22. CV.CV form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------|-----|-------------|-------------|
| H.H | <i>wága</i> | 'oath' | M.L | <i>gorì</i> | 'ring' |
| H.L | <i>k'ófi</i> | 'axe' | L.H | <i>kùṣù</i> | 'arm, hand' |
| M.H | <i>faná</i> | 'Monday' | L.L | <i>bùhù</i> | 'liver' |
23. CV.CVC form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|---------|-----|--------------|---------------|
| H.H | <i>námát'</i> | 'lemon' | M.H | <i>ekúr</i> | 'bedbug' |
| H.M | <i>bíts'ar</i> | 'mule' | M.M | <i>ibar</i> | 'fact, truth' |
| H.L | <i>gófùr</i> | 'frog' | M.L | <i>bafùr</i> | 'oven' |

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------|-----|--------------|-------------|
| L.H | <i>k'ùfát</i> | 'right' | L.M | <i>bùfar</i> | 'guarantor' |
|-----|---------------|---------|-----|--------------|-------------|
24. CVV.CV form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------------|-----|---------------|-------------|
| H.H | <i>káálá</i> | 'time' | M.L | <i>peetì</i> | 'bamboo' |
| H.L | <i>núút'ù</i> | 'wild animals' | L.H | <i>k'ìt'á</i> | 'furniture' |
| L.H | <i>dààdá</i> | 'backyard' | L.L | <i>ìrù</i> | 'rain' |
| M.H | <i>k'aará</i> | 'sound, word' | | | |
25. CVC1.C2V form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----------------|-----|------------------|-------------------|
| H.H | <i>gáftá</i> | 'back hoe' | M.L | <i>ts'ebts'i</i> | 'a kind of grass' |
| H.L | <i>dómtfù</i> | 'euphorbia' | L.H | <i>bòtkú</i> | 'monkey' |
| M.H | <i>t'ik'lá</i> | 'hen excrement' | L.L | <i>ùyzì</i> | 'heifer' |
26. CVV.CVC form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------|--|--|--|
| M.M | <i>baak'ar</i> | 'bean' | | | |
| M.L | <i>boongù</i> | 'buckthorn' | | | |
| L.H | <i>t'ìik'át</i> | 'January' | | | |
27. CVC1.C2VC form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----|-----------------|--------------------------|
| H.H | <i>gágnát</i> | 'chin' | M.M | <i>angaş</i> | 'lowland' |
| H.M | <i>gámŋs'al</i> | 'ginger' | M.L | <i>koysìs</i> | 'one of the Naayi clans' |
| M.H | <i>korkór</i> | 'a kind of cultural medicine' | L.H | <i>sìbts'ár</i> | 'quilt' |
28. CVVC1.C2V form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------------|-----|---------------|------------------|
| M.H | <i>teendá</i> | 'key of cloth' | L.H | <i>gìndá</i> | 'beam of plough' |
| M.L | <i>naastù</i> | 'profit' | L.L | <i>mèèntù</i> | 'duplex' |
29. C1C2V.CVC form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-------------------|--|--|--|
| H.H | <i>kwáran</i> | 'kettle' | | | |
| M.H | <i>myak'al</i> | 'a kind of knife' | | | |
30. C1C2V.CV form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------------------|-----|--------------|--------------------------|
| H.H | <i>kwáfá</i> | 'tapeworm' | M.L | <i>kyomù</i> | 'pottery' |
| M.H | <i>ŋwamá</i> | 'a kind of tree species' | L.H | <i>dwàlá</i> | 'a kind of cultural cup' |

31. CVC1.C2V form

H.H	<i>áp'má</i>	'niece'	M.L	<i>afkù</i>	'meat'
H.L	<i>háygì</i>	'measles'	L.H	<i>kànbá</i>	'drum'
M.H	<i>kayná</i>	'shroud'			

32. CV.CN form

M.L	<i>kolḥ</i>	'hay'
L.L	<i>p'ík'ḥ</i>	'star'

33. CVV.CN form

H.L	<i>béétḥ</i>	'centre'
M.L	<i>šookḥ</i>	'tail, fly swatter'
L.L	<i>ùùtḥ</i>	'mouse, rat'

34. CVC1.C2N form

H.L	<i>fífkḥ</i>	'claw'
M.L	<i>kalkḥ</i>	'charcoal'
L.L	<i>bùrkḥ</i>	'stem'

35. C₁C₂VC₁.C₂V form

H.H	<i>tyámp'á</i>	'mud'
M.H	<i>k'waysá</i>	'porridge'

36. CV.CVC₁C₂ form

M.M	<i>warowd</i>	'calf'
L.L	<i>dèbùlt'</i>	'armpit'

37. CVVC₁.C₂N form

H.L	<i>šááškḥ</i>	'green snake'
-----	---------------	---------------

38. C₁C₂V.CN form

M.L	<i>ts'yakḥ</i>	'cinder'
-----	----------------	----------

39. C₁C₂VC₁.C₂V form

M.H *byak'ná* 'spear'

H.L *ɔyálbù* 'tongue'

40. CVC₁.C₂VC₁C₂ form

M.H *embilt* 'cultural blow music instrument' (*imbilta* (Amh.))

III. Tri-syllabic Nouns

Trisyllabic words are attested only in the noun word class. Relatively, many possible patterns of tonal melodies are found in CV.CV.CV form as in (41). According to the data of this thesis, most of the trisyllabic forms have single tonal melody pattern except the CV.CV.CV in (41) and CV.CVV.CV in (42) which have two and more tonal melody patterns, as illustrated below. The possible CV structures in trisyllabic nouns of Naayi are CV.CV.CV, CV.CVV.CV, CVC₁.C₂V.CV, CV.CV.CVC, CV.CN.CVC, C₁C₂VC₁.C₂N.CV, CVV.CV.CV, C₁C₂V.CV.CV, C₁C₂VC₁.C₂V.CV, C₁C₂V.CVC₁.C₂V and CV.CVC₁.C₂V. The patterns of the tonal melodies appear on these CV structures are H.H.H, H.L.H, M.H.H, M.M.H, M.M.L, M.L.H, M.L.L, L.H.H, L.M.H and L.L.H, as seen in the examples from (41) - (51).

41. CV.CV.CV form

H.H.H *báráyá* 'mare'

H.L.H *kékiná* 'yolk'

M.H.H *mirará* 'bile'

M.M.H *k'ilifá* 'eyebrow'

M.M.L *toyegì* 'earwax'

M.L.H *bilàtá* 'gland'

M.L.L *haɔidù* 'a cultural a drinking

vessel'

L.H.H *yítátá* 'requiem'

L.M.H *k'èk'ará* 'manure'

L.L.H *àlùbá* 'anklet'

42. CV.CVV.CV form

L.M.H *finaatá* 'wicker'

M.M.H *fenaará* 'water fall'

43. CVC₁.C₂V.CV form

M.M.H *borborá* 'foot'

44. CV.CV.CVC form
H.L.H *t'úgìdáw* 'hindrance'
45. CV.CN.CVC form
M.L.H *bet̀̀bél* 'pumpkin'
46. C₁C₂VC₁.C₂N.CV form
M.M.H *ts'wart̀̀̀nà* 'clitoris'
47. CVV.CV.CV form
M.L.H *taam̀̀nà* 'cent'
48. C₁C₂V.CV.CV form
H.H.H *gwáp'álá* 'byre, cowherd'
49. C₁C₂VC₁.C₂V.CV form
M.M.H *k'yank'alá* 'hunchback'
50. C₁C₂V.CVC₁.C₂V form
M.M.H *fwarangá* 'leprosy'
51. CV.CVC₁.C₂V form
M.L.H *arìngá* 'quirt'

2.7.2.2. Tone Patterns in Adjectives

Most adjectives in Naayi are disyllabic as shown below from (53) - (64). Only two adjectives are optionally monosyllabic as in (52) and (53). The possible patterns of the tonal melodies in disyllabic adjectives are limited since the number of adjectives is smaller as compared to nouns. The CV structures in monosyllabic adjectives are CVC (52) and C₁C₂VC (53), and their tonal melody patterns are M and H respectively. The possible CV structures in disyllabic adjectives are CV.CV, CVV.CV, CV.CN, CVC₁.C₂N, CV.CVC, CVC₁.C₂V, CVC₁.C₂VC, C₁C₂V.CV, CVVC₁.C₂V, CVV.CN and C₁C₂V.CN. The tone patterns which exist on these CV structures of disyllabic adjectives are H.H, H.L, M.H, M.L, L.H, and L.L.

Most disyllabic adjectives are marked with M.L tone patterns. The data are presented below from (52) - (64).

I. Monosyllabic Adjectives

52. CVC form

M *ʒaaʒ(ù)* 'good-hearted, coward'

53. C1C2VC form

H *ʒyáts(ù)* 'large, big'

II. Disyllabic Adjectives

54. CV.CV form

M.H *melá* 'clear'

M.H *ʒiʒá* 'slime'

L.L *tʃ`ilù* 'green'

55. CVV.CV form

M.L *k'eets'ù* 'hot, sharp'

M.H *aat'á* 'expensive'

56. CV.CN form

M.L *ts'ahṅ* 'black'

M.L *ʒadṅ* 'long, tall'

M.L *haʒṅ* 'wide, broad'

M.L *ts'up'ṅ* 'narrow'

57. CVC₁.C₂N form

M.L *fɪ/kṅ* 'good'

M.L *turbṅ* 'red'

M.L *tʃ'albṅ* 'clean, pure'

L.L *ùyʒṅ* 'soft'

M.L *p'alk'ṅ* 'garish'

58. CV.CVC form

M.L *burùn* 'flat, plateau'

H.H *wádál* 'lazy, weak'

59. CVC₁.C₂V form
- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------|-----|--------------|-------------------|
| M.L | <i>kalbù</i> | 'active' | M.L | <i>harkù</i> | 'taboo, deprived' |
| M.L | <i>yilk'ù</i> | 'small' | H.L | <i>túrgì</i> | 'yellow' |
60. CVC₁.C₂VC form
- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|----------------------|
| M.L | <i>k'alk'ùl</i> | 'acerbic, acidulous' |
| M.L | <i>bitnùt'</i> | 'quick' |
61. C₁C₂V.CV form
- | | | |
|-----|---------------|------------------|
| H.H | <i>k'wáyá</i> | 'all' |
| H.H | <i>tyáfá</i> | 'good-looking' |
| L.H | <i>gwàgá</i> | 'common, mutual' |
62. CVVC₁.C₂V form
- | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------|
| M.L | <i>gaaydù</i> | 'poor' |
|-----|---------------|--------|
63. CVV.CN form
- | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------|
| M.L | <i>goot'ṅ</i> | 'white' |
|-----|---------------|---------|
64. C₁C₂V.CN form
- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---------------------|
| H.L | <i>tʂ'wát'ṅ</i> | 'few, little, some' |
|-----|-----------------|---------------------|

2.7.2.3. Tone Patterns in Verbs

Most verb roots are monosyllabic having the CV structures CVC, CVC₁C₂, CVVC and C₁C₂VC as illustrated from (66) - (69). Only one verb root *ṁ*- 'eat' has N syllabic structure, as in (65). Other some verb roots are disyllabic by having the CV structures CV.CVC, CV.CN, CVC₁.C₂N and CVV.CN, as exemplified from (70) - (73) below. The monosyllabic verb roots are marked either with high tone or low tone in Naayi. The disyllabic verb roots have H.L, L.L and L.M. tonal melody patterns. Mostly, the tone bearing unit of the second syllable of the disyllabic verb roots is a syllabic nasal *ṅ* or *ṁ* which always appears at the end of the root and marked with low tone. However, in some disyllabic verb roots like in (70) the tone bearing unit of the second syllable is a vowel which is always marked with mid tone, probably this was a high tone underlyingly.

I. Monosyllabic Verbs

65. N form

H *m̄-* 'eat'

66. CVC form

H *t̄s'óg-* 'chew' L *hàf-* 'want, search'

H *káts-* 'bake, cook' L *yìn-* 'kiss'

H *bátʃ-* 'quarrel' L *òt̄s-* 'cough'

67. CVC₁C₂ form

H *dáns-* 'collect, gather' L *k'ibf-* 'close'

H *dúpt-* 'become tired' L *kàlm-* 'sit'

68. CVVC form

H *gééts-* 'drag' L *gùur-* 'butcher'

H *góód-* 'get evening' L *fìif-* 'become odorous'

69. C₁C₂VC form

H *dyáh-* 'work' H *k'yán-* 'rain'

H *t'yám-* 'suck' L *kyàt-* 'become bitter or sour'

H *nyáts'-* 'taste'

II. Disyllabic Verbs

70. CV.CVC form

L.M *mùzur-* 'become dissolved' L.M. *ùkur-* 'become appointed'

L.M *gàlat-* 'acknowledge' L.M *àkur-* 'become'

71. CV.CN form

H.L *t̄s'úp'ḡ-* 'wash' L.L *ùḡ-* 'love, like'

H.L *mútḡ-* 'thresh' L.L *wùk'ḡ-* 'steal, burgle'

72. CVC₁.C₂N form

H.L *wúfkḡ-* 'divorce'

L.L *ùfkḡ-* 'bloom'

L.L *ʃi/kɲ̀*- 'attract, look good'

73. CVV.CN form

H.L *wáákɲ̀*- 'swim'

L.L *wòòb̀m̀*- 'drink'

H.L *yééf̀m̀*- 'cry'

L.L *yààb̀m̀*- 'guide, lead'

2.7.3. The Function of Tone in Naayi

As stated in section 2.7.1 above, the functions of tone are generally subdivided into lexical and grammatical functions. Lexical tone refers to pitch differences that distinguish lexical items from each other, making tone a crucial part of the lexical representation (Yip, 2002:256). Grammatical tone, on the other hand, refers to pitch differences that distinguish grammatical features may be at different levels of linguistic analysis; such as, morphology, syntax, and pragmatics (Salffner, 2009:71). Morphological tone is described as tone that in itself carries a “measure of independent meaning” (Ratliff, 1992:134). Syntactic tone can be seen as pitch patterns that carry a measure of independent functions when it indicates for example syntactic functions or syntactic boundaries; and, pragmatic tone can be seen as tone that might distinguish statements from questions (Salffner, 2009:71). Cross-linguistically also, tone is used to signal lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic information (Yip, 2002).

In Naayi, tone has both lexical and grammatical functions. The lexical tonal contrast is found in some monosyllabic nouns and verbs as in (74, 75, & 76), and disyllabic nouns, verbs and adjectives as in (77, 78, 79, 80 & 81). The grammatical tonal contrast is used to differentiate first person singular and plural subject pronouns as in (82), possessive pronouns as in (83), and subject clitics as in (84). Moreover, tonal contrast is used as grammatical functions for differentiating the perfective form of a verb from a derived noun of the same root as seen in (85), differentiating the root form of a verb from a derived noun of the same root as seen in (86), and changing of tone in the derivation of nouns from transitive verb roots, as in (87).

2.7.3.1. Lexical Function

I. Monosyllabic words

74. CVV form

a. H	<i>íí</i>	'tiger'
M	<i>ii</i>	'house'
L	<i>ìì-</i>	'encamp'
b. H	<i>díí</i>	'fog, cloud'
L	<i>dìì</i>	'grave'

75. CVC form

a. H	<i>sáy</i>	'flea, pest'	b. H	<i>óíʼ-</i>	'permit'
L	<i>sày</i>	'infant, baby'	L	<i>òíʼ-</i>	'ask'

76. CVVC form

a. H	<i>hááy</i>	'ear, leaf'	c. M	<i>buur</i>	'a kind of plant sp.'
L	<i>hàày</i>	'water'	L	<i>bùùr</i>	'flood'
b. H	<i>ùùt-</i>	'love'			
M	<i>uut</i>	'one's own land'			

II. Disyllabic Noun

77. CV.CV form

a. H.L	<i>fùbù</i>	'bedroom'	b. H.L	<i>káyì</i>	'sun'
M.L	<i>fubù</i>	'death'	L.L	<i>kàyì</i>	'guardian spirit'

78. CVC.CV form

M.L	<i>insù</i>	'embryo'
L.L	<i>ìnsù</i>	'weight'

79. CVV.CV form

a. M.M	<i>saak'ù</i>	'cliff'	b. M.L	<i>paadù</i>	'hunger'
H.L	<i>sáák'ù</i>	'sky'	M.L	<i>páádù</i>	'sycamore tree'

- c. M.L *zaarù* 'seedling' grain on a farm'
 H.L *záárù* 'scanty of dripped

80. CVC₁.C₂N form

- H.L *fì/kḥ* 'claw'
 M.L *fì/kḥ* 'good'

81. C₁C₂V.CV form

- | | | | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|----------|
| a. M.H | <i>k'wayá</i> | 'pillow, headrest' | b. M.H | <i>k'yaná</i> (n.) | 'bed' |
| H.H | <i>k'wáyá</i> | 'all' | H.M | <i>k'yána</i> (v.) | 'rained' |

2.7.3.2. Grammatical Function

Tone has grammatical functions at least in the following six grammatical features in Naayi, as indicated with the bullet ❖ below.

❖ *differentiating first person singular and plural subject pronouns, as in (82):*

82. H *ná* 'we'
 L *nà* 'I'

❖ *differentiating first person singular and plural possessive pronouns, as in (83):*

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 83. a. <i>ḥ-yará</i> | b. <i>ḥ'-yará</i> |
| my-relative | our-relative |
| 'my relative' | 'our relative' |

❖ *differentiating first person singular and plural subject clitics, as in (84):*

84. a. *baab andualem yè=dyáh-ba noogù-f galatá-ná ḥ=àts-ḥ*
 mister andualem 2SG=work-REL thing-DAT acknowledgment-ACC 1SG=give-TSR
 'Ato Andualem, I gave acknowledgment for the thing that you did!'
- b. *baab andualem yè=dyáh-ba noogù-f galatá-ná ḥ'=àts-ḥ*
 mister andualem 2SG=work-REL thing-DAT acknowledgment-ACC 1PL=give-TSR
 'Ato Andualem, we gave acknowledgment for the thing that you did!'

❖ *differentiating the perfective form of a verb from a derived noun of the same root, as in (85):*

- | | | | | | |
|------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 85. a. L.M | <i>t'ùifa</i> (vt.) | 'confirmed' | M.H | <i>yank'á</i> (n.) | 'annoyance' |
| | M.H | <i>t'iifá</i> (n.) | d. H.M | <i>góba</i> (vi.) | 'jumped' |
| | b. L.M | <i>tirk'a</i> (vi.) | M.H | <i>gobá</i> (n.) | 'high jump' |
| | M.H | <i>tirk'á</i> (n.) | e. L.M | <i>hàfa</i> (vt.) | 'needed, wanted' |
| | c. H.M | <i>yánk'a</i> (vi.) | M.H | <i>hafá</i> (n.) | 'need, necessity' |

❖ *differentiating the root form of a verb from a derived noun of the same root, as in (86):*

- | | | |
|----------|--------------|-------------------------|
| 86. a. H | <i>káás-</i> | 'play' |
| | M | <i>kaas</i> 'game' |
| b. H | <i>ḡ-</i> | 'eat' |
| | M | <i>ḡ</i> 'food, cereal' |
| c. L | <i>áy-</i> | 'sing' |
| | M | <i>ay</i> 'song' |

❖ *Change of tone in the derivation of nouns from transitive verb roots, as in (87):*

Some nouns are derived from transitive verb roots by changing the high or low tone of the verbs to the mid tone of the nouns; for examples, from low tone to mid tone as in (87a & b) and from high tone to mid tone as in (87c & d). Moreover, together with change of tone, there is also lengthening of a short vowel in the verb roots, as in (87).

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 87. a. <i>ùt-</i> (vt.) | 'love, like' | <i>t'uusù</i> (n.) | 'knowledge' | |
| | <i>uutù</i> (n.) | 'love' | <i>t'uusùs</i> (n.) | 'advertisement' |
| b. <i>wùf-</i> (vt.) | 'kill' | d. <i>k'ép'ḡ-</i> (vt.) | 'select, elect' | |
| | <i>wuufù</i> (n.) | 'an act of killing' | <i>k'eeḡ</i> (n.) | 'selection, election' |
| c. <i>t'ús-</i> (vt.) | 'knew, learnt' | | | |

Therefore, tone in Naayi has both lexical and grammatical functions.

2.8. Major Morphophonemic Rules

In a language, sometimes a morpheme has more than one shape, depending on the environment in which it occurs. The shape of a morpheme may be affected by nearby sounds,

by the kind of stem it is attached to, or by other conditioning factors. When a morpheme changes its shape in response to the sounds that surround it in a particular context, linguists often call the variation morphophonemics (or morphophonology), and the patterns that describe the appearance of the allomorphs morphophonemic rules (or morphophonological rules) (Payne 2006:63). It means that morphophonemics is the interface between phonology and morphology. Morphophonemic patterns in most cases are just phonological patterns that come into play when morphemes come together in words. Occasionally, however, there are morphophonemic patterns that only apply when certain morphemes come together. These are morphophonemic patterns that are not, strictly speaking, phonological patterns (Payne 2006:63).

Hence, in this section, the researcher describes some major morphophonemic rules that occur when different morphemes come together in the words of the language. In Naayì, there are some morphemes that involve in morphophonemic processes. The following morphophonemic processes or rules (MPRs) occur in Naayì, as described below from MPR1 up to MPR9.

MPR1. Deglottalization of the ejective passive marker -t' following fricatives

Some verb roots ending with affricative deglottalize the ejective passive marker -t' that precedes a fricative. For example, the passive marker -t' following the fricatives -s as in (88a), -h as in (88b), and -ʃ as in (88c) becomes -t.

88. a. *t'ús-t'-a* [t'ústa]

know-PASS-PAST

'was known'

b. *dyáht'úkùba* [dyáh-t-ù-kù-ba] *noogù té-n-a*

work-PASS-TOR-exist-REL thing COP-REAL-PRSP

'It is a thing which is being done.'

c. *gaatfù èkóʃt'aba* [è=kóʃ-t-a-ba] *sáátá-k'a k'áy-té*

t'ef(Amh.) 3MSG=plough-PASS-PAST-REL time-IN rise-PART

'Starting from the time when Tef(grain sp.) was tilled, ... '

MPR2. Cluster simplification of an affricate and the deglottalized passive marker -t'

In some verb roots ending with an affricate and suffixing the passive marker *-t'*, deglottalization of the ejective passive marker *-t'* and cluster simplification of the affricate and the passive marker take place in Naayi. For example, the clusters *-tst'* in (89a) and *-ts't'* in (89b) are simplified into the forms *-st* and *-s't* respectively. Here, the passive marker *-t'* is deglottalized, and the affricates *-ts* and *-ts'* are simplified into *-ts*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 89. a. <i>ís=àts-t'-ù-kù-ba</i> [<i>ísàstùkùba</i>] | b. <i>ís=k'òts'-t'-ù-kù-ba</i> [<i>ísk'òstùkùba</i>] |
| 3MSG=give-PASS-TOR-exist-REL | 3MSG=look.up.to-PASS-TOR-exist-REL |
| 'that it is given ...' | 'that a tribute is looked up to ...' |

MPR3. Cluster simplification of an affricate, and deglottalization of ejective affricate preceding the causative marker -s

Some roots verbs ending with an affricate simplify the cluster that is created by suffixing the causative marker *-s* immediately after the affricate into the simpler cluster of the homorganic stop *-t* and the causative *-s* in Naayi, as shown in (90a & b). Moreover, when the affricate following the causative is glottal underlyingly, it becomes deglottalized phonetically, as in (90b).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 90. a. <i>táts-s-a</i> [<i>tátsa</i>] | b. <i>k'éts'-s-a</i> [<i>k'étsa</i>] |
| think-CAUS-PAST | become.hot-CAUS-PAST |
| 'recalled, remembered' | 'made hot, warm' |

MPR4. Reduction of velar stops from the plural morpheme -kís and the nominalizer morpheme -kaba following velar ending noun stems

As illustrated in (91), the velar stop *k* in the plural morpheme *-kís* as in (91a) and in the nominalizer *-kaba* as in (91b) is reduced due to the presence of a velar stop at the end of the stems *naak* 'households' and *efká* 'borrowing' respectively. In the case of the nominalizer *-kaba* in (91b), not only the velar stop *k* but also the whole syllable *ka* is dropped.

91. a. *naak-kís* [*naak-ís*]
household-PL
'households, cattle'
- b. *efká-kaba* [*efkába*]
borrowing-NMLZ
'borrower'

MPR5. Deletion of a velar stop preceding the causative morpheme -s

Some verb roots ending in a velar stop delete the velar stop that precedes the causative morpheme *-s*, as in (92a & b).

92. a. *sók'-s-ḡ-a* [*sósḡa*]
sleep-CAUS-TSR-PAST
'made sb. to sleep'
- b. *sák-s-ḡ-a* [*sásḡa*]
pass-CAUS-TSR-PAST
'conveyed, sent'

MPR6. Metathesis of the causative marker -s and the root final velar stop

In some derived nouns from causative verbs that have a root final velar stop preceded by the causative morpheme *-s*, metathesis takes place between the velar stop and the causative marker *-s*, as shown in (93a & b).

93. a. *nik-s-ù* [*niskù*]
finish-CAUS -TOR
'making end, or ending' (n.)
- b. *p'ok'-s-ù* [*p'osk'ù*]
germinate-CAUS-TOR
'germinating, or germination' (n.)

MPR7. Reduction of the form -ís from the plural morpheme -kís following the dative morpheme -if

When nouns are inflected with the plural morpheme *-kís* and the dative morpheme *-if* consecutively, as seen in (94a & b), the plural morpheme *-kís* is reduced into the form *-k*.

94. a. *naa-kís-if* [*naaki*]
1SG-PL-DAT
'for us'
- b. *yaab-ù-s-kís-if* [*yaabùski*]
person-M-DEF.M-PL-DAT
'for the persons'

MPR8. Realization of the dative morpheme -if after consonant ending nouns, but -f after vowel ending nouns

Nouns ending with a consonant take the dative suffix *-if* as in (95a & b), but nouns ending with a vowel take the dative form *-f* as in (95c & d).

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 95. a. <i>ye-s-<u>if</u></i> | c. <i>t'àlá-<u>f</u></i> |
| DISTN-DEF.M-DAT | bread-DAT |
| 'therefore, for this one' | 'for bread' |
| b. <i>naa-kís-<u>if</u></i> [<i>naa-k-<u>if</u></i>] | d. <i>ḡ-dòd-ù-<u>f</u></i> |
| 1SG-PL-DAT | 1SG.POSS-child-M-DAT |
| 'for us' | 'For my children' |

MPR9. Vowel Harmonization

In Naayì, there is vowel harmonization among the vowels of a stem word and an affix attached to the stem as illustrated in (96) below. For example, unrounded vowel *i* in the plural morpheme *-kís* harmonized with the rounded vowel *ù* in the third person honorific clitics *ùf-*, and the result becomes *ùf/kús* 'they' as in (96a). Similarly, the vowel harmonization in (96b and c) is a process of vowel rounding, as we can see on the words *yoobùskís* in (96b) and *háaykìbobùskís* in (96c).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 96. a. <i>ùf-kís</i> [<i>ùf/kús</i>] | b. <i>yaab-ù-s-kís</i> [<i>yoobùskís</i>] |
| 3HON-PL | person-M-DEF.M-PL |
| 'they' | 'the persons' |
| c. <i>ì-k'a hááy-kì-bab-ù-s-kís</i> [<i>hááykìbobùskís</i>] | <i>ì níút'ù</i> |
| house-IN spend.the night-exist-REL-M-DEF.M-PL | house animals |
| 'domestic animals which spend the night in a house' | |

CHAPTER THREE

MAJOR AND MINOR WORD CLASSES

Word Classes are the grammatical categories in a language. According to Payne (1997:32), “grammatical categories are the building blocks of linguistic structure. They are sometimes called ‘lexical categories’ since many forms can be specified for their grammatical category in the lexicon”. In order to study the features of words in a language, it is easy to demonstrate that words in a language fall into different classes. Classification of words into different classes is important to understand the feature(s) of each class of words, to see the relationship between each class, and to understand the features of the language well in general (Baye 2009:78-79). “The recognition of word classes in a language must be on the basis of internal grammatical criteria for that language. Certain types of criteria recur, but the exact justification for a class is particular to each language” (Dixon 2004:2). Therefore, in order to study a language well, a linguist should first classify the words of a language based on its internal grammatical criteria and study each class according to their grammatical features.

In order to classify the words in a language, linguists use mostly the same, but sometimes slightly different linguistic criteria. According to Shopen (2007a:1), the primary criteria for parts-of-speech (word classes) classification are grammatical, not semantic. The grammatical properties of a word that are taken to be relevant to its parts-of-speech classification include the *word’s distribution*, its range of *syntactic functions*, and the morphological or syntactic categories for which it is specifiable (i.e. *morphosyntactic forms*). Another criterion which is mentioned in Shopen (2007a:2) and described as an interesting recent proposal for the identification of parts of speech is the *use of universal semantic exemplars*, in that, basic words that are presumably found in all languages, such as the equivalents of *person* and *thing* for nouns, *do* and *happen* for verbs.

According to Baye (2009:82), to classify the words of a language, objective and reliable criteria should be used, and for this, there are two typical (or main) criteria: namely, *morphosyntactic form* (or simply *form* in Amh. ቅርፅ 'k'irs') and *syntactic function* or *distribution* (in Amh. አገባብ 'agəbab'). The third criterion that is mentioned in Baye (2009:82) and less important than form and distribution because of its subjectivity is *meaning*

in Amh. ትርጉም '*tirgum*', which refers to the semantic notion of words. In comparison with Shopen's (2007a) linguistic criteria, the difference is only in the use of the terms of the criteria, *distribution* and *syntactic function* together as one in Baye (2009) by calling in Amh. አገገገ '*agabab*' but separately in Shopen (2007a). Otherwise, both of them use the same linguistic criteria.

Tallerman (2011:36), on his side, mentions the following three criteria as linguistic criteria for identifying word classes in a language.

- a. *What different forms can the word have in distinct syntactic contexts? (morphosyntax)*
- b. *Whereabouts in a phrase or sentence does the word occur, and what words can modify it? (distribution)*
- c. *What work does the word perform in a phrase or sentence? (function)*

Here it is clear that the semantic criteria is not included in (Tallerman 2011) unlike in Baye (2009) and Shopen (2007). Shopen (2007a) and Tallerman (2011) mention, the two criteria, *distribution* and *syntactic function*, separately though both of them are syntactic criteria. Whereas, Baye (2009) and Tallerman (2011) put the criteria *distribution* and *syntactic function* under the term *syntactic criteria*. In general, all of them agree on the morphological and syntactic criteria, but not yet on the *semantic criteria*.

Therefore, the researcher, in this study, mainly used the *morphological criteria* and *syntactic criteria* (referring to both distribution and syntactic function) for the identification of word classes of Naayi. It is because; the morphological and syntactic criteria are taken as objective and reliable grammatical criteria, as discussed above. However, as a supplement, the semantic criterion is used when the morphological and syntactic criteria are not strong or not applicable in some word classes' identification, like in adjective and adverb word classes.

In most language, there are two broad grammatical categories: major and minor grammatical categories (Payne 1997:32). Every language has at least two major grammatical categories - noun and verb, and optionally two other major categories, adjective and adverb; and most languages have minor grammatical categories such as conjunctions, particles, and adpositions (Payne 1997:32). In Amharic, Baye (2009:92) also describes that there are major word

classes such as noun, verb, adjective and adverb which are called content words, and minor word classes such as preposition and determiner which are called functional words.

The major and minor word classes have distinct features which enables them to form different classes in a language. Following Robins (1964:230), Shopen (2007a:3) describes that all languages make a distinction between *open* and *closed* parts-of-speech classes. An open class is one whose membership is in principle unlimited, varying from time to time and between one speaker and another; whereas, closed classes contain a fixed and usually small number of member words, which are the same for all the speakers of the language, or the dialect. In the same manner, these two types of word classes exist in Naayi; and each of the major (or open) and minor (or closed) word classes are identified under the two broad categories in (§3.1.) and (§3.2.) as follows.

3.1. Major Word Classes

The most common word classes occurring cross-linguistically are verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs; and all these major word classes are the typical set of grammatical categories (Tallerman 2011:32). As most languages, Naayi has also noun, verb, adjective and adverbs as major word classes. The classification of words in the language under study is done mainly based on the morphological and syntactic (distribution, and syntactic function) criteria; and semantic criterion where it is necessary. In the following sections nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are examined with these criteria in §3.1.1., §3.1.2., §3.1.3 and §3.1.4 respectively.

3.1.1. Nouns

Before identifying nouns as a word class, some basic morphological issues of nouns, particularly the inflectional categories of nouns need to be described first, and then the identification of the noun word class in the language is going to be done in this section.

3.1.1.1. Basic Inflectional Operations of Nouns

Morphological operations are two types in general: inflectional and derivational. From the two typical operations, inflectional operations are more important in the study of syntactic

constructions than derivational operations. Inflectional operations are required by the syntactic environment in which a root appears. However, derivational operations are lexical (i.e. not syntactic) because they change one ‘lexical entry’ into another, changing its meaning, and often (but not always) changing its word category (Pavey 2010:21). The prototypical inflectional operations are the marking of number, gender, definiteness and case (Heine and Nurse 2000:17). In Naayì, nouns are inflected with all these inflectional operations. Hence, as an input for the syntactic description of Naayì, these inflectional operations of nouns are described in brief as follows.

I. Number

In Naayì, a singular and plural opposition is made in the nouns. Like most languages, Naayì does not mark singular but marks plural mostly by suffixing *-kís* to a noun as in (1a, 2a, b, & c). In line with Naayì, except Dizi which marks singular, plural, and dual distinctions in its pronoun system, Omotic languages make only a singular and plural distinction in nouns. With the exception of Aari which marks singulative, singular is unmarked, whereas plural is morphologically marked in Omotic languages generally (Amha 2012:448).

1. a. *t'à-yná-k'a* *ḡ=tìt-a-ba-ka* *naak⁷-kís* *nás-ù-s*
two-ORD-IN 1PL=see-PAST-REL-TEMP belongings-PL give.birth-ISR-CAUS
'When we saw the second one, they breed cattle.' (Context: asks the informant about the livelihoods of Naayì people)
- b. *naak-ná* *nás-ù-s-ḡ-té* *té-n-a* *ís=kì-ba*
belongings-ACC give.birth-ISR-CAUS-TSR-PART COP-REAL-PRSP 3MSG=exist-REL
'He (Naayì people collectively) lives by breeding cattle.'

⁷*naak* 'belongings', which means also 'cattle', is a plural noun by itself and it can take the plural suffix *-kís* optionally, as seen in (1b).

2. a. *yaab-ù-s-kís*
 person-M-DEF.M-PL
 'men'
- b. *baab-ù-s-kís*
 'father-M-DEF.M-PL
 'fathers'
- c. *kùy núút'ù-s-kís*
 forest wild.animal-DEF.M-PL
 'forest wild animals'

In some nouns of Naayi, however, plurality is indicated by reduplication of a whole form of a singular lexical noun, as in (3a & b).

3. a. *yarts'* 'a single finger'
yarts'-yarts' = finger-finger 'fingers'
- b. *p'ik'è* 'a single star'
p'ik'è-p'ik'è = star-star 'stars'

Sometimes, the plurality of common nouns is not indicated by a plural morpheme *-kís* when the referents are definite and referring to a group of people or things in the speech context, as seen in (4).

4. a. *akè-k'a kì-ba* *yààb-ù-s-ó-tf*
 far-IN exist-REL person-M-DEF.M-ADFOC-Q
 'What about the people who live far?'
- b. *è-dòd-ù-f* *nà baabù*
 1SG.POSS-child-M-DAT I father
 'For my children, I am father.'

Plurality is not marked on a noun when a numeral or quantifier precedes the noun as indicated in (5).

5. a. *kubè oot*
 four cow
 'four cows'
- b. *t'àgè noogù*
 two thing
 'two things'

Numerals can be indicated with the plural morpheme *-kís* when they represent a definite noun alone (i.e. in the absence of the head noun), as exemplified in (6).

6. *t'ààgḡ-s-kís* *yísḡ-k'a*
 two-DEF.M-PL one-IN
 'the two ones together'

II. Gender

Gender marking opposition, in Naayì, is made between feminine and default or non-feminine. The feminine gender marker is characterized by the suffix *-ì* or infix *-y-* which usually alters the stems to be modified and have palatalized forms *-e(e)-*, *-e(e)y* or *-y*. The default or non-feminine gender marker is *-ù* which is masculine. Why the masculine is the default gender in Naayì? There are eight reasons which lead the researcher to this concluding statement, and we can see the reasons (marked with the bullet ❖ and italic) one by one as follows with examples.

- ❖ *Masculine singular and plural (for both genders) are marked by the masculine marker -ù in the same manner on the one hand, and feminine singular is marked with the feminine marker -ì, or with lexicalized forms -e(e)-, -y-, -e(e)y or -y and/or definiteness-feminine marker -ḡ on the other hand, as illustrated in table 6.*

Table 6: Gender marking distinction in Naayi

Neutral	Masculine	Feminine	Plural	
a.	<i>yaab</i> 'person'	<i>yaab-ù</i> person-M 'a man'	⁸ <i>yeeb-ṁ</i> person.F-DEF.F 'the woman'	<i>yaab-ù-s-kís</i> person-M-DEF.M-PL 'the persons'
b.	<i>dòd</i> 'child'	<i>dòd-ù</i> child-M 'a boy'	<i>dég-ṁ</i> child.F-DEF.F 'the girl'	<i>dòd-ù-s-kís</i> child-M-DEF.M-PL 'the children'
c.		<i>baab</i> 'father'	<i>baa.y</i> father.F 'mother'	<i>baab-ù-s-kís</i> father-M-DEF.M-PL 'the fathers'
			<i>beey-ṁ</i> father.F-DEF.F 'the mother'	<i>baa.y-ṁ-kís</i> father.F-DEF.F-PL 'the mothers'
d.		<i>ò/kṁ</i> 'younger brother'	<i>òy/kṁ</i> younger.brother.F 'younger sister'	<i>ò/kṁ-kís</i> younger.brother-PL 'younger brothers'
				<i>òy/kṁ-kís</i> younger.brother.F-PL 'younger sisters'
e.		<i>kyas</i> 'king'	<i>kes-ṁ</i> king.F-DEF.F 'the queen, Mrs.'	<i>kyas-ù-s-kís</i> king-M-DEF.M-PL 'the kings'
				<i>kes-ṁ-kís</i> king.F-DEF.F-PL 'the queens or madams'

The gender in singular masculine and plural of both genders in common nouns is marked with the masculine marker *-ù* on the one hand, as in table 6(a & b), and the gender of feminine singular is marked with the feminine marker *-ì*, or with lexicalized forms *-e(e)-*, *-y-*, *-e(e)y* or *-y* in the stem, and/or with definiteness-feminine marker *-ṁ* or *[-ṁ]* on the other hand, as in the examples *yeeb-ṁ* 'the woman' in table 6(a) and *dégṁ* 'the girl' in table 6(b).

⁸The feminine gender morpheme *-ì-* like in *yeebṁ* 'the woman' and *dégṁ* 'the girl' as in table 6 is assimilated and absorbed in the stems *yaab* 'person' and *dòd* 'child', and this kind of stem modification due to the feminine gender morpheme infixation is common in Naayi.

Here, the forms *-ì*, *-y*, *-e(e)-*, *-e(e)y* and *-y-* are allomorphs of the feminine morpheme which is a kind of palatal vowel or semivowel; and the forms *-ṅ* and *-ṅ̀* are allomorphs of the definiteness-feminine morpheme *-ṅ̀*. However, the plural forms of the singular feminine nouns *yeeb-ṅ̀* 'the woman' and *dégṅ̀* 'the girl' become *yaabùskís* 'the persons' and *dòdùskís* 'the children' respectively, which are marked with the default masculine morpheme *-ù*.

But, if a noun is marked with feminine gender in its singular form, it is marked with feminine gender morpheme *-y*, not with the default masculine morpheme *-ù*, as it is illustrated in table 6(c) with *baay* 'mother' or *beeyṅ̀* 'the mother' and *baayṅ̀kís* 'the mothers'.

❖ *In relativization and nominalization, the morphemes -bey and -ba or -bab are used and make distinction between feminine and non-feminine or default genders.*

The morphemes *-bey* on the one hand, and *-ba* or *-bab* on the other hand are used in relativization and nominalization to distinguish the feminine gender and non-feminine or default gender respectively. See in the examples for relativization in (7 and 8) and for nominalization in table 7.

7. *k'aansook pót-s-ṅ̀-bey moḥkṅ̀ déḡṅ̀ àkur=ís k'aansook*
 menstruation reach-CAUS-TSR-REL.F female girl become=3MSG menstruation
pót-s-ṅ̀-bey yeeb-ṅ̀ ye-ṅ̀-kís k'wáyá pót-á-kày
 reach-CAUS-TSR-REL.F woman-DEF.F DISTN-DEF.F-PL all reach-IRR-exist.NEG
 'A girl who has brought (i.e. seen) menstruation as well as the woman who has brought menstruation, all these could not reach ... (i.e. at the process of producing Tef and preparing food from Tef(grain sp.) due to the fear of bad consequence).'

8. *wòká beentf maajì zoná-k'a k'è-a-ba t'à biherəsəbá-s-kís*
 down.there bench Maaji zone-IN remian-PAST-REL two nationality-DEF.M-PL
fákù-ka diizi-ka gé-t'-ù
 sheko-CONJ diizi-CONJ say-PASS-TOR
 'The two communities which remained down there in Bench Maji zone are called Sheko and Diizi.'

Table 7: Gender distinction with nominalizers

Stem nouns	Derived Nouns (FSG)	Derived Nouns (MSG)	Derived Nouns (PL for both gender)
yeef (n.) 'crying, weeping'	yeef- <u>bey</u> 'mourner(f.)' /lit. the mother of grief/	yeef- <u>bab</u> 'mourner' /lit. the father of grief/	yeef- <u>ba</u> -ù-s-kís 'mourners' /lit. the owners of the grief/
k'amù 'foster, maid'	k'amù- <u>bey</u> 'nursemaid, foster mother'	k'amù- <u>bab</u> /k'amù- <u>ba</u> 'foster father'	k'amù- <u>ba</u> -ù-s-kís 'foster parents'

❖ *A reference to states of affair is marked with the third person singular masculine, as in (9).*

9. gaatfù naa-kís tuur-ba-tá hark'ù-ka té-n-a
t'ef(Amh) I-PL land-GEN-LOC wide-INST COP-REAL-PRSP
ís=wóg-ù-s-t-ù-kù-ba
3MSG=grow-ISR-CAUS-PASS-TOR-exist-REL
'In our environment, it is widely that Tef(grain sp.) is being respected.'

❖ *Impersonal subjects in a clause are marked with the third person singular masculine gender, as in (10).*

10. k'wáyá yaab fi/khè noogù-ná dyah-ñ-n=ís-é
all person good thing-ACC work-TSR-OPT=3MSG-N.ASS
'Let all people do good things.'

❖ *Subject clauses are marked with masculine gender even if a subject in the clauses is feminine, as in (11).*

11. k'aansook pót-s-ñ-bey mos/khè déghè àkur=ís
menstruation reach-CAUS-TSR-REL.F female girl become=3MSG
k'aansook pót-s-ñ-bey yeeb-ñ
menstruation reach-CAUS-TSR-REL.F woman-DEF.F

'Either that a girl who has brought (i.e. seen) menstruation or that the woman who has brought (seen) menstruation ...'

In the example (11), the third person singular masculine subject clitics =*ís* 'he' cannot refer to the feminine subject *moʃkɲ dégɲ* 'a girl' of the clause *k'aansook pótsɲbey* 'who has brought (seen) menstruation'. Rather, it refers to the clausal subject *k'ansók pótsɲbey moʃkɲ dégɲ* 'that a girl who has brought (seen) menstruation'.

❖ *Gender-ambiguous animate nouns (nouns referring both genders) are marked with masculine gender though the nouns are followed by gender modifying nouns, as in (12 & 13).*

- | | | | | |
|--------|--|-----------------------------------|----|--|
| 12. a. | <i>baay-ɲ</i>
mother-DEF.F
'hen, or mother hens' | <i>koob-ɹ̣</i>
domestic.fowl-M | b. | <i>baab koob-ɹ̣</i>
father domestic.fowl-M
'cock, or father of hens' |
| 13. a. | <i>moʃkɲ-bey</i>
female-GEN.F
'bitch' | <i>kyon-ɹ̣</i>
dog-M | b. | <i>átkɲ kyon-ɹ̣</i>
male dog-M
'a male dog' |

❖ *Typologically, in Sheko and Benchnon, masculine is unmarked or the default gender (Hellental 2010:150-165; Beachy 2005).*

According to Hellental (2010:164-165), who discusses this issue very well, the gender situation for Proto-Omotoc is not clear, since present-day Omotic languages vary in their treatment of gender. Hellental notes that, for some languages, gender is reported to be non-grammatical i.e. inherent in some words based on biological distinctions as in (Bender et al. 1976:36); and other languages have feminine gender as a default gender like in Maale (Amha 2001a:45) and Zayse (Hayward 1990b:248); whereas yet others, like in Sheko (Hellental 2010:164-165) and Benchnon (Rapold 2006:389) have masculine gender as default gender. But, from this, since Sheko and Naayi are closely related languages genetically under the Majiod/Diziod sub family, and Benchnon is also genetically related to Sheko and Naayi distantly far under the North Omotic larger subfamily and neighbor of them geographically, it is possible to propose that masculine is a default gender in Naayi.

In sum, based on the discussion above, masculine is the default gender in Naayì, and the gender marking system in the language distinguishes feminine from default masculine (or non-feminine) gender.

Regarding the typology of gender in Omotic languages, according to Amha (2012:443), almost all Omotic languages have a two-way (masculine and feminine) gender distinction. The gender distinction is basically based on the semantics of animate vs. inanimate nouns; in that, animate nouns referring to female beings are differently marked from those that refer to male ones; whereas, inanimate nouns belong to one of the two genders depending on the language (Amha 2012:443). The same is true in Naayì in that animate nouns referring to female beings are differently marked from those that refer to male ones, as illustrated below from 14 - 29, while inanimate nouns are marked with the default masculine gender except in some diminutive referents denoted by inanimate nouns for which feminine gender is used.

The feminine-default masculine gender distinction exists in animate nouns based on their biological gender in Naayì; in that, nouns denoting male animals are marked with masculine marker, and those denoting female animals are marked with feminine marker. The gender marking system in the language is done either lexically or morphologically or both. On this issue, Aklilu (2001:7) also reports that lexical items or gender marking suffixes are used to distinguish gender in Naayì; and mostly, where different lexical items are employed to distinguish gender, the final vowels seem to be *-ù* for masculine and *-ì* for feminine. Where gender is expressed morphologically, the feminine marker *-ì* is infixed in the noun root, and the noun is made definite by suffixing the feminine-definite morpheme *-ḥ* (Aklilu 2001:7).

The present study asserts that the basic morphological gender markers for animate nouns in Naayì are *-ù* for masculine and *-ì* for feminine. But, the feminine gender marker *-ì* has many variants in different animate nouns referring to female beings; such as, the variant *-ì* in *eegi* 'grandmother', *ùyzi* 'heifer' and *eemi* 'paternal aunt' as in (17b, 20b, & 21b) respectively; the variant *-y* in *baay* 'mother', *baayḥ* 'the mother', *áp'máy* 'sister's daughter' and *niy* 'elder sister', *nooyḥ* 'the elder sister' as in (14b & c, 18b, & 19b & c) respectively; the variants *-eey* and *-e(e)-* which are the result of palatalization of non-palatal vowels of the stems in the masculine counterparts as in *beey* 'mother', *dégḥ* 'the daughter, the girl', *meeḥḥ* 'maternal aunt',

and *kesɲ* 'the queen or Mrs.' in (14b, 16b, 22b & 24b) respectively; and the variant *-y-* with no palatalization of the vowels in the stems of the masculine counterparts as in *toysɲ* 'the brother', *òy/kɲ* 'the younger sister' and *òytɲ* 'the cow' in (15b, 23b and 25b) respectively. These feminine gender marker variants co-occur with the feminine-definite marker *-ɲ* obligatorily in some of the nouns and optionally in some other nouns. The two basic gender morphemes are used in some nouns in the absence of lexical gender marking system as in (14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23 & 24) for both genders and as in (14a, 15a, 24a & 25a) for masculine optionally; and in some other nouns in the presence of the lexical gender marking system, as in (17, 20, 21 & 25) for both gender. Let us see the illustration for gender marking in animate nouns below.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>14. a. <i>baab-ù</i> / <i>baab</i>
 father-M / father
 'father'</p> <p>b. <i>beey</i> / <i>baay</i>
 father.F
 'mother'</p> <p>c. <i>baay-ɲ</i>
 father.F-DEF.F
 'the mother'</p> | <p>b. <i>dég-ɲ</i>
 child.F-DEF.F
 'the daughter, the girl'</p> |
| <p>15. a. <i>toos-ù</i> / <i>toos</i>
 brother-M / brother
 'brother'</p> <p>b. <i>toys-ɲ</i>
 brother.F-DEF.F
 'the sister'</p> | <p>17. a. <i>ák-ù</i>
 grandfather-M
 'grandfather'</p> <p>b. <i>eeg-ì</i>
 grandparent-F
 'grandmother'</p> |
| <p>16. a. <i>dòd-ù</i>
 child-M
 'son, boy'</p> | <p>18. a. ⁹<i>áp'-ù</i>
 sister's.child-M
 'sister's son'</p> <p>b. <i>áp'má-y</i>
 sister's.child-F
 'sister's daughter'</p> |

⁹*áp'má* 'sister's child' is the stem form of *áp'ù* 'sister's son', not *ap'-* in which reduction of the form *-m* is involved due to the suffixation of the morpheme *-ù*. Here, *-á* and *-ù* are contrastive, and it seems that *-á* is neutral to gender marking.

19. a. *noon-ù* 'younger brother'
elder.sibling - M
'elder brother'
b. *niy*
elder.sibling.F
'elder sister '
c. *nooy-ṅ*
elder.sibling.F - DEF.F
'the elder sister'
20. a. *zég-ù*
bull-M
'bull'
b. *ùyz-ì*
heifer-F / young.cow-F
'heifer'
21. a. *ùk-ù*
maternal.uncle-M
'maternal uncle'
b. *eem-ì*
paternal.aunt-F
'paternal aunt'
22. a. *baabfṅ*
paternal.uncle
'paternal uncle'
b. *meeṅ*
maternal.aunt
'maternal aunt'
23. a. *ò/kṅ*
younger.brother
- b. *òy/kṅ*
younger.brother.F
'younger sister'
24. a. *kyas / kyas-ù*
king
'king'
b. *kesṅ*
the.queen, Mrs.
'the queen, Mrs.'
25. a. *gaans / gaans-ù*
ox / ox-M
'ox'.
b. *òòt / òytṅ*
cow/the.cow
'cow'
26. a. *fwáká* 'young cock'
b. *ùyz-ì*
pullet/young.hen-F
'pullet or young hen'
27. a. *nàfá*
'husband'
b. *kootf-ì*
wife-F
'wife'
28. *zyamá* 'son-in-law'
29. *batfá* 'father-in-law'

The gender marking system in Naayì is either lexical or both lexical and morphological. In some animate nouns, the gender marking system is lexical in the language; in that, gender marking suffix or infix is not used additionally. The animate nouns given in (26a, 27a, 28 & 29) are marked lexically for masculine gender. The vowel *-á* in (26a, 27a, 28 & 29) is not a gender marker; rather, it is a terminal vowel of nouns and adjectives in the language in general. The animate nouns given in (25b, 26b & 27b) are marked for feminine gender lexically, and additionally they are marked with the feminine morpheme *-y-* in *òytḥ* 'the cow' and *-i* in *ùyzi* 'pullet, or young hen' and *kootfi* 'wife'. But, the nouns *gaans/gaansù* 'ox' and *òòt/òytḥ* 'cow/the cow' in (25) distinguish their genders lexically and/or morphologically.

Animate nouns referring to both male and female animals, like *áp'má* 'sister's child' in (30a), are unmarked for masculine gender or feminine gender in Naayì; but when they refer to the male animals, the default-masculine marker *-ù* is suffixed to them and the terminal vowel *-á* is deleted as in (30b), and when they refer to the female animals, they are marked with the feminine marker *-y* without deleting the terminal vowel *-á* as in (30c).

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 30. | a. <i>áp'má</i>
sister's.child
'sister's child' | c. <i>áp'má-y</i>
sister's.daughter-F
'sister's daughter' |
| | b. <i>áp'-ù</i>
sister's.child-M
'sister's son' | |

When animate nouns become definite in both genders, the definite marker always co-occurs with gender marker preceding it; and when the animate nouns become plural, they are always marked with gender and definite markers preceding the plural marker consecutively, in both genders, as illustrated in (31, 32 & 33) for masculine and in (35, 36 & 37) for feminine. However, the forms indicated in (34 & 38) are ungrammatical (*) since without the presence of gender marker, the definite marker cannot be suffixed to the nouns; and again, without the gender and definite makers, plural makers cannot be suffixed to the nouns.

31. a. *gaans* 'ox'
 b. *gaans-ù*
 ox-M 'ox'
 c. *gaans-ù-s*
 ox-M-DEF.M
 'the ox'
 d. *gaans-ù-s-kís*
 ox-M-DEF.M-PL
 'the oxen'
32. a. *toos* 'brother'
 b. *toos-ù*
 brother-M
 'brother'
 c. *toos-ù-s*
 brother-M-DEF.M
 'the brother'
 d. *toos-ù-s-kís*
 brother-M-DEF.M-PL
 'the brothers'
33. a. *baab* 'father'
 b. *baab-ù*
 father-M
 'father'
 c. *baab-ù-s*
 father-M-DEF.M
 'the father'
 d. *baab-ù-s-kís*
 father-M-DEF.M-PL
 'the fathers'
34. a. **baab-s*
 father-DEF.M
 'the father'
 b. **baab-u-kís*
 father-M -PL
 'fathers'
 c. **baab-s-kís*
 father-DEF.M-PL
 'the fathers'
35. a. *òòt* 'cow'
 b. *òyt-ḥ*
 cow.F-DEF.F
 'the cow'
 c. *òyt-ḥ-kís*
 cow.F-DEF.F-PL
 'the cows'
36. a. *toos* 'brother'
 b. *toys-ḥ*
 brother.F-DEF.F
 'the sister'
 c. *toys-ḥ-kís*
 brother.F-DEF.F-PL
 'the sisters'
37. a. *baay* 'mother'
 b. *baay-ḥ*
 mother-DEF.F
 'the mother'
 c. *baay-ḥ-kís*
 mother-DEF.F-PL

- | | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------------|----------|
| | 'the mothers' | | cow.F-PL |
| | | | 'cows' |
| 38. a. | * òòt-ṅ̀ | | |
| | cow-DEF.F | | |
| | 'the cow' | | |
| | b. * òyt-kís | | |
| | | c. * òòt-kís | |
| | | cow-PL | |
| | | 'cows' | |

Regarding inanimate nouns in Naayì, they are always marked with default masculine gender by using masculine definite morpheme *-s* as in *wafás* 'the forest' in (39b) and *noogùs* 'the thing' as in in (39c) and/or using third person masculine singular subject clitic in a clause (39a). Moreover, modifiers on behalf of the inanimate nouns, such as, nominal demonstratives and adjectives are marked with the masculine definite morpheme *-s*, as shown in (39b, c, d & e) in context.

39. a. *yèt-kṅ̀ hááy hárgat'a-s̀ t'íp'=ís*
 2SG-GEN ear left-DEF.M cover.over=3MSG
 'Let your left ear become blocked!'
- b. *wafá-s̀ ye-s̀ k̀i-ba-k'a wùk'-ù-té kálm-ù-ṅ̀=gé-á*
 forest-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M exist-REL-IN get.in-ISR-PART sit-ISR-1PL=say-IRR
 'Let us get in and sit where that forest exists.'
- c. *noogù-s̀ ye-s̀-á haṣṅ̀-ka máh=ít*
 thing-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-ACC wide-INST tell=2HON
 'Please tell (us) that thing widely.'
- d. *háá-s̀ gálfá té-kn*
 PROX-DEF.M shoulder COP-REAL
 'This one is shoulder.'
- e. *ṛyátsù-s̀ ánká*
 big-DEF.M type.of.gourd
 'The big one is ánká (type of gourd).'

However, when inanimate nouns have the meaning of diminutiveness of their referents, as illustrated below in (40a), it seems that they are marked with the feminine gender morpheme

-y and the feminine-definite morpheme *-ḥ* to indicate the smallness of the size of their referents. Moreover, when the referents denoted by inanimate nouns are very important and take over the role of animate nouns pragmatically, they are marked with feminine gender, as in (40b).

40. a. *tyára-y-ḥ* *sum yírá*
 smaller.calabash-F-DEF.F name what
 'What is the name of the smaller calabash?'
- b. *deetfá wəradá gé-t'-ḥ, ityop'yá-kḥ béétḥ-k'a*
 Decha district(Amh.) say-PASS-TSR Ethiopia-GEN inside-IN
sák-ù-t alamá-k'a k'aalù-ná efefḥ kyám-s-ù-bey tuyr-ḥ
 pass-ISR-PART world(Amh.)-IN coffee-ACC first be.available-CAUS-TOR-REL.F land.F-DEF.F
 'Decha district means, the land which made coffee to be discovered originally in
 Ethiopia and further in the world.'

III. Definiteness

Definiteness in Naayì always co-occurs with a gender marker, like in Sheko. The plural marker of a noun always includes a definite marker unlike in Sheko, in that definiteness marking of a noun in Sheko excludes plural marking, i.e. if a noun has a definite marker, it is known that the noun is singular out of context (Hellental 2010:138). However in Naayì, when a noun is marked with a definite marker, the noun can be singular or plural. Definiteness is marked whereas indefiniteness is unmarked in Naayì. The definite markers are *-s* for masculine nouns and *-ḥ* for feminine nouns. This means definiteness in Naayì is sensitive to gender and always accompanied with a gender marker. See the examples given below.

41. a. *gaans-ù-ḡ* elder. sibling-M-DEF.M
 ox-M-DEF.M 'the elder brother'
- b. *toos-ù-ḡ* child-M-DEF.M
 brother-M-DEF.M 'the son, the boy'
- c. *noon-ù-ḡ* person-M-DEF.M
 'the brother'
- d. *dòd-ù-ḡ*
- e. *yaab-ù-ḡ*

- 'the woman'
42. a. *òyt-ḥ* 'the elder sister'
 cow.F-DEF.F
 'the cow'
- b. *toys-ḥ*
 brother.F-DEF.F
 'the sister'
- c. *no-y-ḥ*
 elder.sibling-F-DEF.F
- d. *dég-ḥ*
 child.F-DEF.F
 'the daughter'
- e. *yeeb-ḥ*
 person.F-DEF.F
 'the woman'
43. a. *tyára-y-ḥ* *sum yírá*
 smaller.calabash-F-DEF.F name what
 'What is the name of the smaller calabash?'
- b. *ḥ-beey* *toos-ù-s-kís* *kìz-a-gata*
 1SG.POSS-mother brother-M-DEF.M-PL exist-PAST-COND
 'If there were my mother's brothers, ...'
- c. *ḥ-beey* *toys-ḥ* *kìz-a-gata*
 1SG.POSS-mother sister.F-DEF.F exist-PAST-COND
 'If there is my mother's sister, ...'

As illustrated above, the definite masculine marker *-s* is followed by the masculine gender marker *-ù* as in (41 and 43b). The definite feminine marker *-ḥ* is followed by the feminine gender suffix *-y* which is the glided palatal form of the basic feminine morpheme *-i* as in (42c and 43a), or followed by the infixation of the glided palatal form of gender marker *-y-* as in (42a & b and 43c), or followed by the palatalized vowel form *-e(e)-* due to the infixation and homogenization of the basic feminine morpheme *-i-* with a non-palatal vowel of a noun stem as in (42d & e).

IV. Case

Traditionally, case refers to an inflectional system marking the relationship between dependent nouns and their heads. Blake (2004:1) states that, “[...] typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition

or another noun at the phrase level”. In this Blake's definition of case, the relationship between dependent nouns and their heads is encoded by case at two levels: at clause level and phrase level. But, for Dixon and Aikhenvald (1995), case is restricted to clause level. For example, 'the genitive' is widely mentioned that it is not seen as a case by Dixon and Aikhenvald. Dixon and Aikhenvald (1995:18) present that, “[...] genitive is not a case. Case is used for marking of the syntactic function of a clause constituent in a clause. Genitive marks a relationship within an NP”. This means that, from the definition of case given by Blake (2004), the concept of case that marks the relationship of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level is not accepted by the definition of Dixon and Aikhenvald (1995).

In line with Blake (2004), König (2008:5) explains that the first extension of the concept of case has taken place with regard to the means by which case is expressed. Originally, the concept was restricted to inflectional systems, and later, it was extended to include adpositions. A head may be either a verb on a clause level or a noun or adposition on phrase level. According to König (2008:5), for African languages, it is crucial to extend the means by which case is expressed. In addition to affixes and adpositions, tone, accent shift and root reduction have to be taken into account. The direct quotation of the definition of a case system given by König (2008) is presented as follows:

A case system is an inflectional system of marking nouns or noun phrases for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Inflectional systems are expressed by affixes, tone, accent shift, or root reduction; adpositional systems are included only insofar as they encode core participants such as S, A and O. (König 2008:5)

For König (2008), the core participants S, A and O refer to intransitive subject, transitive subject and transitive object respectively.

This thesis describes the case system of Naayì based on the definitions of case given by Blake (2004) and König (2008). In this thesis, the researcher takes the definition that a case system marks the relationship between dependent nouns and their heads; and the head of a noun may be either a verb on a clause level or a noun or adposition on phrase level. Because, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish case marking affixes and adpositions; and this is

undoubtedly there is no necessary universal distinction between the two (Payne 1997:100). Based on the definition of case given above, eight morphological cases, such as, nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrument, comitative, locative and inessive cases are identified in Naayi. These are described below in turn.

A. Nominative Case

The nominative encodes the subject and nouns that stand in a predicative relation to the subject (Blake 2004:5). The subject can be intransitive subject or transitive subject. Nominative case in Naayi is mostly unmarked on a subject noun. However, the nominative case marker *-i* is sometimes suffixed to a nominal modifier when the head noun is absent in a definite context and its function is taken over by the nominal modifier in a given clause, as in (44).

44. a. *marká-s-kís-ì* *gordù gé-t'-ù*
 small-DEF.M-PL-NOM gourd say-PASS-TOR
 'The small ones are called gourd.'
- b. *yís-ì* *yís-ìf* *è=púr-t'-á-kày-ó* *gém-kì-ba* *tatsù*
 one-NOM one-DAT 3MSG=rule-PASS-IRR-exist.NEG-N.ASS say-exist-REL concept
 'The idea that says, 'the one will not be ruled for the other.'
- c. *ye-s-ó-tf-é* *surá-s ?*
 DISTN-DEF.M-ADFOC-Q-N.ASS trouser-DEF.M
ye-s-ì *bùlká*
 DISTN-DEF.M-NOM grey
 'What about this trouser? This one is grey.' (Context: asks the color of a trouser and replies the color of the trouser.)
- d. *àtkh̃-s-kís-ì* *kátfi bürká gé-t'-h̃* *kiz-a*
 male-DEF.M-PL-NOM yam bürká say-PASS-TSR exist-PAST
 'There are the males yams which mean bürká.'

As illustrated in (44), when a subject noun is expressed by a nominal modifier such as adjective or determiner with the absence of the head noun, the nominative case marker *-i* is employed to mark the nominal modifier as the subject of a verb in the given clause. This is

because, case marking appears not only on nouns but on certain dependents of the noun such as adjectives and determiners (Blake 2004:7).

B. Accusative Case

The accusative encodes a direct object and nouns that stand in a predicative relation to the object (Blake 2004:5). In Naayi, the accusative case marker is *-(n)á* as in (45).

45. a. *yára-ná* *yè=gé-máh=ít*
 lineage-ACC 2SG=say-speak=2HON
 'Please tell (us) the lineage!'
- b. *fengù noogù dyáh-té gaatfû-ná* *yè=ḡ-a-gata* *yèt-ná* *is wùf-án*
 bad thing do-PART t'ef(Amh.)-ACC 2SG=eat-PAST-COND you-ACC it kill-IRR
 'If you did bad thing and ate Tef, it would kill you.'
- c. *nà is-á* *ḡ-dégḡ* *nàfá-o,* *ḡ=gém*
 I he-ACC 1SG.POSS-daughter husband-ADFOC 1SG=say
 'I call him, 'my daughter's husband!'
- d. *ye-y-ḡ-á* *máh-o-á* *ít*
 DISTN -F-DEF.F-ACC speak-NEG-PAST 2HON
 'You did not tell this one(F).' (Context: asks the name of 'forehead' in Naayi)

The accusative marker *-ná* as in (45a & b) or *-á* as in (45c & d) is always suffixed to a direct object of a verb in the language. The direct object to which the accusative marker is suffixed can be a noun as in (45a & b) or a personal pronoun as in (45b & c) or a nominal demonstrative as in (45d) or a relative clause as in (p. 330 (29)).

C. Genitive Case

“The genitive is mainly used to mark noun phrases as dependents of nouns, i.e. it is primarily an adnominal case. Among its adnominal functions, the one is the encoding of possessor. ... The genitive is also used to mark the complements of certain verbs” (Blake 2004:5). The genitive with noun phrase constructs possessive noun phrase; and the genitive with complements of certain verbs constructs possessive clauses. Here the discussion focuses on possessive noun phrase, not on possessive clauses, in relation to the genitive case marking.

According to Payne (1997:104), “a possessive noun phrase contains two elements: a possessor and a possessed item; and from these, the possessor is sometimes referred to as the *genitive* regardless of whether the language has a morphological genitive case; and the possessed item is referred to as the *possessum* or the *possessee*.” In Naayi, the relationship between the genitive and the possessum in a noun phrase can be expressed morphologically and syntactically. Morphologically, the genitive can be marked either with the morpheme *-kɲ* as in (46) or with *-ba(b)* or *-bey* as in (47) in the language. The possessive noun phrases in the examples below are embraced with square brackets and the possessors are indicated with underline.

46. a. [kyas-kɲ kòf] kiz-a
king-GEN gourd exist-PAST
'There is gourd of king.'
- b. [yèt-kɲ hááy hárgat'á-s] t'ip'=ís
2SG-GEN ear left-DEF.M cover.over=3MSG
'Let your left ear become blocked.' (Context: refers to cursing a person who doesn't hear when someone orders him.)
- c. [kòf kyas-kɲ] kiz-a
gourd king-GEN exist-PAST
'There is gourd of king.'
47. a. ye-s-kís té-kn [ii-k'a-ba(b) k'it'á]
DISTN -DEF.M-PL COP-REAL house-IN-GEN utensil
'These are the house's utensils.'
- b. [mo/kɲ-bey ay] kiz-a
female-GEN.F song exist-PAST
'There is females' song'
- c. [ay mo/kɲ-bey] kiz-a
song female-GEN.F exist-PAST
'There is females' song'

As shown in the above examples, the genitives marked with *-kɛ̀* and *-ba(b)* or *-bey* normally precede the possessives. Here, *-ba(b)* is used to mark non-feminine genitive; whereas, *-bey* is used to mark feminine genitive. However, it is also possible to change the order of the two items in the possessive noun phrases as far as the possessors are marked morphologically, as in (46c & 47c).

The order of the possessor and the possessum in a possessive noun phrase is fixed to show ownership in Naayì. When possession is expressed syntactically or when no morphological marker is used, the possessor always precedes the possessum. In this case, the possessor is a syntactic genitive as indicated with underline in (48).

48. a. [naayì noogù-ná] haşɛ̀-ka máh-n-é yè=gém-a-gata
 Naayì thing-ACC wide-INST tell-IMP-N.ASS 2SG=say-PAST-COND
 'If you said, "Tell the issues of Naayì widely, ..."'
- b. watá ñ-dòdù-f [ítkís dadat'a-f] pót-n-s-é
 onwards 1PL.POSS-child-DAT you grandchild-DAT reach-JUSS-CAUS-N.ASS
 'Let us reserve (the language) for our children and for your grandchildren onwards.'
- c. [ñ pààt kùtsù] tʃ'albɛ̀m té-kn
 I body hand clean COP-REAL
 'My body hands'

As we see above, the lexical genitive can be a noun like *naayì* 'Naayì' and *pààt* 'body' in (48a & c), or a subject pronoun like *ítkís* 'you(PL)' and *ñ* 'I' in (48b & c). If there are more than one possessor, the possessors always precede the possessum; just like the order in (48c): genitive (*ñ*) - genitive (*pààt*) - possessum (*kùtsù*).

D. Dative Case

“The main function of dative is to mark the indirect object or the beneficiary of the action identified by the verb” (Blake 2004:6). In Naayì, the dative case marker is *-(i)f* as in (49). The form *-f* occurs in nouns ending with a vowel as a basic form since most nouns end with a vowel in the language, as in (49a, b & c); whereas, the form *-if* is suffixed to nouns ending with consonants as allomorph, as in (49d).

49. a. *gaatfû-ƒ naayì biherəsəbá harkù-ka wufkù àts-té té-n-a*
 Tef(Amh.)-DAT Naayì community(Amh.) excess-INST meaning give-PART COP-REAL-PRSP
ís=dyáh-kì-ba
 3MSG=work-exist-REL
 'That Naayì community works is mostly by giving (symbolic) meaning for Tef(grain sp.).'
- b. *gaatfû gé-t'-ḥ naayì-ƒ k'aabàtsá dyáh-ba k'áy-té*
 Tef(Amh.) say-PASS-TSR Naayì-DAT ancestors work-REL rise-PART
yég-a-ba ʒyáts ḡ té-n-a
 come-PAST-REL big food COP-REAL-PRSP
 'For Naayì, Tef(grain sp.) means, it is a big food which came together with ancestors.'
- c. *baab anduaalem yè=àts-ba noogù-ƒ galatá-ná ḥ=àts-ḥ*
 mister anduaalem 2SG=give-REL thing-DAT acknowledgment-ACC 1SG=give-TSR
 'Ato Anduaalem, I have given acknowledgment for the thing that you gave!'
- d. *hàày wób-t'-án-bab òòt-ìƒ-ó kày*
 water drink-PASS-IRR-REL cow-DAT-N.ASS exist.NEG
yaab-ìƒ-ó hàày kày
 person-DAT-N.ASS water exist.NEG
 'There is no water to be drunk for cattle. There is no water for people.'

Moreover, the form *-tʃi* indicates the dative case in the first person singular and plural pronouns as in (50a & b). Therefore, the forms *-(i)ƒ* and *-tʃi* are the allomorphs of the dative morpheme *-ƒ*, which is used in most environments, in Naayì.

50. a. *ḥ-beey gé-t'-ḥ ḥ-tʃi baay té-kn*
 1SG.POSS-mother say-PASS-TSR 1SG-DAT mother-F COP-REAL
 'My mother' means mother for me.'
- b. *p'ak'umá ḥ-tʃi kày, ná ye-s-á t'ús-ḥ-o-a*
 Pagume(Amh.) 1PL-DAT exist.NEG, we DISTN -DEF.M-ACC know-TSR-NEG-PAST
 'Pagume(13th.month.of.Ethiopia) is nothing for us. We did not know this one.'

E. Instrumental Case

An instrumental case encodes the instrument with which an action is carried out, as in (Blake 2004:154). In other words, the case of the inanimate force or object is causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb (Malmkjaer 2002:252). In Naayì, instrumental case is marked by the morpheme *-ka* as in (51a & b), just like 'with' in English.

51. a. *k'wáyá yaab-ù-s-kís kùṣù tʃalbḥ-ka èkís afù tʃalbḥ-ka*
 all person-M-DEF-PL hand clean-INST their leg clean-INST
ùṣkís dyáh-ḥ-kì-ba noogù kiz-a
 they work-TSR-exist-REL thing exist-PAST
 'There is a thing that all people work with their clean hands and clean legs.'
- b. *aagá-tá tuur-ba-tá ákḥ-ba yaab-ù-s-kís kalbù kùdù-ka yé-kì*
 far-LOC land-GEN-LOC be.far-REL person-M-DEF-PL strong journey-INST come-exist
 'The persons who have been at far place come with a difficult journey.'

The morpheme *-ka* has also a coordinative function in the language and gives the meaning of 'and'. This coordinative morpheme *-ka* coordinates two or more noun phrases, and it appears mostly on each noun phrase involved in the coordination in Naayì, as seen in (52a). In some cases, the coordinator *-ka* occurs only once, for example in the number system of Naayì, as in (52b). Similarly in Sheko, the instrumental case is marked with the same morpheme *-ka* having the function of coordination in the same manner as in Naayì here (Hellenthal 2010:271-273).

52. a. *gaatfù, turbḥ gaatfù-ka ts'ahḥ gaatfù-ka, badbadá té-kn*
 t'ef (Amh.), red t'ef-CONJ black t'ef-CONJ, different COP-REAL
 'There are different (types of) Tef (grain sp.): red Tef and black Tef.'
- b. *támù, támù-ka yisḥ, támù-ka t'àgḥ, támù-ka kadù, ...*
 ten, ten-CONJ one, ten-CONJ two, ten-CONJ three, ...
 'ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, ...'

F. Comitative Case

The other case marked by the same marker *-ka* of instrumental case and coordination in Naayì is *comitative* (glossed as COM). As illustrated in (53a & b), the case marker *-ka* has a comitative function having the meaning of 'together with' in Naayì. Many languages have a comitative case expressing accompaniment and it is also known as *sociative* (Blake 2004:154).

53. a. *naayì kafì zonákñ béeñ-k'a kyám-ù-kù-ba biher biherəsəbá-ka*
 Naayì Kaffa zone-GEN inside-IN be.found-ISR-exist-REL Nation Nationality-COM
dán-té yísñ-k'a ùt-ù-t-té
 be.together-PART one-IN love-TOR-PASS-PART
 'Naayì (people) who live in Kaffa zone with Nation and Nationalities
 by adoring together ...'
- b. *bará nàfá-ka fub háy-a-bey yeeb-m*
 other husband-COM adultery spend.night-PAST-REL.F woman-DEF.F
 'the woman who committed adultery with other's husband'

G. Locative Case

In Naayì, the form *-tá* indicates locative case (glossed as LOC). The locative case represents the location 'at', destination 'to', source 'from' and path 'through' of a referent where it is found as in (54a & b), to where it goes as in (54c), from where it comes as in (54c), and through where it goes or comes as in (54d) respectively.

54. a. *gaatfù naa-kís tuur-ba-tá hark'ù-ka té-n-a*
 t'ef(Amh.) 1SG-PL land-GEN-LOC wide-INST COP-REAL-PRSP
ís=wóg-ù-s-t-ù-kù-ba
 3MSG=grow-ISR-CAUS-PASS-TOR-exist-REL
 'In our environment, it is widely that Tef(grain sp.) has been respected.'
- b. *ye-s-á k'yaná dèf-ñ-té k'yaná-ba-tá ñ=sók'-kì-ba*
 DISTN-DEF.M-ACC bed make-TSR-PART bed-GEN-LOC 1PL=sleep.in-exist-REL
 'We made this bed and it is on the bed that we sleep.'

- c. *dùlb̀m̀-tá k'áy-té yé-té dúmá-t ís=kéés-ù*
 Dùlb̀m̀-LOC rise-PART come-PART Dúmá-LOC 3MSG=climb.up-ISR
 'He came from Dùlb̀m̀ and went to Dúmá.'
- d. *ye-s san-tá té-ki-ba mojk̀-bey kyónù*
 DISTN-DEF.M face-LOC go-exist-REL female-GEN.F dog
 'This one which is going at the front is bitch dog.'

The functions of locative case illustrated in (54) are marked by the morpheme *-tá*. This locative case marker *-tá* may lose its final vowel *-á* and becomes only *-t* as in (54d). As defined in (Blake 2004:151), locative case (alternatively called *local case*) expresses notions of location 'at', destination 'to', source 'from' and path 'through'. In Malmkjaer (2002:252), the case that identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb is called locative.

H. Inessive Case

The inessive case indicates the existence of a referent 'on' or 'in' something, and which is (glossed as IN) marked by a morpheme *-k'a* in Naayì, as in (55).

55. a. *naa-kís pààt-k'a k'áy-té só mòòt-tá mòòt-tá k'áy-té*
 1SG-PL body-IN rise-PART top head-LOC head-LOC rise-PART
wòkà afù-k'a pót-ù-ba-ka t'ús-ù-s-ít
 bottom leg-IN reach-ISR-REL-TEMP know-TOR-CAUS-2HON
 'Please notify by mentioning our body (parts), starting from top of head down up to the bottom of leg!
- b. *ii-k'a háy-ki-bab-ù-s-kís zég òòt ùyzi warowd gé-t'-ù*
 house-IN spend.the.night-exist-REL-M-DEF.M-PL bull cow heifer calf say-PASS-TSR
 'Those which are spends the night in a house are called calf, heifer and bull.'
- c. *ii-k'a baabù kiz-a*
 house-IN father exist-PAST
 'There is father in the house.'

According to Hellenthal (2010:264), inessive involves contact and/or containment in the space denoted by the noun phrase, whereas locative is more general and it does not involve contact or containment. It rather expresses a space in the proximity of and/or around the denoted place. Hence, these two notions are marked differently in Sheko in that inessive case is indicated by the marker *-k'á*, whereas locative case by the marker *-tá* (Hellenthal 2010:264). In Naayi, like in Sheko, inessive case is marked by *-k'a* as in (54), whereas the locative case is marked by *-tá* as in (55). The difference between Naayi and Sheko on these two case markers is only the tone marking on them.

To sum up all the discussions in (§3.1.1.1.), the basic inflectional operations of nouns such as number, gender, definiteness and case have been discussed. The morphological markers of these operations in Naayi are summarized in short in table 8 below.

Table 8: Inflectional markers of nouns

Inflectional Operations		Inflectional markers
Number	Singular	Unmarked
	Plural	<i>-kis</i>
Gender	Masculine	<i>-ù</i>
	Feminine	<i>-ì, -y, -y-, -e(e)-, and -e(e)y</i> (the forms <i>-y-, -e(e)-</i> and <i>-e(e)y</i> are lexicalized with the noun stems)
Definiteness	Indefinite	Unmarked
	Definite	<i>-s</i> for masculine nouns <i>-ḥ</i> for feminine nouns
Case	Nominative	<i>-i</i> (does not frequently occur)
	Accusative	<i>-(n)á</i>
	Genitive	<i>-kḥ, -ba(b), -bey</i>
	Dative	<i>-if, -f, -tḥi</i>
	Instrumental	<i>-ka</i>
	Comitative	<i>-ka</i>
	Locative	<i>-tá</i>
	Inessive	<i>-k'a</i>

3.1.1.2. Identifying Noun Class Based on Morphological Criteria

The typical categories for which nouns may be specified, either morphologically or syntactically, are case, number, class or gender and definiteness (Shopen 2007a:7), as they

are discussed in the above section. In Naayì, nouns are specified for all of these morphosyntactic categories. The following examples in (56) are presented to show that there is a noun word class in which the words can be specified for case, number, gender and definiteness.

56. a. ù-dòd-ù-f *ís=kày-kì-ba* *noogù yírá*
 1PL.POSS-child-M-DAT 3MSG=exist.NEG-exist-REL thing what
 'What thing lacks for our children?'
- b. *kùy* *núút'-ù-s-kís*
 forest wild.animal-M-DEF.M-PL
 'the forest wild animals'
- c. *ats-s-kís* *ké* *maşkar-k'a* *k'áy-té*
 month-DEF.M-PL ADFOC September-IN rise-PART
 'What about the months, starting from September?'
- d. *dìnká-ná* *té bùts-n* *yè=kóm-yé-n* *póf-n* *ń=gyá?-á*
 sugar.cane-ACC go cut-IMP 2SG=receive-come-IMP peel-IMP 1PL=eat-IRR
 'Please go, cut and bring sugar cane, and then, let us peel and eat (it).'
- e. *toos-ù-s-kís*
 brother-M-DEF.M-PL = 'the brothers'
toys-ń-kís
 brother.F-DEF.F-PL = 'the sisters'
- f. *yaab-ù-s-kís*
 person-M-DEF.M-PL = 'the men'
yeeb-ń-kís
 person.F-DEF.F-PL = 'the women'

From the examples above, the words like *dòd* 'child', *núút* 'wild animals', *ats* 'month', *maşkar* 'September', *dinká* 'cane', *toos* 'brother', *toys* 'sister', *yaab* 'person', *yaabù* 'man' and *yeeb̀̀* 'the women' can form a noun category of words in Naayì. It is because; the words can be identified morphologically (i.e. by affixation) with case, number, gender and definiteness.

However, the morphological criterion test is not enough for the identification of nouns in Naayi. Although the morphological forms can identify many members of a noun class, we need to be supplemented by the other criteria tests for three reasons. The first reason, the grammatical categories of a noun can be expressed on other words which can modify or specify the noun. The second reason, both nouns and adjectives in their citation form have the same terminal segments such as the vowel *-ù, -i, -á*, or the syllabic nasal *-ṅ/[-ṁ]*. And the third reason, some derived words from verbs are used both as nouns and as adjectives with the same form. The reasons (indicated with the bullet ❖) are discussed below.

❖ *The first reason not to use morphological criterion to identify nouns is that the grammatical categories of a noun can be expressed on other words which can modify or specify the noun.*

The grammatical categories of nouns can be expressed on behalf of other words which can modify or specify the nouns, like on behalf of adjectives as in (57a & 58b), nominal demonstratives as in (59a & c), cardinal numbers as in (59b) and local adverbial demonstratives as in (59c) in Naayi. The examples given below show that not only the words of noun class but also the words of other classes can be identified by number, gender, definiteness and case markers. For this reason, the other criteria shall be used to distinguish words that can be included in the noun class.

57. *k'ádá* *ʔyáts-ù-s-kís*
 kind.of.calabash big-M-DEF.M-PL
 'k'ádá' calabash are the big ones.'

58. a. *bandará-s* *k'alamá-ná* *máh-n-it*
 flag(Amh.)-DEF.M color(Amh.)-ACC tell-IMP-2HON
 'Please tell us the color of the flag! (Context: ordering the informant to tell the colors of the Ethiopian flag put in a house in front of us)

- b. *bandará* *háà!*, *goot'ṅ-s* *goot'ṅ*
 flag(Amh.) listen.me(INTJ), white-DEF.M white
turbm-s *turbm, t'ílù-s* *t'ílù, kadù tó-kn*
 red-DEF.M red green-DEF.M green three COP-REAL

'Flag! listen to me! The white is white. The red is red. The green is green. They are three.' (Context: mentioning the name of the colors of the Ethiopian flag by the informant)

59. a. *noogù-s* *ye-s-á* *haşh-ka* *máh=ít*
 thing-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-ACC wide-INST tell=2HON
 'Please tell (us) that thing widely.'

b. *t'ààgñ-s-kís* *yísñ-k'a*
 two-DEF.M-PL one-IN
 'the two ones together'

c. *hak'á ii* *núút'ù-k'a* *ñ=tá-ba-ka* *wòká-s-kís* *yírá,*
 now house animal-IN 1PL=go-REL-TEMP down-DEF.M-PL what
ye-s-kís *kyónù*
 DISTN-DEF.M-PL dog

'Now, when we go to domestic animals, what are the lower ones? (asked by the translator) Those are dogs. (responded by the informant) '

❖ *The second reason not to use morphological criterion to identify nouns is that both nouns and adjectives in their citation form have the same terminal segments such as the vowel -ù, -ì, -á, or the syllabic nasal -ñ/[-ṁ¹⁰].*

We can see the examples in (60) for the nouns ending with -ù, in (61) for the nouns ending with -ì, in (62) for the nouns ending with -á, in (63) for the nouns ending with -ñ, and in (64) for the nouns without a terminal vowel or the syllabic nasal. Similarly, we can see the adjectives ending with -ù, -ì, -á and -ñ/[-ṁ] in (65a, b, c & d) respectively. This implies that the morphological criterion is not enough to distinguish the words of these two categories since both categories have similar morphological forms.

¹⁰[-ṁ] here comes due to assimilation of -ñ due to the preceding of a labial consonant like in *t'albñ* 'neat, clean' as in (65c).

60.	<i>èmbù</i>	'antelope'	<i>káfkù</i>	'porcupine, or hedgehog'
	<i>eskù</i>	'goat'	<i>mélù</i>	'snail'
	<i>gaagù</i>	'vulture'	<i>nyakù</i>	'young, manhood'
	<i>k'aatf'ù</i>	'ant'	<i>zùngù</i>	'sheep'
61.	<i>baytì</i>	'one of the Naayi clan'	<i>gutfi</i>	'butterfly'
	<i>báyì</i>	'ape'	<i>k'ábtì</i>	'cock roach'
	<i>gátf'ì</i>	'eagle'	<i>fobì</i>	'pig, or hog'
	<i>gèldì</i>	'quail, or guinea fowl'	<i>t'èetf'ì</i>	'yellow bird, bird sp.'
	<i>goydì</i>	'colobus monkey'	<i>t'èetf'ì</i>	'yellow bird, bird sp.'
	<i>guntì</i>	'goat-antelope'	<i>wùngì</i>	'anopheles mosquito'
62.	<i>baayá</i>	'lion'	<i>nùlá</i>	'hyena'
	<i>haaşá</i>	'fish'	<i>nwatf'á</i>	'leech'
	<i>k'alafá</i>	'adoptee'	<i>párá</i>	'horse'
	<i>kùrá</i>	'donkey'	<i>wálá</i>	'dove'
	<i>kwáná</i>	'civet cat'	<i>wátsá</i>	'bird sp.'
	<i>k'wará</i>	'evil eyed person'	<i>yatná</i>	'fox'
	<i>myatá</i>	'best man'	<i>?yánts'á</i>	'bee'
63.	<i>besṅ</i>	'mate, friend'		
	<i>ùùṅ</i>	'mouse'		
	<i>yeebṅ</i>	'woman'		
64.	<i>bíts'ár</i>	'mule'	<i>şooş</i>	'snake'
	<i>dòòr</i>	'elephant'	<i>warowd</i>	'calf'
	<i>káf</i>	'bird'	<i>yaab</i>	'person, human'
	<i>mèèn</i>	'buffalo'	<i>yeer</i>	'God'
65.	a. <i>t'ìlù</i>	'green'	<i>t'óónì</i>	'crazy, mad'
	<i>harkù</i>	'taboo'	c. <i>ts'ahṅ</i>	'black'
	<i>sengù</i>	'bad'	<i>goot'ṅ</i>	'white'
	b. <i>túrgì</i>	'yellow'	<i>şìfkṅ</i>	'good, beautiful'

<i>p'alk'ṅ</i>	'garish'	<i>ts'its'á</i>	'thin'
<i>tʃ'albṁ</i>	'neat, clean'	e. <i>ʔyáts(ù)</i>	'big, great'
<i>tʃwat'ṅ</i>	'small'	<i>wádal</i>	'weak, lazy'
d. <i>bùlká</i>	'grey'	<i>ʒaaʒ(ù)</i>	'cowar'
<i>aat'á</i>	'expensive'		

The nouns listed in (60 - 64) above are animate nouns. Moreover, the following animate nouns listed in (66 - 69) have also the same terminal forms like the animate nouns and adjectives shown above. Not all nouns have one of the terminal forms. Some nouns like in (64) above and in (70) below do not have ending vowel or syllabic nasal. Similarly, some adjectives also can be cited without terminal vowel or syllabic nasal as in (65e) although it is also possible to say *ʔyáts-ù* 'big, large' and *ʒaaʒ-ù* 'coward'. Hence, this indicates that nouns and adjectives in Naayì cannot be classified into two categories with morphological criterion.

66.	<i>baakù</i>	'trivet'	<i>k'èrù</i>	'lath of wicker'
	<i>gaatfù</i>	'Tef(Amh.) or grain sp.'	<i>kòfù</i>	'local drinking vessel'
	<i>gebzù</i>	'local beer, or ale'	<i>kyomù</i>	'pot'
	<i>gordù</i>	'local drinking vessel'	<i>nyólù</i>	'stone'
	<i>ìbù</i>	'false banana'	<i>sáák'ù</i>	'mountain, sky'
	<i>intfù</i>	'tree, wood'	<i>zààrgù</i>	'wheat'
67.	<i>bérgì</i>	'year'	<i>háygì</i>	'grain sp., or Tef sp.'
	<i>boolì</i>	'curse'	<i>kátfì</i>	'female yam, or sweet potato'
	<i>dìgì</i>	'a cultural belief of the Naayì '	<i>káyì</i>	'sun'
	<i>gèldì</i>	'quail bird sp.'	<i>keli</i>	'finger'
	<i>giisì</i>	'invitation'	<i>peeli</i>	'neck'
	<i>golì</i>	'place, village'	<i>ts'altì</i>	'spice vegetable sp.'
68.	<i>atsṅ</i>	'moon, month'	<i>p'ik'ṅ</i>	'star'
	<i>bùrkṅ</i>	'stem'	<i>fìʃkṅ</i>	'claw'
	<i>dálʔṅ</i>	'salt'	<i>ʒookṅ</i>	'tail of cattle and horse'
	<i>eeṅ</i>	'cabbage'		

<i>tokṅ</i>	'hole'	<i>yalts'ṅ</i>	'flame'
<i>ts'yakṅ</i>	'cinder'	<i>yaarbṁ</i>	'blood'
<i>wolkṅ</i>	'sticke'	<i>wurbṁ</i>	'axle'
<i>wozṅ</i>	'news, talk'		
69. <i>ánká</i>	'a kind of local drinking vessel'	<i>gyára</i>	'uphill'
<i>budná</i>	'flour'	<i>k'áadá</i>	'calabash'
<i>bùrká</i>	'male yam, or sweet potato'	<i>k'ùt'á</i>	'utensils, furniture'
<i>dìnk'á</i>	'cane'	<i>kwazá</i>	'cabbage sp.'
<i>dùnká</i>	'a calabash pouring dough on an oven'	<i>k'yáná</i>	'bed, bedroom'
<i>gaaná</i>	'tank or a big pot'	<i>nàpá</i>	'needle'
<i>ganá</i>	'Charismas'	<i>pùká</i>	'coffee flour'
<i>gwabzá</i>	'godere(Amh.), grain sp.'	<i>twatsá</i>	'grass sp.'
70. <i>aaf</i>	'eye'	<i>geer</i>	'shadow'
<i>abz</i>	'grass'	<i>gwát</i>	'night'
<i>baak'ar</i>	'bean'	<i>hááy</i>	'ear, leaf'
<i>bafür</i>	'oven'	<i>kwáran</i>	'kettle'
<i>betṅbél</i>	'pumpkin'	<i>naak</i>	'money, belongings'
<i>bùùr</i>	'flood'	<i>t'yam</i>	'breast'
<i>geer</i>	'shadow'	<i>ziib</i>	'drug, medicine'

In Naayi, not only the basic or underived nouns but also derived nouns from verbs have the terminal forms *-ù*, *-á*, and *-ṅ/[-ṁ]* as mentioned below in (71). Unlike in the basic nouns, verbal nouns do not terminate with the vowel *-i*. In some words, the terminal forms are optional and interchangeable like in the verbal noun *baafṅ*, *baafù* or *baaf* 'war, fighting' as in (71c).

71. a. <i>uutù</i>	'love'	<i>kootù</i>	'keeping`47'
<i>fubù</i>	'death'	<i>maangù</i>	'speaking'
<i>k'uutsù</i>	'cutting, decision'	<i>dansù</i>	'meeting, assembly'

b. <i>daagá</i>	'permission'	c. <i>payk̀̀</i>	'peace'
<i>batf'á</i>	'aversion, conflict'	<i>dyah̀̀</i>	'work, action'
<i>deetfá</i>	'load, burden'	<i>baaf̀̀, baaf̀̀</i> or <i>baaf</i>	'war, fighting'
<i>degá</i>	'aid, assistance'		
<i>diirá</i>	'blessing'		

❖ *The third reason not to use morphological criterion to identify nouns is that some derived words from verbs are used both as nouns and as adjectives with the same form as in (72). In this case, the morphological criteria test fails, and instead, syntactic criterion has to be used to categorize such words, as discussed below in (§3.1.1.3.)*

72. a. <i>kool̀̀</i> (n.)	'drought'	c. <i>k'eets'ù</i> (n.)	'heat'
<i>kool̀̀</i> (adj.)	'dry'	<i>k'eets'ù</i> (adj.)	'hot or warm, sharp'
b. <i>kalb̀̀</i> (n.)	'vigor, strength'	d. <i>nolts'ù</i> (n.)	'taste'
<i>kalb̀̀</i> (adj.)	'active, strong'	<i>nolts'ù</i> (adj.)	'sweet, delicious'

3.1.1.3. Identifying Noun Class Based on Syntactic Criteria

As introduced initially, syntactic criteria refers to the distribution and syntactic function of words in a phrase or a clause. The words where they occur in a phrase or a clause have a certain syntactic function. According to Tallerman (2011:35-36), “syntactic criteria show that each word class has a unique pattern of distribution. *First*, there are certain slots in a sentence that can only be filled by members of one word class. ... *Second*, each word class has its own specific set of modifying words - words that can or must accompany it. ... And *third*, each word class has a particular role in relation to other parts of the sentence: this is its [syntactic] function.” In Naayi, only the second syntactic criterion is used to identify the noun class i.e. nouns can be distinguished from other word classes by their own specific set of modifying words. However, the other two criteria could not distinguish the noun class from other word classes such as pronouns, adjectives and determiners that can occur in place of nouns by covering the syntactic function of nouns in simple clauses. Therefore, the noun class in Naayi has been identified below based on *modifying words* as follows.

A noun phrase in Naayì can be formed with a single noun or a noun with modifiers. As Shopen (2007b:151) describes, “The most common noun phrases in many languages contain a single word which is either a noun or a pronoun. In most if not all languages, pronouns generally occur alone in noun phrases without modifiers”. Although traditional grammar defines pronouns as words that take the place of nouns, a more accurate characterization of most pronouns is that they take the place of noun phrases; and in many languages, it may be difficult to distinguish pronouns from nouns except on a semantic basis (Shopen 2007b:151). This means that pronouns are not nouns; rather they are modifiers of nouns in the absence of the head noun; and hence they take the place of the noun phrases. Therefore, in a noun phrase, there is at least a noun or pronoun, possibly accompanied by other words or phrases modifying the noun or pronoun.

According to Shopen (2007b:151-175), the modifiers of nouns in simple noun phrases in a language can be articles, determiners, demonstratives, numerals, plural words, adjectives, nouns as modifiers, locative adverbs, interrogative modifiers and other miscellaneous noun modifiers. In Naayì, nominal demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, locative demonstratives, and nouns as modifiers can modify nouns; and which can identify the noun class as follows.

(1) Nouns can be modified by Nominal Demonstratives

There are two types of demonstratives: demonstrative pronouns (i.e. nominal demonstratives), which occur by themselves as noun phrases i.e. in the absence of the head noun, and demonstrative modifiers of nouns, traditionally called ‘demonstrative adjectives’ (Shopen 2007:162). In Naayì, both nominal demonstratives as pronouns and demonstratives as modifiers of nouns have the same form (73 & 74). Nominal demonstratives are frequently functioning as pronouns in Naayì, as in (73a, b & c).

73. a. ye-s *k'ùfát hááy té-kn*
DISTN-DEF.M right ear COP-REAL
'That one is right ear.'
- b. háá-s *ké hárgat'á hááy*
PROX-DEF.M ADFOC left ear
'This one is also left ear.'

- c. ye-s *ts'áhñ tuur*
 DISTN-DEF.M black soil
 'That one is black soil.'

However, it is rare in the data of this thesis to get nominal demonstratives as modifiers of nouns but they can modify, as in (74). Here, the demonstrative *yes* 'this one' occurs as modifier of the noun *soos* 'snake'. In this case, we can recognize the modified nouns to be in the word class of nouns in the language.

74. ye-s soos *ts'áhñ-s* *gé-t'-ù*
 DISTN-DEF.M snake black-DEF.M say-PASS-TOR
 'This snake is called the black one.'

(2) Nouns can be Modified by Adjectives

Adjective is used as a label for words that are descriptive words that denote 'properties', such as size and colour, or words with *meanings* corresponding to like 'big', 'red', 'good', 'long', and 'fast' in English (Shopen 2007b:168). "For adjectives the major semantic types are dimension, age, colour, value, physical property, and human propensity" (Dixon 2010a:53). In Naayì, nouns are modified by adjectives; and, this can differentiate the word class of nouns from other word classes in the language. The adjectives *turbm* 'red' and *ts'áhñ* 'black' in (75a), *ibar* 'real' in (75b), *k'ùfát* 'right' in (75c) and *hárgat* 'left' in (75d) modify the nouns which follows them.

75. a. turbm *soos*, ts'áhñ *soos*, *ye-s-kís* *soos gé-t'-ù*
 red snake, black snake, DISTN-DEF-PL snake say-PASS-TOR
 'Red snake, black snake; these ones are called snake.'
- b. *ye-s* ibar *noogù*
 DISTN-DEF.M real thing
 'This one is the real thing.'
- c. *ye-s* k'ùfát *hááy té-kn*
 DISTN-DEF.M right ear COP-REAL
 'This one is right ear.'

3.1.2.1. Identifying Verb Class Based on Morphological Criteria

Verbs have more cross-linguistic differences in the grammatical categories they express than any other word class. However, the major grammatical categories of verbs are tense, aspect, mood, valency-changing processes, and agreement (Tallerman 2011:41-45). Based on these grammatical categories, the verbs of Naayi are going to be identified as word class. As an overview, the morphological markers of tense, aspect, mood, argument references, passive and causative are presented in table 9 below.

Table 9: The morphological markers of the grammatical categories of verbs in Naayi

Grammatical Categories of Verbs		Marker	Gloss	Remark
Tense	Past Tense	-a	PAST	
	Non-past Tense	-ám	NON.PAST	
Aspect	Perfective Aspect	-k'é	remain	
	Perfect aspect	té- / -té	COP	
	Imperfective Aspect	-kì	exist	
Mood	Realis Mood	-(k)n	REAL	
	Irrealis Mood	-á(n)	IRR	
	Presupposition	-a	PRSP	
	Negative Assertion	-ó /-é	N.ASS	
Argument Reference	Transitive Subject Reference	-ṅ	TSR	
	Intransitive Subject Reference and	-ù	ISR	
	Transitive Object Reference	-ù	TOR	
Passive		-t' /-t	PASS	
Causative		-s	CAUS	Double causative is marked by using -s twice.

I. Tense, Aspect and Mood

Tense, aspect and mood are the grammatical features of verbs in a language. According to Mitkov (2002:10), in linguistics, ‘tense’ usually refers to the ability of some language expressions to change form in order to convey information about the location of a situation in time; and for this, verbs are a typical example of such expressions in many languages. In contrast, ‘aspect’ does not refer to the location of a situation in time, but to how the situation is viewed by the speaker; e.g., whether or not it is conceived as being in progress, or as being an action or a state (Mitkov 2002:10). Whereas, mood describes the speaker's attitude toward a situation including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood (Payne 1997:244). In Naayì, these grammatical categories of verbs, tense, aspect and mood are marked morphologically.

“Tense is the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered” (Payne 1997:236). Based on this definition, in Naayì, there are two tenses: *past* and *non-past*. As illustrated in (82), the past and non-past tenses are marked with the suffixes *-a* (glossed as PAST) and *-ám* (glossed as NON.PAST) respectively. This is also reported in Aklilu (2001:18-19).

82. *haşñ-ka máh-n-é yè=gém-a-gata naayì noogù-ná*
 wide-INST tell-IMP-N.ASS 2SG=say-PAST-COND Naayì thing-ACC
ñ=pít-n nìik-e-k'è-ám-ba-té-n-a
 1SG=list-SEQ finish-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'If you said, 'Tell me the issues of Naayì widely', and while I (list) rehearse it,
 it will have remained unfinished.'

In fact, tense can be specified with syntactic constituents, for example, with temporal adverbials, that specify a particular point of time both in the past and in the non-past tenses in Naayì. The temporal adverbial expressions in Naayì, for examples, *efeñ* 'originally' in (83a) and *ùynba sááták'a* 'in the former time' in (83b) indicate the remote past time at which the action of coming in the verb *yégaba* 'that ... had come' and the state of knowing in *t'úsok'éagata* 'if ... had not known' occurred. Again, the temporal adverbial expression

hak'ába sááták'a 'by this time' in (83b) indicates the location of the situation in the verb *hááyki* 'lives' that is going on in the present time.

83. a. *e/ef/ñ wosá k'áy-té naayì yég-á-ba yè=gém-á-gata, ...*
 first where rise-PART naayì come-PAST-REL 2SG=say-PAST-COND
 'If you said, 'From where is it that Naayì came originally?', ...
- b. *ùñ-ba sáátá-k'a ñ=t'ús-o-k'é-á-gata*
 former-GEN time-IN 1SG=know-NEG-remain-PAST-COND
hak'á-ba sáátá-k'a giit'á-ká naayì biherəsəbá
 now-GEN time-IN trade-INST Naayì nationality(Amh.)
ís=háy-kì-ba noogù kiz'¹¹-a
 3MSG=live-exist-REL thing exist-PAST
 'Even if I had not known it in the former time, there is a situation that Naayì community lives with trade by this time.'

Regarding to aspect, Payne (1997:238) states that, “Aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states”. Aspect in Naayì has three-way distinctions: *perfective*, *perfect* and *imperfective* aspects. The perfective aspect is marked with the auxiliary verb *-k'é* (glossed as 'remain'), as in (82 & 83b) above, which is the reduced form of the lexical verb *k'é?*- 'remain'. This perfective aspect marking occurs in negative clause. It occurs not only with the past time, as in (83b), but also with the future time reference in the language, as in (82). For example in (82), i.e. in the future time, *k'é*- 'remain' marks perfective aspect indicating that the action of finishing the narration has discontinuity since the length of the narration is very long.

The perfect aspect in Naayì is marked by the copula helping verb *té-/té* (glossed as COP) which is suffixed to or preceded by a main verb. The copula verb *té-* has two functions: as copula predicate in copula clauses and as perfect aspect marker of a main verb. On the one hand, the copula *té-* is used to construct copula clauses and to express a state or a situation as copula predicate as in (84a). On the other hand, the copula *té-* is used together with a main

¹¹ As in Amharic and in some other Ethiopian languages, the past form of the verb of existential *kiz-a* 'exist-PAST' in Naayì is translated as having present tense semantically.

verb as helping verb either in the form of suffix *-té* to the main verb as in (84b), or as independent form *té-* following the main verb as in (84c); and in this case, the copula helping verb functions as perfect aspect marker. The copula helping verb follows or is suffixed to a relative verb like in (84b & c); and in this case, the relative verb does not have a relative clause translation; rather it has an independent clause form with perfect aspect meaning. But, when a relative verb comes apart from the copula helping verb *té-* like in (85b) below, it has a relative clause function.

84. a. *yaab-ù-s* *fìfkn̩-s-yaab* *té-kn*
 person-M-DEF.M good-DEF.M-NMLZ COP-REAL
 'The man is the good one.'
- b. *dòdù-s* *yééf-kì-n* *sìs-a-ba=naa-té-n-a*
 child-DEF.M cry-exist-SEQ hear-PAST-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'I have heard the child crying.'
- c. *k'aalù kyám-a-ba* *k'abalá mankirá gé-t'-ù-kù-ba* *té-n-a*
 coffee be.availabe-PAST-REL locality Mankira say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL COP-REAL-PRSP
 'A locality in which coffee was found has been called Mankira.'

The imperfective aspect in Naayì is marked with the auxiliary verb *-kì* (glossed as 'exist'), as in (85 & 86), which is the reduced form of the lexical verb *kiz-* 'exist'. The imperfective aspect has two sub-imperfective aspects: *habitual* and *progressive* aspects marked with the same morpheme *-kì*, for habitual aspect in (85a & b) and for progressive aspect in (86a & b).

85. a. *hark'ù-ka* *waydá ye-s-á* *ùfkn̩ kóŋ-ṅ-kì*
 many-INST corn DISTN-DEF.M-ACC they plough-TSR-exist
 'They plough this corn mostly.'
- b. *noogù ye-s* *té-n-a* *ṅ=t'ús-ṅ-kì-ba*
 thing DISTN-DEF.M COP-REAL-PRSP 1SG=know-TSR-exist-REL
 'This is a situation that I know.'
86. a. *hak'á ṅ-baabfin-é* *nìik-s-ám* *yé-kì* *nà-kís*
 now 1SG.POSS-uncle-ADFOC finish-CAUS-NON.PAST go-exist I-PL
 'My uncle!, Now, we are going to finish.'

- b. *hak'á bonga-tá ìs té-kì*
 now Bonga-LOC he go-exist
 'He is going to Bonga now.'

According to (Payne 1997:239), imperfective aspect describes the situation which is viewed from "inside" as an ongoing process. Within the imperfective aspect, there are two subtypes of aspects: *habitual* and *progressive*. Habitual aspect expresses an assertion that a certain type of event regularly takes place from time to time; whereas, progressive aspect implies an ongoing, dynamic process as opposed to the stative or habitual aspect, which implies no change over time (Payne 1997:239-241). These two subtypes of imperfective aspect are expressed with the same morpheme *-kì* 'exist' as illustrated above in (85 & 86). The two aspects can be distinguished based on their contexts.

The imperfective aspect morpheme *-kì* has a variant form *-kù* when it occurs in intransitive and passive verbs in which the intransitive subject or the transitive object reference marker *-ù* causes a change from *-kì* to *-kù* due to vowel harmonization as in (87a & b). However, the researcher puts the morph *-kù* as it is where it appears in the thesis, just not to be far from the actual pronunciation since it is very common in the data. Hence, both forms are glossed as 'exist' as one morpheme which shows the existing event or action in the verbs.

87. a. *babak'á-k' yè=té-k'at*

Bəbəqa-IN 2SG=go-COND

babak'a kyám-ù-kù-ba beentf'maaji zona-kḥ béétḥ-k'a té-ḥ-a

Bəbəqa be.available-ISR-exist-REL Bench Maaji zone-GEN between-IN COP-REAL-PRSP

'If you went to Bəbəqa, it is in Bench Maaji zone that Bəbəqa is found.'

- b. *gaatfû naa-kís tuur-ba-tá hark'ù-ka té-ḥ-a*

t'ef(Amh) I-PL land-GEN-LOC wide-INST COP-REAL-PRSP

ís=wóg-ù-s-t-ù-kù-ba

3MSG=grow-ISR-CAUS-PASS-TOR-exist-REL

'In our environment, it is widely that Tef (grain sp.) is being respected.'

- c. *ye-s k'ùfát hááy té-kḥ*

DISTN-DEF.M right ear COP-REAL

'This one is right ear.'

Mood is also a typical grammatical property of verbs in Naayi. Mood, also known as mode, is the speaker's attitude towards an event in a verb, indicating that whether or not the event is real or irrealis, or the likelihood of the occurrence of the event. Though there is a continuum conceptualization of mood, the highest-level distinction in modal operations is between realis and irrealis (Payne 1997:244). These two-way distinctions of mood are marked morphologically on the verbs in Naayi. The realis mood is marked with the suffix *-(k)n*, as in (87c) for *-kn* and in (87a & b) for *-n* on the copula *té-*, which strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true. From these two forms *-kn* and *-n*, the basic form (or morpheme) is *-kn*, but it can be reduced into *-n* for the purpose of simplification of the cluster of *k* and *n*. In the above examples (87), the realis mood marker *-(k)n* suffixed to the copula verb *té-* is used in the copula clauses.

The realis mood marker *-(k)n* is also suffixed to the copula helping verb *té-* and used to indicate the realis mood of the main verbs of declarative clauses as in (88) below and more in (84a & b) above. In this case, with the realis mood marker, the propositions in the clauses are strongly asserted to be true.

88. *kùdù-s-á* *háá-s-á* *tá-ám-bab=ná*
road-DEF.M-ACC PROX-DEF.M-ACC go-NON.PAST-REL=1PL
ye-y-ná *yè-k'ùts-e-k'é-ám-ba-té-kn*
PROX-F-ACC 2SG-cut-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL

'You will not have cut this one, (the message about) the road, this one with which we will go.'

In Naayi, the irrealis mood is marked with morpheme *-á(n)* which is directly suffixed to the main verbs, glossed as IRR, as shown in (89a & b). In this case, the irrealis mood does not necessarily assert that an event did not take place or will not take place. In other words, in a verb with the irrealis mood marker, a proposition is weakly asserted to be either possible or uncertain.

89. a. *kalbá-ba-ù-s-kís* *hàày wóób-o-á* *gé-t'-a-ba*
strong-NMLZ-M-DEF.M-PL water drink-NEG-IRR say-PASS PAST-REL

wuʂkù kiz-ám-s-é

meaning exist-put-Q-N.ASS

'Is there any meaning of that it was said that the strong ones will not drink water?'

b. *hàày wóób-t'-án-bab òòt-ìf-ó kày*

water drink-PASS-IRR-REL cow-DAT-ADFOC exist.NEG

'There is no water which would be drunk for the cows also.'

As illustrated in (89a & b) above, the irrealis mood marker is associated with the negative clauses; because, the negative clauses do assert that events or situations do not hold or do not take place. Moreover, interrogative and imperative clauses are likely to be irrealis, since they do not assert that events did happen, but order it to come about, or question whether it will or did come about (Payne 1997:245). This is true in Naayì that interrogative and imperative clauses are marked for irrealis mood, as in (90a & b). Hortative clauses also do not assert that events did take place, as in (90c).

90. a. *dál-t'-a-ba kày-á*↗

forget-PASS-PAST-REL exist.NEG-IRR

'Is there nothing that was forgotten?'

b. *neákás-é yé-n zíg-ù-té níi-baas-tá ñ=tég-á*

2PL.VOC-ADFOC come-IMP be.together-ISR-PART over.there-beyond-LOC 1PL=go-IRR

'Please come and be together, and then let us go over there beyond.'

c. *wafá-s kì-ba-k'a wùk'-ù-té kálm-ù-ñ=gé-á*

forest-DEF.M exist-REL-IN get.in-ISR-PART sit-ISR-1PL=say-IRR

'Let us get in and sit in the place where the forest exists.'

In addition to realis and irrealis moods, there are moods of presupposition (obvious) and negative assertion marked in the verbs of Naayì. The presupposition mood shows that a proposition is taken for granted to be true by being obvious to all present at the speech situation; whereas, the negative assertion mood shows that a proposition is strongly asserted to be false, most commonly in contradiction to the hearer's explicit or assumed beliefs (Givón 2001a:301-302). In Naayì, presupposition mood is marked with the morpheme *-a*

(glossed as PRSP) following the realis mood marker *-(k)n* on the copula or copula helping verb *té-* as in (91) below, and more in (87a & b) above.

91. *noyg-ṅ ye-y-ṅ dò ís-kṅ kùtʂ-k'a ṅ-tʃi*
 thing.F-DEF.F DISTN-F-DEF.F SEQFOC 3MSG-GEN hand-IN 1PL-DAT
artù pót-e-k'é-a-b-íʃ té-kn-a
 quickly reach-NEG-remain-PAST-REL-DAT COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Then, it is because, the thing, this one, has not reached for us in his hand quickly.'

The negative assertion mood is indicated with the morpheme *-ó/-é* (glossed as N.ASS) that can be suffixed at the end of any type of verb; for examples in (92a) with declarative verb, and in (92b) with jussive verb.

92. a. *ṅ-noogù-ná ís-ka ná áʃ-ù-s-ó*
 1SG.POSS-speech-ACC 3MSG.POSS-INST I stop-ISR-CAUS-N.ASS
 'I shall stop my speech by this.'
- b. *yará-yaab-ù-s ʃùb-o-k'ó-n=ís-é*
 lineage-NMLZ-M-DEF.M die-NEG-remain-IMP=3MSG-N.ASS
 'Do not let the family die.'

In sum, in order to identify verbs as a word class in Naayì, their morphological tense, aspect, and mood distinctions are very important. Based on the analysis above, it is certain that there is a word class of verbs in the language.

II. Agreement

Agreement inflection is the other property of verbs as a word class. Verbs in many languages 'agree with' one or more of their arguments. This means that various properties of the noun phrase arguments are also marked on the verb, the most common properties being person and number, and then gender or noun class (Tallerman 2011:45). Verbs in Naayì can agree with their subject noun phrases in person, number or gender or with all of these three grammatical categories of noun phrase arguments, as shown in (93).

93. a. *watsá gé-t'-ḥ k'wáyá intfû ba-tá ám-ù-s-ḥ-kì-bey*
 bird.sp. say-PASS-TSR every tree GEN-LOC sit-ISR-CAUS-TSR-exist-REL.F
 'Watsá(bird sp.) means that she puts or lands (herself) on every tree.'
- b. *ḥ-sum-ó efefḥ takə̀lə̀ bə̀yənə̀ ís=gé-t'-ḥ*
 1SG.POSS-name-ADFOC first takele beyene 3MSG=say-PASS-TSR
 'First my name is called Takele Beyene.'
- c. *yisḥ-k'a dyáh-ḥ-té k'ùts'-a-ba-ù-s-kís-ó àkur=ís*
 one-IN work-TSR-PART feud-PAST-REL-M-DEF.M-PL-N.ASS become=3MSG
ákḥ-ba-ù-s-kís
 be.far-REL-M-DEF.M-PL
déf-ù-té káás-té ermá-ka ù/kís ḥ wóób-á-ba-f
 come.near.to-ISR-PART play-PART happiness-INST they eat drink-IRR-REL-DAT
 'They who took part in a feud as well as who were far to each other came forward to each other and chatted to eat and drink with happiness.'

In the examples above, the subject *watsá* 'bird sp.' in (93a) agrees with its verb *amùsḥkibey* 'that she lands' with diminutive referent through the feminine gender marked relativizer *-bey* 'REL.F'. In (93b), the subject *ḥsumó* 'my name' agrees with its verb *ísget'ḥ* 'it is called' with person through the third person masculine singular subject clitic *ís=* 'he/it'. In the example (93c), the subject *ù/kís* 'they' agrees with its verbs *k'ùts'abaùskísó* 'who took part in a feud' and *ákḥbaùskís* 'who were far to each other' with, gender, definiteness and number through the markers *-ù*, *-s* and *-kís* respectively in both verbs. Again the verb *àkurís* 'let it be, or as well as' agrees with its clausal subject 'They who took part in a feud' through the third person masculine singular subject clitic *=ís* 'it'. Therefore, it can be said that the verbs of Naayì can change their forms with agreement markers of person, number, gender and definiteness of their subjects; and with these agreement features, they can form their class of words.

III. Valency-Changing Processes

“Valence can be thought as a semantic notion, a syntactic notion, or a combination of the two. Semantic valence refers to the number of participants that must be "on stage" in the scene expressed by the verb” (Payne 1997:169). “Grammatical valence (or syntactic valence)

refers to the number of arguments present in any given clause. A syntactic argument of a verb is a nominal element that bears a grammatical relation to the verb” (Payne 1997:170). For example, the verb *ń-* 'eat' in Naayi has a semantic valence of two since for any given event of eating there must be at least an eater and an eaten thing as in (94a), and it may have a syntactic valence of one or two. In a sentence like in (94b), there is no direct object, so the only argument of the verb is the eater; but in (94c), there is no subject, and so the only argument of the verb is the eaten thing. Again, if we add a semantic valence to the same verb indicated in (94a), the syntactic valence increases by one and becomes three arguments, as in (94d).

94. a. *m-á* *ù/kús ń-kì*
 food-ACC they eat-exist
 'They are eating food.'
- b. *ù/kús ń-kì*
 they eat-exist
 'They are eating.'
- c. *m* *ń-t'-ù-kì*
 food eat-PASS-TOR-exist
 'Food is being eaten.'
- d. *naakis-if m-á* *ù/kús ń-s-ù-kì*
 we-DAT food-ACC they eat-CAUS-TOR-exist
 'They feed us food.'

Valency-changing processes, also known as valence adjusting operations (Payne 1997:172), alter the ‘argument structure’ of the verb, changing its basic syntactic requirements for certain arguments (Tallerman 2011:44). For instance, a transitive verb can become intransitive, or an active verb can become a passive verb or vice versa. In such changing processes, the direct object can be the subject of the verb, the subject can be omitted from its position, or there can be addition or omission of arguments or change of position of arguments in general. This is what valency-changing processes or valence-adjusting operations mean. In the examples above, there are subject and direct object in the active verb in (94a); the object is omitted in the active verb in (94b); the subject is omitted in the passive

verb in (94c); and the indirect object is added in the causative verb in (94d). This shows that the verbs of Naayi change their form with valence adjusting morphemes such as suffixing -t'/-t in the passive verb, -s in the causative verbs. Payne (1997) makes the ways of valence adjusting operations clear as follows:

Languages typically have various ways of adjusting, i.e., increasing, decreasing, or rearranging the syntactic valence of clauses. The semantic/pragmatic (i.e., conceptual) effect of increasing syntactic valence can be characterized most generally as upgrading a peripheral participant to center stage, whereas the effect of decreasing valence is to downplay a normally center-stage participant to peripheral status, or eliminating it from the scene altogether. (Payne 1997:172)

“Valence adjusting operations are derivational operations of verbs. As derivational operators of verbs, valence adjusting morphemes often appear in different “areas” of the verbal word or verb phrase from the tense/aspect/mode (TAM) operators” (Payne 1997:173). In Naayi, there are two types of verb derivational operations. These are passive and causative derivations, as illustrated in (95) below. The transitive verb *è/kḡa* 'lent' in (95a) has normally two semantic valences or participants: the lender and the lent thing; and has two syntactic valences or arguments: the subject *ìf* 'she' and the direct object *naakná* 'the money'. The semantic agent, i.e. the *lender*, and the syntactic subject, *ìf* 'she' is marked morphologically by the transitive verb subject argument marker -ḡ (glossed as TSR to mean 'transitive subject reference') on the verb' *è/kḡa* 'lent' in which the passive and/or causative derivations are not took place.

95. a. *naak-ná* *ìf* *è/k-ḡ-a*
 money-ACC she lend-TSR-PAST
 'She lent money.'
- b. *naak-ná* *is* *è/k-ù-t'-a*
 money-ACC he lend-TOR-PASS-PAST
 'He borrowed money.'
- c. *è-tfì* *naak-ná* *ìf* *è/k-ù-s-a*
 3MSG.POSS-DAT money-ACC she lend-TOR-CAUS-PAST
 'She lent money for him.'

In (95b), there is passive derivation in the verb *èfku't'a* 'borrowed', and the passive derivational morpheme is *-t'*. The verb *èfku't'a* 'borrowed', because of its passivization, has non-agentive subject. The subject *is* 'he' is not capable of performing the action of lending money, rather the subject is the beneficiary of the action of lending money from the unknown body; and hence, syntactically it becomes as non-agentive subject. Here, the peripheral participant, i.e. the beneficiary, is upgraded to the center stage, and occurs immediately before the verb and becomes the subject of the verb. The passive transitive verb *èfku't'a* 'borrowed' marks its direct object *naakná* 'money' with the direct object argument marker *-ù* (glossed as TOR to mean transitive object reference).

Causative derivation took place in the verb *éfkusa* 'lent' in (95c) with the causative morpheme *-s*. In this case, the very important argument is the transitive verb subject *if* 'she' and as a result it comes immediately before the verb, to its normal center stage. The beneficiary *ètfi* 'for him' is downplayed to the peripheral status. Here also, the direct object *naakná* 'money' is placed in its normal position and marked with the transitive object marker *-ù*, just like in the passive derivation in (95b). Therefore, based on the above examples in (95b & c), a verb form, in Naayì, in the passive and causative derivations has: *transitive verb root-TOR-passive/causative marker-(inflectional categories)*.

Furthermore, let us look at the examples in (96). There is passive derivation in the verb *gét'ḥ* 'mean' in (96a) and *gét'ù* 'is called' in (96b). However, the verb *gét'ḥ* 'mean' has the semantic theme or patient *watsá* 'bird sp.' which is coded as an agentive subject or a subject of the given transitive verb, which is marked with the agentive subject marker *-ḥ*, not as direct object as it is in passive derivation. This is because, the verb *gém-* (full form) 'say' has not normal form in its use of introducing the meaning of something since it has passive form but its meaning is as active verb. Whereas in (96b), the verb *gét'ù* 'is called' has a normal passive form which takes the theme or the patient, i.e. the 'said name' *gordù* 'gourd', to its center stage or immediately before the verb as direct object. The direct object is indicated in the verb by the direct object argument marker *-ù* suffixed immediately after the passive morpheme *-t'*. In the example, the syntactic subject is *markáskisi* 'the small ones', which is clearly indicated by the nominative case marker *-i*. Based on the example in (96b), a verb

form in the passive derivation can have: *transitive verb root - passive marker - TOR - (inflectional categories)*.

96. a. *watsá gé-t'-ḥ* *k'wáyá intfû batá ám-ù-s-ḥ-kì-bey*
 bird.sp. say-PASS-TSR every tree on sit-ISR-CAUS-TSR-exist-REL.F
 'Watsá(bird sp.) means that she puts or lands (herself) on every tree.'
 b. *marká-s-kís-i* *gordù gé-t'-ù*
 small-DEF.M-PL-NOM gourd say-PASS-TOR
 'The small ones are called gourd.'

Moreover, in (96a), there is causative derivation in the verb *ámùsḥkìbey* 'that she puts (herself) or lands ' in which *ám-* 'sit' is the intransitive verb root followed by the intransitive subject argument marker *-ù* (glossed as ISR to mean 'intransitive subject reference'). Then, there is the causative morpheme *-s* followed by the transitive subject reference marker *-ḥ*; and then the imperfective aspect and relative markers follow. A transitive subject argument is marked with *-ḥ* after the causative morpheme *-s* in the verb because of transitivization by the causative derivation. From this, one can say that the verb form in the causative derivation of intransitive verb has: *intransitive verb root - ISR - causative marker - (TSR) - (inflectional categories)*.

Both passive and causative derivations can take place in a verb at the same time, like in (97). In the verb *wógùstùkùba* 'that ... is respected', the intransitive verb root *wóg-* 'be respectful' is followed by the intransitive subject reference marker *-ù* which indicates the experiencer (as animate referent) *gaatfû* 'grain sp.' as intransitive subject; and then the causative morphemes *-s* comes; and then the passive morpheme *-t* follows; and then the transitive object reference *-ù* follows, which indicates the theme or patient *gaatfû* 'grain sp.' as transitive direct object; and then at the boundary area inflectional morphemes may come depending on the situations. In short, occurrence of causative and passive derivations together respectively on the same intransitive verb in the language can be conceptualized as: *intransitive verb root - ISR - causative - passive - TOR - (inflectional categories)*.

97. *gaatfû naa-kís tuur-ba-tá hark'ù-ka té-n-a*
 t'ef (Amh.) 1SG-PL land-GEN-LOC wide-INST COP-REAL-PRSP

ís=wóg-ù-s-t-ù-kù-ba

3MSG=grow-ISR-CAUS-PASS-TOR-exist-REL

'In our environment, it is widely that Tef(grain sp.) is being respected.'

Thus, in Naayì, verbs can change their forms with valence changing or adjusting operations; and hence, they can be identified as a word class. The verbs in the language can be identified as a word class morphologically not only with causative and passive derivations, but also they can be identified with argument reference operators and inflectional categories as discussed with all examples given in this section.

3.1.2.2. Identifying Verb Class Based on Syntactic Criteria

“In determining whether a word form is a verb or not, one must determine how closely it follows the morphosyntactic pattern of prototypical verbs” (Payne 1997:47). The syntactic pattern of words refers to “the distributional properties [that] have to do with how words function in phrases, clauses, and texts. For example, verbs can serve as heads of verb phrases, predicates of clauses, and they code events in a text” (Payne 1997:47). In Naayì, a word can be determined as a verb syntactically when it occurs at the end of a simple clause by having the function of a head in a verb phrase, a predicate in a clause and coding of an event in a text, as exemplified below in (98, 99 & 100).

According to Tallerman (2011:40), in all languages, verbs fall into various syntactic sub-classes. Three of the most important are intransitive verbs, transitive verbs and ditransitive verbs. In Naayì, all these three major classes of verbs can be identified. In the sub-class of intransitive verbs, each of them requires a single participant, the entity involved in the event or action which the verbs express, as in (98). For examples, the noun *gaatfù* 'Tef' in (98a), the noun *koobù* 'hens' in (98b), and the noun *pára* 'horse' are the single participant in each verb indicated with underline in the examples. These participants are the subject of the intransitive verbs in which there is no another participant involved.

98. a. *gaatfù* *yè-tfi* *àkur-á-kàv*
t'ef (Amh.) 2SG-DAT become-IRR-not.exist

'Tef(grain sp.) would not become for you.' (Context: tells us about the cultural belief of Tef(Amh.) which must be prepared and eaten neatly without doing evil things.)

- b. *ii naak-k'a k'á'y-té koobù kiz-a*
 house animals-IN rise-PART hen exist-PAST
 'Starting from domestic animals, there are hens.'

- c. *pára ipm̄ té-kn is=háy-kì-ba*
 horse outside COP-REAL 3MSG=spend.the.night-exist-REL
 'Horse is outside that it spends the night.'

The other set of verbs are transitive verbs, which means that each of these verbs requires two arguments, as in (99). For examples, *yè=* '2SG' and *báláka yísñ* 'hundred one' in (99a) and *ùfkus* 'they' and *ùdúná* 'false banana' in (99b) are two arguments of each transitive verbs. *yè=* '2SG' in (99a) and *ùfkus* 'they' in (99b) are used as the subject of the verbs; whereas, *báláka yísñ* 'hundred one' in (99a) and *ùdúná* 'false banana' in (99b) are the direct object of the verbs. In the examples, the subjects and the direct objects come before the verbs, and the verbs occur at the end of the clauses.

99. a. *bálá-ka yísñ dò yè=páád-ñ-ám-ba*
 hundred-CONJ one SEQFOC 2SG=count-TSR-NON.PAST-REL
 'Then, you will count hundred one.'
- b. *kaşk-kís gé-t'-ñ ùdù-ná ùfkus m-kì*
 porcupine-PL say-PASS-TSR false.banana-ACC they eat-exist
 'Porcupines means, they eat false banana.'

The other sub-class of verbs which have three arguments are ditransitive verbs. Typically, the participants in ditransitive verbs are someone performing the action (i.e. subject); an item being acted upon (i.e. object) and a recipient (i.e. indirect object), as in (100). However, in this sub-class of verbs, one of these participants sometimes may not be expressed overtly and it is understood from the contexts, as illustrated below in (100a).

100. a. *naayì noogù-ná haşñ-ka máh-n-é yè=gém-a-gata*
 Naayì thing-ACC wide-INST tell-IMP-N.ASS 2SG=say-PAST-COND
 'If you said, 'Tell the issues of Naayì widely, ...!'

- b. *ye-s* *kùỳ* *núút'ù-s-kís* *k'wáyá* *ḥ-tfi* *pìt-n=ít*
DISTN-DEF.M forest wild animal-DEF.M-PL all 1SG-DAT list-IMP=2HON
'Please list all these forest wild animals for me!'
- c. *ḥ-gábár-ná* *ḥ-tfi* *àts-n*
1SG.POSS-chair-ACC 1SG-GEN give-IMP
'Give me my chair to me!'
- d. *ḥ-dòdù-f* *naak-ná* *ḥ=àts-t-ù-s-a*
1SG.POSS-son-DAT money-ACC 1SG=give-PASS-TOR-CAUS-PAST
'I sent money to my son.'

In (100a), the subject is not indicated in the imperative clause, but there is *naayì noogùná* 'the issue of Naayì' as direct object; and in the dependent clause as a whole, there are the subject *yè=* '2SG' and the clausal object *naayì noogùná haşḥka máhné* 'Tell the issues of Naayì widely', but no indirect object i.e. someone to whom the information is told. In the other examples in (100b, c & d), all the three arguments are expressed in the clauses. Therefore, these types of verbs are ditransitive or have three participants semantically, but they can have three or two arguments syntactically.

Thus, based on syntactic criteria, verbs as a word class in Naayì normally occur at the end of a simple clause. Moreover, Naayì has intransitive, transitive and ditransitive sub-verb classes syntactically.

All the examinations of verbs in (§3.1.2.) here ensure that there is a verb class in Naayì and that the reader can understand the general grammatical features of verbs by which the verb class is identified in the language. Now, we proceed to identify the adjective class of words in the language.

3.1.3. Adjectives

As for recognizing an adjective class in Naayì, we can use the syntactic and semantic criteria. However, the morphological criteria are not much useful for the identification of adjectives since they have similar morphological forms with the noun class, as discussed in (§3.1.1.2). Therefore, the syntactic and semantic criteria are applied here to identify the adjective class.

First, it is better to identify the adjectives based on their syntactic function and distribution; and then, based on their prototypical semantic contents which can be observed cross-linguistically, in the following two sub-sections.

3.1.3.1. Identifying Adjective Class based on Syntactic Criteria

According to Dixon (2004:10), there are three typically syntactic functions of adjectives in a clause or phrase structure of a language: such as, the adjective functions as intransitive predicate, as copula complement, and as a modifier within an NP. In Naayì, among these three functions of adjectives, the latter two are observed, as discussed below.

I. Adjectives Function as Copula Complement

Adjectives are used as complements with or without the presence of the copula *té-* in Naayì. In the presence of the copula, the adjective comes before the copula and follows the subject if there is explicit subject in a simple clause. For examples, the adjectives *badbadá* 'different' in (101a), and *ʔyátsyaab* 'a large one' are used as copula complement and placed immediately before the copula verb *tékn*. However, when there is no copula, an adjective follows the subject and occurs at the end of a simple clause by having the predicate function, like the adjectives *tínù* 'hornless' and *ts'ahhè* 'black' in (102).

101. a. *turbm̄ gaatfû-ka ts'áhè gaatfû-ka badbadá té-kn*
 red t'ef(Amh.)-CONJ black t'ef(Amh.)-CONJ different COP-REAL
 'Red Tef(grain sp.) and black Tef(grain sp.) are different.'
- b. *ánká gé-t'-hè kòfù, ʔyáts-yaab té-kh*
 gourd say-PASS-TSR gourd (kòfù) large-NMLZ COP-REAL
 'Ánká(drinking vessel) means kòfù (gourd), it is a large one.'
102. a. *gaans tínù*
 ox hornless
 'The ox is hornless.'
- b. *òytè ts'ahhè*
 cow black
 'The cow is black.'

II. Adjective Functioning as a Modifier within an NP

When an adjective modifies a head noun in an NP, it comes normally before the modified head noun in Naayl. For examples, the adjectives *ʔyáts* 'great' in (103a), *kalbù* 'difficult' in (103b) and *fengù* 'bad' in (103c) come before the modified nouns *ḡ* 'food', *kùdù* 'journey', and *yaab* 'person' respectively.

103. a. *ʔyáts ḡ té-n-a*
 great food COP-REAL-PRSP
 'It is a great food.'
- b. *yaab-ù-s-kís kalbù kùdù-ka yé-té*
 person-M-DEF.M-PL strong journey-INST come -PART
 'The people, coming with a difficult journey ...'
- c. *gaatfù fengù yaab dyáh-á-kà*
 Tef (Amh.) bad person work-IRR-not.exist
 'Bad person would not prepare Tef (grain sp.) (i.e. starting from the farming until the preparation of food from Tef).'

However, the above two syntactic criteria are not sufficient to differentiate the adjective class from the noun class since nouns are also used as copula complement and as modifier of other nouns. The best syntactic criterion to identify adjective class is the use of slot in which the degree word *haylá* 'very', which is marked with instrumental case marker *-ka*, occurs and precedes an adjective; and the adjective is followed by the modified head noun in a noun phrase, as in (104).

104. *ye-s [((haylá-ka)_{DEGW} fengù]_A [yaab]_N]NP té-kn*
 DISTN-DEF.M very-INST bad person COP-REAL '
 'This one is a very bad person.'

The slot that can be used to test adjectives is: [*hayláka* 'very' + ____ + a head noun _N]NP. Any word that can occur in the space or slot between the degree word (_{DEGW}) *hayláka* 'very' and the head noun *yaab* 'person' is categorized in the adjective (_{Adj}) word class, just like the word *fengù* 'bad' in the example. Therefore, based on this slot, we can replace the word *fengù* 'bad'

by the words like *kalbù* 'active, clever', *zazù* 'coward', *t'ooni* 'crazy, mad', *fì/khè* 'generous, candid', etc.; and hence, all such words are grouped under the adjective word class.

3.1.3.2. Identifying Adjective Class Based on Semantic Types

Here the semantic criterion is used to identify the adjective word class to strengthen the syntactic criterion. According to Dixon (2004:13), there are core and peripheral semantic types cross linguistically to identify adjectives. The core semantic types are four, which are *dimension*, *age*, *value* and *colour*; and the peripheral semantic types include *physical property*, *human propensity* and *speed*. Now, we can list the adjective words of Naayi based on these semantic types respectively in (105) and (106).

105. Adjective having the core semantic types:

- a. **Dimension:** *tswat'è* 'small', *ts'its'á* 'thin', *zyáts* 'big', *has'è* 'wide, broad', *sad'è* 'long, tall', *ts'up'è* 'narrow', *si'sá* 'slime', *yilk'ù* 'small', *fikù* 'short', etc.
- b. **Age:** *k'anù* 'new', *bábábá* 'old', *ùyba* 'olden, former', *gatsùba* 'original', *af'è* 'permanent, steady', etc.
- c. **Value:** *mark'è* 'perfect', *harkù* 'taboo', *sengù* 'bad', *fì/khè* 'good', *tyáfá* 'good-looking', *aat'á* 'expensive', *ibar* 'real', *gaats'ákaba* 'important', etc.
- d. **Colour:** *turbm* 'red', *t'ìlù* 'green', *túrgi* 'yellow', *ts'ah'è* 'black', *goot'è* 'white', *bùlká* 'grey', *p'alk'è* 'garish', etc.

106. Adjectives having peripheral semantic types:

- a. **physical property:** *kalbù* 'strong, heavy, hard', *k'eets'ù* 'hot, sharp', *wádal* 'weak', *t'alb'è* 'neat, pure, clean', *ùy'è* 'soft', *melá* 'clear', *kool'è* 'dry', *burùn* 'flat', *no'ls'ù* 'sweet, delicious', *ts'oos'ù* 'full', *ports'è* 'bald', *gardì* 'spherical', *tókù* 'level, plain', *k'anù* 'new, raw', *twákasyaab* 'lesser', *uyk'è* 'wet, moist', *k'wáyá* 'all, general', *k'yank'alá* 'hunchback', etc.
- b. **human propensity:** *kalbù* 'active, clever', *zazù* 'coward', *t'ooni* 'crazy, mad', *fì/khè* 'generous, candid', *bat'f'ù* 'angry', *t'aafá* 'barren', *insù* 'heavy', *bàk'á* 'empty', *etsá* 'empty', *tyáfá* 'polite', *fengù* 'rude', *yeelákaba* 'shy', *gaaydù* 'poor', *gáánákaba*

'rich', *wozṅkaba* 'talkative', *kafkùskaba* 'sick', *ermákaba* 'happy, merry', *wádal* 'lazy' etc.

c. speed: *bitnùt* 'quick', etc.

The number of adjectives, as listed here, are relatively smaller than the number size of nouns and verbs in Naayì, just like in most languages. But, whatever the size of the adjective class, there are derivational processes which form adjective stems from verbs and/or from nouns in Naayì. Most of the adjectives mentioned above are derived from verbs, and become like nouns formally. Based on the prototypical semantic contents of adjectives, all the above words can be recognized as the adjective class of words in Naayì.

In general, based on the syntactic and semantic criteria discussed above, adjective class is recognized as one of the major word classes in Naayì. Adjective class is a major class; because, the adjectives are content words and can take different affixes to show different grammatical features in the language.

3.1.4. Adverbs

In Naayì, there is a class of adverbs which are mostly characterized by their peripheral position or distribution to the left of simple clauses as in (107). Also, they can occur at the middle of a simple clause as in (108). We can also see more examples in (110,114, 117 & 119), and in §4.4. discussing about adverb phrase. However, their place in a clause may vary depending on the intention of the speaker in the language. According to Payne (2006:117), “Any full lexical word that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective is often put into the class of adverb. ... Formally, adverbs can be characterized primarily in terms of their distribution. They are typically the most unrestricted word class in terms of their position in clauses.”

107. a. *hak'á ṅ-tfi* *dò* *mangistá* *kyáb-t'-n=ís-é*,
 now 1PL-DAT RESFOC government reign-PASS-JUSS=3MSG-N.ASS
 'Hence, now for us, 'let the government reign!'
- b. *haṣṅ-ka* *naayì* *nòògù-ná* *ṅ-tfi* *máh-n-é*
 wide-INST Naayì thing-ACC 1SG.POSS-DAT tell-IMP-N.ASS

'Tell the issue of Naayì to me widely. '

108. a. *pára ipm̀ is=háy-ki*
 horse outside 3MSG=spend.the.night-exist
 'Horse spends the night outside.'
- b. *̀n-baab gatsù f̀ub-a*
 1SG.POSS-father early die-PAST
 'My father died early.'

“Semantically, forms that have been called adverbs cover an extremely wide range of concepts. For this reason they cannot be identified in terms of individuation or any other well-defined semantic parameter” (Payne 2006:117). However, according to Rauh (2010:18), an adverb is an indeclinable part of speech, said of a verb or added to a verb. Of the adverbs, some are simple, and others compound. Some are indicative of time. Some indicate manner; some, quality; some, quantity; some, number; some, place. Some adverbs signify a wish; some express horror; some, denial or negation. Based on Rauh’s characterization of adverbs, there is adverb class of words in Naayì, which can be classified into four sub-classes. These are time adverbs, locational adverbs, manner adverbs, frequency adverbs and epistemic adverbs, as discussed below respectively.

3.1.4.1. Time Adverbs

Most of the time adverbs in Naayì occur in the form of simple words as in (109), except *gatsù-gatsù* 'early-early, i.e. primarily' and *ef-ef̀ǹ* 'first-first, i.e. firstly' which are compound words formed by reduplication.

109. <i>̀ỳǹ</i>	'formerly'	<i>d̀efá</i>	'newly, soon'
<i>dwak'á</i>	'night'	<i>káálá</i>	'time, o'clock'
<i>hak'án</i>	'today'	<i>bérgì</i>	'year, date'
<i>hak'á</i>	'now, presently'	<i>ef̀ǹ</i>	'yet, first'
<i>gód̀ǹ</i>	'yesterday'	<i>ef-ef̀ǹ</i>	'firstly'
<i>byar̀ǹ</i>	'tomorrow'	<i>gatsù</i>	'early,'
<i>hayk̀ǹ</i>	'day'	<i>gatsù-gatsù</i>	'primarily' etc.

The following sentential examples in (110) illustrate some of the time adverbs more clearly.

110. a. *ɲ-baab* *gatsù fùb-a*
 1SG.POSS-father early die-PAST
 'My father died early.'
- b. *gatsù-gatsù p'óók'-ù-kì-ba* *sítsù té-kn*
 early-early grow-ISR-exist-REL hair COP-REAL
 'It is hair that it grows up in advance (i.e. the head hair is at the top of our boby)."
- c. *hak'á gaans-ka uut-ná* *ɲ=kóŝ-ɲ-kì*
 now ox-INST landholding-ACC 1PL=plow-TSR-exist
 'We plow the landholding with ox now.'
- d. *ef-eñ* *wosá k'áy-té* *naayì yég-a-ba* *yè=gém-a-gata, ...*
 first-first where rise-PART naayì come-PAST-REL 2SG=say-PAST-COND
 'If you said, 'from where that Naayì had come originally?', ...
- e. *gódù* *gábá-ba-tá* *k'aalù-ná if kón-tég-a*
 yesterday market-GEN-LOC coffee-ACC she receive-go-PAST
 'She took coffee to the market yesterday.'

Sometime adverbs are formed by adding the instrumental case marker *-ka* to some nouns as in (111a), by adding the temporal clause marker *-ka* to the relative verb *pótùba* 'that reach', as in (111b), and by adding the locative case marker *-tá* to some nouns as in (111c, d & e). The genitive marker *-ba* can be used together with the locative case marker *-tá* to some nouns for the formation of adverbs, as in (111e).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 111. a. <i>bitnùt'-ka</i>
quick-INST
'quickly' | <i>'next, after'</i> |
| b. <i>pót-ù-ba-ka</i>
reach-ISR-REL-TEMP
'until' | d. <i>san-tá</i>
front-LOC

'before' |
| c. <i>ŝiŝ-tá</i>
back-LOC | e. <i>dwak'á-ba-tá</i>
night-GEN-LOC

'early morning' |

3.1.4.2. Locational Adverbs

In Naayi, some of the locative adverbs are simple word forms as in (112), and some locative adverbs are formed from nominal demonstratives by suffixing the locative case marker *-tá* as in (113a & b). Again, the local adverb *ìs* 'there' can also take the suffix *-tá* and used as locative adverb, as in (113c).

112.	<i>àt̥s'ù</i>	'alongside'	<i>ìp̃ñ</i>	'outside'
	<i>só</i>	'up there'	<i>efá</i>	'thither'
	<i>wòká</i>	'down there'	<i>womá</i>	'hither'
	<i>níí</i>	'over there , at the tip'	<i>ìs</i>	'there'

113.	a. <i>háá-s-tá</i>	'there (near)'
	PROX-DEF.M-LOC	c. <i>ìs-tá</i>
	'here'	there-LOC
	b. <i>ye-s-tá</i>	'there (far)'
	DISTN-DEF.M-LOC	

All the above locational adverbs can also be used as local adverbial demonstratives in Naayi (as also discussed in §3.2.4.2.). Some of the locative adverbs are illustrated in the following sentential examples, as indicated with underline in (114). Sometimes, the locative adverbs may combine with nouns marked with the locative case marker *-tá*, for example, the locative adverb *níí* 'over there' with the noun *baastá* 'beyond' in (114e).

114.	a. <u><i>níí</i></u>	<i>tìit-n</i>	
	over.there	look-IMP	
		'Look over there!'	
	b. <i>koyb-ḥ</i>	<u><i>ìs-tá</i></u>	<i>gwará-t kàlm-a</i>
	hen-DEF.F	there-LOC	fence-LOC sit-PAST
		'The hen sat there on the fence.'	
	c. <u><i>wòká</i></u>	<i>beentf maaji</i>	<i>zoná-k'a k'é-a-ba</i>
	down.there	bench	Maaji zone-IN remian-PAST-REL
		<i>t'à biherəsəbá-s-kís</i>	two nationality-DEF.M-PL

fákù-ka diìzi-ka gé-t'-ù
 sheko-CONJ diizi-CONJ say-PASS-TOR

'The two communities which remained down there in Bench Maji zone are called Sheko and Diizi'

d. *pára ìpṛṛṛ té-kn is=háy-kì-ba*
 horse outside COP-REAL 3MSG=spend.the.night-exist-REL

'Horse is outside that it spends the night.'

e. *neákás-é yé-n zíg-ù-té ní-baas-tá ḥ=tég-á*
 2PL.VOC-ADFOC come-IMP be.together-ISR-PART over.there-beyond-LOC 1PL=go-IRR

'You! Come and be together, and then let us go over there beyond.'

f. *naayì gòbì tuur-ba-tá womá is=yég-a-ba-ka*
 Naayì Goba land-GEN-LOC hither 3MSG=come-PAST-REL-TEMP

fákù-ka diìzi-ka efá ùfkús k'é-a-ba
 Sheko-CONJ diizi-CONJ thither they remain-PAST-REL

'When Naayi came hither around Goba, Sheko and Diizi, they, remained thither.'

g. *wáfa-s ye-s-tá té-té ìi-n*
 forest-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-LOC go-PART encamp-IMP

'Go and encamp there at the forest'

3.1.4.3. Manner Adverbs

In Naayì, manner adverbs are mostly derived from other word classes in different ways. For examples, the manner adverbs can be formed from the intransitive verb *kálbù-* 'be active' when the verb adds participial marker *-té*, as in (115a), from two serialized verbs as in (115b), from a noun *tatsù* 'idea' when the noun takes the negative marker *-o* and the passive marker *-t'* as in (115c), from nouns when they suffix the instrument case marker *-ka* as in (115d & e), from adjectives when the adjectives take the inessive case marker *-k'a* as in (115f), and from a numeral *yísṛ* 'one' when the numeral suffixes the inessive case marker *-k'a* as in (115g). Moreover, manner adverbs can also be formed from a verb root *dán-* 'be together' by adding the participial marker *-té* to form *dánté* 'together' as in (115h), from the third person masculine singular reflexive pronoun *ènskṛ* 'himself, itself' to mean 'alone' as in

(115i), and from the indefinite pronoun *k'wáyá* 'all' to mean 'altogether' as in (115j). Again, by adding the accusative marker *-ná* to the indefinite pronoun *k'wáyá* 'all', the adverb *k'wáyáná* 'entirely' is formed as in (115k).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 115. a. <i>kálb-ù-té</i>
be.active-ISR-PART
'actively' | 'successively' |
| b. <i>máf-ám pád-n=ít</i>
slow-do count-IMP=2HON
'Please count slowly' | g. <i>yísñ-k'a</i>
one-IN
'all together' |
| c. <i>tatsù-o-t'</i>
idea-NEG-PASS
'suddenly' | h. <i>dán-té</i>
be.together-PART
'together' |
| d. <i>tipñ-ka</i>
judgment-INST
'approximately' | i. <i>èn-ìs-kñ</i>
3MSG.POSS-3MSG-GEN
'alone' |
| e. <i>yaará-ka</i>
line-INST
'sequentially' | j. <i>k'wáyá</i>
'altogether, generally' |
| f. <i>aydi-aydi-k'a</i>
footprint-footprint-IN | k. <i>k'wáyá-ná</i>
all-ACC
'entirely' |

Furthermore, the manner of an action or state of a clause can be expressed by the word *ga?in-ba* = likelihood/any/ever-GEN 'likelihood of, any of' in Naayi as shown in (116). Sentential examples are given for some manner adverbs in (117).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 116. a. <i>ìs ga?in-ba</i>
he likelihood-GEN
'just like him' | c. <i>yes ga?in-ba-ná</i>
DISTN-DEF.M likelihood-GEN-ACC
'just like this one' |
| b. <i>nà ga?in-ba</i>
I likelihood-GEN
'just like me' | d. <i>yíri ga?in-ba kùd-ka</i>
what any/ever-GEN way-INST
'in any way/ in whatever way' |

The following sentential examples show more manner adverb such as *haşhka* 'widely' in (117a), *etsá* 'carelessly, lit. null, calm' in (117b) and *artù* 'quickly, lit. fast, speed' (117c).

117. a. *noogù-s ye-s-á haşh-ka máh-n=ít*
 thing-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-ACC width-INST tell-IMP=2HON
 'Please tell (us) that thing widely.'
- b. *té-té etsá waadá-k'a èkñ-ná is péy-a-gata*
 go-PART carelessly doorstep-IN him-ACC he injure-PAST-COND
 'If he went and injured himself at the doorstep carelessly, ...'
- c. *artù puts'á-ka ii-ná-s dír-n*
 quickly brush-INST house-ACC-DEF.M sweep-IMP
 'Clean the house with brush quickly'

3.1.4.4. Frequency Adverbs

Most frequency adverbs in Naayì are formed from other word classes in different ways. Some adverbs of frequency are formed by the word *káálá* 'time' together with the numerals one, two, three, etc., as in (118a & b). Moreover, frequency of an action or state in a clause can be expressed with the verb *şipñ-* 'add' when the participial marker *-té* is suffixed to the verb, as in (118c). Again, frequency of events can be expressed by repeating the time adverb *haykñ* 'day' and suffixing the instrumental case marker *-ka* as in (118d), and by using the quantifier *harkù* 'many' and suffixing the instrumental case marker *-ka* to the quantifier as in (119).

118. a. *kadù káálá*
 three time
 'thrice/three times'
- b. *t'à káálá*
 two time
 'twice, two times'
- c. *şip-ñ-té*
 add-TSR-PART
 'moreover, furthermore'
- d. *haykñ haykñ-ka*
 day day-INST
 'daily'
119. *gaatfû-f naayì biherəsəbá*(Amh.) *harkù-ka wuʃkù àts-ñ-ki*
 Tef(Amh.)-DAT naayì community excess-INST meaning give-TSR-exist

'The Naayì community mostly gives (symbolic) meaning for Tef(grain sp.).'

3.1.4.5. Epistemic Adverbs

Epistemic adverbs indicate the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the clause (Payne 1997:70). In Naayì, the commitment of the speaker to the truth of a clause can be expressed with the expression *ibar gaʔinbaná* 'actually' which is the combination of the words *ibar* 'fact/truth' and *gaʔinbaná* 'likelihood of' as in (120a), or with the word *ìburt'ùté* 'apparently/clearly' which is formed by suffixing the participial marker *-té* to the verb *ìburt'ù-* 'be honest, be clear' as in (120b), and by the negative existential verb *kày* 'not exist' as in (120c) among other expressions.

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|---------------|
| 120. | a. <i>ibar gaʔin-ba-ná</i> | c. <i>kày</i> |
| | fact likelihood-GEN-ACC | not.exist |
| | 'actually' | 'absolutely' |
| | b. <i>ìburt'-ù-té</i> | |
| | be.honest-ISR-PART | |
| | 'apparently, clearly' | |

In sum, there is an adverb word class in Naayì. The adverbs, as mentioned above in the four subclasses, are characterized by their semantic function of modifying an event in a clause. In their distribution, generally they occur at the left periphery position of a simple clause; and specifically they occur before the head verb and the possible complements of the head verb in a verb phrase. But depending on the intention of the speaker, adverbs can occur everywhere in a clause.

3.2. Minor Word Classes

Minor word classes express 'grammatical' or 'relational' meaning rather than lexical meaning. In other words their meaning is more restricted to very well-defined conceptual categories. Minor word classes also tend to be 'closed' in the sense that there is usually a limited, well-defined list of members for any given category. It is relatively difficult to add a member to a minor word class (Payne 2006:119).

In Naayi, pronouns, determiners (demonstratives and quantifiers) and conjunctions are the minor word classes. Moreover, there are anaphoric clitics which have syntactic functions in Naayi. In the following sub-sections, the minor word classes such as pronouns (i.e. personal pronouns, anaphoric clitics, interrogative pronouns and indefinite pronouns), determiners (i.e. demonstratives and quantifiers) and conjunctions are described respectively. To make the classification of topics easy, the researcher directly starts with the sub-classes, but not with the overarching class such as 'pronouns' and 'determiners'. The anaphoric clitics are used in place of personal pronouns, and hence they are discussed together with the personal pronouns in (§3.2.1).

3.2.1. Personal Pronouns and Anaphoric Clitics

“Pronouns are free forms (as opposed to affixes) that function alone to fill the position of a noun phrase in a clause. They normally have all the distributional properties of noun phrases. Anaphoric clitics are not free morphologically - they must attach (cliticize) to another word” (Payne 1997:43). In Naayi, both pronouns and anaphoric clitics are used in place of noun phrases. The pronouns discussed in this section are personal pronouns. Personal pronouns in the language can be seen in different sub-classes such as subject pronouns, anaphoric subject clitics, object pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns and vocative pronouns. In connection with possessive pronouns, possessive determiners are discussed here. Since anaphoric clitics have two functions in the language: as subject clitics and as possessive clitics, they are discussed below immediately after the discussion of the subject pronouns and possessive pronouns respectively.

3.2.1.1. Subject Pronouns

Table 10: Subject Pronouns

Singular			Plural			
a.	<i>ṅ</i>	'I'	g.	<i>ṅ</i>		'we'
b.	<i>nà</i>	'I'	h.	<i>ná,</i> <i>nà-kís</i>	1SG-PL	'we'
c.	<i>naa</i>	'I'	i.	<i>naa-kís</i>	1SG-PL	'we'
d.	<i>yèt</i>	'you'	j.	<i>ít-kís</i>	2HON-PL	'you'
e.	<i>ìs</i>	'he'	k.	<i>ùf-kús</i> ¹²	3HON-PL	'they'
f.	<i>ìf</i>	'she'	l.	<i>ùf-kús</i>	3HON-PL	'they'

Subject pronouns are inflected for gender and number in Naayì. Gender is distinguished in the third person singular pronouns as shown in (table 10e & f). The number distinction in the personal pronouns is between singular and plural. The plurality is marked by the morpheme *-kís* (table 10i, j, k & l); whereas, the singularity is not marked morphologically (table 10c, d, e and f). On the other hand, the number distinction in the optional first person singular and plural pronouns is marked with tone: with low tone for the singular one (table 10a & b) and high tone for the plural one (table 10g & h). But in (table 10h), first person plural is optionally marked with *-kís*. The plural marker *-kís* is suffixed to the first person singular to form the first person plural (table 10c & i). However, in the case of second and third person plural pronouns, the plural marker *-kís* is suffixed not to their singular forms but to their respective honorific pronouns (table 10j, k & l). The Honorific pronouns *ít* for second person pronouns (table 10j) and *ùf* for third person pronouns (table 10k & l) are used as subject pronouns for both singular and plural.

¹² In the third person plural form *ùf-kús* 'they', the underlying plural marker *-kís* changes to the form *-kúf* due to vowel harmonization with the preceding vowel *-ù* in the third person Honorific pronoun *ùf* '3HON'.

3.2.1.2. Anaphoric Subject Clitics

The personal subject pronouns presented above have their respective anaphoric subject clitics which can be affixed to a verb and used as a subject in a clause. The anaphoric subject clitics are presented below in table 11.

Table 11: Anaphoric Subject Clitics:

Person		Singular	Plural
First		$\dot{n}=\ / n\grave{a}=13$	$\dot{n}=\ / n\acute{a}=\$
Second		$y\grave{e}=\ ; =\acute{it}$ 'HON'	$\acute{it}k\acute{is}=\ ; =\acute{it}$ 'HON'
Third	Masculine	$\acute{is}=\ / =\acute{is} / \grave{e}=\ / \grave{e}n=\ ;$ $\grave{u}f=\ / =\grave{u}f$ 'HON'	$\grave{e}k\acute{is}=\ / \grave{e}f\acute{k}\acute{is}=\ ;$ $\grave{u}f=\ / =\grave{u}f$ 'HON'
	Feminine	$\acute{if}=\ / \acute{if} + \grave{e}=\ ; \grave{u}f=\ / =\grave{u}f$ 'HON'	

Anaphoric subject clitics can be prefixed or suffixed to the verb in a clause. We can see the subject clitics underlined in the following declarative, interrogative, jussive, and imperative clauses in (121, 122, 123, and 124) respectively.

121. Subject clitics as prefixes and suffixes in declarative clauses:

a. \dot{n} -*dég \dot{n}* *nàfá* *nà-k \dot{n} -á* *ís*=*gém* \dot{n} -*batfá*
 1SG.POSS-daughter husband 1SG-GEN-ACC 3MSG=say 1SG.POSS-father-in-law
 'My daughter's husband calls me 'my father-in-law'.'

b. *beentf maaji-k \dot{n}* *béét \dot{n} -k'a* *yè*=*tég-a-gata*,
 Bench Maaji-GEN in-IN 2SG=go-PAST-COND
naayi-ná *yáp-ám-ba*=*yè*-*té-n-a*
 Naayi-ACC get-NON.PAST-REL=2SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'If you went in Bench Maji, you would get Naayi.'

¹³ The clitics are marked off by '=' when they are used as subject clitics in the verbs, as traditionally marked by linguists.

122. Subject clitics as prefixes in interrogative clauses:

a. *gaatfû-ná* *ís=ñ-kì-bab* *yír-b-é* *sáátá-k'a yè=gém-a-gata*
 Tef(Amh.)-ACC 3MSG=eat-exist-REL what-GEN-ADFOC time-IN 2SG=say-PAST-COND

'If you said, 'at what time he eats Tef?''

b. *ñ=hay-kì-ba-s-ó-tf* (**speaker one: asks**)

1PL=spend.the.night-exist-REL-DEF.M-ADFOC-Q

ñ=háy-kì-ba *k'yaná* (**speaker two: responds**)

1PL=spend.the.night-exist-REL bed

'What is about that on which we spend the night? On which we spend the night is bed.'

123. Subject clitics as suffixes in jussive clauses:

a. *dòdù-s-ó* *fûb-o-k'o-n=ís-é*
 son-DEF.M-ADFOC die-NEG-remain-JUSS=3MSG-N.ASS

'Do not let the child die!'

b. *kootfi-ó* *fûb-o-k'o-n=íf-é*
 wife-ADFOC die-NEG-remain-JUSS=3FSG-N.ASS

'Do not let the wife die!'

124. Subject clitics as suffixes and/or prefixes in imperative clauses:

a. *naa-kís* *pààt-k'a k'áy-té* *t'ús-ù-s-n=ít*
 1SG-PL body-IN rise-PART know-TOR-CAUS-IMP=2HON

'Please mention and notify our body(parts)!'

b. *yará-ná* *yè=gé-máh-n=ít*
 lineage-ACC 2SG=say-speak-IMP=2HON

'Please tell (us) the lineage!'

3.2.1.3. Object Pronouns

The independent subject pronouns mentioned above in table 10 are used for the formation of object pronouns by adding the accusative morpheme *-(n)á* in the language, as illustrated in table 12 below. In the case of first person singular and plural pronouns and second person singular pronoun, the genitive marker *-kñ* is used for the formation of the object pronouns.

Table 12: Object Pronouns

Singular				Plural			
a.	<i>nà-kḥ-(n)á</i>	1SG-GEN-ACC	'I'	h.	<i>ná-kḥ-(n)á</i>	1PL-GEN-ACC	'we'
b.	<i>naa-kḥ-(n)á</i>	1SG-GEN-ACC	'I'	i.	<i>naa-kís-(n)á</i>	1SG-PL-ACC	'we'
c.	<i>yèt-kḥ-(n)á</i>	2SG-GEN-ACC	'you'	j.	<i>ít-kís-(n)á</i>	2HON-PL-ACC	'you'
d.	<i>ít-(n)á</i>	2HON-ACC	'Your Honor'	k.	<i>ít-(n)á</i>	2HON-ACC	'Your Honor'
e.	<i>ís-(n)á</i>	3MSG-ACC	He	l.	<i>ùf-kús-(n)á</i>	3HON-3PL-ACC	'they'
f.	<i>ìf-(n)á</i>	3FSG-ACC	She	m.	<i>ùf-kús-(n)á</i>	3HON-3PL-ACC	'they'
g.	<i>ùf-(n)á</i>	3HON-ACC	'His/ Her Honor'	n.	<i>ùf-(n)á</i>	3HON-ACC	'His Honor'

3.2.1.4. Possessive Determiners

There are possessive determiners in Naayi. The possessive determiners are formed by adding the genitive morpheme *-kḥ* to the subject pronouns except in the third person singular possessive determiners which are derived from their subject clitics *ís-* '3MSG' and *ìf-* '3FSG'. The possessive determiners are illustrated in table 13 as follows.

Table 13: Possessive Determiners

Singular				Plural			
a.	<i>nà-kḥ</i>	1SG-GEN	'my'	h.	<i>ná-kḥ</i>	1PL-GEN	'our'
b.	<i>naa-kḥ</i>	1SG-GEN	'my'	i.	<i>naa-kís-kḥ</i>	1SG-PL-GEN	'our'
c.	<i>yèt-kḥ</i>	2SG-GEN	'your'	j.	<i>ít-kís-kḥ</i>	2HON-PL-GEN	'your'
d.	<i>ít-kḥ</i>	2HON-GEN	'of Your Honor'	k.	<i>ít-kḥ</i>	2HON-GEN	'of Your Honor'
e.	<i>ís-kḥ</i>	3MSG-GEN	'his'	l.	<i>ùf-kús-kḥ</i>	3HON-PL-GEN	'their'
f.	<i>ìf-kḥ</i>	3FSG-GEN	'her'	m.	<i>ùf-kús-kḥ</i>	3HON-PL-GEN	'their'
g.	<i>ùf-kḥ</i>	3HON-GEN	'of His/ Her Honor'	n.	<i>ùf-kḥ</i>	3HON-GEN	'of Their Honor'

3.2.1.5. Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns are formed by the combination of possessive determiners and the morpheme *-ba* that has the function of genitive marking when it is attached to a noun. The possessive determiners occur before a possessed noun in a noun phrase; whereas, the possessive pronouns are used alone with the absence of the possessed noun in the noun phrase. Both of them indicate possession. The possessive pronouns are presented here in table 14.

Table 14: Possessive Pronouns

Singular				Plural			
a.	<i>nà-kṛ-ba</i>	1SG-GEN-GEN	'mine'	h.	<i>ná-kṛ-ba</i>	1PL-GEN-GEN	'ours'
b.	<i>naa-kṛ-ba</i>	1SG-GEN-GEN	'mine'	i.	<i>naa-kís-kṛ-ba</i>	1SG-PL-GEN-GEN	'ours'
c.	<i>yèt-kṛ-ba</i>	2SG-GEN-GEN	'yours'	j.	<i>ít-kís-kṛ-ba</i>	2HON-PL-GEN-GEN	'yours'
d.	<i>ít-kṛ-ba</i>	2HON-GEN-GEN	'of Your Honor'	k.	<i>ít-kṛ-ba</i>	2HON-GEN-GEN	'of Your Honor'
e.	<i>ís-kṛ-ba</i>	3MSG-GEN-GEN	'his'	l.	<i>ùf-kús-kṛ-ba</i>	3HON-PL-GEN-GEN	'theirs'
f.	<i>íf-kṛ-ba</i>	3FSG-GEN-GEN	'hers'	m.	<i>ùf-kús-kṛ-ba</i>	3HON-PL-GEN-GEN	'theirs'
g.	<i>ùf-kṛ-ba</i>	3HON-GEN-GEN	'of His/ Her Honor'	n.	<i>ùf-kṛ-ba</i>	3HON-GEN	'of His Honor'

Among the possessive pronouns shown above, the third person singular possessive pronouns are formed with the subject clitic forms *ís-* '3MSG' (with high tone) and *íf-* '3FSG' (with high tone) as bases, not from the subject pronouns *ís* 'he' and *íf* 'she'. Here, we can see the difference between the possessive determiners in (125) and possessive pronouns in (126).

125. a. *ís-kṛ* *gabará* b. *íf-kṛ* *gabará*
 3MSG.POSS-GEN chair 3FSG.POSS-GEN chair
 'his chair' 'her chair'

126. a. *ye-s* *afalá ís-kṛ-ba* *té-kn*
 PROX-DEF.M cloth 3MSG.POSS-GEN-GEN COP-REAL

'This cloth is his.'

b. *ye-s* *afalá if-kn-ba* *té-kn*
 PROX-DEF.M cloth 3FSG.POSS-GEN-GEN COP-REAL

'This cloth is hers.'

3.2.1.6. Anaphoric Possessive Clitics

Anaphoric possessive clitics are suffixed to nouns and used as possessive determiners. They have the same form with anaphoric subject clitics discussed above. We can see the possible possessive clitics in table 15 and some of them in the noun phrases in (127).

Table 15: Anaphoric Possessive Clitics

Person		Singular	Plural
First		<i>ñ- / nâ-</i>	<i>ñ- / ná-</i>
Second		<i>yè-; ít- 'HON'</i>	<i>ítkís-; ít- 'HON'</i>
Third	Masculine	<i>ís- / è- / èn-; ùf- 'HON'</i>	<i>èkís- / èfkús-; ùf- 'HON'</i>
	Feminine	<i>íf- / if + è-; ùf- 'HON'</i>	

127. a. *ñ-sùm-ó* *èfēñ takalə bəyənə ís=ge-t'-ñ*
 1SG.POSS-name-ADFOC first Takele Beyene 3MSG=say-PASS-TSR
 'First, my name is called Takele Beyene.'
- b. *ís-ii* *ʔyáts-yaab té-kn*
 3MSG.POSS-house big-NMLZ COP-REAL
 'His house is a big one.'
- c. *íf-afalá-ná* *if šús-ñ-a-ba-té-kn-a*
 3FSG.POSS-cloth-ACC she wash-TSR-PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'She has washed her cloth.'
- d. *hak'á ñ-baab* *kày*
 now 1PL-father not.exist
 'Our father is not present now.'

3.2.1.7. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns in Naayì are formed by the combination of the possessive clitics and the noun *mòòt* 'head' having the meaning of 'self'. The reflexive pronouns take the dative suffix *-if*, as in table 16; and a sentential example is give in (128a). But, depending on the purpose of a construction, other suffixes like the instrumental case marker *-ka* and the accusative case marker *-ná* can replace the dative marker *-if*, as in (128b & c).

Table 16: Reflexive Pronouns

Person		Singular		Plural		
First		<i>ṅ-mòòt-if</i> 1SG.POSS-head-DAT	'myself'	<i>ṅ-mòòt-if</i> 1PL.POSS-head-DAT	'ourselves'	
		<i>nà-mòòt-if</i> 1SG.POSS-head-DAT		<i>ná-mòòt-if</i> 1PL.POSS-head-DAT		
Second		<i>yè-mòòt-if</i> 2SG.POSS-head-DAT	'yourself'	<i>ít-kís-mòòt-if</i> 2PL.POSS-head-DAT	'yourselves'	
		<i>ít-mòòt-if</i> 2HON.POSS-head-DAT	'Your Honor'	<i>ít-mòòt-if</i> 2HON.POSS-head-DAT	'Your Honor'	
Third	Masculine	<i>ís-mòòt-if</i> 3MSG.POSS-head-DAT	'himself'	<i>èkís-mòòt-if</i> 3PL.POSS-head-DAT <i>è/ókús-mòòt-if</i> 3PL.POSS-head-DAT	'themselves'	
		<i>è-mòòt-if</i> 3MSG.POSS-head-DAT				
		<i>èn-mòòt-if</i> 3MSG.POSS-head-DAT				
		<i>ùf-mòòt-if</i> 3HON.POSS-head-DAT	'His Honor'			
	Feminine	<i>íj-mòòt-if</i> 3FSG.POSS-head-DAT	'herself'	<i>ùf-mòòt-if</i> 3HON.POSS-head-DAT		'Their Honor'
		<i>íj + è-mòòt-if</i> she 3MSG.POSS-head-DAT				
<i>ùf-mòòt-if</i> 3HON.POSS-head-DAT		'Her Honor'				

128. a. *ùyn̄ ye-s-á tuur naayì yaab-ù-s-kís ná-mòòt-if*
 formerly DISTN-DEF.M-ACC land Naayì person-M-DEF.M-PL we-head-DAT
yààb-ṅ-a-ba té-kn-a
 lead-TSR-PAST-REL COP-REAL-PRSP

'Formerly, the Naayì people ourselves had leaded (administered) this region.'

- b. *k'aalù sós-ḡ-kì-bab* *báfūr è-mòòt-ka* *báfūr*
 coffee roast-TSR-exist-REL oven 3MSG.POSS-head-INST oven

'An oven which roasts coffee is oven (báfūr) by itself.'

- c. *è-mòòt-ná* *ìs wùf-ḡ-a*
 3MSG.POSS-head-ACC he kill-TSR-PAST

'He killed himself.'

As we see in the examples, reflexive pronouns are pronouns that are interpreted as co-referential with another nominal of the sentence or clause in which they occur (Shopen 2007a:26). There are also other forms of reflexive pronouns for the third person singular masculine and feminine pronouns when someone points to some other person or thing being third person singular to show him or her for a third body. These are *ìsìs* 'himself!', *ènis* 'himself' and *í/ì/* 'herself!' as illustrated in (129).

129. a. *yaab-ù-s* *èn-ìs* *dùlbḡ-tá* *k'ay-té* *yég-a*
 person-M-DEF.M 3MSG.POSS-3MSG Dùlbḡ-LOC rise-PART come-PAST

'The man himself came from Dulbḡ.'

- b. *'wokísé wokásá'* *gé-t'-ù-kù-ba* *ày-s*
 Naayì.song.during.marriage say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL song-DEF.M

Naayì-kḡ màgá gèt'á té-kn-a

Naayì-GEN big jewelry COP-REAL-PRSP

ye-s-ó *ìs-ìs-ó* *í/ì/*-ó

DISTN-DEF.M-ADFOC 3MSG.POSS-3MSG-ADFOC 3FSG.POSS-3FSG-ADFOC

màgá kibrá té-kn-a *àts-t-ù-kù-ba*

big dignity COP-REAL-PRSP give-PASS-TOR-exist-REL

'The song which is called 'Wokísé Wokásá' is a big beauty for Naayì. It is a big dignity that this one gives to both himself and herself.' (Context: refers to the cultural marriage of Naayì, and 'himself' refers to a bridegroom and 'herself' refers to a bride.)

Again for the purpose of emphasis, the independent subject pronouns can precede the reflexive pronouns, as indicated with underline in (130) and (131).

130. a. *nà ñmòòtif*
'I myself'
b. *ná ñmòòtif*
'we ourselves'
c. *yèt yèmòòtif*
'you yourself'
d. *ítkís itkísmòòtif*
'you yourselves'
e. *ít ítmòòtif*
'Your Honor Yourself'
- f. *ís ísmòòtif*
'he himself'
g. *íf ífmòòtif*
'she herself'
h. *ù/kús ekísmòòtif*
'they themselves'
i. *ùf ùfmòòtif*
'His/ Her/Their Honor himself/
herself/Themselves'

131. a. *ñ-èdù-ka* *ítkís itkís-mòòt-íf* *máh-n*
1PL-language-INST 2PL 2PL-head-DAT speak-IMP
'Speak you yourselves with our language!'
b. *etsá* *yísñ yaab* *naak-ná* *ná ñ-mòòt-íf* *ñ-a-gata, ...*
carelessly one person money-ACC we 1PL-head-DAT eat-PAST-COND
'If we ourselves ate (took) a person's money carelessly, ...'

3.2.1.8. Vocative Pronouns

In Naayi, there are vocative pronouns for second person pronouns, as mentioned below in (132). The base form for the three pronouns is *ne-* '2VOC' and on this base the markers *-á*, *-e* and *-kásé* are suffixed for the singular masculine, singular feminine and plural vocative pronouns respectively. On the plural vocative pronoun, *-kás* is the variant of the plural morpheme *-kís*, and *-é* is the additive focus marker. Two sentential examples are also given in (133).

132. a. *neá* you! (MSG, calling)
b. *nee* you! (FSG, calling)
c. *neákásé*¹⁴ you! (PL, calling)

¹⁴ The plural morpheme in the language is *-kís*, but here in the vocative pronoun *neákásé* 'you(PL)!' the plural marker is *-kás*; because the vowel *-í* is harmonized with the vowel *-á* of *neá*.

133. a. *neá-kás-é* *yé-n* *zíg-ù-té* *níí* *baas-tá* *ń=tég-á*
 2MSG.VOC-PL-ADFOC come-IMP be.together-ISR-PART over.there beyond-LOC 1PL=go-IRR
 'You! Please come; and let us be together and go over there beyond.'
- b. *neá* *háá-s-tá* *yé-té* *è-ka* *è-ka* *ń=nòg-ń-á*
 2MSG.VOC PROX-DEF.M-LOC come-PART 3MSG-INST 3MSG-INST 1PL=talk-TSR-IRR
 'You! Come here and let us talk to each other.'

3.2.2. Interrogative Pronouns

There are interrogative pronouns in Naayi, as listed in table 17.

Table 17: Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns		Translation
a.	<i>itì-é</i> [<i>itìyé</i>] who-ADFOC	'who?'
	<i>itì</i> who	
b.	<i>itì-kñ-ba</i> who-GEN-GEN	'whose?'
	<i>itì-kñ-b-é</i> who-GEN-GEN-ADFOC	
c.	<i>yírá</i> what	'what?'
	<i>yír-é</i> what-ADFOC	
	<i>yír-b-é</i> what-GEN-ADFOC	
d.	<i>yír-if</i> what-DAT	'why?'
	<i>yír-if-é</i> what-DAT-ADFOC	
	<i>yír-b-if-é</i> what-GEN-DAT-ADFOC	
e.	<i>wòsá</i> where	'where?'
	<i>wòs-é</i> where-ADFOC	
	<i>wòs-tá</i>	'from'
f.	where-LOC <i>wòs-t-é</i> where-LOC-ADFOC	'where?'
	<i>akñ-ba-wòsá</i> far-GEN-where	
g.	<i>akñ-ba-wòs-é</i> far-GEN-where-ADFOC	'which?'
	<i>àásá</i> when	
h.	<i>àás-é</i> when-ADFOC	'when?'
	<i>àás-tá</i> when-LOC	
	<i>àás-t-é</i> when-LOC-ADFOC	
i.	<i>áásá</i> how	'how?'
	<i>áás-é</i> how-ADFOC	
	<i>áás-áás-é</i> how-how-ADFOC	
	<i>íif-tá</i> how-LOC (for interjection)	
i.	<i>itì-ná</i> who-ACC	'whom?'

	<i>itì-n-é</i> who-ACC-ADFOC	
j.	<i>ambits</i> how.much/how.many	'how much?'

	<i>ambits-é</i> how.many/how.many- ADFOC	how many?'
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Some interrogative words are illustrated with sentential examples in (134). We can see more discussion about them in chapter five §5.1.2.2 discussing constituent interrogative clauses.

134. a. *ye-s-ó* *yírá* *yè=gem-a-gata, ...*
DISTN-DEF.M-ADFOC what 2SG=say-PAST-COND
'If you said, 'what does this one also mean?, ...'
- b. *milaḥá*(Amh.)-*s-if* *èfkús ùf=tég-ám-ba* *ààs-t-é*
wedding.breakfast-DEF.M-DAT they 3PL=go-NON.PAST-REL when-LOC-ADFOC
'When will they go to the wedding breakfast?'
- c. *ye-s-á* *ùfkús kálm-ù-s-ḥ-kì-ba* *noogù* *yír-f-é*
DISTN-DEF.M-ACC they sit-ISR-CAUS-TSR-exist-REL thing what-DAT-ADFOC
'For what reason that they put that one?'
- d. *yarbḥ-s* *wòs-t-é* *is ám-t'-ù-kù-ba*
blood-DEF.M where-LOC-ADFOC he put-PASS-TOR-exist-REL
sìn-ba-tá-má *èdù-ba-t-é*
nose-GEN-LOC-DISJ mouth-GEN-LOC-ADFOC
'Where is the blood put? Is it on the nose or on the mouth?'
- e. *itì-n-é* *is pád-ḥ-ám-ba*
who-ACC-ADFOC he count-TSR-NON.ASS-REL
'Whom does he count?'
- f. *is-kḥ* *ii* *akḥ-ba-wòs-é* *té-ó*
his-GEN house far-GEN-where-ADFOC COP-N.ASS
'Which would be his house?'

3.2.3. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in Naayi are derived from the interrogative pronouns by suffixing the additive focus marker *-ó* and the accusative marker *-ná*, and a noun *gaʔin(-ba)* 'likelihood(-GEN)' to them, as shown in table 18. Usage examples are also given in (135) below.

Table 18: Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns		Gloss
a.	<i>itì-ó-ná</i> who-ADFOC-ACC	'whoever, anyone, anybody , someone, somebody'
b.	<i>yíri-ó-ná</i> = what-ADFOC-ACC, <i>yíri-gaʔin</i> = what-likelihood, <i>yíri-gaʔin-ba-ná</i> = what-likelihood-GEN-ACC	'whatever, anything, something'
c.	<i>ààst-ó-ná</i> when-ADFOC- ACC	'whenever, sometime, anytime'
d.	<i>wòs-ó-ná</i> where-ADFOC-ACC	'wherever, somewhere, anywhere'
e.	<i>akḥ-ba-wòs-ó-ná</i> far(n.)-GEN-where-ADFOC-ACC	'whichever'

135. a. *itì-ó-ná* *m* *ḥ-o-a*
 who-ADFOC-ACC food eat-NEG-PAST
 'Nobody ate food.'
- b. *yíri-gaʔin-ba-ná* *kùdù-ka* *ḥ-tf* *kestḥ kày*
 what-likelihood-GEN-ACC way-INST 1PL-DAT exit not.exist
 'In any way/situation, there is no exit for us.'
- c. *naakis kálb-ù-té* *ḥ=dáh-ḥ-e-k'é-a-gata,*
 we active/strong-ISR-PART 1PL=work-TSR-NEG-remain-IRR-COND
naak-ná *wòs-ó-ná* *ḥ=yáp-ḥ-e-k'é-ám-ba-té-ó*
 money-ACC where-ADFOC-ACC 1PL=get-TSR-NEG-remain-REL-COP-N.ASS
 'If we did not work hard, we would not get money anywhere.'

3.2.4. Demonstratives

In Naayi, the determiner word class includes demonstratives, quantifiers and possessive determiners. Determiners are paired only with nouns, and don't co-occur with other word classes; and they typically occur either initial in the noun phrase or final, rather than in the

middle of the phrase (Tallerman 2011:55). In Naayi, determiners precede the head noun in a noun phrase in which they occur. Among the subclasses of determiners, the possessive determiners have already been discussed in (§3.2.1.4) together with the personal pronouns; because, they are derived from subject pronouns and used as a base for the formation of possessive pronouns. For ease of classification, the researcher directly enters discussing the sub-classes: demonstratives (here §3.2.4.) and then quantifiers (in §3.2.5) without making a topic ‘determiner’.

Naayi has three types of demonstratives: nominal and local adverbial and verbal demonstratives. According to (Dixon 2003:65), “demonstratives can be divided into three main types, depending on whether they occur in an NP (nominal), as a local adverb to a clause (adverbial), or in a predicate (verbal)”. Therefore, in the following sub-sections, nominal demonstratives, local adverbial demonstratives and verbal demonstratives are discussed respectively.

3.2.4. 1. Nominal Demonstratives

A nominal demonstrative is defined as a grammatical word (or, occasionally, a clitic or affix) which can have pointing (or deictic) reference for an object expressed by a noun (Dixon 2003:61). The object expressed by a noun can be singular or plural, masculine or feminine, and definite or indefinite. These grammatical properties of a noun can also be reflected in a nominal demonstrative that points at the noun. In this respect, Naayi has nominal demonstratives in the form of words that are always marked with gender-definite marker *-s* for masculine gender and *-ḥ* for feminine gender both in their singular and plural forms, as shown below in table 19. The nominal demonstratives which refer to the feminine gender referents are also always marked with the feminine gender marker *-y* as indicated in table 19 (b, d & f). The singularity and plurality of the nominal demonstratives are also marked like nouns; in that, singularity is not marked but plurality is marked with the morpheme *-kís*. When a plural noun is pointed out by a plural marked nominal demonstrative, the noun is not marked in its plurality, as indicated in (137b & c).

Table 19: Nominal demonstratives

		Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a.	Proximal	<i>háá-s</i> this-DEF.M	'this one (M)'	<i>háá-s-kís</i> this-DEF.M-PL	'these ones (M)'
b.		<i>háá-y-ñ</i> this-F-DEF.F	'this one(F)'	<i>háá-y-ñ-kís</i> this-F-DEF.F-PL	'these ones (F)'
c.	Near Distal	<i>ye-s</i> this-DEF.M	'this one(M)'	<i>ye-s-kís</i> this-DEF.M-PL	'these ones (M)'
d.		<i>ye-y-ñ</i> this-F-DEF.F	'this one(F)'	<i>ye-y-ñ-kís</i> this-F-DEF.F-PL	'these ones (F)'
e.	Far Distal	<i>né-s</i> that-DEF.M	'that one(M)'	<i>né-s-kís</i> that-DEF.M-PL	'those ones (M)'
f.		<i>né-y-ñ</i> that-F-DEF.F	'that one(F)'	<i>né-y-ñ-kís</i> that-F-DEF.F-PL	'those ones (F)'

Nominal demonstratives (such as “this” and “that”) may always modify a head noun, and sometimes a pronoun, in an NP. In some, but not all, languages they may also make up a full NP (Dixon 2003:103). In Naayi, the nominal demonstratives precede the head noun in a noun phrase, as in (136); but mostly, they are used in the position of a full NP, as in (137a, b, c & d). When they occur in the position of an NP, they are used either in cataphoric (i.e. preceding the coreferenced noun) referencing as in (137a, b & c) or anaphoric (i.e. following the coreferenced noun) referencing as in (138a & b), in the clauses. The square brackets embrace the head noun preceded by the demonstrative in (136), the cataphoric coreferenced NP in (137) and the anaphoric coreferenced NP in (138).

136. a. *ñ-tfĩ mangistá ye-s-tá [né-s kùd] kés-s-a*
 1PL-DAT government DISTN-DEF.M-LOC DISTF-DEF.M road exit-CAUS-PAST
 'The government opened that road there.'
- b. [*háá-s dòdù*] *ermá-kaba té-kn*
 PROX-DEF.M son happiness -ADJLZ COP-REAL
 'This son is happy.'
137. a. *ye-s [k'ùfát hááy] té-kn, háá-s ké [hárgat' hááy]*
 DISTN-DEF.M right ear COP-REAL PROX-DEF.M ADFOC left ear
 'That one is right ear; also, this one is left ear.'

b. ye-s-kís [kyónù]

PRXF-DEF.M-PL dog

'These ones are dogs'

c. háá-s-kís ñ=kàlm-kì-ba [gabará] gé-t'-ù

PROX-DEF.M-PL 1PL=sit-exist-REL chair say-PASS-TSR

'These ones on which we sit are called chair.'

138. a. [káyì atsñ p'ík'ñ-p'ík'ñ díí], ye-s-kís dò hay-k'a sáák'ù

sun moon star-star cloud DISTN-DEF.M-PL SEQFOC on-IN sky

'Sun, moon, stars, cloud, and these ones, are on the sky.'

b. [noogù-s], ye-s-á hañ-ka máh-n-ít

thing-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-ACC wide-INST tell-IMP-2HON

'Please tell the thing, this one, widely.'

3.2.4. 2. Local Adverbial Demonstratives

Local adverbial demonstratives modify a verb, sometimes occurring together with a NP in local function (Dixon 2003:103). The local adverbial demonstratives (LDEM) in Naayi are used as locative adverbs to modify a verb, as in (139). The local adverbial demonstrative *watá* 'onwards, or in the future' in (139c) indicates the location of time, not place like the other demonstratives mentioned in (139a, b, d, e, f & g).

139. a. wòka ít t'amá-s(Amh.) ye-s-n-t t'f'ilù

down.there 2HON shoe-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-REAL-COP green

'Your shoes down there is just this one, green.'

b. *naayi gobi tuur-ba-tá* womá is=yég-a-ba-ka

naayi gobá land-GEN-LOC hither 3MSG=come-PAST-REL-TEMP

fákù-ka diizi-ka efa ùfkús k'é-a-ba

sheko-CONJ diizi-CONJ thither they remain-PAST-REL

'When Naayi came hither around Goba, Sheko and Diizi are those who they remained thither.'

c. watá ñ-dòdù-f ítkís dadat'a-f pót-n-s-é

onwards 1PL.POSS-child-DAT you(PL) grandchild-DAT reach-JUSS-CAUS-N.ASS

'Let us transfer (the language) for our children and for your grandchildren onwards.'

d. *yaab-ù-s* *ìs* *kiz-a*
person-M-DEF.M there exist-PAST

'The man is there.'

e. *káyì-ka* *atsɛ̀-ka* *só* *té-*kn-a**
sun-CONJ moon-CONJ up.there COP-REAL-PRSP

'Sun and moon are up there.'

f. *yé-n* *zíg-ù-té* *níí* *ɛ̀=tég-á*
come-IMP be.together-ISR-PART over.there 1PL=go-IRR

'Come and let us go together over there.'

g. *írù* *twará* *k'yán-ù-kì*
rain(n.) downward rain(vi.)-ISR-exist

'The rain rains downward.'

Some nominal demonstratives marked with the locative case marker *-tá*, such as, *háástá* 'here' and *yestá* 'here, there(near)' can be used as locative adverbial demonstratives as in (140a & b). Again some locative adverbial demonstratives can also be marked with the locative case marker *-tá*, such as, *ìstá* 'there' and *sóstá* 'up there', as indicated in (140c & d).

140. a. *ùf^hkús dèb-t'-a-ba* *háá-s-tá* *té-*kn**
they bury-PASS-PAST-REL PROX-DEF.M-LOC COP-REAL

'They were buried down here.'

b. *wáfa-s* *ye-s-tá* *té-té* *ì-n*
forest-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-LOC go-PART encamp-IMP

'Go and encamp here at the forest!'

c. *ɛ̀-t'ìbá-ù-s-kís* *ìs-tá* *kiz-a*
1PL.POSS-relative-M-DEF.M-PL there-LOC exist-PAST

'Our relatives are there.'

d. *dábubá*(Amh.) *bandrá*(Amh.) *só-s-tá* *kiz-a*
South(SNNP) flag up.there-DEF.M-LOC exist-PAST

'The flag of SNNP is up there (on the wall of the informant's house).'

The local adverbial demonstratives like *níí* 'over there', *wòká*, 'down there', *só* 'up there', and *twará* 'downward' can precede other locative adverbs which are characterized by having the locative case marker *-tá* and the inessive case marker *-k'a*, like *baastá* 'beyond', *iistá* 'there' and *hayk'a* 'up', as illustrated in (141a, b, c, & d). The local adverbial demonstratives can occur in the position of an NP in a clause; and they show the grammatical features such as gender, definiteness and number of nouns in the clause, as in (141e) in a clause.

141. a. *neákás-é* *yé-n* *zí-g-ù-té* *níí* *LDEM* *baas-tá* *Adv* *ń=tég-á*
 2PL.VOC-ADFOC come-IMP be.together-ISR-PART over.there beyond-LOC 1PL=go-IRR
 'You! Come and let us go together beyond thither.'
- b. *yaab-ù-s* *níí* *LDEM* *ìs-tá* *Adv* *tég-ù*
 man-M-DEF.M over.there there-LOC go-ISR
 'The man went there far.'
- c. *moŋkṅ-bey* *wòká* *LDEM* *ìs-tá* *Adv* *dòdù nás-ṅ*
 female-REL.F down.there there-LOC child give.birth-TSR
 'Females gave birth child there down.'
- d. *ts'ek'ù gé-t'-ṅ* *só* *LDEM* *hay-k'a* *Adv* *k'áy-té* *pín-ù-kù-ba*
 soot say-PASS-TSR up.there up-IN rise-PART fall-ISR-exist-REL
*tš'ahṅ-s-yaab*¹⁵ *twará* *LDEM* *wùt-ù-kù-ba*
 black-DEF-NMLZ downward fall.off-ISR-exist-REL
 'Soot means the black one which falls from up there and falls off downward.'
- e. *níí-ba-ù-s-kís* *LDEM* *yánk'-ù*
 over.there-REL-M-DEF.M-PL sulk-ISR
 'Those ones became annoyed.'

Some of the members of the local adverbial demonstratives illustrated above are listed as follows in (142).

¹⁵ The lexical meaning of *yaab* is 'person', but when it becomes a suffix *-yaab* to an adjective, it functions as a nominalizer.

142.	<i>wòká</i>	'down there'	<i>watá</i>	'onwards'
	<i>twará</i>	'downward'	<i>háástá</i>	'here'
	<i>níí</i>	'over there'	<i>yestá</i>	'there'
	<i>efá</i>	'thither'	<i>ìs/ ìstá</i>	'there'
	<i>womá</i>	'hither'	<i>só/ sóstá</i>	'up there' etc.

3.2.4. 3. Verbal Demonstratives

“Verbal demonstratives (“do it like this”) may modify a verb, or function as the only verbal element in a clause” (Dixon 2003:103). In Naayi, the verbal demonstratives are *háásn(té)* '(be) like this one(proximal)', *yeshn(té)* 'be like this/that one(near distal)' and *yì* 'like this' functioning as manner adverbs. Here, the verbal demonstrative *háásn(té)* '(be) like this one' and *yeshn(té)* '(be) like this/that one' are related to the nominal demonstratives *háás* 'this one' and *yesh* 'this/that one' which denote definite proximal and near distal objects respectively. These are illustrated below in (143 & 144).

143. a. *tʃ'ilù háá-s-n-té,*
green PROX-DEF.M-REAL-COP
'Green is like this one.'
- b. *wòká ít tʃ'amá-s ye-s-n-té tʃ'ilù*
down.there 2HON shoe(Amh.)-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-REAL-COP green
'Your shoes down there are like this one, green.'
- c. *tuur-k'a kì-bab abz intʃù ye-s-n-té hàày nyólù ...*
land-IN exist-REL grass tree DISTN-DEF.M-REAL-COP water stone
'Those which exist on the land are grass, tree, like this one, water, stone'
144. a. *háá-s-n-é, dùts'á té-kn*
PROX-DEF.M-REAL-ADFOC chest COP-REAL
'Like this one also, it is chest.'
- b. *dùts'á, ye-s-n, dùts'á té-kn*
chest DISTN-DEF.M-REAL chest COP-REAL
'Chest, like this one, is chest.'

These verbal demonstratives in the examples above are used either as predicate which refers to the event/state and the manner of the event/state in a clause as in (143), or as a modifier of the manner of a whole clause in which they occur as in (144). Morphologically just like the verbs of Naayì, these verbal demonstratives are always inflected with the realis mood marker *-n*. Moreover, when they have predicative function, the copula *-té* of the language is suffixed to them following the realis mood marker *-n*.

The other verbal demonstrative used in Naayì is *yì* 'like this/that'. This verbal demonstrative seems to be related to that of the verbal demonstrative *yesn* 'like this/that' in its form, i.e. the form *yì* with *ye-* in *yesn*, and function. However, the verbal demonstrative *yì* 'like this/that' does not have any verbal feature like the mood marker *-n* and the suffixed copula verb *-té* as occurred in (143 & 144). The verbal demonstrative *yì* 'like this/that' functions as a manner adverb in a clause as in (145).

145. a. *yì* *gém-kì-té* *padù-s-kís-á* *pád-n=ít*
 like.this say-exist-PART number-DEF.M-PL-ACC count-IMP=2HON
 'Please count the numbers by saying like this!'
- b. *hak'á yì* *í=gé-ba-ka,* *áás-áás-é* *is kì-ba*
 now like.this 1PL=say-REL-TEMP how-how-ADFOC he exist-REL
 'Now, when we say like this, 'how does he (i.e. Naayì) live?'

In the related language, Sheko, the verbal demonstrative is *yē(ē)* 'like this/ that' which is expressed as manner deictic used as adverb (Hellenthal 2010:197 & 208), which can show the relatedness of the forms of the verbal demonstratives of the two languages Naayì and Sheko somehow.

3.2.5. Quantifiers

Quantifiers can be divided into numeral and non-numeral quantifiers. Numeral quantifiers are also two types: cardinal and ordinal numerals. In this section, cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals and non-numeral quantifiers are presented as follows respectively.

3.2.5.1 Cardinal Numerals

Naayi has a base ten (decimal) numeral system. The cardinal numerals from '1 - 10' and from '11 - 19' are given below in (146) and (147) respectively. The cardinal numbers from 11 - 19 are formed by conjoining the number *támù* 'ten' and the respective numbers from *yísṅ* 'one' up to *ságṅ* 'nine' with the conjunction *-ka* 'and'. For the concept 'zero, null, or empty', the term *etsá* can be used according to one literate informant.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 146. | <i>yísṅ</i> | 'one' | <i>yákù</i> | 'six' |
| | <i>t'ààṅṅ</i> | 'two' | <i>tùsṅ</i> | 'seven' |
| | <i>kadù</i> | 'three' | <i>zét</i> | 'eight' |
| | <i>kùbṅṅ</i> | 'four' | <i>ságṅ</i> | 'nine' |
| | <i>útfù</i> | 'five' | <i>támù</i> | 'ten' |
| | | | | |
| 147. | <i>támù-ka yísṅ</i> | 'eleven' | <i>támù-ka yákù</i> | 'sixteen' |
| | <i>támù-ka t'ààṅṅ</i> | 'twelve' | <i>támù-ka tùsṅ</i> | 'seventeen' |
| | <i>támù-ka kadù</i> | 'thirteen' | <i>támù-ka zét</i> | 'eighteen' |
| | <i>támù-ka kùbṅṅ</i> | 'fourteen' | <i>támù-ka ságṅ</i> | 'nineteen' |
| | <i>támù-ka útfù</i> | 'fifteen' | | |

The multiples of ten from '20 - 90' are formed by combining the respective numbers from *t'aagṅ* 'two' up to *ságṅ* 'nine', either partly or fully, and the number *tám* 'ten' which reduces its last vowel *ù*. They are pronounced as compound words. But 100 is denoted differently by a word *bálá* 'hundred', as in (148).

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|----------|----------------|-----------|
| 148. | <i>t'àtám</i> | 'twenty' | <i>tùsṅtám</i> | 'seventy' |
| | <i>katám</i> | 'thirty' | <i>zétám</i> | 'eighty' |
| | <i>kùbṅtám</i> | 'fourty' | <i>ságṅtám</i> | 'ninety' |
| | <i>úftám [úftám]</i> | 'fifty' | <i>bálá</i> | 'hundred' |
| | <i>yákùtám [jákùtám]</i> | 'sixty' | | |

The cardinal numbers between the multiples of ten follow the same system as from '11 - 19', as in (147). A multiple of ten suffixing the conjunction *-ka* 'and' precedes the respective

cardinal numbers from '1 - 9', for example, *t'àtám-ka yísṅ* 'twenty-and one' to mean 'twenty one', as in (149).

149.	<i>t'àtám-ka yísṅ</i>	'twenty one'	<i>tùsṅtám-ka yákù</i>	'seventy six'
	<i>katám-ka t'àgṅ</i>	'thirty two'	<i>zétám-ka tùsṅ</i>	'eighty seven'
	<i>kùbṅtám-ka kadù</i>	'fourty three'	<i>ságṅtám-ka zét</i>	'ninety eight'
	<i>úftám-ka kùbṅ</i>	'fifty four'	<i>ságṅtám-ka ságṅ</i>	'ninety nine'
	<i>yákùtám-ka útfù</i>	'sixty five'		

Likewise, the numbers from '101 - 1000' are formed as follows as in (150), and the numbers from '2000 - 9999', as in (151).

150.	• <i>bálá-ka yísṅ</i>	'one hundred one'	• <i>útfù bálá-ka úftám-ka útfù</i>	'five hundred fifty five'
	• <i>bálá-ka támù-ka</i>	'one hundred ten'	• <i>yakù bálá</i>	'six hundred'
	• <i>bálá-ka támù-ka yísṅ</i>	'one hundredeleven'	• <i>yakù bálá-ka yakùtám-ka yakù</i>	'six hundred sixty six'
	• <i>bálá-ka t'àtám-ka</i>	'one hundred twenty'	• <i>tùsṅ bálá</i>	'seven hundred'
	• <i>t'à bálá</i>	'two hundred'	• <i>tùsṅ bálá-ka tùsṅtam-ka tùsṅ</i>	'seven hundred seventy seven'
	• <i>t'à bálá-ka t'àtám-ka t'àgṅ</i>	'two hundred twenty two'	• <i>zétbálá</i>	'eight hundred'
	• <i>kadù bálá</i>	'three hundred'	• <i>zét bálá-ka zétám-ka zét</i>	'eight hundred eighty eight'
	• <i>kadù bálá-ka katám-ka kadù</i>	'three hundred thirty three'	• <i>ságṅ bálá</i>	'nine hundred'
	• <i>kùbṅ bálá</i>	'four hundred'	• <i>ságṅ bálá-ka ságṅtám-ka ságṅ</i>	'nine hundred ninety nine'
	• <i>kùbṅ bálá-ka kùbṅtám-ka kùbṅ</i>	'four hundred fourty four'	• <i>humá</i>	'one thousand'
	• <i>útfù bálá</i>	'five hundred'		

151.	• <i>t'á humá</i>		'two thousand'
	• <i>kadù humá</i>		'three thousand'
	• <i>kadù humá-ka t'ààgṅ</i>		'three thousand two'
	• <i>kadù humá</i>		'four thousand'
	• <i>kadù humá-ka támù-ka t'ààgṅ</i>		'four thousand twelve'
	• <i>útfù humá</i>		'five thousand'
	• <i>útfù humá-ka t'à bálá-ka t'àtám-ka t'ààgṅ</i>		'five thousand one hundred twenty two'
	• <i>yakù humá</i>		'six thousand'
	• <i>yakù humá-ka t'àbálá</i>		'six thousand two hundred'
	• <i>yakù humá-ka t'àbálá-ka t'à tám-ka t'ààgṅ</i>		'six thousand two hundred twenty two'
	• <i>tùsṅ humá</i>		'seven thousand'
	• <i>tùsṅ humá-ka kadù bálá-ka katám-ka t'ààgṅ</i>		'seven thousand three hundred thirty two'
	• <i>zét humá</i>		'eight thousand'
	• <i>zét humá-ka kùbṁ bálá-ka kùbṁtám-ka t'ààgṅ</i>		'eight thousand four hundred forty two'
	• <i>ságṅ humá</i>		'nine thousand'
	• <i>ságṅ humá-ka útfù bálá-ka úftám-ka t'ààgṅ</i>		'nine thousand five hundred fifty two'
	• <i>ságṅ humá-ka ságṅ bálá-ka ságṅtám-ka ságṅ</i>		'nine thousand nine hundred ninety nine'

In Naayi, there are no native vocabulary for the numbers million, billion, and above. When two aged informants were asked to call the cardinal numbers million and billion in Naayi, they laughed much ironically to mean that there is nothing with us to be counted with millions and billions; and they said that we heard these terms only with our ears.

3.2.5. 2 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numbers are formed in Naayi by adding the suffix *-yná* to the cardinal numerals, as in (152). Moreover, we can see some examples in contexts in (153).

152.	<i>yisṅ-yná</i>	'first'	<i>kadù-yná</i>	'third'
	<i>t'à-yná</i>	'second'	<i>kùbṁ-yná</i>	'fourth'

<i>útŕù-yná</i>	'fifth'	<i>ságñ-yná</i>	'ninth'
<i>yákù-yná</i>	'sixth'	<i>zét-yná</i>	'eighth'
<i>tùsñ-yná</i>	'seventh'	<i>támù-yná</i>	'tenth' etc.

153. a. *yísñ-yná* *dərajá* *t'uusù* *ii*
 first-ORD level(Amh.) knowledge house
 'first/primary level school'
- b. *t'à-yná-k'a* *ñ-tiit-á-ba-ká* *naak-ná* *ùfkús nás-ù-s*
 two-ORD-IN 1PL-see-IRR-REL-TEMP cattle -ACC they give.birth-TOR-CAUS
 'When we see the secondary one, they breed cattle.' (Context: indicates that, next to plough, animal breeding is the second livelihood of Naayi.)

3.2.5.3 Non-numeral Quantifiers

Naayi has the following non-numeral quantifiers, in (154). Some of the quantifiers are illustrated in sentence contexts in (155).

154. <i>k'wáyá</i>	'all'	<i>ts'wat'ñ/ twákasyaab</i>	'few, some'
<i>hark'ù</i>	'a great number of'	<i>yísñ-yísñ</i>	'each, every one of'
<i>dwáfá</i>	'many, much'	<i>mwàtá</i>	'alone, only'

155. a. *is-á* *ùfkús débñ-a-gata* *k'wáyá* *ùfkús nìik-á*
 he-ACC they entomb-PAST-COND all they be.finished-IRR
 'If they entombed him, all of them would die.'
- b. *dèètŕá wəradá(Amh)* *awradá kətamá(Amh)-kñ* *béétñ-k'a*,
 Decha district awrada town-GEN inside-IN,
naayi hark'ù-ká *ís=kyám-ù-kì*
 Naayi many-INST 3MSG=be.available-ISR-eixst
 'Naayi lives inAwrada town of Decha district in large number.'
- c. *baaz-k'a* *kì-bab* *ye-s-kís* *dwáfá té-kn*
 inside-IN exist-REL DISTN-DEF.M-PL many COP-REAL
 'These which exist inside are many.'

3.2.6. Conjunctions

“Conjunctions are small words that express relational ideas such as *and*, *but*, or *or*. Sometimes words that introduce adverbial clauses are called subordinating conjunctions. In English, these would be words or phrases like *because*, *though*, *therefore*, *even though*, and *although*” (Payne 2006:124). In Naayi, the relational ideas such as *and* and *or* are expressed with the suffixes *-ka* ‘and’ (see in §5.3.1.) and *-má* ‘or’ respectively. In the language, the concept of ‘or’ is expressed with two forms such as with *-má* ‘or’ for interrogative disjunction and with *wáyé* ‘or’ for declarative disjunction, (see more in §5.3.2). Therefore, the word *wáyé* ‘or’, which seems to be related with the Amharic word *wáym* ‘or’, is taken as an independent or free conjunction word. The concept of ‘but’ in Naayi is expressed with an independent concessive subordinating conjunction *sani* ‘although’ which is a member of the word class of conjunctions. The other conjunctions in Naayi are *dò* ‘so that / hence, and then’ which is used for resultative and consecutive coordinations (see more in §5.3.3) and *ké* which has nearly the function of ‘also’ to express emphatic conjunction (see more in §5.3.1.). Hence, the words *wáyé* ‘or’, *sani* ‘although’, *dò* ‘so that, hence’ and *ké* ‘also’ are members of the minor word class of conjunctions in Naayi, and these are illustrated below in (156).

156. a. *yaab-ù-s* *hak'án wáyé byarñ* *bongá-tá* *yég-ám-ba-té-kn*
 person-M-DEF.M today or tomorrow Bonga-LOC come-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL
 ‘The man will have come to Bonga today or tomorrow.’
- b. *háá-s* *gwárzá* *té-kn* *dò* *háá-s* *mù/kùl té-kn*
 PROX-DEF.M Adam's.Apple COP-REAL SEQFOC PROX-DEF.M nape COP-REAL
 ‘This one is Adam's apple; and then, this one is nape.’
- c. *ye-s* *yefù* *té-kn* *ké* *yé-té* *háá-s* *sìn té-kñ*
 DISTN-DEF.M eyebrow COP-REAL ADFOC come-PART PROX-DEF.M nose COP-REAL
 ‘This one itself is nose; also, this one comes and it is nose.’
- d. *k'wayá deetfá wərədá-k'a* *gé-t'-ñ* *sani* *ís=kì-ba*
 all Decha district(Amh.)-IN say-PASS-TSR although 3MSG=exist-REL
 harkù-ka *beentf maajì-k'a kiz-a*
 many-INST Bench Majì-IN exist-PAST

'Although everyone is said in Dechá district, he (i.e. the Naayì people) lives in Bench Majì zone in many numbers.'

As a summary of this chapter, in Naayì, there are four major word classes such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, which are content words; and two minor word classes such as pronouns, determiners and conjunctions which are functional words. Under the word class of determiners, there are possessive determiners, demonstratives and quantifiers. These word classes' identification is mainly done using the morphological and syntactic criteria, and as a supplement, semantic criterion is considered in the case of identifying the word classes of adjectives and adverbs.

CHAPTER FOUR: PHRASE STRUCTURES

Based on the constituency property of simple clauses, a clause has not a mere linear sequence of words and morphemes coding the verb and the participants. Rather, it has a more complex hierarchic constituent structure in which the clause is divided into two major parts. The two major parts are *subject noun phrase* and *predicate verb phrase*, which in turn are sub-divided into sub-parts. The depth or complexity of the hierarchic structure of the clause depends partly on the obligatory constituents and partly on whatever optional constituents partaking in the event. In phrase structures, obligatory constituents are indispensable for the semantic definition of the verb or event-type; whereas, optional constituents, either lexical or grammatical, are added for the occasion, but are not indispensable for the semantic definition of the verb or event-type (Givon 2001a:110 -111).

Any phrase in a clause is made up of the obligatory constituents (i.e. head and complements) and/or the optional constituents (i.e. adjuncts). This means that *head*, *complement* and *adjuncts* are the building blocks of a phrase. According to Tallerman (2011:108), “The head is the most important word in the phrase, first because it bears the crucial semantic information: it determines the meaning of the entire phrase”; whereas, complements and adjuncts are the dependents to the head. As defined by *Head* is “the word which gives a phrase its word class; for instance, the verb in the VP, ... [It] determines the meaning and grammatical properties of the phrase it heads” (Tallerman 2011:293). *Complement* is “a phrase that is selected by a head, and is often obligatory. Complements typically have a close relationship with the head they modify” (Tallerman 2011:292). “*Adjuncts* are optional modifiers to a head, i.e. not selected by a head, and typically have a rather loose relationship with the head that they modify” (Tallerman 2011:291). In the process of constructing different types of phrases in a language, the possible word classes of the language are involved as either of these constituents.

Among the word classes of Naayì described in chapter three, the class of noun, verb, adjective and adverb form their typical phrase structures such as noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP), adjective phrase (AdjP) and adverb phrase (AdvP) respectively. The heads of the respective phrases are the nouns (N), verbs (V), adjectives (Adj) and adverbs (Adv). In the

phrases of content word classes, “The head bears the crucial semantic information in the phrase. The word class of the head determines the word class of the entire phrase” (Tallerman 2011:111). Again, “certain heads require noun phrase dependents to occur in a particular grammatical case. Case is a property of NPs that indicates their grammatical function in a phrase or a clause. ... Specifically, the NP dependents of verbs and prepositions are often required to occur in a special form: the verb or preposition is said to govern the case of its dependent” (Tallerman 2011:111).

In Naayì, there are determiners (demonstratives and quantifiers) as discussed in §3.2.4. & §3.2.5.; however, the determiners do not form determiner phrases. This is because; determiners are optional constituents and cannot be obligatory head of a phrase. The determiners are the kind of adjuncts that have fixed position within a noun phrase (cf. Tallerman 2011:118). In Naayì, determiners precede a head noun in the noun phrases; and they are analyzed as adjunct to the head noun. Pronouns, on the other hand, have just the same distribution as a full noun phrase in a clause. Moreover, pronouns inflect for number, gender and case like nouns. Hence, the pronouns are used instead of noun phrases and can stand as NP in the clauses although they have not contents of nouns. In fact, there is a case that a pronoun precedes a head noun and forms an NP constituent that express possession relationship; and in this case, the pronoun is possessor indicated syntactically, as illustrated later in (§4.1.6.). However, the possessor pronoun can also be replaced by a possessor noun. Therefore, pronouns are used in the place of an NP in Naayì.

Therefore, in Naayì, the types of phrase structures in simple clauses are noun phrase(NP), verb phrase(VP), adjective phrase(AdjP) and adverb phrase(AdvP). All these phrase types are discussed based on their internal constituency structure in this chapter as follows respectively.

4.1. Noun Phrase

“A core or peripheral argument slot in clause structure is filled by a noun phrase. This can consist just of a noun, or have a noun as head, accompanied by a number of modifiers. An NP has the same basic semantic properties and functional possibilities as its head” (Dixon 2010a:106). According to Dixon (2010a:106-107), a head noun in an NP can have simple

word modifiers which include one or more adjectives, nouns, numeral and non-numeral quantifiers, and more complex modifiers which include a possessive phrase, a relative clause, and an NP typically referring to the spatial or temporal location of the head. In Naayì, the noun modifiers are adjectives, nouns, relative clause, demonstratives, quantifiers, pronouns and proper nouns (or names).

Before going to the discussion about the structure of noun phrase in Naayì, it is important to bring and relate the concepts of obligatory constituents and optional constituents of a noun phrase to the concepts of *arguments* and *peripheries* of the noun phrase respectively, as the terms used in (Pavey 2010:181-184). The arguments of noun phrases are the complements of the head noun, which are indispensable for the semantic definition of the head noun. On the other hand, the peripheries are adjuncts of the head noun, which are not indispensable for the semantic definition of the head noun. According to Pavey (2010:182), a noun phrase contains arguments when the head noun of the noun phrase is modified by another noun, in which the head is dependent on the modifying noun. In this case, the argument nouns are placed as complements in the noun phrases. On the other hand, peripheral modifiers of a head noun optionally occur in an NP. The peripheries may be internal modifiers which describe the property of the head noun, or external modifiers which modify the whole NP, not the inherent property of the head noun (Pavey 2010:183). Based on this theoretical background, the noun phrase structure in Naayì is discussed below.

In Naayì, an NP is right headed. It means, modifiers precede the head noun in an NP. Among the modifiers of a head noun, adjectives, nouns and relative clauses are internal modifiers of which adjectives and relative clauses are peripheral optional modifiers; and nouns are obligatory modifiers in an NP. On the other hand, demonstratives, quantifiers, pronouns, and proper nouns are external modifiers that are not to do with modifying the internal properties of the head noun. Now, let us see the noun phrase structure of Naayì with respect to each of the internal and external modifiers mentioned here.

4.1.1. Adjectives as Internal Modifiers

A noun phrase can have adjectives that modify the internal properties of its head optionally. Adjectives are the internal peripheral modifiers of a head noun (Pavey 2010:181). In Naayì,

the adjectives modify the head noun, as in (1a, b, c & d). In the examples, the NPs are shown in square brackets []; the head noun is subscribed as N; and the adjectives are subscribed as A and indicated with parentheses () and underline. The parentheses are used purposefully to show the optionality of the adjectives modifying the head N in the NP. The head N is indicated in the internal square brackets as a constituent.

1. a. [(*turbm̀*)_A [*ʃooʃ*]_N]_{NP}, [(*ts'áhñ*)_A [*ʃooʃ*]_N]_{NP}, *ye-s-kís* *ʃooʃ* *gé-t'-ù*
red snake, black snake, DISTN-DEF-PL snake say-PASS-TOR
'Red snake, black snake; these are called snakes.'
- b. *gáná* *bérgì baará* *ñ-tfi* [(*ʔátsù-s*)_A [*baará*]_N]_{NP} *té-kn*
Christmas year anniversary 1PL.POSS-DAT big-DEF.M anniversary COP-REAL
'Christmas annual anniversary is the big anniversary for us.'
- b. [(*kádá-ba*)_A [*yeefù*]_N]_{NP}, [(*k'áánk'á-ba*)_A [*yeefù*]_N]_{NP}
upper-GEN eyebrow lower-GEN eyebrow
'upper eyebrow, lower eyebrow'
- c. *ye-s* [(*k'ùfát'*)_A [*hááy*]_N]_{NP} *té-kn*
DISTN-DEF.M right ear COP-REAL
háá-s [(*hárgat'*)_A [*hááy*]_N]_{NP} *té-kn*
PROX-DEF.M left ear COP-REAL
'That one is right ear. This one is left ear.'

Adjectives can also be placed in the position of noun phrase in the absence of the head noun, as in (2a & b). In this case, the adjectives take the syntactic role of nouns. Because of this, the adjectives in (2a & b) are marked for accusative and nominative cases respectively. Moreover, the adjective in (2c) is placed after a head N in a loose manner by having the grammatical properties of nouns like number, gender and definiteness markers just to give background information about the noun. In this case, the adjective is the external periphery to the head N.

2. a. *mangistá* *háá-s* [(*í/kñ-s-yaab-ná*)]_{Adj} *is kóm-yé-n*
government(Amh.) PROX-DEF.M good-DEF.M-NMLZ-ACC he receive-come-SEQ
'This government, while it brings the good ones, ...'

b. [*marká-s-kís-i*]_{Adj} *gordù gé-t'-ù*

small-DEF.M-PL-NOM gourd say-PASS-TOR

'The small ones are called gourd (a calabash used for drinking water or local beer).'

c. [*k'ádá*]_N, (*ɔ́yáts-ù-s-kís*)_{Adj}, *kìz-a*

calabash, big-M-DEF.M-PL, exist-PAST

'There are calabashes, big ones.'

The syntactic properties of the adjectives given above in (1a, b, c & d), (2a & b) and (2c) are different. The adjectives in (1a, b, c & d) occur as internal modifiers of their head nouns and hence they are indicated inside the square brackets, but they are optional as indicated in the parenthetic brackets. The adjectives in (2a & b) occur in the place of arguments as nominal adjectives just like the nominal pronouns, and hence they become obligatory constituents in the clauses. The adjective *ɔ́yátsùskís* 'the big ones' in (2c) occurs as an optional nominal element that is added just to give background information about the subject of the verb *kìza* 'existed'. Therefore, the syntactic relationship of this adjective is not with the noun *k'ádá* 'calabashes' as a modifier inside the NP structure, rather it is placed outside the NP equally with the subject *k'ádá* at the clause level.

4.1.2. Nouns as Internal Modifiers

In Naayi, nouns can function as modifier, in addition to their function as head in NPs. The head N is preceded by the modifier nouns. A noun can specify a head N in relation to sex, composition, or purpose of the thing referred by the head N (cf. Dixon 2010a:107). For examples with sex, the noun *baaỳn̩* 'mother' in (3a) specifies that the sex of the animal *koob̀ù* 'hens' mentioned is female, and the noun *àtk̀n̩* 'male' in (3b) specifies that the sex of *kyoǹù* 'dog' mentioned is male. In terms of the composition of the referent denoted by the head N, a noun can modify the head N of an NP, as in (4a & b).

3. a. [*baaỳ-̀n̩*]_N [*koob̀ù*]_N *mwá̀lù kùb-̀n̩-kì*
 mother-DEF.F hen egg lay-TSR-exist

'The mother hen lays egg down'

b. *ye-s* [*àtk̀n̩*]_N [*kyoǹù*]_N *té-kn*
 DISTN-DEF.M male dog COP-REAL

'This one is a male dog'

4. a. *háá-s-tá* *hark'ù* [*saas* _N [*ii*]_N]_{NP} *kìz-a*
 PROX-DEF.M-LOC many grass house exist-PAST

'There are many grass houses here.'

- b. *k'aalù* *tùt-ù-t'-a-ba* [*k'aalù* _N [*pùkà*]_N]_{NP} *gé-t'-hè*
 coffee pound-TOR-PASS-PAST-REL coffee flour say-PASS-TSR

'Coffee that was pounded is called coffee flour.'

Moreover, nouns can modify their head N in terms of the purpose or the use of the referent denoted by the head N, as in (5a & b). In (5a), there are two nouns as modifier and both of them specify the purpose of the *baará* 'anniversary'. In such cases, an NP is embedded in another NP and as a result, a complex NP is formed.

5. a. [*gáná* _N [*bérgì* _N [*baará*]_N]_{NP}]_{NP} *hè-t'fi* *ʔyátsù-s* *baará* *té-kn*
 Christmas year anniversary 1PL.POSS-DAT big-DEF.M anniversary COP-REAL

'Christmas annual anniversary is the big anniversary for us.'

- b. *ìs* *yaab-ná* *wùf-a-gata* [*nalá* _N [*burá*]_N]_{NP} *ís=àts-á*
 he person-ACC kill-PAST -COND justice compensation 3MSG=give-IRR

'If he killed a person, he would give a compensation of justice.'

Furthermore, a noun can modify a head N in an NP that expresses association, relation, a part-whole relationship, or possession relationship between the modifier N and the head N (cf. Pavey 2010:182). In Naayi, as shown in (6), the modifier nouns are indicated with underline, the head nouns are indicated in the internal square brackets, and the whole NP is shown with the external square brackets. The relationships between the modifier nouns and the head nouns are association in (6a & b).

6. a. [*ii* _N [*naak*]_N]_{NP} *àt-hè-té* *ù/kús* *yég-a*
 house holdings hold-TSR-PART they come-PAST

'They came by holding house holdings /domestic animals/.'

- b. [*kúy* _N [*núút'ùskís*]_N]_{NP} *gé-t'-hè* *yír=ít* *gém-a-gata*,
 forest wild.animals say-PASS-TSR what=2HON say-PAST-COND

'If you said, 'what are forest wild animals?', ...

The relationships between the modifier nouns and the head nouns can also be a whole-part relationship as in (7), relation as in (8) and possession as in (7 & 8). The noun phrases on kinship and body parts relationships express possession and a whole-part relationship.

7. a. *háá-s* [*pààt* _N [*kù[sù]*]_N]_{NP} *té-kn-a*
 PROX-DEF.M body hand COP-REAL-PRSP
 'This one is hands of the body.'
- b. *sítsù gé-t'-ḥ* [*koob* _N [*sítsù*]_N]_{NP} *gé-t'-ḥ* *té-n-a*
 feather say-PASS-TSR hen feather say-PASS-TSR COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Feather means, it is called feather of hens'
8. a. [*ḥ-áku*]_N [*áku*]_N]_{NP} *ḥùb-a-ba* *san-tá* *té-kn-a*
 1SG.POSS-grandfather grandfather die-PAST-REL before-LOC COP-REAL-PRSP
 'It is earlier that my grandfather's grandfather died.'
- b. [*koysiyaab*]_N [*dòdù-s-kís*]_N]_{NP} *hark'ù* *té-kn*
 Koysiyaab (clan) son-DEF.M-PL many COP-REAL
 'The sons of Koysiyaab are many.'

According to Tallerman (2011:52), the possession type in a language is commonly divided into alienable and inalienable possession. Typically, nouns for body parts or for a person's relatives are in the inalienably possessed class; these include terms for things that you cannot put aside or dispose of. Alienable possession covers other types of noun, such as possessions, animals or food. In Naayi, the possessive constructions in (7 & 8) show inalienable possessed nouns and a whole-part possession. The parts are the head of the NPs. Again, regarding with alienable possession, the same syntactic feature is observed, as shown in (9).

9. a. *hay-k'a intḥù-ba-tá* [*káf* _N [*i*]_N]_{NP} *kìz-a*
 up-IN tree-GEN-LOC bird house exist-PAST
 'There is a cage (of bird) up on the tree.'
- b. [*i*]_N [*naak*]_N]_{NP} *k'áy-té* *koobù* *kìz-a*
 house holdings rise-PART hen exist-PAST
 'When we start from the house holdings, there is hen.'

4.1.3. A Relative Clause as Internal Modifier

“A relative clause must have an argument which is co-referential with the head of the NP it is modifying”, (Dixon 2010a:107). In Naayi, the head noun in an NP can be modified by a relative clause (subscribed as **RELC**) in which the head N is co-referenced as one argument in the relative clause. The relativization is marked by the relativizers *-ba/ -bab* for non-feminine nouns as in (10a, b & c) and *-bey* for feminine nouns, as in (10d). In the NPs, the head nouns are modified by the relative clauses. A relative clause, just like the adjectives, precedes a head N and functions as an internal optional periphery or modifier, as indicated with underline in the internal parenthetical brackets in (10).

10. a. [*[m'-t'-á-ba]*]_{RELC} [*m*]_N]_{NP} *kày-a-ba* *té-kn*
 eat-PASS-IRR-REL food exist.NEG-PAST-REL COP-REAL
 'There has not been food that would be eaten'
- b. [*[pwalá ám-o-ba]*]_{RELC} [*gaans*]_N]_{NP} *ù/ksús kóm-yég-a-ba* *té-kn-a*
 horn do-NEG-REL ox they receive-come-PAST-REL COP-REAL-PRSP
 'They have brought an ox that does not have horns.'
- c. [*[h=háy-kì-ba]*]_{RELC} [*k'yaná*]_N]_{NP} *náá h-mòòt-if* *dèf-h*
 1PL=spend.the.night-exist-REL bed we 1PL.POSS-head-DAT make-TSR
 'We ourselves make a bed on which we spend the night'
- d. [*[mwálù kùb-h-kù-bey]*]_{RELC} [*baay-h*]_N [*koobù*]_N]_{NP}]_{NP} *té-kn-a*
 egg lay-TSR-exist-REL.F mother-DEF.F hen COP-REAL-PRSP
 'It is the mother hen that lays egg down.'

4.1.4. Demonstratives as External Modifiers

In Naayi, demonstratives have pointing (or deictic) reference and can function as external modifiers of a head N in an NP, as indicated with underline in the square brackets in (11a, b & c), or as a head of an NP, as indicated in (12a, b & c). When a demonstrative (subscribed as **DEM** in the data) used as external modifier, it can follow the head N as (11a & b) or precede the head N as in (11c). The reason why head nouns come before the modifiers in (11a & b) is to make the head nouns in focus. But in (11c), it is like other noun modifiers that the demonstrative precedes the head N.

11. a. *[[noogù-s]_N (ye-s-á)_{DEM}]_{NP} haşñ-ka máh-n-ít*
 thing-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-ACC wide-INST tell-IMP-2HON
 'Please tell this thing widely.'
- b. *[[mangistá]_N (háá-s)_{DEM}]_{NP} fi/kñè-s-yaab-ná is kóm-yé-n*
 government (Amh.) PROX-DEF.M good-DEF.M-NMLZ-ACC he receive-come-SEQ
 'This government, while it brings the good ones, ...'
- c. *[(ye-s-kís)_{DEM} [fákù diìzù]_N]_{NP}, ye-s-kís ñ-yára té-kn*
 ye-s-kís Sheko Diizi DISTN-DEF.M-PL 1PL.POSS-relative COP-REAL
 'These Sheko and Diizi, these are our relatives.'

On the other hand, demonstratives are often used alone in reference to a definite head N which is not present explicitly immediately before and after the demonstrative in the position of an NP, as illustrated in (12a, b & c). The demonstratives, in (12a, b & c), are used on behalf of the subject nouns as heads of the implied NPs.

12. a. *ye-s-kís fákù diìzù, [(ye-s-kís)_{DEM} ñ-yára té-kn*
 ye-s-kís Sheko Diizi DISTN-DEF.M-PL 1PL.POSS-relative COP-REAL
 'These Sheko and Diizi, these are our relatives.'
- b. *[(ye-s)_{DEM} ibar noogù*
 DISTN-DEF.M real thing
 'This one is a real thing.'
- c. *ù/kís baafá kiz-a háá-s-tá, [(ye-s-kís)_{DEM} kiz-a*
 they land.tenure exist-PAST PROX-DEF.M-LOC DISTN-DEF.M-PL exist-PAST
 'There are their land tenures. These ones are here.'

4.1.5. Quantifiers as External Modifiers

Like demonstratives, quantifiers serve as external modifiers in an NP in Naayì. A quantifier (subscribed as *Q* in the data) precedes a head N and forms an NP constituent together. The quantifiers modify their heads optionally. In the language, the quantifiers are three types: cardinal numbers (one, two, three, etc.), ordinal numbers (first, second, third, etc.), and non-numeral quantifiers (some, many, all, etc.), as discussed in (3.2.5.). For examples in (13), the cardinal numbers modify their head nouns. In the examples, the cardinal numbers are

indicated with underline in the curved brackets as optional modifiers in the NPs. We can also see that an NP can be embedded within another NP as (13c & d). However, in (13a), the nouns *dìizì fákùka naayika* 'Dìizì, Sheko and Naayi' are presented as an optional NP for the preceding NP just to give clarification.

13. a. $[[(\underline{kadi})_{Quant} [toosù-s-kis]_N]_{NP}, (dìizì fákù-ka \quad naayì-ka)_{NP}]_{NP}$
 three brother-DEF.M-PL Dìizì Sheko-CONJ Naayi-CONJ
 'the three brothers, Dìizì, Sheko and Naayi'
- b. $[(\underline{kùbm})_{Quant} [sáátá]_N]_{NP}$
 three o'clock
 'four o'clock'
- c. $[(\underline{tùsn})_{Quant} [haykù]_N]_{NP} [\underline{ùk'ù-s}]_N]_{NP}$
 seven day cheese-DEF.M
 'the seven days cheese'
- d. $[(\underline{ùt'ù})_{Quant} [sélá]_N]_{NP} [yaab]_{NP}$
 five group person
 'five groups of people'

Ordinal numbers also precede a head N and modify it in the NPs as in (14). The ordinal number modifiers in the examples are indicated with underline and curved brackets. The curved brackets show the ordinal quantifiers as the optional constituents in the NPs. We can also see that the NP with the ordinal quantifier is embedded in another NP in (14a).

14. a. $[(\underline{yìsn-yná})_{Quant} [dərəjá]_N]_{NP} [t'uusù \quad [ii]_N]_{NP}]_{NP}$
 first-ORD level(Amh.) knowledge house
 'first/primary level school'
- b. $[(\underline{t'àà-yná})_{Quant} [dərəjá-k'a]_N]_{NP}$
 two-ORD level(Amh.)-IN
 'secondary level'
- c. $[(\underline{yákù-yná})_{Quant} [káálá]_N]_{NP}$
 six-ORD time
 'sixth times'

Non-numeral quantifiers also precede and modify a head N, and can form NPs in Naayì, as in (15). Like the above quantifiers, non-numeral quantifiers are external (or optional) modifiers as shown with the curved brackets. They are also indicated with underline in the examples.

15. a. *ìs-á* *ù/kùs débṁ-a-gata* *[(k'wáyá)Quant [ù/kùs]N]NP* *nìik-á*
 he-ACC they entomb-PAST-COND all they be.finished-IRR
 'If they entombed him, therefore, all of them would die.'
- b. *kày* *dìgì-f* *yaab [(hark'ù)Quant [kùdù-ná]N]NP* *àts-ṅ-ba-té-n-a*
 guardian.sprit Dìgì-DAT person many solution-ACC give-TSR-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The people have given many solutions for the guardian spirit of Dìgì(a cultural belief of Naayì).'

Quantifiers also function as the referring expression or stand as an NP in a clause in the absence of explicit head N like the nominal pronoun, as illustrated below in (16a & b). The two quantifiers are used as the subject of the clauses in the examples. Of course, the subject quantifier *gabṁskìs* 'the halves' in (16b) is used cataphorically, because the equivalent NP *ṅyára* 'our relatives' is used later in the clause.

16. a. *[[t'ààgṁ-s-kìs]Quant]NP* *yìsṁ-k'a* *fárbṁ-tá* *ì-a*
 two-DEF.M-PL one-IN Sharbṁ-LOC encamp-PAST
 'The two ones encamped together in Sharbm.'
- b. *[[gabṁ-s-kìs]Quant]NP*, *hak'á* *ṅ-yára* *níí* *baas-tá* *kìz-a*
 half-DEF.M-PL now 1PL.POSS-relative over.there beyond-LOC exist-PAST
 'The halves, our relatives are over there beyond now.'

4.1.6. Pronouns as External Modifiers

The pronouns such as personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, indefinite pronouns and interrogative pronouns in Naayì can modify nouns and form NP. These pronouns (subscribed as **PRO**) are external modifiers of nouns; because, they do not describe the internal or inherent properties of the nouns and cannot be the obligatory constituents of NP. We can see the pronouns as external modifiers in (17) in which they are underlined.

17. a. [(ù/kús)_{PRO} [ii]_N]_{NP} goli kiz-a
 they house place exist-PAST
 'There is their house's place.'
- b. [(ékís)_{PRO} [tuur]_N]_{NP}
 their country
 'their county'
- c. gabm̃-s-kís, hak'á [(ǎ-)[yará]_N]_{NP} ní baas-tá kiz-a
 half-DEF.M-PL now [1PL.POSS-relative] there beyond-LOC exist-PAST
 'The halves, our relatives are over there now.'
- d. [(èdù)_N, (ù/kús-k̀ǹ-*ba-ná*)_{PRO}, (báádá)_{PRO}]_{NP} ù/kús nòg-ǎ
 language they-GEN-GEN-ACC other they speak-TSR
 'They spoke their own other language.'
- e. [(yíri)_{PRO} [fah-é]_N]_{NP} [(ǎ)_{PRO}[malká]_N]_{NP}
 what type-ADFOC she color(*mälk*(Amh.))
 'What type of her color is?'

As we can see the NPs in the square brackets in (17), the personal subject pronoun *ù/kús* 'they' in (17a) and the possessive determiner *ékís* 'their' in (17b) precede the nouns *ii* 'house' and *tuur* 'country' respectively as optional constituents to express possession. In (17c), the head noun *yará* 'relative' is modified by the possessive prefix *ǎ-* 'our' and the NP is formed. The possessive pronoun *ù/kúsk̀ǹbaná* 'theirs/ their own' and the indefinite pronoun *báádá* 'other' in (17d) are used to modify the head N *èdù* 'language' to clarify on the head, but they are at equivalent syntactic position and optional constituents in the NP. In the example (17e), we find the interrogative pronoun *yíri* 'what' which precedes the noun *fahé* 'type' and the personal pronoun *ǎ* 'she' which precedes the noun *malká* 'color' to express question and possession on their head N respectively.

4.1.7. Proper Nouns as External Modifiers

Proper nouns are names of persons, places, or organizations, having an initial capital letter in English. Proper nouns are like personal pronouns; because, personal pronouns like *I*, *you* and *she*, and proper nouns like Hasen, Takele and Ethiopia are usually definite; they refer to

entities which the speaker presupposes the addressee can uniquely identify (cf. Shopen 2007a:411). Both proper nouns and pronouns can stand in the place of full noun phrases to represent a referent; they do not take any arguments or they do not have an internal constituent structure, and they cannot generally be modified (Pavey 2010:186). As illustrated in (18), the proper nouns (underlined and subscribed as **PRN**) are used as external modifiers either in the presence of the head noun as in (18a & c) in the NPs *gobì tuurbatá* ‘around Goba’ and *deetfá wəradá* ‘Decha district’ or in the absence of the head noun like *naayì* ‘Naayi’, *fákùka diizika* ‘Sheko and Diizi’ in (18a), *takəla bəyənə* ‘Takele Beyene’ in (18b) and *ityop'yákñ* ‘Ethiopia’ in (18c).

18. a. [naayì]_{PRN} [(gobì)_{PRN} tuur-ba-tá_N]_{NP} womá is=yég-a-ba-ka
 Naayì Goba land-GEN-LOC hither 3MSG=come-PAST-REL-TEMP
 [fákùka]_{PRN} [diizika]_{PRN} efa ù/kús k'é-a-ba
 Sheko-CONJ Diizi-CONJ thither they remain-PAST-REL
 'When Naayì came hither around Goba, Sheko and Diizi, they, remained thither.'
- b. ñ-sùm-ó efeñ [takəla bəyənə]_{PRN} is=gé-t'-ñ
 1SG.POSS-name-ADFOC first Takele Beyene 3MSG=say-PASS-MID
 'First, my name is called Takele Beyene.'
- c. [(deetfá)_{PRN} wəradá_N]_{NP} gé-t'-ñ [ityop'yákñ]_{PRN} béétñ-k'a
 Decha district(Amh.) say-PASS-TSR Ethiopia-GEN inside-IN
 k'aalù-ná efeñ kyám-s-ñ-bey tuyr-ñ
 coffee-ACC first be.available-CAUS-TSR-REL.F land.F-DEF.F
 'Decha district means that she made coffee discovered first in Ethiopia.'

In general, noun phrase in Naayì is right headed; and in the NP, the optional and obligatory modifying constituents precede the head noun. Different modifiers of a head noun sometimes come in sequence within the same NP. In this case, the order of the different modifiers in the same NP is fixed or not in free exchange of position. Hence, the internal modifiers such as a noun complement, an adjective and a relative clause precede the head N respectively; and then, the external modifiers (or determiners) such as a possessive determiner, a quantifier and a demonstrative precede the internal modifiers in the NP respectively, as in (19 & 20). In other words, we can state that the order of the constituent modifiers in the same NP looks

like: *determiners (demonstrative - quantifier - possessive determiner) - relative clause modifier - adjective modifier - noun complement - head noun.*

19. *gaatfū gé-t'-ñè [(ñ-kñ)_{PRO} [(k'aabàtsá dyáh-ba k'áy-té yég-a-ba)_{RELC} t'ef(Amh.) say-PASS-TSR 1PL.POSS-GEN antecedents work-REL rise-PART come-PAST-REL [(ʔvátʂ)_{Adj} [m]_N]]]_{NP} té-n-a*
 big cereal/food COP-REAL-PRSP

'T'ef means, it is our great cereal/ food that came together with antecedents.'

20. *[(ve-s)_{DEM} [(yísñ)_{Quant} [(ís-íʃ káp-t'-a-ba)_{RELC} [(ʔvátʂ)_{Adj} [saaʂ_N [ii]_N]]]]]_{NP} DISTN-DEF.M one 3MSG.POSS-DAT built-PASS-PAST-REL big grass(sp.) house kiz-a*
 exist-PAST

'There is this one big grass house that was built for him.'

4.2. Verb phrase

Verb phrase is a constituent that can fill the predicate slot within a clause, and typically has a verb as its head (Dixon 2012:498). The head verbs can select different types of complements depending on the sub-classes of verbs in a language (Tallerman 2011:114). Hence, a verb phrase has at least a head verb; and at most, it can have complements and optional modifiers (adjuncts). In order to describe the verb phrase of Naayì well, it is better to see first the major sub-classes of verb phrase (VP) depending on the major types of verbs heading the VP in the language. As mentioned in (§3.1.2.2.), the major syntactic sub-classes of verbs in Naayì are intransitive, transitive (simple transitive), and ditransitive (bi-transitive) verbs. These three sub-classes of verbs differ in their number and type of complements, and form three different types of phrase structures in the language. These are verb phrases headed by intransitive verbs, verb phrases headed by simple transitive verbs and verb phrases headed by bi-transitive verbs, as described in (§4.2.1.), (§4.2.2.) and (§4.2.3.) respectively as follows.

4.2.1. Verb Phrases Headed By Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs may code states, events or actions. Their subject may be an agent, patient or dative (Givón 2001a:125). In intransitive verb class, copular verbs can be included; because, semantically, the copulas represent permanent or temporary states and their subject occupies the semantic role of either a patient or dative of state. However, the typical intransitive verbs carry the semantic role of predication by themselves; whereas, the copular verb does not carry the semantic role of predication by itself, rather by its non-verbal predicate, that is either an adjective (or adjectival phrase; AP) or a noun (or noun phrase; NP) (Givón 2001a:119). Therefore, verb phrases can be constructed with the head of copular verb, existential verbs, and other intransitive verbs that carry the semantic role of predication. Moreover, intransitive verbs, which are semantically not reduced like the copula verb, can be seen into two subclasses; these are simple intransitive verbs, and intransitive verbs with indirect object (Givón 2001a:125 & 136). In this section, the researcher describes the verb phrases headed by copular verb in (§4.2.1.1.), verb phrases headed by existential verb in (§4.2.1.2), verb phrases headed by simple intransitive verbs in (4.2.1.3.), and verb phrases headed by intransitive verbs with indirect object in (§4.2.1.4.) as follows.

4.2.1.1. Verb Phrases Headed by Copular Verb

In Naayi, the copular verb form is *té-* (glossed as COP). It has a reduced semantic load in the language. The copula *té-* 'be' is used in copular clauses by adding different types of modality markers as discussed more later in chapter five (§5.1.1.2.(I)). The copula *té-* 'be' in Naayi is used to form a simple clause by connecting a subject and a complement in the order of '*Subject - Complement - Copula*'. The VP here is formed by the combination of the head copula and the predicate or complement constituent. The copular verb *té-* heading verb phrases in copula clauses is used with three kinds of predicates such as, with a nominal predicate as in (21), an adjectival predicate as in (22), and with a locative predicate as in (23). Most of the lexical-semantic load of the predication is not carried by the copular verb itself, but rather by its *non-verbal predicate* - an adjective (or adjectival phrase; AdjP), a noun (or noun phrase; NP) or a prepositional phrase (PP) (Givón 2001a:119; Pavey 2010:57).

21. a. *ye-s-kís* *fákù diizù ye-s-kís* *[ń-yára NP* *[té-kn]v]VP*
DISTN-DEF.M-PL Sheko Diizu DISTN-DEF-PL 1PL.POSS-relative COP-REAL
'Those Sheko and Diizi, those are our relatives.'
- b. *gaatfû* *gé-t'-ń* *[[(?yáts)Adj [m]N]NP[té-n-a]v]VP*
Tef(Amh.) say-PASS-TSR big food COP-REAL-PRSP
'Tef means, it is a big food.'
- c. *ii-s* *[nà-kń-ba NP* *[té-kn]v]VP*
house-DEF.M 1SG-GEN-GEN COP-REAL
'The house is mine.'
- d. *[ii-k'a-ba* *k'itf'á [ye-s-kís NP* *[té-kn]v]VP*
house-IN-GEN utensil DISTN-DEF.M-PL COP-REAL
'The house utensils are these.'
22. a. *kòfù* *[?yáts-yaabAdj [té-kn]v]VP*
a.kind.of.gourd big-NMLZ COP-REAL
'Kòfù is the big one.'
- b. *turbń gaatfû-ka* *ts'áhń gaatfû-ka* *[badbadáA [té-kn]v]VP*
red t'ef(Amh.)-CONJ black t'ef(Amh.)-CONJ different COP-REAL
'Red t'ef (grain sp.) and black t'ef(grain sp.) are different.'

The copular verb *té-* is used with a locative predicate when it shows existentiality, just what the existential verb *kiz-* 'exist' does, as illustrated in (23). In such locative copula clauses in Naayi, the locational expressions occur in the form of noun phrases (or NPs) as in (23a, b & c), and they are used as complements of the head copula *té-*.

23. a. *ye-s-tá* *k'áy-té* *yé-té* *ń=kàlń-a-ba*
DISTN-DEF.M-LOC rise-PART come-PART 1PL=sit-PAST-REL
[[batfum-tá]NP [té-kn]v]VP
Bachuma-LOC COP-REAL
'We came from there(not far) and, where we sat is at Bachumá.'
- b. *ye-s* *kyas tuur gatsùgatsù* *[[háas-tá)LDEM gúfi-táN]NP [té-kn]v]VP*
DISTN-DEF.M king land formerly here-LOC gúshi-LOC COP-REAL

'Formerly, this King's land tenure was here in Gúshì.'

c. *hark'ù Naayì yaab-ù-s-kís* *[[deetfá wəradá(Ahm.)_{NP} [béétḥ-k'a]_{NP}]_{NP} [té-kn-a]_V]_{VP}*
 many Naayì person-M-DEF.M-PL Deechá district inside-IN COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Many of the Naayì people are in Deechá district.'

Moreover, in Naayì, an adverbial phrase (AdvP) can be a predicate in a copular clause when there is a cleft relative clause construction, like in (24).

24. *[[gaatfû naakís tuur-ba-tá is=wóg-ù-s-t-ù-kù-ba]_{RELC}*
 t'ef (Amh.) we land-GEN-LOC 3MSG=grow-ISR-CAUS-PASS-TOR-exist-REL
[hark'ù-ka_{AdvP} [té-n-a]_V]_{VP}
 many-INST COP-REAL-PRSP
 'It is widely that Tef (grain sp.) is respected in our environment.'

There is also a zero copula clause construction in Naayì; because, the copula *té-* is optional with the nonverbal predicates. In this case, only an adjective (AdjP) or a noun (NP) predicate covers the position of VP in the clause. This means, the head of the VP is the zero copula (glossed as *COP_{ZERO}*), as in (25 & 26). The predicates in (25a b & c) are NPs, and the predicates in (26a & b) are APs, as shown with underline. Therefore, in a zero copula clause, VP means the predicate NP or AdjP occurred at the end of the clause, but with zero copular head. According to Dryer (2007a:236), copulas are obligatory with nonverbal predicates in some languages, while in other languages they are not.

25. a. *ye-s* *[[(ts'áhḥ)_{Adj} [tuur]_N]_{NP} [*COP_{ZERO}*]_V]_{VP}*
 DISTN-DEF.M black soil
 'That one is black soil.'

b. *ye-s* *[[k'aalù_N [pùkà]_N]_{NP} [*COP_{ZERO}*]_V]_{VP}*
 DISTN-DEF.M coffee flour
 'This one is coffee flour.'

c. *dyáh-ḥ-ba* *[[(fì/kḥ)_{Adj} [yaab]_N]_{NP} [*COP_{ZERO}*]_V]_{VP}*
 work-TSR-REL good person
 'That who works is a good person.'

26. a. *ye-ṅ* *yísṅ* [*tʃ'ilù*_{AdjP} [COP_{ZERO}]_v]_{VP}
 DISTN-DEF.F one green
 'This one is green.'
- b. *ye-s-i* [*bùlká*_{AdjP} [COP_{ZERO}]_v]_{VP}
 DISTN-DEF.M-NOM grey
 'This one is grey.'

In sum, in the verb phrases headed by the copula verb *té-*, the NP, AP and AdvP can be the obligatory constituents (or complements); and they come immediately before the copula. Moreover, VP can be formed only with a nonverbal predicates having a zero copular head verb in Naayi.

4.2.1.2. Verb Phrases Headed by Existential Verb

The existential verb *kiz-* 'exist' in existential clauses has a locative case marked noun phrase as an optional constituent in the existential predicates; and hence, a verb phrase headed by the existential verb is formed. The verb phrases headed by the existential verb are analyzed here in the context of existential clauses that is different from copula clauses in some ways. Therefore, while discussing about the verb phrases headed by the existential verb here, it is necessary to brief about the existential clauses in Naayi.

Although the existential clauses overlap with the copula clauses with locative predicates in many languages (Dryer 2007a:240), existential clauses are in a distinct category of clause in Naayi; in that, the existential clauses are headed by a different verb form *kiz-* 'exist'; whereas, the copula clauses are headed by the copular verb *té-*. Moreover, an existential clause can be characterized both by stating the existence of something and involving an existential predicate; whereas, a copula clause with locative predicate involves the locative copula linking an expression denoting something to which a location is attributed to a nonverbal predicate consisting of a locative expression (Dryer 2007a:241). However, an expression denoting location in locative predicates is an obligatory constituent as illustrated above in (23; whereas, in existential predicates is an optional constituent as in (27 & 28) below.

27. a. [(i-k'a)_{NP} {òyt̀h̃}_S [kìz-a]_{VP}]
house-IN cow exist-PAST

'The cow is in a house.'

b. [(hak'á)_{AdvP} [(nĩ̀_{LEDEM} [baas-tá]_N)_{NP} {gab̀h̃-s-kís, ñ-vára}_S [kìz-a]_{VP}]]_{VP}
now over.there beyond-LOC half-DEF.M-PL 1PL.POSS-relative exist-PAST

'The halves, our relatives are over there beyond now.'

28. a. [(hay-k'a)_N [intfũ̀-ba-tá]_N)_{NP} {káf̃ ii}_S [kìz-a]_{VP}]_{VP}
up-IN tree-GEN-LOC bird house exist-PAST

'There is a cage (of bird) up on the tree.'

b. [(ná-k̀h̃ pààt_N)_{NP} [baaz-k'a]_N)_{NP} {pówù}_S [kìz-a]_{VP}]_{VP}
1PL-GEN body inside-IN lung exist-PAST

'There is lung inside of our body'

The primary function of existential clauses is apparently to introduce into the discourse a participant that is new to the hearer. Hence, the nominal element (subject) is usually indefinite (Payne 1997:123; Dryer 2007a:240). In Naayi, it is possible to have an existential clause with either a definite subject as in (27) or an indefinite subject as in (28). The VPs headed by the existential verb *kìz-* 'exist' are indicated with square brackets; and the NP denoting the location in each existential VP occurs before the subject and the existential head verb in the simple existential clauses as in (27 & 28). In the examples, the brace brackets { } is used to show that the subject NP constituent is excluded from the inside of VP; and the curved brackets () show that the NP representing the location in the existential predicates is an optional constituent.

When the location is not important in the discourse of existential clause, the VP is projected only by the head verb *kìz-* 'exist', and the locative or inessive case marked NP is not involved; and in this case, only the existence of something is stated as a subject (S), as (29). In the examples given in (29a, b & c), the VP is formed only by the head verb *kìz-* 'exist', and the NPs *koobù* 'hen', *k'áda*, *ɔ̀yátsùskís* 'calabash, the big once' and *kyask̀h̃ kòf* 'gourd of king' are the subjects of the simple existential clauses. There is no NP expressing location in each simple existential clause; and hence, only the head V stands for VP in (29).

29. a. *ii naak k'áy-té, [koobù]_S [[kìz-a]_V]_{VP}*
 house holdings rise-PART hen exist-PAST

'Starting from the house holdings, there is hen.'

b. *[k'ádá, ?yáts-ù-s-kís]_S, [[kìz-a]_V]_{VP}*
 calabash, big-M-DEF.M-PL, exist-PAST

'There are calabashes, the big ones.'

c. *[kyas-kḥ kòf]_S [[kìz-a]_V]_{VP}*
 king-GEN gourd exist-PAST

'There is gourd of the King.'

Furthermore, verb phrases headed by the existential verb are also used to expressing predicate possession in Naayi. According to (Dryer 2007a:244), languages differ considerably in how they express what can be called predicate possession. In some languages, this meaning is expressed with a transitive verb like the English *have*, in which the possessor occurs as subject and the possessed item occurs as object. However, many languages employ predicate locative or existential clauses to express such meanings, with the possessor expressed as some sort of locative. Among these two ways, in Naayi, the meaning of predicate possession is expressed in the later way, in that, the possessor occurs as an indirect object complement as in (30a & b) or as a locative possessor as in as in (30c). The thing that exists in somewhere or for someone occurs as a subject.

30. a. *[yoob-ù-_fNP {naak}_S [kìz-a]_V]_{VP}*
 person-M-DAT money exist-PAST

'The man has money.' (lit. There is money for the man.)

b. *[ḥ-tfi_{NP} {naak}_S [kì-ba té-kn]_V]_{VP}*
 1SG-DAT money exist-REL COP-REAL

'I have money. (lit. There has been money for me.)'

c. *[hak'á [[nà-kḥ_{NP} [àṣ-tá]_N]_{NP} {ḥ-dòdù}_S [kìz-a]_V]_{VP}*
 now 1SG-GEN under-LOC 1SG-child exist-PAST

'I have children now.' (lit. My children are under me now.)

The subject in each of the examples above is indicated in brace brackets as { }_S to show that the subject is exclusive from the inside of VP constituent which is indicated in square brackets in (30). The VPs are headed by the existential verb *kìza* 'existed' in (30a & b) and *kìba tékn* 'have existed 'in (30c). Moreover, the head verbs are complemented with an NP marked with the dative case suffix *-f/ -t/i*, as in (30a & b), or with NP expressing the location of the possessed item, as in (30c), to express predicate possession.

Verb phrases can also be headed by the lexical negative existential verb *kày* 'not exist' in Naayi. The negative existential clauses are different from most other types of negative clauses in which some other element is negated; because, the negation in negative existential words is often an inherent part of the predication itself (cf. Dryer 2007a:246). The negative existential head verb *kày* 'not exist' can be combined with an optional locative expression as Noun phrase NP and form its VP as in (31a & b), or can form the verb phrase alone as in (31c).

31. a. *[(tuur-ba-tá)_{NP} {hàày}_S [kày]_V]_{VP}*
 land-GEN-LOC water exist.NEG
 'There is no water around.'
- b. *[(kùy-khè)_N [baas-k'a]_N]_{NP} {yír-b-é kùdù}_S [kày]_V]_{VP}*
 forest-GEN beyond-IN what-GEN-ADFOC road exist.NEG
 'There is no any road beyond the forest.'
- c. *{naayì èdù}_S [[kày]_V]_{VP}*
 Naayi mouth exist.NEG
 Naayi language does not exist.' (Context: shows that Naayi language is becoming extinct.)

The negative existential verb *kày* 'not exist' complemented with dative case marked noun phrase also forms a VP expressing a negative predicate possession, as in (32).

32. a. *[hàày wòb-t'-án-bab]_S [òòt-if-ó]_{NP} [kày]_V]_{VP}*
 water drink-PASS-IRR-REL cattle-DAT-ADFOC exist.NEG
 'Cattle have not water that would be drunk.' (lit. There is no water that would be drunk for cattle.)

- b. *[yaab-ìf-ó NP {hàày}s [kày]v]VP*
 person-DAT-ADFOC water exist.NEG
 'People have not water.' (lit. There is no water for people.)

4.2.1.3. Verb Phrases Headed by Simple Intransitive Verbs

Simple intransitive verbs may code states, events or actions. Their subject may be an *agent*, *patient* or *dative* (Givón 2001a:125). Verbs of this class are described as simple because they do not take complement or obligatory constituent in their VP. In Naayì, the simple intransitive verbs can have an agent subject for action verbs as in (33), dative subject for mental-state verbs as in (34), patient-of-state subject for state verbs as in (35), and patient-of-change subject for process verbs as in (36). The VPs headed by the simple intransitive verbs may have optional constituents which modify the head verb, like in (33b; 34a & c; 35a, b & c; 36a); or they may not have optional constituents as modifier of the head verb, like in (33a, 34b & d; 36b & c) in which only the head verb can form the VP.

33. Agent subject (action verb)

- a. *koob baabù-s [ól-ù-kù-s-ól]v]VP, gé-t'-ù*
 hens father-DEF.M crow-ISR-exist-Q-N.ASS say-PASS-TOR
 'It is said, 'Does the cock crow?.'
- b. *[(hak'á)_{Adv} {sây dòd-ù-s}s [yééf-kì]v]VP*
 now infant child-M-DEF.M cry-exist
 'The infant child is crying now.'

34. Dative subject (mental-state verb)

- a. *[(ye-s-ka)_{NP} {ì}s [írt-ù-t'-kì]v]VP*
 DISTN-DEF.M-INST she suffer-ISR-PASS-exist
 'She is being suffered with this one.'
- b. *yaab-ù-s [ábk'-ù-t'-a v]VP*
 person-M-DEF.M dream-ISR-PASS-PAST
 'The man dreamed.'
- c. *[(yè-daná-ka)_{NP} [fùùn-ù-t'-n]v]VP*
 2SG.POSS-comrade-CO M arbitrate-ISR-PASS-JUSS

'Let you arbitrate with your friends.'

- d. *nà-ó* [*gàlat-ń-ó* v]VP
I-ADFOC thank-TSR-N.ASS
'Also I would thank.'

35. Patient-of-state subject (state verb)

- a. [(*ye-s-tá*)_{NP}] [*kàlm-té*]v]VP *ń=kì-kì-ba-ka* *tuur şaaz şáz-ù*
DISTN-DEF.M-LOC sit-PART 1PL=exist-exist-REL-TEMP land sun.heat be.dry-ISR
'While we were sitting there, the land became dry/ drought.'
- b. [(*ejeń*)_{Adv}] [*şók'-a*]v]VP
first she sleep-PAST
'She slept first.'
- c. [(*yisń şátá-f*)_{NP}] [*şrk'-a*]v]VP
one hour-DAT he lay-PAST
'He lays (rests) for one hour.'

36. Patient-of-change subject (process verb)

- a. *ń-baab* [(*gatsù*)_{Adv}] [*şub-a*]v]VP
1SG.POSS-father early die-PAST
'My father died early.'
- b. *ye-s-tá* *kàlm-té* *ń=kì-kì-ba-ka* *tuur şaaz* [[*şáz-ù*]v]VP
DISTN-DEF.M-LOC sit-PART 1PL=exist-exist-REL-TEMP land sun.heat be.dry-ISR
'While we were sitting there, the land became dry/ drought.'
- c. *gob* [*şááts'-a-gat*]v]VP *k'èrù bîh=ít*
time be.dawn-PAST-COND door open=2HON
'If the time became dawn, please open the lath!'
- d. *kyas dùlbń* *gé-t'-ù-kù-ba* [(*dùlbń-tá*)_{NP}] [*şub-a*]v]VP
king Dulbń say-PASS-OTR-exist-REL *dùlbń-LOC* die-PAST
'That who has been said King Dùlbń died in Dùlbń.'

4.2.1.4. VPs Headed by Intransitive Verbs with an Indirect Object

A group of intransitive verbs take a subject and an indirect object, with the latter most commonly marked by an adposition. This group of verbs can be further divided into three semantic subtypes, and not all of which fall into the same syntactic types in all languages. The three subtypes of intransitive verbs are intransitive verbs complemented with a locative indirect object, intransitive verbs complemented with dative or patient indirect object, and intransitive verbs complemented with an associative indirect object (Givón 2001a:136). The verb phrases headed by these three subtypes of intransitive verbs in Naayì are described separately in the following subsections.

I. VPs Headed by Intransitive Verbs with a Locative Indirect Object

Verbs with a locative indirect object are in some sense the prototype of intransitive verbs with an indirect object. Their subject is either an agent or a patient, and their indirect object is a locative. Some of these verbs code events of motion, where the subject moves toward or away from the locative object. Others code states of location, whereby the subject is at, on, under, in, outside, in front of, or behind the locative object. The locative object is thus the spatial reference point vis-a-vis which the subject either moves (event) or is located (state) (Givón 2001a:136). In Naayì, intransitive verbs of this class take locative indirect object as NP complement and form their own VP in a clause. Intransitive verbs with locative indirect object can be classified into two subtypes: verbs expressing events of spacial motions, as in (37) and verbs expressing states of spacial locations, as in (38). The motion event-verbs have agent subjects; on the other hand, the location state-verbs are patient subjects.

The locative indirect objects are marked by either the locative case marker *-tá* 'LOC' or the inessive case marker *-k'a* 'IN' in the VPs headed by intransitive verbs; and hence, a noun phrase is formed as a complement of the head intransitive verbs in the VPs. The locative case-marking morpheme *-tá* and inessive case-marking morpheme *-k'a*, in the examples, mark the indirect object and code a wealth of spatial information in the VPs in Naayì. Hence, intransitive head verbs preceded by a locative indirect object NP can form VPs in Naayì, as in (37 & 38).

37. VPs headed by intransitive verbs complemented with locative indirect object, expressing events of spacial motions

a. *naayi* [[*gobì* _N [*tuur-ba-tá*]_N]_{NP} [(*womá*)_{Adv} [*ís=yég-a-ba-ka*]_V]]_{VP}
 Naayi Goba land-GEN-LOC hither 3MSG=come-PAST-REL-TEMP
šákù-ka diizi-ka [(*efá*)_{Adv} {*ù/škús*} [*k'é-a-ba*]_V]_{VP}
 Sheko-CONJ diizi-CONJ thither they remain-PAST-REL
 'When Naayi came hither around Goba, Sheko and Diizi, they, remained thither.'

b. [[*wáfa-s*]_N, *ye-s-tá* _{LDEM}]_{NP} [(*té-té*) [*ù-n*]_V]]_{VP}
 forest-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-LOC go-PART encamp-IMP
 'Go and encamp at the forest there.'

c. [*gùbtúr-k'a* _{NP} [*ùf=wúk'-ù*]_V]_{VP}
 Gùbtúr-IN 3HON=enter-ISR
 'They entered Gùbtúr.'

d. [[[*beentf maaji-kḥ* _{NP} [*béetḥ-k'a*]_N]_{NP} [*yè=tég-a-gata*]_V]]_{VP},
 Bench Maaji-GEN inside-IN 2SG=go-PAST-COND
naayi-ná yáp-ám-ba=yè-té-n-a
 Naayi-ACC get-NON.PAST-REL=2SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'If you went inside of Bench Maaji zone, you would get Naayi.'

e. [*dùlbḥ-tá* _{NP} [(*k'áy-té*)_{VP} [*yé-té*]_V]_{VP} [*dúma-t* _{NP} [*ís=kés-ù*]_V]_{VP}]
 Dùlbḥ-LOC rise-PART come-PART Dúma-LOC 3MSG=climb.up-ISR
 'He came from Dùlbḥ and arrived Dúma.'

38. VPs headed by intransitive verbs complemented with locative indirect object, expressing states of spacial location

a. *yeer* [[*is-ba-tá*]_N]_{NP}, [*is* _{NP} [*šiš-tá*]_N]_{NP}, [*is* _{NP} [*san-tá*]_N]_{NP} [*áf=ís*]_V]_{VP}
 God he-GEN-LOC he back-LOC he front-LOC stand=3MSG
 'Let God stand on him, at the back of him, in front of him.'

b. [[*kùdù-[ba-tá]*]_N]_{NP} {*yaab-ù-s*}_S [*áf-ù-kù-ba-té-n-a*]_V]_{VP}
 road-GEN-LOC person-M-DEF.M stand-ISR-exist-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The man has stood at the road.'

c. [[*k'yaná-[ba-tá]*]_N]_{NP} {*ìf*}_S [*sók'-a*]_V]_{VP}
 bed-GEN-LOC she sleep-PAST

'She slept on the bed.'

d. *té-té* [(*etsá*)_{Adv} [*waadá-k'a* _{NP} [*è-kñ-ná* {*is*} [*péy-a-gata*]_V]]] _{VP}
 go-PART carelessly doorstep-IN 3MSG-GEN-ACC he injure-PAST-COND

'If he went and injured himself at the doorstep carelessly, ...'

e. [[*deetfá wārada*(Amh)_{NP} [*béétñ-k'a*]_N]_{NP} {*naayì*}]_S [(*hark'ù-ka*)_{Adv} [*is=kvám-ù-kì*]_V]] _{VP}
 deetfá district inside-IN Naayì many-INST 3MSG=exist-ISR-exist

'Naayì lives inside of Decha district in large number.'

In the verb phrases headed by intransitive verbs complemented with locative indirect object, there are also adverbs and adverbial clauses that can be used as optional modifiers (or adjuncts) of the head verbs. For examples, the adverbs *womá* 'hither' and *efá* 'thither' in (37a), *etsá* 'carelessly' in (38d), '*hark'ùka*' in large number' in (38e), and the adverbial clauses *té-té* 'having gone' in (37b) and *k'áyté* 'having risen' and *yété* 'having come' in (37e) can be mentioned. When there is a sequence of medial verbs, the preceding verb is used as adverbial clause, because the event in the head verb occurs after the occurrence of the event in the preceding verbs, as seen in (37b & e).

II. VPs Headed by Intransitive Verbs with a Patient Indirect Object

Intransitive verbs complemented with *dative* or *patient* indirect object can form VP in a clause in Naayì. The indirect object of the head verbs is patient-like, whose involvement in the events is typically mental rather than physical. As illustrated below in (39), the patient-like indirect object can occur as NP in the language. And hence, the intransitive head verbs *tìit*- 'look at' in (39a & b), *sìs*- 'listen' in (39c), *t'ùs*- 'know' in (39d), and *tš'óók*' 'speak loud' in (39e) take the NPs *baastá* 'beyond(over there)', *is noogùbatá* 'on his issue', *if aybatá* 'to her song', *noogùbatá* 'on the issue', and *èkísbatá* 'at them' respectively as patient like indirect objects. Since the verbs mentioned in (39) code mental activity or events, and their subject is an active agent, and whatever moves - visual or auditory attention - is construed as moving from the agent-subject.

39. VPs headed by intransitive verbs complemented with patient indirect object:

a. [*baas-tá* _{NP} {*ù/kús*} [*tìit-ù-kù-ba-ka*]_V]] _{VP}, *ye-s* *dò* *wafá*
 beyond-LOC they look-ISR-exist-REL-TEMP DISTN-DEF.M SEQFOC forest

'When they look beyond (over there), then, that one is forest.'

b. $[[\text{is noogù}[-\text{ba-tá}]_N]_{NP} [\text{ń}=\underline{\text{tìt-ám-ba-ka}}]_V]_{VP}$

he thing-GEN-LOC 1PL=look-NON.PAST-REL-TEMP

'When we look at his issue ...'

c. $\text{if ay-ba-tá is=sìs-a}$

she song-GEN-LOC 3MSG=listen-PAST

'He listened to her song.'

d. $[\text{noogù-ba-tá}_{NP} \{\text{nà}\} [\underline{\text{t'ùs-o-ba-nà}=\text{té-kn-ó}}]_V]_{VP}, \text{ is gém-a-gata}$

thing-GEN-LOC I know-NEG-REL-1SG=COP-REAL-N.ASS he say-PAST-COND

'If he said, 'I had not knew on the issue', ...'

e. $[\text{èkìs-ba-tá}_{NP} \{\text{is}\} [\underline{\text{ts'óók'-kì}}]_V]_{VP}$

3PL.POSS-GEN-LOC he speak.loud-exist

'He is shouting at them.'

In Givón (2001a:140), intransitive verbs with dative or patient indirect object fit the syntactic frame of locative indirect object. Semantically, however, they diverge from the locative indirect-object prototype. This semantic departure may again be viewed as a metaphoric extension of the locative prototype. Many intransitive verbs with dative or patient object involve *mental activity*, with the subject being either an *agent* or a *dative*, and the object either *dative* or *patient*. Marking such objects with a directional-locative case marking somehow makes it possible to construe them metaphorically as spatial target - or source - of the subject's metaphoric motion. The moving entity, however, is not the subject itself but rather the subject's voice, vision, attention, feelings or thoughts (Givón 2001a:140).

III. VPs Headed by Intransitive Verbs with an Associative Indirect Object

Some syntactically intransitive verbs code *reciprocal* events, where the subject is an agent and the indirect object an *associative* co-agent. A *reciprocal* event of such verbs conjoins its agent and associative indirect object participants as co-subjects (Givón 2001a:141). In Naayi, as illustrated in (40), the associative indirect objects *if* 'she' in (40a & b), *baará biher biherəsəbá* 'other Nation and Nationalities' in (40c), and *barákñ nàfá* 'other's husband' in (40d

& e) are conjoined with the agent subject *is* 'he', *Naayi*, and *yeebñ* 'the woman' respectively as co-subjects (glossed as CO-SUBs). See the examples below.

40. Verb phrases of intransitive verbs with an associative indirect object:

- a. {*is-ka if-ka*}_{CO-SUBs} [*ibur-t'¹⁶-ù-kì* v]_{VP}
 he-CONJ she-CONJ bear.with-PASS-ISR-exist
 'He and she bear with each other.'
- b. {*is-ka if-ka*}_{CO-SUBs} [*yìn-t'-a* v]_{VP}
 he-CONJ she-CONJ kiss-PASS-ISR-exist
 He and she kissed (each other).'
- c. {*naayi-ka bará biher biherəsəbá-ka*}_{CO-SUBs} [*ùt-ù-t-té* v]_{VP}
 Naayi-CONJ other Nation(Amh.) Nationalities(Amh.)-CONJ love-ISR-PASS-PART
 [(*dán-té yísñ-k'a*)_{Adv} [*ù/kús*]=*kì-kì*]_v_{VP}
 be.together-PART one-IN they=exist-exist
 'Naayi (people) and other Nation and Nationalities love each other and live together.'
- d. {*yeeb-ñ-ka bará-kñ nàfá-ka*}_{CO-SUBs} [(*dan*)_{Adv} [*fub háy-a* v]_{VP}
 woman-DEF.F-CONJ other-GEN husband-CONJ together adultery spend.night-PAST
 'The woman and other's husband committed adultery together.'
- e. {*yeeb-ñ bará-kñ nàfá-ka*}_{CO-SUBs} [*fub háy-a* v]_{VP}
 woman-DEF.F other-GEN husband-COM adultery spend.the.night-PAST
 'The woman committed adultery with other's husband'

The syntactic intransitive verbs in the examples in (40a, b & c) code the reciprocal events by the passive marker *-t'/-t* on the verbs. But the reciprocal events in (40d, c & e) are not marked by the passive marker *-t'/-t*, because the events expressed metaphorically. The verbs *kì-* and *háy-* in (40c, d & e) are intransitive, and the others in (40a, b & c) are derived (i.e. valency adjusted). The associative indirect object, in each of the examples, is not included in the VP of the intransitive verb; rather it is conjoined with the agent subject and the two participants form a conjoined subject. Therefore, the VPs headed by intransitive verbs with an associative indirect object are formed only with the head verbs, as in (40a, b, c, & e) or with the head verbs and optional adverbs, like in (40d).

¹⁶ The passive marker *-t'/-t* has also an extensional function to code reciprocal event in Naayi.

4.2.2. Verb Phrases Headed by Simple Transitive Verbs

Under the cover term 'transitive verb', two subclasses are named as simple transitive verbs and bi-transitive (or ditransitive) verbs (Givón 2001a:141). In Naayi, it is possible to classify transitive verbs into simple transitive and bi-transitive verbs; and at the same time, it is possible to describe verb phrases headed by simple transitive verbs on the one hand, and verb phrases headed by bi-transitive verbs on the other hand. Based on the two subclasses of transitive verbs, the verb phrases headed by simple transitive verbs are treated in this section, and next to this, the verb phrases headed by bi-transitive verbs are going to be discussed in (§4.2.3.).

Simple transitive verbs code events with two obligatory participants of which one takes the role of syntactic subject and the other takes the role of object. According to Givón (2001a:126), prototypical transitive verbs - and clauses - conform to both the semantic prototype of *transitive event* as defined in (41) and the syntactic prototype of *transitive clause* as defined in (42):

41. *Semantic prototype of transitive event:*

- a. *Agentivity:* Having a deliberate, active *agent*.
- b. *Affectedness:* Having a concrete, affected *patient*.
- c. *Perfectivity:* Involving a bounded, terminated, fast-changing *event* in real time.

42. *Syntactic prototype of transitive clause:*

Clauses and verbs that have a *direct object* are syntactically transitive. All others are syntactically intransitive.

Givón (2001a:126) also notes that languages tend to abide, at least in simple clauses, by a constraint on mapping between semantic and syntactic transitivity as clearly described in (43):

43. *Prototypical mapping between semantic and syntactic transitivity:*

When the simple clause codes a semantically transitive event as stated in (41), the event's *agent* will be the clause's *subject*, and the event's *patient* the clause's *direct object* as stated in (42).

According to Givón (2001a:126), “while the prototypes (41) and (42) are indeed valid in all languages, and while the bulk of syntactically transitive verbs in most languages indeed abide by mapping constraint (43), languages nonetheless differ enormously in how closely they adhere to mapping constraint (43). In spite of this, languages differ in how rigid or lax in that they may be in allowing non-agents to be the subjects of syntactically-transitive verbs, and non-patients to be their direct objects.” Based on the semantic and syntactic prototypes of transitivity and the prototypical mapping between semantic and syntactic transitivity mentioned above, we can describe the VP structure of Naayì. However, here, it is not to proof or disproof the constraint in (43), rather it is to be guided by a more accepted knowledge of transitivity. Under this section, the VP structure headed by the prototypical transitive verbs is discussed.

The various sub-types of prototypical transitive verbs classify the types of change undergone by the patient-object. Among them, some verbs denote physical *creation* of an object where none existed before; others denote the physical *destruction* of a previously-existing object; and others denote a considerable *change* in the object’s physical condition. Some transitive verbs may denote a change in the object’s physical *location*; and others may denote changes in the *surface conditions* of the object (Givón 2001a:127). Based on this classification of change undergone by the patient-object, the verb phrases headed by different sub-types of prototypical simple transitive verbs of Naayì are described as follows.

Some verbs denote physical *creation* of an object where none existed before, as in (44).

44. a. $[(ná-k\grave{h})_{PP} \quad tuur-ba-tá)_{PP} \quad [(dòm\grave{t}\grave{f}\grave{u}-ka)_{NP} \quad [ii-ná \quad NP \quad [\acute{n}=káb-kì]_{V}]]]_{VP}$
 1PL.POSS-GEN land-GEN-LOC euphorbia.candelabra-INST house-ACC 1PL=build-exist
 'In our environment, we build a house with euphorbia candelabra (tree sp).'
- b. $[(\grave{u}y\grave{n})_{AdvP} \quad [(m\grave{e}\grave{e}\grave{n} \grave{u}\acute{f}\acute{a}-k'a)_{NP} \quad [pwalá-ná \quad NP \quad \{ná\}[\underline{dyáh-\grave{n}-kì-ba} \quad \underline{té-kn}]_{V}]]]_{VP}$
 formerly buffalo horn-SOUR drinking.vessel-ACC we make-TSR-exist-REL COP-REAL
 'Formerly, we have been making a drinking vessel (pwalá) from buffalo's horn.'

The verbs like *kábki* 'build' and *dyáh\grave{n}kìba tékn* 'have been making' exemplified in (44) are transitive verbs which denote the physical creation of an object. Here, the VPs include a head verb V, and a direct object NP as complement which express the object created, and adverbs

and/or adverbial noun phrase NP as optional modifiers (adjuncts). In the VP structure here, the transitive head verb is preceded by the complement NP; and then, the adjuncts AdvP and/or NP precede the complement NP as illustrated in (44).

Some other prototypical transitive verbs denote the physical *destruction* of a previously existing object in Naayì, as in (45).

45. a. [*wark'at-á-s* NP {*is*} [*śáp'-m-a*]v]VP
 paper(Amh.)-ACC-DEF.M he tear-TSR-PAST
 'He tore the paper.'
- b. [(*gódñ*)AdvP [(*báfūr-ka*)NP [*k'aalù-ná* NP [*íf=śós-ñ-a*]v]]]VP
 yesterday oven-INST coffee-ACC she=roast-TSR-PAST
 'She roasted coffee with the oven yesterday.'

Here in (45), the transitive verbs *śáp'ma* 'tore' and *śósña* 'roasted' denote the physical destruction of a previously existing object. The destructed object is expressed by the NP that occurs as a complement in the verb phrase headed by the verb denoting the physical destruction of the object. The syntactic structure of the VP headed by these verbs is the same as in (44). The complement NPs *wark'atasm* 'the paper' in (45a) and *k'aalúná* 'coffee'in (45b) precede the head verbs *śáp'ma* 'tore' and *śósña* 'roasted' respectively. The adjuncts may precede the complements in the VPs optionally, as in (45b).

Some other prototypical transitive verbs denote a considerable *change* in the object's physical condition in Naayì, as in (46).

46. a. [*intfû-ná-s* NP [*yè=k'ùts-e-k'é-ám-ba-té-kn*]v]VP
 tree-ACC-DEF.M 2SG=cut-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL
 'You will not have cut the tree.'
- b. [(*úyñ*)AdvP [*intfû* NP [*t'ák'-ñ-té*]v]]VP,
 formerly wood split-TSR-PART
 [(*śòòy-ka* *té-kn*)CLEFT [*uut-ná* NP [*ñ=kós-ñ-kì-ba*]v]]VP
 plow.handle-INST COP-REAL landholding-ACC 1PL=plow-TRS-exist-REL
 'Formerly, we split wood, and it was with plow handle that we were plowing the

landholding.'

- c. [(*hak'á*)_{AdvP} [(*gaans-ka*)_{NP} [*uut-ná* _{NP} [*ḥ=kós-ḥ-kì*]_v]]]_{VP}
now ox-INST landholding-ACC 1PL=plow-TSR-exist
'We plow the landholding with ox now.'

- d. *yoob-ù-s* [(*byak'ná-ka*)_{NP} [*nùlá-ná* _{NP} [*ís=wùf-ḥ-a*]_v]]]_{VP}
man-M-DEF.M spear-INST hyena-ACC 3MSG=kill-TSR-PAST
'The man killed a hyena with spear.'

In the VPs in (46), the transitive head verbs *k'útsek'éámbatékn* 'do not cut', *tf'ák'ḥté* 'having split' and *kóṣḥkiba* 'were plowing' denote the physical change of the objects that are expressed by their NP complements *intfúnás* 'the tree' and *intfù* 'wood' and *uutná* 'landholding' respectively. All the transitive head verbs (v) are preceded by the complements NP. In (46b), there are two NP complements: the one is for the dependent clause, and the other is for the main clause. Regarding the adjuncts, the adverb phrases *úyḥ* 'formerly' in (46b) and *hak'á* 'now' in (46c), and the cleft clause *ṣòòyka tékn* 'it was with plow handle' in (46b) precede the NP complements. Moreover, the NP adjuncts *gaanska* 'with ox' in (46c) and *byak'náka* 'with spear' in (46d) precede the NP complements in the irrespective verb phrases.

Some prototypical transitive verbs may denote a change in the object's physical *location* in Naayi, as in (47).

47. a. [(*syas-syaska*)_{AdvP} [*kúyì* _{NP} {i}] [*zúk'-ḥ-kì*]_v]]]_{VP}
morning-morning sweepings she drop-TSR-exist
'She drops sweepings in every morning.'
- b. [(*tùrtù yarmá-k'a*)_{NP} [*zangá* _{NP} [*ḥ=gín-kì*]_v]]]_{VP}, [*waydá* _{NP} [*ḥ=gín-kì*]_v]]]_{VP}
summer season-IN sorghum 1PL=sow-exist, corn 1PL-sow-exist
'During summer season, we sow sorghum, we sow corn.'

The transitive verbs *zúk'ḥkì* 'drops' in (47a) and *gínkì* 'sow' in (47b) denote the change in the physical location of their objects *kúyì* 'sweepings', and *zangá* 'sorghum' and *waydá* 'corn' respectively. The objects that undergo a change in their physical location are expressed by the NPs that occur as complements to the transitive head verbs. The transitive head verbs are

merged with their NP complement minimally, and they form their VPs, as in (47a & b). Optional modifiers, or adjuncts like *syassyaska* 'in every morning' in (47a) in the form of adverb phrase and *tùrtù yarmák'a* 'during summer season' in the form of NP in (47b) can be preceded before the NP complements in the VPs.

Some other prototypical transitive verbs may denote changes in the *surface conditions* of the object in Naayi, as in (48).

48. a. *hááy yé-n ù/kús [[èkís-kṅ afù]_{NP} {ù/kús} [k'ùf-ṅ-á]_v]]_{VP}*
 water come-SEQ they 3PL.POSS-GEN leg they wash-TSR-IRR
 'When water comes, they would wash their legs.'
- b. *[(artù)_{AdvP} (puts'á-ka)_{NP} [ii-ná-s_{NP} [dír-n]_v]]_{VP}*
 quickly brush-INST house-ACC-DEF.M sweep-IMP
 'Clean the house with brush quickly'

In the examples, the objects *èkiskṅ afù* 'their legs' in (48a) and *iinás* 'the house' in (48b) that undergo change in their surface condition are expressed by a noun phrase that occurs as a complement to the transitive verbs in their verb phrases. Preceding the NP complement, adjuncts may come in the VPs, as illustrated in (48b). The optionality of the occurrence of the adjuncts is indicated in the example with curved brackets ().

4.2.3. Verb Phrases Headed by Bi-transitive Verbs

According to (Givón 2001:141), bi-transitive verbs code events with three obligatory participants of which one takes the role of syntactic subject and the other two take the role of objects. Of the two objects, one assumes the syntactic role of direct object, the other of indirect object. The subject of bi-transitive verbs is typically an *agent*, and one of the objects most commonly a *patient*. The indirect object of bi-transitive verbs may code a variety of semantic roles, whose classification is highly predictive of the bi-transitive verb's syntactic behavior. Based on this conception, the verb phrases headed by bi-transitive verbs in Naayi are discussed as follows.

Verb phrases headed by the bi-transitive verbs are minimally formed with two complements in Naayi. This means that the bi-transitive verbs, together with two obligatory objects, of

which one is the direct object (NP) and the other is the indirect object (PP or NP), form their minimally projected verb phrases in clauses. In addition to the two obligatory objects, other optional adverbial modifiers, as adverb phrase (AdvP) and/or noun phrase (NP), can be merged with the minimal VP, and then a bigger VP structure headed by a bi-transitive verb is formed in general. The VPs headed by the bi-transitive verbs in Naayì are discussed below based on two subtypes of prototypical bi-transitive head verbs: (I) bi-transitive head verbs with locative indirect objects, and (II) bi-transitive head verbs with dative-benefactive objects, among others which are very less prototype of bi-transitive verbs (cf. Givón 2001a:141).

I. VPs Headed by Bi-transitive Verbs with Locative Indirect Objects

Bi-transitive verbs with locative indirect objects code events in which a deliberate agent (the subject) causes the movement of the patient (direct object) to or from some location (locative indirect object) (Givón 2001a:142). In Naayì, the syntactic structure of VPs headed by the bi-transitive verbs with locative indirect object is illustrated in (49).

49. a. *keysì-yaab-ù-s-kís* *[[ii-kṛ̃ ìpṛ̃-ba-tá]PP* *[[kadù baakù nyólù-ná]NP*
 'Mrs.-NMLZ-M-DEF.M-PL house-GEN outside-GEN-LOC three trivets stone-ACC
[kóm-yé-t]v]]VP, *ye-s-ka* *ṛ̃ ù/kús káts-ṛ̃-ki*
 receive-come-PART, DISTN-DEF.M-INST food they cook-TSR-exist
 'The females bring three trivets from outside the house and they cook food with that one.'
- b. *[[ii-ba-táPP* *[[ís-kṛ̃ òytṛ̃-ná]NP {ís} [kóm-yé-g-a]v]]VP*
 house-GEN-LOC 3MSG.POSS-GEN cow-ACC he receive-come-PAST
 'He brought his cow to the house.'
- c. *[(gódṛ̃)AdvP [gábá-ba-táPP [k'aalù-náNP {í} [kón-tég-a]v]]]VP*
 yesterday market-GEN-LOC coffee-ACC she receive-go-PAST
 'She took coffee to the market yesterday.'
- d. *[pára-ka NP [[bará tuur-ba-tá]PP [yaab-u-s-ná NP {ù/kús} [àts-t-ù-s-a]v]]]VP*
 horse-INST other land-GEN-LOC person-M-DEF.M-ACC they give-PAST-TOR-
 CAUS-PAST
 'They sent the person to other place with horse.'

- e. [(hark'ù haykɛ̃)_{NP} [gongul-k'a_{NP} [[if-kɛ̃ naak-ná]_{NP} {if} [kàlm-ù-s-ki]_v]]]_{VP}
 many time box-IN 3FSG-POSS money-ACC she sit-ISR-CAUS-exist
 'She usually puts her money in the box.'

In Naayì, since VP is right headed, the bi-transitive head verbs are preceded by the direct object NP, and then by the locative indirect object NP as in (49a, b, c, d & e) in their VPs. The minimally projected VP structure can be wider by merging optional adverbial modifiers, like, *gódɛ̃* 'yesterday' in (49c) and *páráka* 'with horse' in (49d). Therefore, the order of the constituents in the VPs becomes: *adverbial modifiers - locational indirect object - direct object - bi-transitive head verbs*.

II. VP Headed by Bi-transitive Verbs with Dative-benefactive Objects

Bi-transitive verbs with dative-benefactive objects code events in which one object is a *dative* or *benefactive* participant, and the other is a *patient* that moves to or from the dative-benefactive (Givón 2001a:142). In Naayì, the verbs like *àts-* 'give', *kómyé-* 'bring', *púr-* 'sell' and *kóntég-* 'take' are bi-transitive verbs. With the head of such bi-transitive verbs, verb phrases are minimally projected with dative-benefactive object and the patient object complements in the language, as seen in (50).

50. a. [ɛ̃-gábár-ná_{NP} [ɛ̃-tfɛ̃_{NP} [àts-n]_v]]_{VP}
 1SG.POSS-chair-ACC 1SG-GEN give-IMP
 'Give me my chair to me!'
- b. [gaans-á_{NP} [ɛ̃-dòdù-f_{NP} [ɛ̃=àts-t-ù-s-a]_v]]_{VP}
 ox-ACC 1SG.POSS-son-DAT 1SG=give-PASS-TOR-CAUS-PAST
 'I sent an ox to my son.'
- c. [if-beey-if_{NP} [k'aalù-ná_{NP} {if}_s [kóm-yé-ki]_v]]_{VP}
 3FSG.POSS-mother-DAT coffee-ACC she receive-come-exist
 'She brings coffee to her mother.'
- d. [yaab-ù-s-if_{NP} [òyt-ɛ̃-ná_{NP} [ɛ̃=púr-a]_v]]_{VP}
 person-M-DEF.M cow-DEF.F-ACC 1SG=sold-PAST
 'I sold a cow to the man.'

- e. [*èkís-íʃ*]_{NP} [*afal-ná*]_{NP} [*ís=kón-tég-kì*]_v]_{VP}
 cloth-ACC 3PL.POSS-DAT 3FSG=receive-go-exist
 'He takes clothes to them.'

Both objects occur in the form of noun phrase, of which the dative-benefactive object NP is marked with the Dative case suffix *-(i)ʃ*) and the patient object NP is marked with the accusative case suffix *-(n)á*), as in (50). Regarding the order of the two objects, the direct object is mostly preceded by the indirect object, as in (50b, c & d); but when the direct object needs to be in focus, it comes before the indirect object i.e. (near) to the beginning of a clause, as in (50a & b). Although the subject occurs immediately before the head verb and after the two objects, it is indicated as exclusive constituent from the internal structure of VP with the brace brackets { }, like {*íʃ*} 'she' in (50c).

The more abstract verbs in this group, as illustrated below in (51), also have the same VP structure as given in (50). Since the event itself is often an abstract metaphor on physical motion, the patient is often also more abstract and metaphoric.

51. a. [*kúy núút'ù-s-kís*, *k'wáyá*]_{NP} [*ḥ-tʃi*]_{NP} [*pít-n=ít*]_v]_{VP}
 forest wild.animal-DEF.M-PL all 1PL-DAT list-IMP=2HON
 'Please list all the forest wild animals to me.'
- b. [*(haʃḥ-ka)*]_{AdvP} [*naayì nòògù-ná*]_{NP} [*ḥ-tʃi*]_{NP} [*máh-n-é*]_v]_{VP}
 wide-INST Naayì thing-ACC 1SG.POSS-DAT tell-IMP-N.ASS
 'Tell the issue of Naayì to me widely.'
- c. [*ʔyáts galatá-ná*]_{NP} [*yè-tʃi*]_{NP} [*pót-s-kì-ba=nà-té-n-a*]_v]_{VP}
 great thanks-ACC 2SG-DAT reach-CAUS-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'I have presented great thanks to you!'
- d. [*ùf-t'ibá-f*]_{NP} [*woosù-ná*]_{NP} {*ù/kús*} [*àts-t-ù-s-a*]_v]_{VP}
 3PL.POSS-relative-DAT message-ACC they give-PASS-TOR-CAUS-PAST
 'They sent a message to their relatives.'
- e. [*naayì biherəsəbá*]_{NP} [*(harkù-ka)*]_{AdvP} [*gaatʃù-f*]_{NP} [*wuʃkù*]_{NP} [*àts-ḥ-kì*]_v]_{VP}
 Naayì community(Amh.) excess-INST t'ef(Amh.)-DAT meaning give-TSR-exist
 'The Naayì community mostly gives (symbolic) meaning for Tef(grain sp).'

4.3. Adjective phrase

As discussed in §4.1. about the structure of NP, adjectives modify the head noun in the NP. In addition to modifying nouns, they can also be used as predicate of the copular verb in Naayi. According to Payne (2006:116), one major function of adjectives is to specify some property of the head noun in a noun phrase, for example its color, size, shape, temperament, or other property concepts; and the other major function is to express the main semantic content of a verb phrase. Having these functions in noun phrases as well as in verb phrases, the word class of adjective in Naayi can form adjective phrases (AdjP) headed by the lexical adjectives. In AdjP, there must be a head adjective obligatorily; and the degree modifier *haylá* 'very' can precede the head adjective optionally. In other words, an AdjP in Naayi is constructed either only by the head adjective as in (52), or by the head adjective preceded by the degree modifier *haylá* 'very' as in (53). In the adjective phrases, there is no compulsory modifier (or complement) preceding the head adjectives. The syntactic structure of the adjective phrases in relation to the head nouns in noun phrases are illustrated below; and the adjective phrases are indicated with bold underline in the examples.

52. a. [***(ts'áhñ)***_{AdjP} *tuur*]_N_{NP}
 black soil
 'black soil'
- b. [***(ibar)***_{AdjP} [*noogù*]_N]_{NP}
 real thing
 'real thing'
- c. [***(turbm)***_{AdjP} [*šooš*]_N]_{NP}
 red snake
 'red snake'
- d. [***(?vátš)***_{AdjP} [*m*]_N]_{NP}
 great food
 'great food'
- e. [***(marká)***_{AdjP} [*gordù*]_N]_{NP}
 small gourd
 'small gourd'
- f. [***(?vátš)***_{AdjP} [*k'ádá*]_N]_{NP}
 big calabash
 'big calabash'
53. a. [***(haylá-ka*** DEGW [***(kalbù)***_{Adj}]_{AdjP} [*kùdù*]_N]_{NP}
 very-INST difficult journey
 'very difficult journey'
- b. [***(haylá-ka*** DEGW [***(?vátš)***_{Adj}]_{AdjP} [*ii*]_N]_{NP}
 very-INST big house

'very big house'

c. $[(\text{havlá-ka}_{\text{DEGW}}(\text{fengù})_{\text{Adj}})_{\text{AdjP}}[\text{yaab}]_{\text{N}}]_{\text{NP}}$

very-INST bad person

'very bad person'

d. $[(\text{havlá-ka}_{\text{DEGW}}(\text{fikn})_{\text{A}})_{\text{AP}}[\text{yaab}]_{\text{N}}]_{\text{NP}}$

very-INST good person

'very good person'

Furthermore, adjectives or adjective phrases are used as predicates that express the main semantic content of a verb phrase headed by the copular verb in Naayi. In this case, the syntactic head of the verb phrase is the copular verb as in (54), or the zero copula as in (55); and the adjectives or adjective phrases become the obligatory constituents or complements of the head copula in both cases. It means that the adjective phrase is the major part of the verb phrase headed by the copula. Like in NP, AdjP in the VP is formed either only by the head adjective as in (54a & 55), or by the head adjective preceded by the degree word (DEGW) modifier *havlá* 'very' as in (54b & c). The examples illustrate the structure of AdjP in relation to the VP headed by the copular verb *té-* or the zero copula.

54. a. *ánká gé-t'-nè kòfù, [[[ʔyáts-yaab]_{Adj}]_{AdjP} [té-kɲ]_{v}]_{VP}*
gourd say-PASS-TSR gourd (kòfù) ʔyáts-NMLZ COP-REAL

'Ánká (drinking vessel) means Kòfù (gourd), it is the large one.'

b. *yè-dòdù k'wápá [[(\text{havlá-ka})_{\text{DEGW}}(\text{fikn-s-yaab})_{\text{Adj}}]_{\text{AP}} [té-n-a]_{v}]_{\text{VP}}*
2SG-son conduct very-INST good-DEF.M-NMLZ COP-REAL-PRSP

'Your son's conduct is the very good one.'

c. *yè-dodù [[(\text{havlá-ka})_{\text{DEGW}}(\text{k'wápá-kaba})_{\text{Adj}}]_{\text{AdjP}} [té-n-a]_{v}]_{\text{VP}}*
2SG-son-DEF.M very-INST conduct-ADJLZ COP-REAL-PRSP

'Your son is very nice.'

55. a. *gaans [[[túnù]_{Adj}]_{AdjP} [COP_{ZERO}]_{v}]_{VP}*

ox hornless

'The ox is hornless.'

b. *òòyìn [[[ts'aahn]_{Adj}]_{AdjP} [COP_{ZERO}]_{v}]_{VP}*

cow black

'The cow is black.'

c. *bandará hàà!*, *goot'ñ-s* *[[[goot'ñ]Adj]AdjP [COPZERO]v]VP*
 flag(Amh.) INTJ (listen.me), white-DEF.M white

turbñ-s *[turbñ AdjP [COPZERO]v]VP*,
 red-DEF.M red

t'filù-s *[[[t'filù]Adj]AdjP [COPZERO]v]VP, kadù té-kn*
 green-DEF.M green three COP-REAL

'Flag, listen me! The white is white. The red is red. The green is green. They are three.' (Context: mentioning the name of the colors of the flag of SNNP Regional States of Ethiopia by the informant)

Moreover, an adjective phrase can be the complement of some other intransitive verbs which can show some kind of change of state, as in (56a & b).

56. a. *háá-s* *dòdù nàs-t-ù-té* *[(havlá-ka)DEGW [ʔváts]Adj]AdjP [pót-té]v]VP*
 PROX-DEF.M son be.born-PASS-TOR-PART very-INST big reach-PART
 'This son was born and reached (became) very big, and ...'

b. *ìf* *[[[ì/kñ-vaab]Adj]AdjP [àkur-a-gata]v]VP, ...*
 she good-NMLZ become-PAST-COND
 'If she became a nice one, ...'

4.4. Adverb Phrase

The other phrasal category in Naayì is adverb phrase (AdvP) that is syntactically placed at the periphery position in a verb phrase and modifies the head verb, or placed outside the verbs phrase at clause level and modifies the whole clause. As discussed in §3.1.4., the adverb types in the word class of adverb in the language are time adverbs, locational adverbs, manner adverbs, frequency adverbs and epistemic adverbs. Using only a head adverb from these subtypes of adverbs, an AdvP can be formed in a clause. This means, there is no any complement and modifier in an AdvP. Since the number of adverbs are relatively small with respect to the multiple adverbial functions, all the adverbial functions are not only expressed with the few adverbs; rather they can also be expressed by the adverbial noun phrases (NPs).

Some of the adverbial functions are place, time, manner, frequency, instrument and others. With respect to these adverbial functions, AdvPs and/or NPs can modify an event, action or state in a clause, as illustrated in (57, 58 & 59).

57. a. *pára* [(*ipm*)_{AdvP} [*is=háy-kì*]_V]_{VP}

horse outside 3MSG=spend.the.night-exist

'Horse spends the night outside.'

b. *naayi* [(*gobì tuur-ba-tá*)_{PP} [(*womá*)_{AdvP} [*is=yég-a-ba-ka*]_V]_{VP}

Naayi Goba land-GEN-LOC hither 3MSG=come-PAST-REL-TEMP

šákù-ka diìzì-ka [(*e(á)*)_{AdvP} {*ù/kús*} [*k'é-a-ba*]_V]_{VP}

Sheko-CONJ Diizi-CONJ thither they remain-PAST-REL

'When Naayi came hither around Goba, Sheko and Diizi, they, remained thither.'

58. a. [(*hak'á*)_{AdvP} [(*gaans-ka*)_{NP} [*uut-ná NP* [*ñ=kóš-ñ-kì*]_V]]]_{VP}

now ox-INST landholding-ACC 1PL=plow-TSR-exist

'We plow the landholding with ox now.'

b. [(*gatsù-gatsù*)_{AdvP} [*p'óók'-ù-kì-ba*]_V]_{VP} *sítsú té-*kn**

first-first grow-ISR-exist-REL hair COP-REAL

'It is hair that it grows up in advance (i.e. the head hair is at the top of all our body parts).'

c. [(*gódñ*)_{AdvP} [(*báfùr-ka*)_{NP} [*k'aalù-ná NP* [*if=šóš-ñ-a*]_V]]]_{VP}

yesterday oven-INST coffee-ACC she=roast-TSR-PAST

'She roasted coffee with the oven yesterday.'

59. a. *té-té* [(*etsá*)_{AdvP} [(*waadá-k'a*)_{NP} [*èkñ-ná NP* *is* [*péy-a-gata*]_V]]]_{VP}

go-PART carelessly doorstep-IN him-ACC he injure-PAST-COND

'If he went and injured himself at the doorstep carelessly ...'

b. [(*artù*)_{AdvP} [(*puts'á-ka*)_{NP} [*ii-ná-s NP* [*dír-n*]_{VP}]]]_{VP}

quickly brush-INST house-ACC-DEF.M sweep-IMP

'Clean the house with brush quickly.'

c. [(*noogù-s, ye-s-á*)_{NP} [(*hasñ-ka*)_{AdvP} [*máh-n=ít*]_V]]]_{VP}

thing-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M-ACC wide-INST tell-IMP=2HON

'Please tell (us) this thing widely.'

The examples in (57a), (58a, b & c) and (59a, b & c) illustrate the AdvPs of place, time and manner adverbs respectively in the VPs or clauses. We can also see the adverbial functions expressed by the adverbial NPs in (57b, 58a & c; 59a & b). Since multiple adverbial functions can be addressed in a verb phrase, one or more adverbial expressions can occur in the VP as shown in the examples. In a VP, however, the different adverbial phrases are independent to each other in their syntactic dependency and function; and their syntactic position is free or not fixed in that one can precede or follow the other; but mostly the adverbial phrases precede the complement phrases of the head verbs in the VPs.

In Sum, based on the discussion in chapter four, there are four phrasal categories in Naayì. These are noun phrase, verb phrase, adjective phrase and adverb phrase. Based on the discussion in this chapter, Naayì is a right headed language. This is because, in the phrases such as in NP and VP, the head is preceded by the adjuncts and/or complements. The other phrase categories such as AdjP and AdvP have no complements. However, AdjP has a degree word modifier *hayláka* 'very' as an adjunct, but AdvP has no any adjunct. Hence, the AdvP is formed only by its head.

CHAPTER FIVE: CLAUSE STRUCTURES

In this chapter, clausal structures are treated in four main sections. The first section (§5.1.) deals with simple clauses; the second section (§5.2.) deals with complex clauses; the third section (§5.3.) deals with coordination; and the fourth section (§5.4.) deals with the morphosyntax of focus and topic which are pragmatically marked structures.

Clause is the description of some activity, state, or property. The label ‘sentence’ is often used when what is intended is clearly ‘clause’. A simple sentence consists of a single clause; but, when a sentence includes a number of clauses, linked together and/or with one embedded within another, the sentence become complex (cf. Dixon 2010a:93). In more appropriate terms, a sentence having a single clause is named as simple clause; whereas, a sentence having two or more clauses of which the one is dependent on another is called complex clause. These two types of clause structures have different internal syntactic structures, and these are discussed in this chapter one after the other.

5.1. Simple Clauses

A clause has syntactic and pragmatic functions, and it has a structure. Syntactically, a clause which on its own makes up a complete utterance is called a ‘main clause’, and when the main clause is free from dependent clauses, it is called simple clause. Therefore, syntactically, a clause can be main or dependent; and simple or complex. Pragmatically, a main/simple clause generally includes an indication concerning what type of speech act it is, and this is called its mood. The types of speech act within a clause are three types: a *statement*, with *declarative* mood (also called indicative mood); a *command*, with *imperative* mood; and a *question*, with *interrogative* mood. From these, declarative, interrogative and imperative are grammatical labels, while statement, command and question describe type of speech act (Dixon 2010a:93-96). Here, simple clauses in Naayì are described in relation to their alternative grammatical labels or mood types such as declarative, interrogative and imperative moods (clauses). Because, these clause types are distinguished cross-linguistically

based on formal markers, such as inflectional affixes, word order patterns, particles, etc., and one clause type is differentiated from the other clause type (cf. Shopen 2007a: 278).

5.1.1. Declarative Clauses

“Declarative sentences[clauses] are conventionally and typically used to perform representative (descriptive) speech acts such as assertions, reports, acts of complaining and bragging, but also acts of predicting and promising” (Shopen 2007a:284). Having these functions, a declarative clause is to mean simple main clause in which there is only one independent verb. In order to distinguish the grammatical features of declarative clauses in Naayì, the word order or phrasal constituent order and morphological marking of declarative clauses are very important and discussed as follows respectively.

5.1.1.1. Word Order in Declarative Clauses

Typologically, Naayì is characterized by a head-final language as discussed on phrase structure in chapter 4. At clause level, Naayì is a verb-final language both in main and dependent simple clauses. The basic word order in declarative clauses in Naayì varies depending on the type of the head verb in the clauses. Declarative clauses can be classified into different types based on the types of VPs discussed in chapter 4. These are copular declarative clauses, existential declarative clauses, intransitive declarative clauses, simple transitive declarative clauses (i.e. simple clauses with one object) and bi-transitive declarative clauses. The word order in each of these clauses is discussed one by one as follows.

The basic word order in copular declarative clauses is *subject-complement-verb* (SCV) in Naayì, as in (1). For verb-final languages, the copular verb normally comes at the end of the clause (Payne 1997:116). However, when the copula is covert in the copular declarative clauses, the head becomes zero copula; and then, the word order in the zero copular declarative clauses is *subject-complement* (SC) as in (2).

1. a. *[káyì-s háás-ka dìgì-ka]s [yísɲ̩ c [té-kn]v]vp*
 sun-DEF.M PROX-CONJ guardian.sprit-CONJ one COP-REAL
 'This sun and the guardian sprit are the same.'
- b. *[ii-k'ùt'á-s-kís]s [ye-s c [té-kn]v]vp*
 house-utensils-DEF.M-PL DISTN-DEF.M COP-REAL
 'The house utensils are these ones.'
- c. *[yaab-u-s]s [í/kɲ̩-s-yaab c [té-o]v]vp*
 person-M-DEF.M good-DEF.M-NMLZ COP-NEG
 'The man is not the good one.'
2. a. *[háá-s]s [gumtù c [COPZERO]]vp*
 PROX-DEF.M knee
 'This one is knee.'
- b. *[òòyɲ̩]s [ts'aah̩ c [COPZERO]]vp*
 cow black
 'The cow is black.'

A clause with the state verb *àkur-* 'become' has also the word order: *subject-complement-verb* (SCV) as the copular declarative clauses, as in (3).

3. a. *[[ye-s-kís intfù]s [ɲ̩-tfì NP [geer c [àkur-a]v]vp]vp]vp*
 DISTN-DEF.M-PL tree 1PL.POSS-DAT shadow become-PAST
 'Those trees became shadow for us now.'
- b. *tuur s [tókù c àkur-a]v]vp*
 land bare become-PAST
 'The land became bare.'

In existential declarative clauses, the basic word order is *subject-verb* (SV), as illustrated in (4a) for existence, and in (4b) for nonexistence. In the examples, the subject of the existential verb *kiz-* 'exist' is the thing that exists on/in somewhere; and the locative NP is an optional constituent that refers to the place where on/in which the thing exists.

4. a. [(i-k'a)_{NP} {baabù}_S [[kìz-a]_V]_{VP}
house-IN father exist-PAST
'There is father in a house.' (In the context of introducing family members)
- b. [(tuur-ba-tá)_{NP} {hàày}_S [[kày]_V]_{VP}
land-REL-LOC water not.exist
'There is no water around.'

In existential clauses, the locative NP expressing the location of existence as in (5a) or of nonexistence as in (5b) can be covert in a definite context.

5. a. [ìs miit'á]_S [kìz-a]_V]_{VP}
he evidence exist-PAST
'There is his evidence.'
- b. [naayì èdù]_S [kày]_V
Naayì mouth not.exist
'Naayì language does not exist.' (Context: shows that Naayì language becomes extinct.)

However, the existential verb *kìz-* 'exist' can be complemented by a dative case marked NP and it is used to construct possession clauses in Naayì. The basic word order in possession declarative clauses is *complement-subject-verb* (CSV), as in (6).

6. a. [yoob-ù-s-ìf]_C {m̩}_S [kìz-a]_V]_{VP}
person-M-DEF.M-DAT food exist-PAST
'There is food for the man. / The man has food.'
- b. [yoob-ù -s-ìf]_C {miit'á}_S [kày]_V]_{VP}
person-M-DEF.M-DAT evidence not.exist
'There is no evidence for the man. / The man has not evidence.'

Regarding with simple intransitive declarative clauses, i.e. intransitive declarative clauses with no complements, the basic word order is *subject-verb* (SV), as in (7 & 8). In (8), there are optional locative expressions preceding the subject. However, there is a case in that

intransitive declarative clauses that take a complement expressing a patient indirect object as in (9), and in this case, the basic word order is *complement-subject-verb* (CSV).

7. a. [yaab-ù-s]_S [[ùb-a-té-kn-a]_V]_{VP}
 person-M-DEF.M die-PAST-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The man has died.'
- b. [[yaab dòdù k'wáyá]_S [wóg-a-ba-té-kn-a]_V]_{VP}
 person child all grow-PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'All human beings have developed.'
8. a. [(kùdù-ba-tá) {yaab-ù-s}_S [áf-ù-kù-ba-té-n-a]_V]_{VP}
 road-GEN-LOC person-M-DEF.M stand-ISR-exist-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The man has stood at the road.'
- b. [(k'yaná-ba-tá) {ì}_S [sók'-a]_V]_{VP}
 bed-GEN-LOC she sleep-PAST
 'She slept on the bed.'
9. [[ùtù selá yaab-ì]_C [ń-tfi c {hàày}_S [pót-o-ba té-kn-a]_V]_{VP}]_{VP}
 five village person-DAT 1PL.POSS water reach-NEG-REL COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Water has not reached to us for the people of villages.'

Coming to simple transitive declarative clauses (i.e. clauses with one object) that have full lexical subject and object NPs, the basic or most frequent word order is *subject-object -verb* (SOV), as in (10a & b).

10. a. [yoob-ù-s]_S [(byak'ná-ka)_{NP} [nùlá-ná o [ís=wù[-n'-a]_V]_{VP}]_{VP}
 man-M-DEF.M spear-INST hyena-ACC 3MSG=kill-TSR-PAST
 'The man killed a hyena with spear.'
- b. [keysì-yaab-ù-s-kís]_S [[ii-knè ipnè-ba-tá]_{NP} [[kadù baakù nyólù-ná]_O
 'Mrs.-NMLZ-M-DEF.M-PL house-GEN outside-GEN-LOC three trivets stone-ACC
 [kóm-yé-t]_V]_{VP}
 receive-come-PART

'The females bring three trivets from outside the house and ...'

Typologically, since Naayì is a verb-final language, its basic word order (SOV) goes in line with the most frequent word order of the verb-final languages of the world. According to Dryer (2007:62), in most verb-final languages, the basic or most frequent word order in transitive clauses containing a lexical subject and a lexical object is SOV. "SOV languages are the most widespread word order type among the languages of the world." Again, "clausal structure in Omotic languages generally follows the SOV constituent order" (Azeb 2012:486). In Sheko, which is the nearest related language to Naayì, the dominant word order in clauses is also SOV (Hellenthal 2010:329). In Naayì, according to Aklilu (2001:28), "the usual sentence word order is SOV".

"The normal understanding of what we mean when we talk about the basic order of subject, object, and verb, or of just subject and verb, or of just object and verb, is the order when the subject or object is a noun, rather than a pronoun, or, more accurately, a lexical noun phrase, i.e. a noun phrase headed by a noun, rather than a noun phrase consisting of just a pronoun" (Dryer 2007:80). In Naayì, pronouns mostly have word order properties that differ considerably from lexical NPs, in that a subject pronoun immediately precedes the verbs in simple transitive clauses either in the form of independent pronoun as in (11) or clitic pronoun as in (12). Because, pronouns are indicator of topical information or more related to a pragmatic structure (i.e. topic) in the language as discussed in (§5.4.1.) in which it is also mentioned that clitic subject pronouns like in (12) are more likely topical than independent subject pronouns like in (11) in the clauses.

11. a. *[bazá o {ùf}s [áʔf]v]vP*

beehive 3HON hang

'They hang beehive (on a tree to breed bees).'

b. *[ùdùo {ùf}s [áf-ḥ]v]vP*

false.banana 3HON plant-TSR

'They plant false banana.'

c. [*ñ-noogù-ná* *o* [(*is-ka*)*NP* {*ná*}*S* [*áf-ù-s-ó*]*V*]]*VP*
 1SG-speech-ACC 3MSG.POSS-INST I stop-ISR-CAUS-N.ASS
 'I would stop my speech with it.'

12. a. [(*hak'á*)*AdvP* [[*k'ork'or* *ii*]*o* [*ñ=káp-ñ-ki*]*v*]]*VP*
 now corrugated.iron(Amh.) house 1PL=build-TSR-exist
 'We are building house of corrugated iron roof now.'

b. *bálá-ná gém-té* [[*bálá-ka yísñ*]*o* *dò* [*yè=pád-ñ-ám-ba*]*v*]]*VP*
 hundred-ACC say-PART hundred-CONJ one SEQFOC 2SG=count-TSR-NON.PAST-REL
 'You say hundred; and then, you will count hundred one.'

Sometimes, while a lexical NP subject occurs at the beginning of a simple transitive clause, the same subject can also reappear on the verb in the form of clitic subject pronoun as in (13a), and here the word order in the clause is understood as SOV based on the lexical NP subject. Moreover, a pronoun subject sometimes may come at the beginning of a simple transitive declarative clause in the normal place of a lexical NP subject of the clause, as in (13b & c). The reason for this is also to give focus on the subject, as mentioned above. For the same reason, the object can also move to the left before the adverbial modifiers as in (13b).

13. a. [*gwamar vaab*]*s* [(*hak'á*)*AdvP* [[*naayì dégn-á*]*o* [*is=fád-g-ñ*]*v*]]*VP*
 Kaffa person now Naayì daughter-ACC 3MSG=marry-TSR
 'A person of Kaffa marries the Naayì daughter now.'

b. [*ì*]*s* [(*san-tá-ba-f*)*AdvP* [(*ye-s-ka*)*NP* [*nà-kñ-ná* *o* [*kóm-á-ba té-kn-a*]*v*]]]*VP*
 she front-LOC-GEN-DAT DISTN-DEF.M-INST 1SG-GEN-ACC
 receive-IRR-REL COP-REAL-PRSP
 'She will receive me with that one in the future.'

c. [*is*]*s* [*nà-kñ-na* *o* [(*ye-s-ka*)*NP* [(*san-tá-ba-f*)*AdvP*
 he 1SG-GEN-ACC DISTN-DEF.M-INST front-LOC-GEN-DAT

[àt-ṅ-á-ba té-*kn-a*][v]]_{VP}
 hold-TSR-IRR-REL COP-REAL-PRSP

'He will hold (treat) me with that one in the future.'

Moreover, we can also see that more than one optional adverbial modifier may come in a simple transitive declarative clause and can be placed anywhere before the verb in the clause, as in (13a & b), but usually before the object. Again, two or more optional adverbial modifiers may interchange their places within the modifier position as in (13a & b) because their functional status is equal, i.e. modifying the head verb.

The other clauses in declarative clause type are bi-transitive declarative clauses, which are headed by the bi-transitive verbs. The bi-transitive declarative clauses with full lexical subject and object NPs have also the *subject-object-verb* (SOV) word order, as in (14 & 15). Regarding the sequence of the two objects, the direct object (O) is frequently preceded by the indirect object (IO) and the word order becomes S-IO-OV, as in (14a & b; 15a, 16a & b). However, when the direct object needs to be focused, it comes before the indirect object, as in (15b).

14. a. [yaab-ù-s-kís]_S [ṅ-tfi_{IO} [ii_O [káp-ṅ-é][v]]]_{VP}
 person-M-DEF.M-PL 1SG.POSS-DAT house build-TSR-N.ASS

'The people would build a house to me.'

b. [nà baabù]_S yaab-ù-s-if_{IO} [òyt-ṅ-ná_O [púr-a][v]]_{VP}

I father person-M-DEF.M-DAT cow-DEF.F-ACC sold-PAST

'My father sold the cow to the man.'

15. a. [yaab-ù-s]_S [èkís-if_{IO} [afal-ná_O [kón-tég-a][v]]]_{VP}
 person-M-DEF.M 3PL.POSS-DAT cloth-ACC receive-go-PAST

'The man took clothes to them.'

b. [yaab-ù-s]_S [afal-ná_O [èkís-if_{IO} [kón-tég-a][v]]]_{VP}

person-M-DEF.M cloth-ACC 3PL.POSS-DAT receive-go-PAST

'The man took clothes to them.'

When we see the passive bi-transitive declarative clauses, they left the subject out or the subject is not the focus in the passive clauses; and hence, the clauses form the word order: *indirect object - direct object - head verb* (IO-O-V) as in (16a & b).

16. a. *[dég-ṅ baabù-ʃ]IO [gaans]O [àts-t-ù-kù-ba-té-kn-a]VVP*
 girl-DEF.F father-DAT ox give-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'An ox is being given to the girl's father.'
- b. *[[naayì tuur-ba-tá]IO [[hark'ù intfû-s-kís]O [áf-t-ù-kì]V]]VP*
 Naayì land-GEN-LOC many tree-DEF.M-PL plant-PASS-TOR-exist
 'Many trees are being planted in the land of Naayì.'

When there are optional constituents that have adverbial functions in a bi-transitive declarative clause, the optional adverbial modifiers are placed usually before the two objects in the clause, as in (17).

17. *[(hak'a)AdvP [(abfû-ka)NP [ṅ-tfi]IO [ii o {ṅ}s [káp-ṅ-kì]V]]]VP*
 now tree.sp.-INST 1PL.POSS-DAT house we build-TSR-exist
 'We are building a house with 'abshù' tree for us.'

5.1.1.2. Declarative Clause Marking

The types of simple clauses such as declaratives, interrogative, and imperative-jussive-optative clauses can be differentiated morphologically on their head verb in Naayì. In this regard, declarative clauses are typically '*unmarked*' morphologically in the language, as in (18a, 19b & 21a). However, polar interrogative clauses are marked with the morpheme *-s* as in (18b & 19a) and constituent interrogatives are identified with the interrogative words as illustrated in (20a). The other clause types, such as, the imperatives, jussives and optatives are marked with the morpheme *-n* in common as in (20b, 21b & c). Here the examples of interrogatives and imperative-jussive-optative clauses are given just for contrasting them with the declarative clauses. The main discussion on interrogative clauses is done in (§5.1.2.) and on the imperative, jussive and optative clauses in (§5.1.3.).

18. a. *òòt kiz-a*
 cow exist-PAST
 'There is a cow.'
- b. *òòt kì-s-é*
 cow exist-Q-N.ASS
 'Is there a cow?'
19. a. *wafá té-o-s*
 forest COP-NEG-Q
 'Is not it a forest?'
- b. *ye-s wafá té-(k)n-a*
 DISTN-DEF.M forest COP-REAL-PRSP
 'That one is a forest.'
20. a. *ṅ-baabfin-é it-sum-ná ití ṅ=gém-é ?*
 1SG.POSS-uncle-ADFOC 2HON.POSS-name-ACC who 1SG=say-N.ASS
 'My uncle!(calling), who would I say your name?'
- b. *ṅ sum-á gibi ṅayri gé-n-é*
 1SG.POSS name-ACC Gibo Ayro say-IMP-N.ASS
 'Say my name Gibo Ayro.' (Response for the question in (20a))
21. a. *yét-kṅ-ná kootfi-ó fùb-o-á*
 2SG-GEN-ACC wife-ADFOC die-NEG-IRR
 'Your wife also would not die.'
- b. *yét-kṅ-ná kootfi-ó fùb-o-k'o-n=if-é*
 2SG-GEN-ACC wife-ADFOC die-NEG-remain-JUSS=3FSG-N.ASS
 'Do not let also your wife die.'
- c. *ítkis aydi-ná yeer dáb-ù-t'-n=is*
 2PL foot.print-ACC God follow-ISR-PASS-OPT=3MSG
 'Let God follow your back.'

Moreover, with regard to systems of inflectional mood distinctions, declaratives are not restricted to one types of mood in Naayi. It means, they can have different types of mood distinctions depending on the different sub-types of declarative speech act, which are used to perform representative (descriptive) speech acts such as assertions, reports, acts of complaining and bragging, and acts of predicting and promising (cf. König and Siemund 2007:284). For examples in (18a, 23a & b, and 24a & b), the declarative clauses are not marked for mood morphologically; whereas, in (19b) the declaratives is marked for realis assertion mood with the morpheme *-(k)n* and for presupposition mood with the morpheme *-a*¹⁷. Again, declarative clauses can be expressed with irrealis assertion mood marker *-á*, as in (21a), and with negative assertion mood marker *-ó/-é* as in (22a & b). However, interrogative clauses and imperative-jussive-optative clauses are mostly characterized by the negative assertion mood marker *-ó/-é* since their proposition is strongly asserted to be false, or most commonly in contradiction to the hearer's explicit or assumed beliefs, as discussed later in (§ 5.1.2. and § 5.1.3.) respectively.

22. a. *ṅ-tfî* *ii* *ṅ káp-ṅ-é*
 1SG.POSS-DAT house I build-TSR-N.ASS
 'I would build a house for me.'

b. *ṅ-noogù-ná* *ís-ka* *ná áf-ù-s-ó*
 1SG-speech-ACC 3MSG.POSS-INST I stop-ISR-CAUS-N.ASS
 'I shall stop my speech by this.'

23. a. *èdù-k'a* *baaz-k'a* *is* *wúk'-kì*
 mouth-IN inside-IN 3MSG enter-exist
 'It enters the mouth.'

b. *èdù-k'a* *baqz-k'a* *is* *wúk'-o-kì*
 mouth-IN inside-IN 3MSG enter-NEG-exist
 'It does not enter the mouth.'

¹⁷ *Presupposition* (18a) and *past tense* (19b) are marked with the form *-a*; but presupposition is suffixed on the copula verb, whereas, past tense is on the main verbs.

24. a. *yeer-á nà gàlat-ḥ*
 God-ACC I thank-TSR
 'I thank God.'
- b. *yeer gàlat-t-ù*
 God thank-PASS-TOR
 'God is thanked.'

The head verb in simple declarative clauses can be the copular verb *té-*, a lexical (main) verb only, or a lexical (main) verb plus the copular helping verb *té-*. Based on these different types of head verbs, different ways of mood marking in copula declarative clauses, in intransitive/transitive declarative clauses without the copular helping verb, and in intransitive/transitive declarative clauses with the copular helping verb are used, as discussed below separately.

I. Copula Declarative Clauses

As stated in section 4.2.1.1., copula clauses in Naayì are headed by *té-* 'be'. The copular verb inflection can characterize the declarative clauses and distinguish them from other types of simple clauses. The primary function of a copular verb is connecting a complement with its subject and heading the copula clause in a language. Because, a copula verb has a relational meaning, indicating the relation between the copula subject and copula complement. The kinds of relation include identity, attribution and location. The predicate of a copula clause is a copula verb (cf. Dixon 2010a:100-101).

In Naayì, in addition to linking the copula subject and the copula complement, and heading the copula clause, the copular verb *té-* 'be' is inflected for the propositional modalities of its clause. According to Givón (2001a:301-302), there are four propositional epistemic modalities which could be marked morphologically in a language. These are presupposition (necessary truth), realis assertion (factual truth), irrealis assertion (possible truth) and negative assertion (non-truth). The communicative-pragmatic interpretation of these four modalities recasts them in terms of the epistemic states and communicative goals of the two participants in the communicative transaction - speaker and hearer. These four propositional

modalities display the strongest functional and grammatical consequences in human language (cf. Givón (2001a:301-302). Among these four propositional modalities, presupposition (necessary truth) and realis assertion (factual truth) can be inflected on the copular verb *té-* 'be' in the copula affirmative declarative clauses.

Before illustrating the propositional modalities on the copular verb, it is better to have a brief definition of the four epistemic modalities by quoting them from Givón (2001a:301-302) as follows:

- **Presupposition:** *The proposition is taken for granted to be true, either by definition, prior agreement, generic culturally-shared convention, by being obvious to all present at the speech situation, or by having been uttered by the speaker and left unchallenged by the hearer.*
- **Realis assertion:** *The proposition is strongly asserted to be true. But challenge from the hearer is deemed appropriate, although the speaker has evidence or other strong grounds for defending their strong belief.*
- **Irrealis assertion:** *The proposition is weakly asserted to be either possible, likely or uncertain (epistemic sub-modes), or necessary, desired or undesired (valuative-deontic sub-modes). But the speaker is not ready to back up the assertion with evidence or other strong grounds; and challenge from the hearer is readily entertained, expected or even solicited.*
- **Negative assertion:** *The proposition is strongly asserted to be false, most commonly in contradiction to the hearer's explicit or assumed beliefs. A challenge from the hearer is anticipated, and the speaker has evidence or other strong grounds for backing up their strong belief.*

All the four modalities can be expressed morphologically on the verbs in Naayì depending on the context in the communicative transaction between the speaker and the hearer. The copular verb *té-/tó-* 'be' in copula affirmative declarative clauses marks the two modalities such as *presupposition modality* and *realis assertion*. Presupposition modality is expressed by the morpheme *-a* (glossed as PRSP to denote *presupposition*) by which the proposition is taken for granted to be true by being obvious to all participants at the speech situation as in

(25c & d, 27a, 28a & 29). Realis assertion is expressed by the morpheme *-(k)n* (glossed as REAL to denote *realis assertion*) by which the proposition is strongly asserted to be true because the speaker has evidence or strong grounds for the challenge from the hearer as in (25b, c & d, 26a & b, 27a & b, 28a & b & 29).

25. a. Speaker A: *yíri faah-é gaans*
 what type-N.ASS ox

'What type of ox?'

b. Speaker B: *gaans túnù té-*kn**
 ox hornless COP-REAL

'The ox is hornless.'

(The speaker responds to the question as if his response is not well known by the addressee.)

c. Speaker A: *túnù ts'ah̀̀n té-*kn-a**
 hornless black COP-REAL-PRSP

'It is hornless black' (Speaker A adds what he knows to the speaker B's response.)

d. Speaker B: *háá! gaans túnù ts'ah̀̀n té-*kn-a**
 yes ox hornless black COP-REAL-PRSP

'Yes! the ox is hornless black.' (The speaker responds what is already mentioned by the addressee, not to give new information.)

26. a. *ye-s k'ùfát hááy té-*kn**
 DISTN-DEF.M right ear COP-REAL

'That one is right ear.'

b. *yaab-ù-s fì/k̀̀n-s-yaab té-*kn**
 person-M-DEF.M good-DEF.M-NMLZ COP-REAL

'The man is the good one.'

27. a. *t'ik'mtá ge-t'-̀̀n ámá tó-*kn-a**
 October(Amh.) say-PASS-TSR something COP-REAL-PRSP

mat'izá ge-t'-ḥ *tó-kn-a*
 October say-PASS-TSR COP-REAL-PRSP

'October means it is something. It means, it is Mat'iza(October).'

b. *ye-s-kís* *kádù* *tó-kn*
 DISTN-DEF.M-PL three COP-REAL

'Those are three.'

Again, from the realis marker *-(k)n*, *-k* is sometimes deleted simply for the reason of simplification of the two consonants and only *-n* can show the realis assertion modality as in (28a & 29). Thus, we can grasp that the copula affirmative declarative clauses are characterized by the realis assertion marker *-(k)n* and/or the presupposition modality marker *-a*. The presupposition modality marker *-a* is optionally marked on the copula depending on the obviousness of the proposition to the participants at the speech situation; but the realis assertion modality marker *-(k)n* is always suffixed to the copula *té-* in copula affirmative declarative clauses.

28. a. Speaker A: *kátfi t'ààgḥ* *té-n-a* (This is a leading copula declarative clause)

yams two COP-REAL-PRSP

'Yams are two.'

b. Speaker B: *kátfi dwáfá* *té-kn*

yams many COP-REAL

'Yams are many.'

29. *naayì-f gaatfù* *ḡyáts ḡ* *té-n-a*

Naayì t'ef(Amh.) great food COP-REAL-PRSP

'Tef(grain sp.) is a great food for Naayì.'

In Aklilu (2001:16), 'The copula plays an important role in the Nayi [Naayì] verb morphology. Its form is *te-/to-*, and the elements *-na* present and *-kn* past, are suffixed to it to indicate the state of the action.' But this is not the case based on this thesis because of three reasons at least. The first reason is that there is no present tense and past tense distinction on

the copula; rather, mood markers are suffixed to it. The second reason is that there is *-a* suffixed to the copula after *-kn* as *té-kn-a*, but there is no saying about the *-a* after *-kn*. The third reason is that the variation of the copula as *té-* and *tó-* is not due to having different functions as *tena* means 'is, are' and *tokn* means 'was, were' which express existence as mentioned in Aklilu (2001:16); rather, it is due to phonological reason that the copula varies in its form. The copula mostly occurs as *té-* in *Naayi*, but sometimes as *tó-*, as in (27), because of two probable reasons. The first reason can be due to the phonetic effect of the cluster of *-kn* itself after *té-* as in (27a & b); this is because, when *-k* is deleted like in (28 & 29), the vowel *é* in *té-* cannot be changed to *ó*. The second reason may be due to the preceding round vowel in another word at word boundaries as in (27b); this is because, vowel harmonization is very common in the language.

When an affirmative copula declarative clause like in (30a) becomes negative, the copular verb with its realis and/or presupposition mood markers is preceded by the negative existential verb *kày* marked with the relative marker *-ba*, as in (30b). Moreover, a negative copula declarative clause can be formed by suffixing the negative morpheme *-o* to the copular verb *té-* in the absence of the realis and presupposition mood markers, as in (30c).

30. a. *hak'á yoob-ù-s* *koşù-ba* *té-n-a*
 now person-M-DEF.M farming-NMLZ COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The man is a farmer now.'

b. *hak'á yoob-ù-s* *koşù-ba* *kày-ba* *té-n-a*
 now person-M-DEF.M farming-NMLZ not.exist-REL COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The man is not a farmer now.'

c. *yaab-u-s* *fì/khè-s-yaab* *té-o*
 person-M-DEF.M good-DEF.M-NMLZ COP-NEG
 'The man is not the good one.'

II. Intransitive and Transitive Declarative Clauses without the Copular Helping Verb

Simple intransitive and transitive declarative clauses headed by intransitive and transitive verbs only (i.e. main verbs without copula-helping verb) can be characterized with different modalities on the head verbs in Naayi. These type of declarative clauses can be marked either with *irrealis mood* when their proposition is weakly asserted to be either possible or uncertain as shown in the examples in (31), or with *negative assertion mood* when their proposition is most commonly in contradiction to the hearer's assumed belief, but the speaker has evidence for backing up his/her strong belief as in (32, 33b & c).

31. a. *ñ=máh-a-gata, ñ-dòdù hak'á sís-á*
 1PL=tell-PAST-COND 1PL.POSS-child now listen-IRR
 'If we told (them), our children would listen now.'
- b. *hááy yé-n, ùfkús èkís-kñ afù ùfkús k'ùf-ñ-á*
 water come-TEMP they 3PL.POSS-GEN leg they wash-TSR-IRR
 'While water comes, they would wash their legs.'
- c. *meets'ù yaab-ó yég-á*
 neighbor person-ADFOC come-IRR
 'The neighbor people also would come.'
32. a. *ñ-tfi ii ñ káp-ñ-é*
 1SG.POSS-DAT house I build-TSR-N.ASS
 'I would build a house for me.'
- b. *ñ-noogù-ná ís-ka ná áf-ù-s-ó*
 1SG-speech-ACC 3MSG.POSS-INST I stop-ISR-CAUS-N.ASS
 'I would stop my speech by this.'
- c. *nà-ó gàlat-ñ-ó*
 1SG-ADFOC thank-TSR-N.ASS
 'Also I would thank (you).'

b. *yeer gàlat-t-ù*

God thank-PASS-TOR

'God is thanked.'

36. *ná ñ=nóg-ñ-ba-ná sis-ñ-kì-té ñ-kootfi nóg-ñ-ám pót-ù*
we 1PL=speak-TSR-REL-ACC listen-TSR-exist-PART 1PL.POSS-wife speak-TSR-NON.PAST reach-ISR
'Our wives have to speak (Naayi) while they are listening to that we speak.'

In the case of simple negative declarative clauses headed by intransitive and transitive verbs or main verbs only, the negative marker *-o* itself suffixed on the verbs indicates the modality of the proposition that is certainly false or not necessary as in (37 & 38). The negative existential declarative clauses are headed by the negative lexical verb *kày* 'not exist' which asserts something that does not exist, and in this case the negative marker *-o* is not used to indicate the negative mood that is already expressed by the verb *kày* 'not exist' as in (39).

37. a. *toos-ka toos-ka kyám-ò-a*

brother-CONJ brother-CONJ meet-NEG-PAST

'Brothers did not meet with each other / (Brother did not meet (with) brother).'

b. *sáák'ù sé-t'-ò-a artù*

sky see-PASS-NEG-PAST forthwith

'The sky was not seen forthwith.' (i.e., 'There was not rain soon.')

38. a. *èdù-k'a baaz-k'a is wúk'-ò-kì*

mouth-IN inside-IN 3MSG enter-NEG-exist

'It does not enter the mouth.'

b. *òòt yarbm̃ ats-t-o-kì*

cow blood give-PASS-NEG-exist

'Cow's blood is not given.'

39. a. *yaab-if-ó hàày kày*

person-DAT-ADFOC water not.exist

'There is no water for people also.'

- b. *k'anù noogù kày*
 new thing not.exist
 'There is no new thing.'

III. Intransitive and Transitive Declarative Clauses with the Copular Helping Verb

Among these four propositional modalities identified in the language, presupposition (necessary truth) as in (40, 41a & c, 42 & 43) and realis assertion (factual truth) as in (40, 41, 42, & 43) can be indicated on the copular helping verb *té-* in simple intransitive and transitive declarative clauses having the copula helping verb. When these types of clauses are negative as in (43), the negative marker *-o* is suffixed to immediately after the main verb stem and the other mood markers can occur just like in their affirmative counterparts. The thick underline in all the examples given below indicates the mood markers needed for the discussion here.

40. a. *ìs nà-kṛ-ná ye-s-ka san-tá-ba-f àt-ṛ-ám-ba*
 he 1SG-GEN-ACC DISTN-DEF.M-INST front-LOC-GEN-DAT hold-TSR-NON.PAST-REL
té-kṛ-a
 COP-REAL-PRSP

'He will have held (treated) me with that one in the future.'

- b. *yaab-ù-s yég-ám-ba té-kṛ-a*
 person-M-DEF.M exist-NON.PAST-REL COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The man will have come.'

41. a. *kùdù-ba-tá yaab-ù-s áf-ù-kù-ba-té-ṛ-a*
 road-GEN-LOC person-M-DEF.M stand-ISR-exist-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP

'The man has been standing at the road.'

- b. *dòdù yè=è/k-ṛ è/k-ṛ ís=óy-a-gata*
 boy 2SG=come-call-TSR call-TSR 3MSG-be.quite-PAST-COND
ìs ból-t'-ù-kù-ba-té-kṛ
 he curse-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-COP-REAL

'If a boy became quite when you call him repeatedly, he has been cursed.'

c. *òòt kiz-ba-té-kn-a*

cow exist-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP

'There will have been cow.'

42. a. *san-tá gém-té yaab-ù-s fùb-a-té-kn-a*

face-LOC say-PART person-M-DEF.M die-PAST-COP-REAL-PRSP

'The man had died early.'

b. *yé-dòd-ù-s dò fag-ḡ-ám pót-a-ba-té-n-a*

2SG-child-M-DEF.M RESFOC marry-TSR-NON.PAST reach-PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP

'Hence, your son has reached (has been old enough) to marry.'

43. a. *noogù-ba-tá nà t'ùs-ò-ba=nà-té-kn-a*

thing-GEN-LOC I know-NEG-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-N.ASS

'I have not known on the issue.'

b. *ùtfù selá yaab-if ḡ-tfi hàày pót-ò-ba té-kn-a*

five village person-DAT 1PL.POSS water reach-NEG-REL COP-REAL-PRSP

'Water has not reached to us for five villages' people.'

In sum about §5.1.1, the basic word order in simple declarative clauses varies depending on the subtypes of the clauses. The basic word order is *subject-complement-verb* (SCV) in copula declarative clauses, *subject-verb* (SV) in existential and intransitive declarative clauses, *subject-object-verb* (SOV) in simple transitive declarative clauses, and *subject-indirect object-direct object-verb* (S-IO-OV) in bi-transitive declarative clauses. Declarative clauses can be characterized with various mood markers suffixed on the verbs, such as with *-kn* for realis modality and/or *-a* for presupposition modality, or with *-(n)á* for irrealis modality, or with *-ó/-é* for negative assertion modality. However, when their proposition is definitely true or strongly necessary, the declarative clauses are not be marked for any mood marker identified in the language.

b. Speaker B: ye-s *dò* *tuur*
DISTN-DEF.M SQFOC land
'Then, that one is a (bare) land.'

45. a. *yaab-ù-s-kís-if* *òòt àst-té-o-s*
person-M-DEF.M-PL-DAT cow give.PASS-NEG-Q
'Has not a cow been given to the persons?'

b. *yaab-ù-s-kís-if* *òòt àst-o-ba-té-kn-a*
person-M-DEF.M-PL-DAT cow give.PASS-NEG-REAL-PRSP
'A cow has not been given to the persons.'

46. a. *dìnk'á gyá-t'-ù-kù-ba-té-o-s*
cane eat(chew)-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-COP-NEG-Q
'Is sugar cane not eaten?'

b. *dìnk'á gyá-t'-ù-kù-ba-te-kn-a*
cane eat(chew)-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
'Sugar cane has been eaten.'

47. a. *òòt kì-s-é*
cow exist-Q-N.ASS
'Is there a cow?'

b. *háá! òòt kìz-ba-té-kn-a*
yes! cow exist-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
'Yes! There will have been cow.'

48. a. *yè-tfi* *miit'á* *kì-s-ó*
2SG.POSS-DAT evidence exist-Q-N.ASS
'Is there evidence for you?'

b. *ñ-tfi* *miit'á* *kìz-ó*
1SG.POSS-DAT evidence exist-N.ASS
'I have evidence somehow.'

49. a. *ibará àkur-ám-s-é*

fact become-NON.PAST-Q-N.ASS

'Does (Will) it become a fact?'

b. *ibará àkur-ám-ba-té-kn-a*

fact become-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP

'It becomes (will have become) a fact.'

The polar interrogative clauses given above are negated with the negative morpheme *-o* when they are constructed with the copula *té-* as in (44a) or with the suffix copula-helping verb *-té* as in (45a & 46a). In addition, polar interrogative clauses are mostly marked with the negative assertion mood morpheme *-é/-ó* when they are constructed with the verbs *kìz-* 'exist' as seen in (47a, 48a, 48b, 50a & 50b) and with the verb *àkur-* 'become' as in (49a) without suffixing the copula-helping verb *-té*. In response to the interrogative clause in (50a), a simple clause having the copula-helping verb *-té* suffixing the interrogative clause marker *-s* can function as a confirmative interrogative clause by which a speaker needs additional confirmation from a hearer, as in (50b).

50. a. *dégè ii-yaab-if àts-t-ù-kù-ba noogù kiz-ám-s-é*

girl house-person-DAT give-PASS-TOR-exist-REL thing exist-NON.PAST-Q-N.ASS

'Is there a thing that is being given to the girl's family?'

b. *háá! kiz-ba-té-s-ó*

yes! exist-REL-COP-Q-N.ASS

'Yes! Is there? (The speaker needs additional confirmation from the hearer.)'

As introduced above, rising intonation (↗) is also employed to distinguish a polar interrogative clause from its counterpart declarative clause in Naayi. In this case, the intonation involved in the declarative clause is normal, i.e. neither falling nor rising; whereas, in its polar interrogative counterpart, rising intonation is employed on the final verb. The rising intonation is indicated immediately after the verb, as in (51a & 52a). When an affirmative existential polar interrogative clause becomes a negative polar interrogative clause, the verb *kìz-* 'exist' changes to *kày-* 'not exist' and the polar interrogative clause

suffixed at the end of the main verbs that have not lexically negative meaning like *kày* 'not exist', as in (53a).

53. a. *goydì* *ge-t'-n-é*↗
 monkey say-PASS-TSR-N.ASS
 'Does it mean monkey?'
- b. *háá!* *naayi-ka* *goydì* *ge-t'-ù*
 yes! Naayi-INST monkey say-PASS-TOR
 'Yes! It is called 'goydì' in Naayi.'

Affirmative polar interrogative clauses with presupposition modality marked by *-a* on the copula or copula-helping verb *té(k)n-a* are generally indicated by rising intonation (↗) in Naayi, as illustrated in (54a & 55b).

54. a. Speaker A: *kátfi* *t'ààg̀n* *té-kn-a*↗
 yam two COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Are yams two?'
- b. Speaker B: *kátfi* *dwáfá* *té-kn*
 yams many COP-REAL
 'Yams are many.'
55. a. Speaker A: *ye-s-kís* *kùy* *núút'ù*
 DISTN-DEF.M-PL forest wild.animals
 'These are forest animals.'
- b. Speaker B: *ye-s-kís* *té-n-a*↗
 DISTN-DEF.M-PL COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Are these ones?'
- c. Speaker A: *háá!* 'yes!'

In general, polar interrogative clauses in Naayi are indicated by the morpheme *-s* or by the rising intonation (↗) on their verbs. These two markers are mutually exclusive; or they do not co-occur in one polar interrogative clause at the same time. However, the word order in polar

interrogative clauses is not important to differentiate them from their simple declarative clause counterparts in the language.

5.1.2.2. Constituent Interrogative Clauses

The basic word order in constituent interrogative clauses and in declarative clauses of the same version is the same. Therefore, word order does not function to distinguish interrogative clauses from declarative clauses. Constituent interrogative clauses are indicated with interrogative words or pronouns in Naayì. Naayì has a set of interrogative words or pronouns that are used in constructing constituent interrogative clauses or information questions (see 3.2.2.).

Interrogative words accomplish two tasks: (1) they mark the clause as a question; and (2) they indicate what information is being requested (Payne 1997:300). This is true in Naayì, in that, each interrogative word marks a question and occurs in the place of a constituent expressing the information or content being requested in the interrogative clause. We can see the constituent interrogative clauses constructed with the interrogative words as illustrated in (56) for *yíri*, *yírbé* 'what?', in (57) for *itì* 'who?', in (58) for *ààsté* 'from when?', in (59) for *wòsá* 'where?', in (60) *wòsté* 'from where?', in (61& 62) for *yírifé*, *yírbefé* 'why?', in (62) for *áásáásé* 'how?', in (63) for *itìná*, *itìné* 'whom?', in (64) for *itik̀̀ba* 'whose?', in (65) for *ak̀̀bawòsé* 'which?', and in (66) for *ambits(é)* 'how much? or how many?'

56. a. *naayì yaab-ù-s-kís* *mosk̀̀-bey* *dyah̀̀nè yíri gat'̀̀nè-b-é*
 Naayì person-M-DEF.M-PL female-GEN.F duty what type-GEN-ADFOC
 at̀̀nè-s-yaab-ù-s-kís *kì-ba-ó-tf-é*
 male-DEF.M-NMLZ-M-DEF.M-PL exist-REL-ADFOC-Q-N.ASS
 'What are the duty types of females of the Naayì people? What about the males' ones?'
- b. *yír-b-é* *yír-b-é* *àts-t-ù-kù-ba*
 what-GEN-ADFOC what-GEN-ADFOC give-PASS-TOR-exist-REL
 'What and what are being given?'

57. a. *ít sum-ná itì ñ=gém-é*
 2HON name-ACC who 1SG=say-N.ASS
 'Please, who I would call your name?'
 b. *ít sum itì is gé-t'-a*
 2HON name who he say-PASS-PAST
 'Who was your name said?'
58. *milafá-s-íj ùf=tég-ám-ba ààs-t-é*
 wedding.breakfast(Amh.)-DEF.M-DAT 3Pl=go-NON.PAST-REL when-LOC-ADFOC
 'When will they go to the wedding breakfast?'
59. *efefñ wòsá k'áy-té is=yég-a-bab-é*
 first where rise-PART 3MSG=come-PAST-REL-N.ASS
 'From where he came primarily?'
60. *yarbñ-s wòs-t-é is ám-t'-ù-kù-ba*
blood-DEF.M where-LOC-ADFOC he put-PASS-TOR-exist-REL
sìn-ba-tá-má èdù-ba-t-é
 nose-GEN-LOC-DISJ mouth-GEN-LOC-ADFOC
 'Where is the blood put? Is it on the nose or on the mouth?'
61. a. *ìkáát dòdù-ná yír-íj-é yè=dá?-ñ*
 somebody child-ACC what-DAT-ADFOC 2SG=hit-TSR
 'Why did you hit somebody's child?'
- b. *ii-k'a kadù káálá fubù-s-á ítíkís kés-s-kì-ba té-n-a,*
house-IN three times corpse-DEF.M-ACC you(PL) exit-CAUS-exist-REL COP-REAL-PRSP
ye-s yír-b-íj-é
 DISTN-DEF.M what-GEN-DAT-ADFOC
 'You have been making the corpse exit from the house three times (i.e. at the time of starting journey to the tomb). Why this is so?'

62. *yarb̀̀ǹ-s áás-áás-é ìs áam-t'-ù-kù-ba*
blood-DEF.M how-how-ADFOC 3MSG do-PASS-TOR-exist-REL
yír-ìf-éìs áam-t'-ù-kù-b-é
what-DAT-ADFOC he do-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-N.ASS
 'How is the blood done? Why is it done?'

63. a. *itì itì-ná púr-̀̀ǹ-ám-bab-é*
who who-ACC buy-TSR-NON.PAST-REL-N.ASS
 'Who would rule whom?'

b. *itì-n-é ìs pád-̀̀ǹ-ám-ba*
who-ACC-ADFOC he count-TSR-NON.ASS-REL
 'Whom does he count?'

64. *ye-s naak itì-k̀̀ǹ-ba té-ó*
DISTN-DEF.M money who-GEN-GEN COP-N.ASS
 'Whose would be this money?'

65. *ìs-k̀̀ǹ ii ak̀̀ǹ-ba-wòs-é té-ó*
his-GEN house far-GEN-where-ADFOC COP-N.ASS
 'Which would be his house?'

66. a. *yè naak ambits-é*
your money how.much-ADFOC
 'How much your money is?'

b. *humá-ka t'à-bálla ambits áts̀̀ǹ-k'-é*
thousand-CONJ two-hundred how.many month-IN-N.ASS
 'In how many months that it is one thousand two hundred?'

In most OV languages the question word can either remain in the "normal" position (*in situ*) or it can move to the front (Payne 1997:301). In Naayì, the basic word order in a simple transitive declarative clause is SOV; and the interrogative words in the interrogative clauses remain *in situ* as in the declarative clauses. For examples, the interrogative words *yírbé*

'what?' in (56b), and *iti* 'who?' in (57b) replace the subject arguments of passive interrogative clauses; and hence, they occur at the normal position of the subject arguments of the passive declarative clauses (i.e. the object arguments of active declarative clauses) having SV word order. The interrogative words *itiná* 'whom?' in (63a) and *itiné* 'whom?' in (63b) replace the direct object argument of active interrogative clauses; and hence they occur in the normal position of the direct object of active declarative clauses. It means, the direct objects occur between a lexical noun subject and a verb as SOV. The interrogative word *iti* 'who?' in (63a) refers to the subject argument of the active interrogative clause; and hence it occurs at the beginning of the basic word order SOV of the language.

The interrogative words *itik̄ba* in (64), *ak̄bawòsé* in (65), *ambitsé* in (66a) and *ambits* in (66b) refer to the complements (i.e. adjective and determiner) of the copula interrogative clauses; and hence they occur in situ of the complement of copula declarative clauses that have SCV word order in the language. The other interrogative words *ààsté* 'when?' in (58), *wòsá* 'where?' in (59), *wòsté* 'where?' in (60), *yírifé* 'why?' in (61a & 62), *yírbejë* 'why?' in (61b) and *áásáásé* 'how?' in (62) refer to adverbial functions of the interrogative clauses. Since the adverbs or adverbial constituents mostly occur at the leftmost position before the objects at normal condition; but depending on the intention of the speaker, they can also occur in any position in declarative clauses. In the same manner, the interrogative words referring to the adverbial functions can also occur in interrogative clauses as the adverbial phrases placed in their counterpart declarative clauses.

Thus, the interrogative words replace constituents that refer to the arguments and adverbial functions in the interrogative clauses in Naayì. Regarding this, König and Siemund (2007: 302) say that one usually finds interrogative words which replace the core constituents or arguments of a sentence and typically inquire about persons and things (*who* versus *what*) as well as interrogative words in an adverbial function which are typically used to seek information about (i) the location of a situation (*where*), (ii) its temporal setting (*when*), (iii) the manner of carrying it through (*how*), and (iv) the reason for it (*why*). Besides this core inventory one can also find interrogative words for determiners and/or adjectives (like

'which'), quantifiers (like 'how many/how much') and ordinal numbers (like 'the how many-th'). The examples given from (56) - (66) illustrate all these points.

Constituent (or information) interrogative clauses can also be marked by a suffix *-tf* that indicates a request needing additional information from the respondent when a question - response dialogue continues between two participants, as illustrated below in (67 & 68).

67. a. *ḥ=háy-kì-ba-s-ó-tf*

1PL=sepnd.the.night-exist-REL-DEF.M-ADFOC-Q

'What is about that (on which) we spend the night?'

b. *ḥ-booy-é* *gé-t'-ḥ-ó-tf*

1SG-mam-ADFOC say-PASS-TSR-ADFOC-Q

'What about 'my mam!' means?'

68. a. *yísḥ miliyon-ó-tf*

one million(Amh.)-ADFOC-Q

'What about one million?'

b. *k'aalù gayt'ḥ-ba-s-ó-tf-é*

coffee type(color)-GEN-DEF.M-ADFOC-Q-N.ASS

'What about the type(color) of coffee?'

c. *ye-s-ó-tf-é* *surá-s*

DISTN-DEF.M-ADFOC-Q-N.ASS trousers(Amh.)-DEF.M

'What about that one, the trousers?'

Like the constituent interrogative clauses marked with the interrogative words, the constituent interrogative clauses marked with *-tf* expect a more elaborate response than simply an affirmation or disaffirmation. The constituent interrogative clause marker *-tf* can be suffixed on any one constituent to which additional information is needed. For examples, the interrogative clause marker *-tf* is suffixed on the verb in (67a & b), on the noun in (68a & b), and on demonstrative representing a noun in (68c). The additive focus marker *-ó* indicating the need of additional information in the interrogative clauses, always

accompanies the constituent interrogative clause marker *-tʃ*. Moreover, the negative assertion mood marker *-é* optionally follows the interrogative clause marker *-tʃ* at the end of the constituent to which *-tʃ* is suffixed, as in (68b & c).

5.1.3. Imperative, Jussive, Optative and Hortative Clauses

In Naayì, there are imperative, jussive, optative and hortative clause types, of which the imperative, jussive and optative are marked in the same way morphologically by the suffix *-n*; whereas, the hortative is not marked with a special morphological clause marker. All these four types of clauses are expressed in the subjunctive mood in general so that they are presented together here. However, imperative, jussive and optative clauses are different from each other though they are marked in the same way with the clause marker *-n*, either with their addressee (subject) or with their function (illocutionary force) in the language. In addressing persons, the imperative clauses are addressed to the second person; the jussive clauses are to the third persons; the optative clauses are to the second persons or third persons; and hortative clauses are to the first persons. Functionally, the imperative, jussive and hortative express orders or command; whereas, the optative clauses express wishes, in general. The basic word order in imperative, jussive, optative and hortative clauses is the same as in declarative clauses; nevertheless, the subject is understood and not often mentioned in imperative clauses, and expressed only as clitic on the verbs of jussive, optative and hortative clauses. Let us discuss them in detail separately as follows.

5.1.3.1. Imperative Clauses

Imperative clauses are restricted to second person directives (addressees) and dedicated to express orders and requests in Naayì, like in most languages (cf. König and Siemund 2008:303). However, a second person addressee (or subject) in imperative clauses is understood and hence, it is not explicitly mentioned in the clauses unlike the clitic subject in jussive and optative clauses, unless the addressee is honored, as in (69c & 70). If the imperative addressee is honored, the second person honorific clitic pronoun *=ít* is suffixed on the imperative verb, as in (69a, b & d). This honorific pronoun is used for all singular and

plural as well as feminine and masculine second person pronouns in the same way. In imperative clauses, the number and gender of the second person addressees are understood from the context. Imperative clauses are mostly characterized by the negative assertion mood marker *-é* as seen in (69a, b, & c; 70) although they sometimes do not suffix it as in (69d). Imperative clauses can be positive and negative in Naayi. The examples given in (69) are positive imperative clauses; whereas, the examples given in (70) are negative imperative clauses.

69. a. *ye-s-kís* *sum-s-á* *èf-n=ít-é*
 DISTN-DEF.M-PL name-DEF.M-ACC call-IMP=2HON-N.ASS
 'Please call the name of those ones!'

b. *ḡ-dég-ḡ* *kùtfû-k'a was'á-s-á* *ám-n=ít-é*
 1SG.POSS-daughter-DEF.F hand-IN bracelet-DEF.M-ACC put-IMP=2HON-N.ASS
 'Please put the bracelet on my daughter's hand!'

c. *ḡ* *sum-á* *gibi ḡayri* *gé-n-é*
 1SG.POSS name-ACC Gibo Ayro say-IMP-N.ASS
 'Say my name Gibo Ayro!'

d. *bandará* *k'alamá-ná* *máh-n=ít*
 flag(Amh.) color(Amh.)-ACC tell-IMP=2HON
 'Please tell the color of the flag!'

The negative imperative verbs, as indicated with underline in square brackets in (70), use their positive imperative counterparts in combination with the a negative marker *-o* and the auxiliary verb *-k'é[-k'ó]*¹⁸ 'remain' suffixed to the main verbs, just like in negative declaratives. The auxiliary verb *-k'é [-k'ó]* 'remain' is basically the reduced verb form of the full verb stem *k'éʔ-* 'remain', and its function is showing the perfective aspect in a negative clause. The negative imperative clauses are marked by the morpheme *-n*, just like their positive imperative counterparts.

¹⁸ The change of the vowel *é* in the verb form *-k'é* to *ó* in the verb form *-k'ó* when it follows the negative marker *-o* in the negative imperative verbs is due to vowel harmonization.

70. a. [yaab naak-ná m̄-o-k'ó-n-é] is gém
 person money-ACC eat-NEG-remain-IMP-N.ASS he say
 "Do not eat a person's money; he says.' (In the context: 'he' refers to the guardian spirit of Digi which is the cultural belief of Naayi)
- b. [yaab kotf-ná gí[-o-k'ó-n-é]] is gém
 person wife-ACC touch (steal)-NEG-remain-IMP-N.ASS he say
 "Do not touch a person's wife!', he says.'
- c. [yaab dòdù-ná woz̄n̄ nòg-o-k'ó-n-é] is gém
 person son-ACC lie tell-NEG-remain-IMP-N.ASS he say
 "Do not tell a lie to human being', he says.'
- d. [yaab ii-ná tás-o-k'ó-n-é] is gém
 person house-ACC burn.down-NEG-remain-IMP-N.ASS he say
 "Do not burn down a person's house!', he says.'
- e. [yaab z̄ùngù-ná wùʔ-o-k'ó-n-é] is gém
 person sheep-ACC steal-NEG-reman-IMP-N.ASS he say
 "Do not steal a person's sheep', he says.'

Besides the above main forms of imperative clauses, other forms of imperative clauses can be constructed by using vocative pronouns with or without using the imperative clause marker *-n*, as exemplified in (71a & b). When a vocative pronoun is used in constructing imperative clause without the imperative clause marker *-n* as in (71a), the irrealis mood marker *-á* is used on the verb. This means that the expression *melá késá* in (71a) by itself is ungrammatical without either a vocative pronoun or the imperative clause marker *-n* as an imperative clause.

71. a. neákásé melá kés-á
 2PL.VOC bare(clear) go.up-IRR
 'You! go up to the bare land!'
- b. neákásé ye-s-tá yé-n
 2PL.VOC DISTN-DEF.M-LOC come-IMP

'You! Come here!'

5.1.3.2. Jussive Clauses

In Naayì, jussive clauses are marked with the morpheme *-n* on their verbs, like the imperative and optative clauses. However, jussive clauses are expressed with a third person subject which is always marked on their verbs as a suffix clitic (*=ís* for the third person masculine singular, *=íf* for the third person feminine singular and *=ùf* for the third person plural). The function of jussive clause is typically about giving permission or permission like indirect order or command for a third person addressee. In connection with jussive, Crystal (2008:285) describes that the term jussive is sometimes used in the grammatical analysis of verbs, to refer to a type of mood often equated with an imperative, but in some languages needing to be distinguished from it. In Naayì, a jussive clause expresses a permission like indirect order or command, not a direct order with a second person subject like in imperatives, as illustrated in (72) for positive jussive clauses, and in (73) for negative jussive clauses. Both the negative and positive forms of jussive clauses are often marked with the negative assertion mood marker *-é* as illustrated below.

72. a. *ùk'ù* *m̄-n=ís-é*

cheese eat-JUSS=3MSG-N.ASS

'Let him eat cheese.'

b. *ìs-dòdù-s-á* *k'ám-n=ís-é*

3MSG.POSS-child-DEF.M-ACC foster-JUSS=3MSG-N.ASS

'Let him foster his children.'

c. *naa-kḡ-á-ó* *ìs-ka* *àt-n=ùf-é*

1SG-GEN-ACC-N.ASS 3MSG-INST hold-JUSS=3PL-N.ASS

'Let them hold(treat) me with that one.'

73. a. *dòdù-s-ó* *fùb-o-k'ó-n=ís-é*

son-DEF-ADFOC die-NEG-remain-JUSS=3MSG-N.ASS

'Do not let also the child die.'

- b. *kootfi-ó* *fùb-o-k'ó-n=if-é*
 wife-ADFOC die-NEG-remain-JUSS=3MSG-N.ASS
 'Do not let also the wife die.'

5.1.3.3. Optative Clauses

Optative clauses in Naayì are used to express wishes such as blessing and cursing addressed to a second person or third person subject. Like the imperative and jussive clauses, the optative clauses are marked by the suffix *-n*. Optatives are differentiated from imperatives and jussives based on their contexts or functions rather than with their forms. The subject is mostly expressed two times in an optative clause; in that, one is in the form of independent subject, and the other is in the form of suffix clitic subject, which is separated by the symbol '=' from the verb stems in the examples given below from (74) - (78).

74. a. *kyas* *kyáp-t'-n=ís-é*
 king reign-PASS-OPT=3MSG-N.ASS
 'Let the government reign!
- b. *tuur* *paykṇ* *àkur-n=ís-é*
 land peace become-OPT=3MSG-N.ASS
 'Let the land become peace!'
- c. *yeer* *yèt-kṇ-á* *páy-s-n=ís-é*
 God 2SG-GEN-ACC be.healthy-CAUS-OPT=3MSG-N.ASS
 'Let God make you healthy.'
75. a. *dó* *yaab* *bátl'-o-k'ó-n=ís-é*
 SEQFOC person quarrel-NEG-remain-OPT=3MSG-N.ASS
 'Then, let a person does not quarrel!'
- b. *yaab* *káy-o-k'ó-n=ís-é*
 person not.exist-NEG-remain-OPT=3MSG-N.ASS
 'Let a person does not disappear!'
- c. *subù* *dó* *yég-o-k'ó-n=ís-é*
 death SEQFOC come-NEG-remain-OPT-3MSG-N.ASS

'Then, let death do not come.'

According to Crystal (2008:368), the term portative (or optative) is sometimes used in grammatical description, to refer to a category of mood that expresses a desire, hope, or wish. In Naayi, the optative clauses as in (74, 75 & 76) with third person subjects and as in (77 & 78) with second person subjects express desires, hopes, or wishes in the way of blessing. The clauses like in (74, 76 & 77) are positive optative clauses; whereas, the clauses like in (75 & 78) are negative optative clauses. The negative optative clauses are formed by adding the negative morpheme *-o* and the auxiliary verb *-k'é* 'remain', which becomes *[-k'ó]* due to vowel harmonization process, to the positive optative verb stems. All the positive and negative optatives given in (74, 75, 76, 77 & 78) express blessing except the optative clause in (76c) which expresses cursing.

Both the negative and positive optative clauses are always marked with the suffix *-n*. However, the negative assertion mood marker *-é* can be suffixed optionally to the optative clauses. For examples, in (74; 75; 77c) the negative assertion mood marker *-é* is suffixed on the verbs; but in (76; 77a & b; 78) the negative assertion mood marker *-é* is left out of the verbs. The subject in optative clauses with third person addressee is expressed explicitly mostly in the form of a separate noun together with a pronominal suffix clitic on the verb as in (74a, b & c; 75a, b, & c; and 76a & c), or sometimes in the form of a separate noun only like in *yeer* 'God' in (76b).

76. a. *yeer yè-aydì* *dáb-ù-t'-n=ís*

God 2SG-footstep follow-ISR-PASS-OPT=3MSG

'Let God follow your footstep!'

b. *yèt-ná* *yeer* *fùn-ù-s-n*

2SG-ACC God consulate-ISR-CAUS-OPT

'Let God make you consulate!'

c. *yèt-kṇ* *hááy hárgat'á-s* *t'íp'-n=ís*

2SG-GEN hear left-DEF cover.over-OPT=3MSG

'Let your left ear become blocked!' (Context: refers to cursing a person who does not

hear when someone orders him.'

However, in optative clauses with second person addressee, the subject is understood and hence it is not explicitly expressed in the clauses, as in (77 & 78).

77. a. *yè-kyas-ka* *fùn-ù-t'-n*
2SG-king-COM consulate-ISR-PASS-OPT
'Let you consulate with your king (i.e. government)!'
b. *yè-daaná-ka* *fùn-ù-t'-n*
2SG-judge-COM consulate-ISR-PASS-OPT
'Let you consulate with your judge!'
c. *hádz-ù-té* *páy-n-é*
be.fruitful-ISR-PART be.healthy-OPT-N.ASS
'Let you be fruitful and healthy.'

78. a. *yè-kyas-ka* *bátʼ-o-k'ó-n*
2SG-king-COM quarrel-NEG-remain-OPT
'Let you do not quarrel with your king!'
b. *yè-toos-ka* *bátʼ-o-k'ó-n*
2SG-brother-COM quarrel-NEG-remain-OPT
'Let you do not quarrel with your brother!'
c. *yè-meets'ù-ka* *bátʼ-o-k'ó-n*
2SG-neighbor-COM quarrel-NEG-remain-OPT
'Let you do not quarrel with your neighbor!'

5.1.4. Hortative Clauses

In Naayì, there are also other types of clauses which express exhortations or commands to the first person addressee called hortatives. According to König and Siemund (2007:314), hortatives are expressions of commands to the first person or a group of people including the speaker; and for the expression of exhortations (or illocutionary force of hortative clauses) in English hortative construction is *let's* as in *Let's go to the movies*. Hortative clauses, in

Naayì, are different from the rest of the above clauses expressing commands, permission like order or wishes; in that, they are not marked with the clause marker *-n*, or with other type of morphological clause marker. Unlike in imperative, jussive and optative clauses, the verbs of hortative clauses always suffix the irrealis mood marker *-á*, but not the negative assertion mood marker *-é*; and their first person subjects are prefix clitics, not suffix clitics, as in (79).

79. a. *yísṅ otʼù kàyì dìgì-batá ñ=òtʼ-á*
 one question guardian.sprit Dìgì-on 1SG=ask-IRR
 'Let me ask one question on the guardian spirit of Dìgì(a cultural belief of Naayì).'
- b. *òòt-ka ṅ-toos-yaab-ná ñ=sús-ñ-á*
 cow-INST 1SG.POSS-brother-NMLZ-ACC 1SG=wash-TSR-IRR
 'Let me wash (renew) my brotherhood with cow.'
- c. *zyáts'á ñ=tág-á*
 up.there 1PL=go-IRR
 'Let us go up there.'
- d. *ye-s-tá ñ=kálm-á*
 DISTN-DEF.M-LOC 1PL=sit-IRR
 'Let us sit here.'

5.2. Complex Clauses

Complex clauses, sometimes called multi-verb constructions, “involve one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses. An independent clause is one that is fully inflected and capable of being integrated into discourse on its own; and, a dependent clause is one that depends on some other clause for at least part of its inflectional information” (Payne 1997:306). In Naayì, in a complex clause, one or more dependent clause(s) precede(s) an independent (or a main) clause. The main types of complex clauses in the language are serial verb constructions, medial (converb) clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and coordination; and these are discussed in this section as follows respectively.

5.2.1. Serial Verb Constructions

In Naayì, there are serial verb constructions in which two or more verb roots occur in a sequence. There is a high degree of grammatical integration between the two verbs in a serial-verb construction, i.e. morphologically, syntactically and semantically. Morphologically, the two serial verb roots share some morphological prefixes and/or suffixes in common like the subject clitics, and the tense (T), aspect (A) and mood (M) markers. For examples, the underlined verbs in (80) are serial-verbs.

80. a. *ḡ-tfì yára-ná yè=gé-máh-n=ít*

1PL-DAT lineage-ACC 2SG=say-speak-IMP=2HON

'Please tell the lineage for us!'

b. *yoobù-s naak-ná kóm-yég-ḡ-n=ít*

person-DEF money-ACC receive-come-TSR-IMP=2HON

'Please bring the man's money!'

c. *yaab naak-ná kón-té-té is ḡ-a-gata*

person money-ACC receive-go-PART he eat-PAST-COND

koob-ná kóm-yé-té is bol-t'-ù-kù-ba té-kn-a

hen-ACC receive-come-PART he curse-PASS-TOR-exist-REL COP-REAL-PRSP

'If he took and ate a person's money, he has been brought a hen and cursed.'

The subject clitics *yè=* '2SG' and *=ít* '2HON', and the imperative mood marker *-n* in (80a), and the subject clitic *=ít* '2HON' and the imperative mood marker *-n* in (80b) are used for both verbs in each of the serial-verb constructions. In (80c), the past participle marker *-té* suffixed on the serial-verbs *kón-té* 'receive-go = take' and *kóm-yé* 'receive-come = bring' is used for each verb in each pair of serial-verbs. Hence, the series of serial verbs in a serial-verb construction share subject clitics and TAM suffixes in Naayì.

Syntactically, the two serial verbs have the same arguments (subject and/or object) and occur together in a series after their arguments in the same position. For examples, the serial verbs *gém-* 'say' and *máh-* 'speak' in *gé-máh-* 'tell' (80a) share the same subject that is second

person singular subject *yè*= '2SG'; and the basic word order in the clause is SOV, which is similar to the word order as if they were used in separate simple clauses. However, if the subject is in the form of pronoun or clitic pronoun (i.e. if it is not a lexical subject noun), it may not be found at the beginning of the simple clause as in (80). The two serial-verbs always occur at the end in a simple clause (whether it is in a dependent or independent clause). If serial verbs have object(s), the verbs always come after their object(s) (i.e. OV word order) as in (80a, b & c). Therefore, it is acceptable to say that the pair of serial verbs in a serial-verb construction has the same syntactic position and the same subject and object arguments in Naayì.

Semantically, two verbs in a series express one complex event in which two simple events or concepts are integrated. For example, the concept expressed by the verb *kóm-yég-* 'bring' in (80b) is divisible into two components: the event of receiving the object *yoobùs naakná* 'the man's money' and the event of coming toward a deictic center. This is to mean that the meaning of serial-verb constructions is often slightly different from what the same series of verbs would mean if they were used in separate clauses. The same is true for other serial-verb constructions in the language.

A serial-verb construction contains two or more verb roots that are neither compounded nor members of separate clauses (Payne 1997:307). In Sheko, as in (Hellenthal 2010:334), “serial verb constructions (or verb-verb sequences) act together as a single predicate without any overt marker of coordination, subordination or other dependency relation. The serial verbs share TAM values and arguments; they present things as a single state of affairs. Moreover, the verbs that are components of the sequence can stand on their own. The transitivity values of the verbs may be different, i.e. one of them may be transitive while the other is intransitive. The subject clitic occurs maximally once reflecting the status of the event as a single unit described in one clause.” All these grammatical features of serial-verb constructions in Sheko definitely exist in serial-verb constructions of Naayì as described above in some other ways.

Serial-verb constructions in Naayì can be divided into two groups based on the presence or absence of intervening morphological affixes between the two serial verb roots. The first group includes serial-verb constructions in which the second verb root (the right/last one) immediately follow the first verb root (the left one) without the intervening of any morphological affixes, as already exemplified with the serial-verbs *gé-máh-* 'tell' in (80a), *kóm-yég-* 'bring' in (80b & c), and *kón-té-* 'take' in (80c). The second group includes serial-verb constructions in which there are some derivational and/or inflectional affixes in between two serial verb roots, as illustrated with the serial-verb *bolt'ùkùba tékna* 'has been cursed' in (80c), and with the serial-verbs given in (81 & 82a). The intervening derivational affixes can be passive derivative morpheme *-t'* as in (80c) or causative derivative morpheme *-s* as occurred in (82a). Double causative is involved on the first verb *dán-* 'be together' to which the causative morpheme *-s* occurs twice before the second verb *-ám* 'sit' in the serial-verb construction *dánsùsámte* 'having put together' in (82a).

In addition to the derivational morphemes, inherent arguments (subject and/or object) of the verbs can be marked inflectionally. In this case, the transitivity of the two verbs of a serial verb may be different in that one is intransitive and the other is transitive; and this is also reflected in their shared argument marking. This is just like in other non-serialized verb roots. For examples, a shared subject argument reference for the first intransitive verb *kàlm-* 'sit' is marked with the morpheme *-ù* before the second transitive verb *gé-* (the reduced form of *gém-*) 'say' in *kàlmùgégá* 'let us sit' in (81); but in the serial verbs *káts-ù-kì* 'being cooked' in (82a), the first verb *káts-* 'cook' is transitive and the shared argument for this verb is marked with the morpheme *-ù* before the second intransitive verb *-kì* 'exist'. Again, an object argument reference of a transitive verb is marked with the morpheme *-ù* 'TOR' when the verb is used in the passive form as in *bolt'ùkùba tékna* 'has been cursed' (80c) or in the double causative form as in *dánsùsámte* 'put together' in (82a). The other inflectional information that can be marked in between the first and the second verbs of the serial-verb constructions is a subject clitic that is prefixed on the second verb, as illustrated with the first person plural subject clitic *ù=* in *kàlmùgégá* 'let us sit' in (81). In general in the second group of serial-verb constructions, argument markers and derivational morphemes are suffixed on the first verb

and a subject clitic prefixed on the second verb, and all of these occur in between the two verbs.

81. *wafá-s kì-ba-k'a wúk'-ù-té kàlm-ù-ń=gé-á*
 forest-DEF.M exist-REL-IN get.in-ISR-PART sit-ISR-1PL=say-IRR
 'Let us get in, and then, sit where the forest exists.'

82. a. *kes̀̀ yoobù-s-kís kadù baakù-ná yís̀̀-k'a dán-s-ù-s-ám-té*
 Mistrs person-DEF.M-PL three trivet-ACC one-IN be.together-CAUS-TOR-CAUS-sit-PART
ìs-k̀̀ baaz-k'a taamù wùp-̀̀-té ń ù/kús káts-ń-k̀̀
 3MSG.POSS-GEN inside-IN fire kindle-TSR-PART food they cook-TSR-exist
 'The females make three trivets sit near together, and then, they kindle fire at the
 center (of the trivets), and then, they cook food.'

- b. *ye-s-tá kàlm-te ń=k̀̀-k̀̀-ba-ka tuur şaaz şáz-ù*
 DISTN-DEF.M-LOC sit-PART 1PL=exist-exist-REL-TEMP land heat be.heated-ISR
 'While we were sitting there,, the weather of land became hot.'

- c. *t'ààg̀̀-s-kís yís̀̀-k'a níí k'áy-té*
 two-DEF-PL one-IN there rise-PART
àt̀̀-k̀̀ àt̀̀-k̀̀ àt̀̀-k̀̀ àt̀̀-k̀̀ pót-té şarb̀̀-tá ùf ìì-ù
 catch-exist catch-exist catch-exist catch-exist reach-PART şarb̀̀-LOC 3PL.HON encamp-ISR
 'The two ones rose (i.e. started) from there together, and then, they were going
 and going and going and going, and they reached, and then, they encamped at Şarb̀̀.'

Mostly, serial-verb constructions contain two verb roots in Naayì. Of the two verbs in a serial-verb construction, the first verb root (i.e. the left one) is always a content verb that has lexical meaning, as seen in all the examples given in this section. The second verb root (i.e. the last one) can be a lexical verb that can add its lexical meaning to the first verb, for example, *gé-*(i.e. *gém-*) 'say' in (81); or, it can be a kind of auxiliary verb which can add a grammatical meaning (tense, aspect, or mood) to the state of affair in the serial-verb construction. The auxiliary verb *-k̀̀* 'exist' indicates imperfective aspect (i.e. habitual or present progressive) in an independent clause, as in (82a & b); and, it also describes present

participle aspect i.e. a state of something or an ongoing activity in a dependent clause, as in (82c).

The auxiliary verb *-kì* 'exist' derives from the full existential lexical verb *kìz-* 'exist'; and it is used to indicate the present participle aspect in dependent serial-verb constructions, as in (83b). Moreover, the verb *-kì* 'exist' as a member of serial-verb constructions, it uses to indicate present progressive and habitual aspects in independent clauses as in (83c & d) respectively, but in this case it is in the second place of the serial-verb constructions having two verbs.

83. a. *nà yín ñ-tfi fáp-ù-t'-ám-té ñ=tég-á*

I what 1SG-DAT lack-ISR-PASS-do-PART 1SG=go-IRR

'What I lacked for me to go?'

b. *gúfì-t té-kñ ùfkús ù-kì-té gúfì-t wòk-háás-tá*

Gúshì-LOC COP-REAL they encamp-exist-PART Gúshì-LOC down-here-LOC

ùfkús dèb-t'-a-ba

they burry-PASS-PAST-REL

'It is in Gúshì where they encamped and they were buried down here in Gúshì.'

c. *hak'á sày dòd-ù-s yééf-kì*

now infant child-M-DEF.M cry-exist

'The infant child is crying now.'

d. *baay-ñ koobù mwálù kùb-ñ-kì*

mother-DEF.F hen egg lay-TSR-exist

'The mother hen lays egg down.'

There is also another auxiliary verb *-k'é* 'remain' which is derived from the full lexical verb root *k'é?* 'remain' and used to indicate perfective aspect only in negative clauses in the language. This means, the auxiliary verb *-k'é* 'remain' together with other verbs is used to form negative serial-verb constructions, as in (84). In this case, whether the serial-verb constructions have two or more verbs in a series, the auxiliary verb *-k'é* is always placed following the negative marker *-o/-e* in the second place in the series of serial verbs, as seen in

(84a, b, & c). When a positive serial-verb construction with two content verbs becomes negative, the second verb in the series is left out; and instead of it, the negative marker *-o* and the auxiliary verb *-k'é* are added in sequence to the first verb, as we can compare (84c) and (84d). Here, one of the forms *-e-k'é-* 'NEG-remain' in (84a & b) and *-o-k'ó-* 'NEG-remain' in (84c) is used optionally in the language. The variation comes due to vowel harmonization; but their morphemic forms are *-o* for the negative, and *-k'é* 'remain' for the auxiliary verb. Sometimes, the negative marker *-o* influences the auxiliary verb *-k'é* 'remain' to be *-k'ó*; or sometimes, the auxiliary verb *-k'é* 'remain' influences the negative marker *-o* to be *-e*.

84. a. *noyg-ñ ye-y-ñ dō is-kñ kùṭṣ-k'a ñ-tfi*
 thing.F-DEF DISTN-F-DEF-F RESFOC 3MSG-GEN hand-IN 1PL-DAT
artù pót-e-k'é-a-b-if té-kn-a
 quickly reach-NEG-remain-PAST-REL-DAT COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Hence, the thing, this one, has not reached for us with his hand quickly.'

b. *ye-y-ñ-á yè=k'ùṭṣ-e-k'é-ám-ba-té-kn, adará*
 DISTN-F-DEF.F-ACC 2SG=cut-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL mandate(Amh.)
 'You will not have cut this one (i.e. the message for the government). Please, it is mandatory!'

c. *yoobù-s naak-ná kóm-o-k'ó-n=ít*
 person-DEF money-ACC receive-NEG-remain-IMP=2HON
 'Please do not bring the man's money!'

d. *yoobù-s naak-ná kóm-yég-ñ-n=ít*
 person-DEF money-ACC receive-come-TSR-IMP=2HON
 'Please bring the man's money!'

Serial verbs, like other non-serialized verbs, can be used with the copula helping verb with its modalities' markers *-té(k)na*, *té(k)na*, *-tékn(a)*, or *tékn(a)* which is either by suffixed on the serial verbs as in (84b, 85a & b) or by following the serial verbs independently as in (84a & 85c). In this case, there are a relativizer morpheme (84a, 84b & 85) and/or a subject clitic (85b) in between the serial verbs and the copula helping verb. Moreover, if a serial-verb

construction is negated, the negative marker *-o* is immediately suffixed to the first content verb before any member of the serial verbs, as seen above in (84a, b & c).

85. a. *kùdù-ba-táyaab-ù-s áf-ù-kù-ba-té-n-a*
 road-GEN-LOC person-M-DEF.M stand-ISR-exist-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The man has stood at the road.'

b. *beentf maajì-kṅ béétṅ-k'a yè=tég-a-gata*
 Bench Maajì-GEN inside-IN 2SG=go-PAST-COND
naayì-ná yáp-ám-ba=yè-té-n-a
 Naayì-ACC get-NON.PAST-REL=2SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'If you went inside of Bench Maaji zone, you would get Naayì.'

c. *ùyṅ mèn ùfá-k'a pwalá-ná ná dváh-ṅ-kì-ba té-kn*
 formerly buffalo horn-SOUR drinking.vessel-ACC we make-TSR-exist-REL COP-REAL
 'Formerly, we were making a drinking vessel (pwalá) from buffalo's horn.'

5.2.2. Medial Clauses

The term medial clause refers to a non-final clause in clause-chaining structures. The term reflects the fact that this clause type occurs clause internally, that means, in the middle of a clause chain (Payne 1997:321). It is also appropriate to say non-final clauses instead of medial clauses because there is a clause chain having only one non-final clause and one final clause; and in this case, there is no middle clause. Medial clauses in Naayì can also be called *converb* clauses; because, *converb* clauses are typically bound, non-finite verbal forms, in a subordinate relationship with the main verb they attached to; and, they carry an adverbial meaning or a meaning associated with the temporal order of events to the clause they mark (Pavey 2010:229). Therefore, the non-final clauses in clause-chaining structures can be called *converb* or medial clauses in Naayì. However, the term medial clause is used here to be consistent.

Payne (1997:321) and Longacre (2007:300-400) describes three distinctive features of medial-final clause chaining in a clause-chaining language; and these are “(a) A medial

clause has a reduced range of tense-aspect possibilities in comparison to final clauses. (b) A medial clause usually specifies 'subject' reference in terms of as the same as or different from the subject of the final clause. (c) A medial clause usually directly expresses temporal relations such as 'overlap' and 'succession' with respect to other clauses in the sequence". Based on these distinctive features of medial-final clause chaining, Naayì has one or more non-final clause(s) preceding a final clause in a clause-chain. A medial clause directly reflects the features mentioned in (a) and in (c) above. However, the feature mentioned in (b) is not directly reflected in the medial clauses of Naayì, but specified in some other ways. Let us discuss them with examples separately as follows.

As to the first feature, medial clauses in Naayì have relatively less grammatical inflections such as tense, aspect and mood than a final clause in a clause chaining. Medial clauses in Naayì rarely mark tense that can be determined depends on the tense of the main clause. It is understood that the time reference of a medial clause is always before the time reference of the main clause in the time line, as illustrated below in (86 & 87). Each medial (non-final) clause in a string of clause chain in the examples below is indicated separately with square brackets [].

86. a. [t'ààghè-s-kís yísghè-k'a níí k'áy-té]

two-DEF-PL one-IN there rise-PART

[àtghè-kì] [àtghè-kì] [àtghè-kì] [àtghè-kì] [pót-té] fàrbghè-tá ùf ìì-ù

catch-exist catch-exist catch-exist catch-exist reach-PART fàrbghè-LOC 3PL.HON encamp-ISR

'The two ones rose (i.e. started) from there together, and (then), they were going and going and going and going, and they reached, and (then), they encamped at Shàrbghè.'

b. [gatsù dò ùfghús ghè-aydi yé-kì-té]

primarily RESFOC they 1PL-footstep come-exist-PART

ghè-baab-ka ghè-ákù-ákù-ka ná-kghè-ná òtgh'ghè-kì

1SG-father-CONJ 1SG-grand.father-grand.father-CONJ 1PL-GEN-ACC ask-TSR-exist

'Hence they were coming before us primarily, and (then), my father and forefather are asking us.'

87. a. *[hak'á ñ-tfi ðip-ù-té] [wóg-ù-té] kì-n=ís-é*
 now 1PL-DAT increase- PART grow-ISR-PART exist-OPT=3MSG-N.ASS
 'Let he (i.e. the government) increases, grows and lives for us!'
- b. *[wafá-s kì-ba-k'a wúk'-ù-té] kàlm-ù-ñ=gé-á*
 forest-DEF.M exist-REL-IN get.in-ISR-PART sit-ISR-1PL=say-IRR
 'Let us get in and sit where the forest exists.'
- c. *[yé-kì-té] [yé-kì-té] [yé-kì-té] woká ìs-tá ìs pót-ù*
 come-exist-PART come-exist-PART come-exist-PART way.down there-LOC he reach-ISR
 'Being come and come and come, he reached a way down there.'

With respect to aspect making, medial clauses can mark the present participle aspect (an ongoing activity or state of something) with the auxiliary verb *-kì* 'exist' as in (86a), but and the past participle aspect (a complete action or event) with the verbal particle *-té* as in (86a & b; 87a, b & c). However, these participial aspects are not expected to be marked in the main clause. For example, the auxiliary verb *-kì* 'exist' in (86b) in the main verb does not indicate the present participle aspect, rather indicates the imperfective aspect. The verb *-kì* 'exist' in (87c) in the medial verb does not indicate imperfective aspect, rather it occurs to indicate the present participial aspect and is used as part of the serial-verb construction. Moreover, it is common to get mood markers in the main clauses but not in the medial clauses in the language. Thus, in the language, a final (main) clause has a verb of distinctive grammatical structure that occurs once in the entire chain, while the other non-final (medial) clauses have verbs of different and more restricted grammatical structures. The final clause is pulls a string of non-final clauses, like an engine that pulls a string of cars (cf. Longacre 2007:399).

The second distinctive feature of a medial clause in a clause-chaining language is that a medial clause usually specifies 'subject' reference in terms of, as the same as or different from, the subject of the final clause. However, in Naayì, there is no special marker to indicate sameness or differentness of the subjects of a medial clause and a final clause in a clause chain. The clause-chains having same subject are more frequent than the clause-chains having different subjects in the language. When medial clauses and final clause have the

same subject in a clause chain, their subject mostly occurs once in the entire clause chain, but usually in the final clause as clitic form as in (88a & b), or as independent form preceding one of the verbs of the clauses as in (89a & b). The same subject can also occur in both non-final and final clauses as in (90a & b). Each medial clause in every clause-chain, as given in the examples below, is indicated separately within square brackets [], and all their subjects are indicated with thick underline () for easy observation.

88. a. [*dùlb̀̀m̀-tá k'á-y-té*] [*yé-te*] *dùmá-t* *ís=kés-ù*
 Dùlb̀̀m̀-LOC rise-PART come-PART Dùmá-LOC 3MSG=go.up-ISR
 'He came from Dulb̀̀m̀, and then, he went up to Dúma.'
- b. [*té-té*] [*̀̀n-tfì hàà-y íd-n*] *kóf-ka kóm-yé-n=ít-é*
 go-PART 1PL-DAT water fetch-SEQ gourd-INST bring-come-IMP=2SG.HON-N.ASS
 'Please go, and then, fetch water for us and bring it with gourd'
89. a. [*yooob-ù-s*] *wóós-t-ù-té*] *yég-ù*
 person-M-DEF.M send-PASS-TOR-PART come-ISR
 'The man was sent and came.'
- b. [*naak-ná à̀̀n-té*] [*gábá-tá té-té*] *k'aalù-ná ì púr-a*
 money-ACC hold-PART market-LOC go-PART coffee-ACC she buy-PAST
 'She held money, and then, she went to market, and then she bought coffee.'
90. a. [*gúfì-t*] [*ù/kús* *ì-kì-té*] *gúfì-t wòk-háás-tá ù/kús*
 Gúshì-LOC they encamp-exist-PART Gúshì-LOC down-here-LOC they
dèb-t'-a-ba té-k̀̀
 burry-PASS-PAST-REL COP-REAL
 'They encamped in Gúshì, and then, they have been buried down here in Gúshì.'
- b. [*ye-s-á*] [*fìk-ù-s-̀̀n-té*] *̀̀n=gálut-̀̀n-té*
 DISTN-DEF.M-ACC be.good-ISR-CAUS-TSR-PART 1SG=thank-TSR-PART
̀̀n=kóm-ba *té-kn-a*
 1SG=receive-REL COP-REAL-PRSP
 'I thanked well, and then, I have received that one.'

When the medial (non-final) clauses and the final clause in a clause chain have different subjects, their different subjects are explicitly expressed in their own territory as independent and/or clitic forms as in (91a & b).

91. a. [yiinù pùr-ù-té] aakum-k'a ìs tég-ù
 stomach contuse-ISR-PART medical.station(Amh.)-IN he go-ISR
 '(His) stomach contused, and then, he went to medical station.'
- b. [nà yírán-tfi fáp-ù-t'-ám-té] ñ=tég-á
 I what 1SG-DAT lack-PASS-ISR-sit-PART 1SG=go-IRR
 'What I have lacked for me to go?'
- c. [zyátş'á yé-n] ñ=tág-á
 up.here come-IMP 1PL=go-IRR
 'Come and let us go up there.'

The third distinctive feature of a medial clause in clause-chaining language is that a medial clause usually directly expresses temporal relations such as *chronological overlap* versus *chronological succession*. In Naayì, a medial clause directly expresses a chronological overlap ('while', 'at the same time') or an immediate time sequence (i.e. near to the time overlap), by using the morpheme *-n* (glossed as 'SEQ') as in (92a, b & c) or by using the auxiliary verb *-kì* 'exist' as in (92d), with respect to other medial or final clause in the sequence. However, the two forms differ in that the morpheme *-n* is used in a medial clause containing a completed action or event with respect to the following clause in the sequence; whereas, the auxiliary verb *-kì* 'exist' is used in a medial clause containing an ongoing action or event with respect to the following clause in the sequence.

92. a. [mangistá ñ-tfi dò kùdù-s byáh-n] kés-a
 government 1PL-DAT RESFOC road-DEF.M open-SEQ draw-PAST
 'Hence, the government opened the road, and then, built it for us.'
- b. [ù/kús kì-n] [kì-n] [kì-n] [kì-n] [yé-té] gùbtúr-k'a ùf=wúk'-ù
 they exist-SEQ exist-SEQ exist-SEQ exist-SEQ come-PART Gubtur-IN they=get.in-ISR
 'They were coming and coming and coming and coming, and then, they got in

(reached) Gubtur.'

c. [*yooob-ù-s* *wóós-t-n*] *yég-ù*
person-M-DEF.M sent-PASS-SEQ come-ISR

'The man was sent and came.'

d. [*t'ààgè-s-kís* *yísè-k'a níí* *k'áy-té*]

two-DEF-PL one-IN there rise-PART

[*àtè-kì*] [*àtè-kì*] [*àtè-kì*] [*àtè-kì*] [*pót-té*] *ǰárbè-tá* *ùf* *ù-ù*
catch-exist catch-exist catch-exist catch-exist reach-PART ǰárbè-LOC 3PL.HON encamp-ISR

'The two ones rose (i.e. started) from there together, and then, they were going and going and going and going, and they reached, and then, they encamped at Shárbè.'

Moreover, a medial clause indirectly expresses a chronological succession ('and then') by using the past participle marker *-té* with respect to other medial or final clause in the sequence, as in (92b) with the medial verb *yété*, in (92d) with the medial verb *pótté*, and in (93a & b).

93. a. [*yé-kì-té*] [*yé-kì-té*] [*yé-kì-té*] *wokáìs-tá* *ìs pót-ù*
come-exist-PART come-exist-PART come-exist-PART way.down there-LOC he reach-ISR

'He was coming and coming and coming, and then, he reached a way down there.'

b. [*wafá-s* *kì-ba-k'a* *wúk'-ù-té*] *kàlm-ù-ń=gé-á*
forest-DEF.M exist-REL-IN get.in-ISR-PART sit-ISR-1PL=say-IRR

'Let us get in and sit where the forest exists.'

5.2.3. Complement Clauses

A complement clause functions as an argument of the main predicate (clause), and this implies that the complement clause is embedded in the main clause as a nominal constituent of it. In a single language, complements can come in a variety of forms (types) (Noonan 2007:53). "A complement type is identified basically by (i) the morphology of the predicate, (ii) the sorts of syntactic relations the predicate has with its arguments (complement-internal syntax), and (iii) the syntactic relation of the complement construction as a whole with the rest of the sentence (complement-external syntax)" (Noonan (2007:54-55). In the following

subsections, based on the first and the second criteria, the complement forms (types) of Naayì are discussed in terms of part of speech of the complement predicate, syntactic relation of the complement subject to its predicate, range of inflectional categories on the predicate, and their sentence likeness. Then, based on the third criterion, the complement clauses of the language are described in relation to equi-deletion, raised arguments, and distribution of complements within sentences.

Different complement clause types behave differently based on morphosyntactic criteria (the first and second criteria mentioned above) in Naayì. The types of complement clauses in the language are indicative, subjunctive, serial, nominalized and participial complements. Each of these complement types are discussed respectively as follows.

5.2.3.1. Indicative Complements

Indicative complement types more closely resemble to declarative main clauses in Naayì. These complements are sentence-like forms except they have nominal morphemes. Since indicative complements have sentence-like forms, the grammatical status or the word class of their predicates is verb. The indicative complements are always associated with the relative clause marker *-ba* followed by the accusative case marker *-(n)á* as indicated with underline in (94 & 95). But when the object of the indicative complement is definite, the default masculine gender marker *-ù* and the default masculine definiteness marker *-s* come together between the relative clause marker *-ba* and the accusative case marker *-(n)á* as in (95). The time reference of indicative complements is marked with either the past time as in (94a & c) or in the non-past time as in (94b; 95a & b) with respect to the time reference of complement-taking predicates. The complement clauses are indicated with square brackets in the examples.

94. a. [*gùrfá ís=ḡ-a-ba-ná*] *tùs-ḡ-ba=naa-té-n-a*
 lunch 3MSG=eat-PAST-REL-ACC know-TSR-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'I have known that he ate lunch.'

- b. [gùrfá ís=ḡ-ám-ba-ná] tùs-ba=naa-té-n-a
 lunch 3MSG=eat-NON.PAST-REL-ACC know-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-RSP
 'I have known that he will eat lunch.'
- c. [intfù-ná ù/kús=k'ùts-o-a-ba-ná] t'ùs-ḡ-ba=naa-té-n-a
 tree-ACC 3PL=cut-NEG-PAST-REL-ACC know-TSR-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'I have known that they did not cut a tree.'

95. a. yeeb-ḡ [naak-ná è=kóm-yég-ám-ba-ù-s-á]
 woman-DEF.F money-ACC one.self=receive-come-NON.PAST-REL-M-DEF.M-ACC
 ḡ-tfì máh-ḡ-ba-té-n-a
 1SG-DAT speak-TSR-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The woman has told me that she herself will bring the money.'
- b. yeeb-ḡ [naak-ná è=kóm-yég-e-k'é-ám-ba-ù-s-á]
 woman-DEF.F money-ACC one.self=receive-come-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-M-DEF.M-ACC
 ḡ-tfì máh-ḡ-ba-té-n-a
 1SG-DAT speak-TSR-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The woman has told me that she herself will not bring the money.'

Another important feature of indicative complements in Naayì is independent of the time reference, truth-value and discourse of the main clauses. According to Noonan (2007:102), three important sorts of dependency determine an indicative-subjunctive mood distinction in complementation: (i) time reference dependency, (ii) truth-value (epistemic) dependency and (iii) discourse dependency. Regarding the time reference dependency, the examples in (94a & b) illustrate that the time reference of the complements is not logically bound by the time reference of the complement taking predicates. The event in the complement clause in (94a) happened before the event or state happened in the main clause; and with same complement taking predicate in (94b), the event in the complement happens after the event or state happens in the main clause. Moreover, negative marking does not change the complement type in the language, as in (95a & b).

Based on truth-value dependency, the complement clauses in Naayì have an indicative-subjunctive distinction. The indicative complements are associated with propositions that are asserted as a fact or commented on as an actual event or state, or presupposed to be true or realized, as seen in (94 & 95); whereas, the propositions in subjunctive complements are asserted as non-factual events or states as discussed in (§5.2.3.2.). Moreover, an indicative-subjunctive distinction is made based on discourse-dependency in the language. Indicative complements encode new information; and hence, they are not discourse dependent. This means, the proposition of indicative complements is not part of the common ground of the participants in the discourse, or the hearers do not know the information in such complements, as indicated in (94 & 95). However, subjunctive complements are discourse dependent. Therefore, indicative complements are assertive in Naayì.

The range of inflectional categories in indicative complement predicates is the same as in main clause predicates. For example, when we remove the relative clause marker *-ba* and other nominal inflectional markers from the complement predicates in (96) and (97), we can normally get declarative main clauses *takal yéga* 'Takele came' and *naakùsá is wù?ám* 'He will steal the money' respectively. This means that there is no special restriction on the range of verbal inflectional categories in indicative clauses as compared to declarative clauses in the language. As we can see on the predicates of the indicative complements, there is always the accusative case marker *-(n)á* as in (94 & 96), or the accusative case marker *-(n)á* together with the default masculine gender *-ù*, and the default masculine definiteness marker *-s* as in (95 & 96) following the relative clause marker *-ba*. This shows that indicative complement clauses in Naayì are always used as an object complement (argument) in main clauses.

96. [*takal yég-a-ba-ná*] *máh-ṛ-ba=naa-té-n-a*
 Takele come-PAST-REL-ACC speak-TSR-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'I have told that Takele came.'

97. [*naak-ná* *is wù?ám-ba-ù-s-á*] *ù/kús=sìis-a*
 money-DEF.M-ACC he steal-NON.PAST-REL-M-DEF.M-ACC 3PL=hear-PAST
 'They heard that he will steal the money.'

The syntactic relation of an indicative complement subject to its predicate is the same as main clause. The indicative complement predicate forms a constituent with its subject, as seen in (94, 95, 96 & 97). Even when both indicative complement and main clause have a shared subject as in (95a & b), the subject appears on the complement predicate as pronominal subject clitics.

Indicative complements without the nominal morphemes (i.e. without the relative clause marker *-ba* and the accusative case marker *-(n)á*) are seen in direct reported speech constructions in Naayì as in (98). In this case, the indicative complements can be in the form of declarative clause as in (98a), interrogative clause as in (98b), and imperative clauses as in (98c). It is clearly seen that the complement predicates in (98) form a syntactic constituent with their subjects; and hence, they are indicative complement type.

98. a. [*ʃiʃ-tá sán-á-ba=naa-té-n-a*], *gém-ba=naa-té-n-a*
 back-LOC come.back-IRR-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP say-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'I have said, 'I will have come back.'
- b. [*koob baabù-s ól-ù-kù-s-ó*], *gé-t'-ù*
 hen father-DEF.M-M crow-ISR-exist-Q-N.ASS say-PASS-TOR
 'It is said, 'Does the cock crow?''
- c. [*yaab naak wùùt-a-bab-ná*] *kóm-o-k'ó-n-é* *ìs gém*
 person coin fall-PAST-REL-ACC take-NEG-remain-IMP-N.ASS he say
 'He says, 'Do not take a person's money that fell!''

5.2.3.2. Subjunctive Complements

Like the indicative complements, subjunctive complements have sentence-like forms; and hence, the grammatical status of the subjunctive predicates is verb in Naayì. Unlike in indicative complements, the relative clause marker *-ba(b)* (used for the default masculine gender referent) is involved to mark subjunctive complements in the form of *-b* together with and followed by the dative case morpheme *-if* (as used in reason and purpose adverbial clauses) as in (99 & 100).

99. a. [iʃ yég-á-b-i] máh-ḡ-ba=naa-té-n-a
 she come-IRR-REL-DAT speak-TSR-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 ‘I have ordered her to come.’
- b. [iʃ háá-s-tá k'áy-té zùk'-á-b-i] ḡ=òtʃ'-ḡ
 he PROX-DEF.M-LOC rise-PART leave-IRR-REL-DAT 1SG=ask-TSR
 ‘I asked him to leave from here.’
100. a. [né-s-tá iʃ tég-á-b-i] ḡ=hàf-ḡ-kì
 DIST-DEF.M-LOC he go-IRR-REL-DAT 1PL=need-TSR-exist
 ‘We want him to go there.’
- b. [né-s-tá iʃ tég-e-ké-á-b-i] ḡ=hàf-ḡ-kì
 DIST-DEF.M-LOC he go-NEG-remain-IRR-REL-DAT 1PL=want-TSR-exist
 ‘We want him not to go there.’

The dependency features such as the time reference, truth-value, and discourse dependencies of subjunctive complements are contrastive with the indicative complements in the language. Indicative complements are independent of these three sorts of dependency features as discussed above. Whereas, subjunctive complements are dependent on the time reference, truth-value, and discourse of complement-taking predicates. If we see the time reference dependency, as illustrated above in (99 & 100), the events or states in the subjunctive complements are always expected to happen or to be done in the future time relative to the time of the complement taking predicates take place. In relation to the truth-value dependency, the propositions in subjunctive complements are asserted as non-factual events or states; and this is directly determined by the context of the complement-taking predicates. The non-factual propositions of subjunctive complements are always marked with the irrealis mood marker *-á* as seen in (99 & 100). Because, a complement is truth-value dependent if the complement construction containing it involves an explicit qualification of commitment to the truth of the proposition embodied in the complement (Noonan 2007:102).

The range of inflectional categories on subjunctive complement predicates is restricted only to the irrealis mood marker *-á*. Unlike in indicative complements, there is no tense marking

in the subjunctive complements. When the subjunctive complements become negative, the auxiliary verb *-k'é* 'remain' is always added on their predicates following the negative marker *-o /-e*, as in (100b).

The syntactic relation of a subjunctive complement subject to its predicate is the same as main clause only when the complement and the main clause have different subject as in (99 & 100, 101b). In this case, the predicates form a constituent with their subjects. However, when the subjunctive complement and the main clause have a shared subject, the complement predicate does not form a constituent with its subject. The shared subject occurs in the complement construction by forming a constituent with the main predicate following the complement predicate, as in (101a).

101. a. [*né-s-tá* *tég-á-b-ij*] *táts-a-ba=naa-té-n-a*
DIST-DEF.M-LOC go-IRR-REL-DAT think-PAST-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
'I have thought to go there.'
- b. [*naak-ù-s-á* *ù/kús* *kón-tá-á-b-ij*] *is gìn-s-a*
money-ISR-IRR they receive-go-IRR-REL-DAT he plan-CAUS-PAST
'He planned them to take the money.'

5.2.3.3. Verb Serialization in Complementation

Verb serialization is used in complementation in Naayì, and the complements formed by verb serialization can be called serial complements. According to Noonan (2007:65), there are five main syntactic features of serial complements. These are:

- (i) *they consist of a subject NP followed by a series of verb phrases,*
- (ii) *each verb phrase contains a fully inflected verb,*
- (iii) *no marker of coordination or subordination links the series of verb phrases,*
- (iv) *no special verb forms are used: if the first verb in the series is indicative, all the rest will be too, and*
- (v) *both the complement clause and main clause together have only one assertion.*

In order to illustrate these features of serial complements in the language, examples are given below in (102 & 103a).

102. a. *itì* [hak'á noogù-ná máh-ám] pót-ù-á [pótù]
 2HON now thing-ACC speak-NON.PAST reach-ISR-IRR
 'Your Honor must tell the issue now.' (lit., 'Your Honor would reach to tell the issue now.')
- b. *it-kís* [naakù-s-á sán-s-ù] hàf-ù-s-á [hàfùs]
 2SG-PL money-DEF.M-ACC be.back-CAUS-TOR want-ISR-CAUS-IRR
 'You should return the money.' (lit., 'You would be necessary(wanted) to return the money.')
103. a. *it-kís* [naak-ù-s-á sán-s-á] hàk-ù-s-á
 2SG-PL money-M-DEF.M-ACC be.back-CAUS-IRR be.able-ISR-CAUS-IRR
 'You may return the money.' (lit., 'You would be able to return the money.')
- b. *it-kís* [naak-ù-s-á sán-s-e-k'é-á-ba] hàk-ù-s-á
 2SG-PL money-M-DEF.M-ACC be.back-CAUS-NEG-remain-IRR-REL be.able-ISR-CAUS-IRR
 'You may not return the money.' (lit., 'You would not be able to return the money.')

All the sentences in (102 & 103a) above have serial complements as indicated in the square brackets. Because, the serial complements share one subject with the main predicate, they do not form a syntactic constituent with their notional subject. The serial complements do not have special complement-marking morpheme; and as well as, they do not use special verb form. They contain inflected verbs that can stand as main verbs. The series of verb phrases involved in the serial complement construction have a single assertion. However, when a serial complement predicate becomes negative, it takes the relative clause marker *-ba* like the indicative complement clauses as in (103b).

5.2.3.4. Nominalized Complements

Nominalized complements are, prototypically, predications with the internal structure of noun phrases. This means, a nominalized predicate or verbal noun functions as an argument

of a predicate in another clause. The nominalized complement occurs in the position of subject or object in a clause, and takes over the role of a head noun of the noun phrase (cf. Noonan 2007:70). In Naayì, there is a nominalized complement construction in which the complement can be used as a subject as in (104) or as an object as in (105). The nominalized complements, as indicated in the square brackets, have not complement clause marker. The grammatical status (the word class) of the predicate of the nominalized complements is verbal noun as indicated with thick underline in the examples.

104. a. [*hark'ù gebzù* *wobt'è*] *fɨ/kè kày*
 much local.beer drinking good not.exist
 'Drinking much local beer is not good.'
- b. [*k'aará kootù*] *è-kè-ná* *gááts'-ám-ba-té-kn-a*
 word keeping one.self-GEN-ACC help-NON.PAST-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Keeping promise will have helped one self.'
105. a. [*dyahè-s-á* *tiitù*] *kù-ba=naa-té-n-a*
 work-DEF.M-ACC watching exist-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'I have started watching the work.' (lit., 'I have been in the state of watching the work.')
- b. [*t'àlá mt'è-ná*] *nà ùt-è-kì*
 bread eating-ACC I like-TSR-exist
 'I like eating bread.'

As we see the examples in (104 & 105), the nominalized predicates are preceded by the direct objects, and together, they form the nominalized complement constituents. In (104), the subjects of the complements are reduced and indefinite or not known. In (105), the subjects of the complements are shared by the main clauses, but they are reduced from the complement constituents. When the subject and the predicate of the nominalized complements form a constituent, they have genitive relationship, as illustrated in (106). Their genitive relationship is expressed syntactically, in that, the subject (possessor noun) precedes the head verbal noun predicate (possessed noun). In this case, the nominalized complements have internal structure of noun phrase with head of the verbal noun. The complements in

(106a & b) have the role of subject for the main predicates; whereas, the complement in (106c) has a role of direct object for the main predicate.

106. a. [takal kit'ḥ] nà-kḥ-ná ʔyats-ka gétf-ù-s-a
 Takele presence 1SG-GEN-ACC large-INST be.important-ISR-CAUS-PAST
 'Takele's presence helped me very much.'
- b. [marta noog-ná siisù] is-á áyn-ù-s-a
 Marta issue-ACC hearing 3MSG-ACC be.sad-ISR-CAUS-PAST
 'Marta's hearing the secret made him sad.'
- c. [takal vet'ḥ-ná] ḥ=hàf-ḥ-kì
 Takele coming-ACC 1SG=want-TSR-exist
 'I want Takele's coming.'

The nominalized predicates reduce the verbal inflectional categories that they have in their verb predicate forms. Verbal predicates in Naayì are marked either with high tone or low tone. However, when the verbal predicates become nominalized, they become unmarked both with high and low tones. Moreover, the noun derivative morpheme *-ù* as in (104b, 105a, & 106b) or *-t'ḥ* as in (104a, 105a, 106a, & c) is suffixed on the nominalized complement predicates. When the nominalized complement is used as a direct object of a (main) clause, the complement predicate is marked with the accusative morpheme *-(n)á* as in (105b & 106c). However, the nominalized complement used as a subject is not marked for the nominative case.

5.2.3.5. Participial Complements

Participles are adjectival or adverbial forms of verbs. In complementation, participles are not the heads of complements, but rather they modify some nouns which function as the head. In other words, participles, in complementation, function as attributive, not predictive, adjectives. The only place in complement systems where regularly found is in complements to immediate perception predicates (Noonan 2007:72). In Naayì, participles are the adverbial forms of verbs, and it is possible to demonstrate participial complements as in (107 & 108).

The participial complements, as indicated in the examples within the square brackets, use the medial clauses of the language. The participial complements have immediate perception verbal predicates suffixing the complement clause markers; such as, the present progressive participle marker *-kì* 'exist' followed by an immediate time sequence marker *-n* for one type of participial complement constructions as in (107), and the past participle marker *-té* for other type of participial complement constructions as in (108).

107. a. *yèt-ná* [*gebzù wóób-kì-n*] *ḡ=tìt-ù*
 2SG-ACC local.beer drink-exist-SEQ 1SG=see-TOR
 'I saw you drinking local beer. (i.e. You were drinking beer and I saw you.)'
- b. [*dodù-s yééf-ù-kì-n*] *ù/fkùs sùs-a*
 child-DEF.M cry-ISR-exist-SEQ they hear-PAST
 'They heard the child crying. (i.e. The child were crying and they heard the child.)'
108. a. [*dyahḡ-s-á is nìk-s-ḡ-té*] *ḡ=tìt-a*
 work-ACC he be.end-CAUS-TSR-PART 1SG=see-PAST
 'I saw him finished the work. (i.e. He finished the work and I saw him.)'
- b. *ìf-à* [*ây-kì-té*] *ḡ=sùs-a*
 she-ACC sing-exist-PART 1SG=hear-PAST
 'I heard her sang a song. (i.e. She sang a song and I heard her.)'

Here, the direct objects *yètná* 'you' in (107a), *dodùs* 'the child' in (107b), *is* 'he' in (108a), and *ìfà* 'her' in (108b) of the immediate perception predicates *tìt-* 'see' and *sùs-* 'hear' are the head of the participial complements. In other words, the subject of a participial complement is the head of the complement itself. However, the subject of the participial complement can form a constituent structure with the participle verb inside the complement structure as in (107b & 108a), or with the main verb outside the complement structure as in (107a & 108b). When the subject of the complement forms a constituent structure with the main verb as its direct object, it is marked with the accusative case marker *-(n)á*.

The verb forms of participles are reduced inflectionally in that they do not show explicit tense and mood markers, but only take the present participle marker *-kì* or the past participle marker *-té*. Since the participial verbs do not take adjectival inflections to agree with their subjects, they cannot be adjectival participles; rather they are adverbial participles. According to Noonan (2007:74), adverbial participles, which may head adverbial clauses, may also be used as complements. They differ from adjectival participles in their inability to agree with any head noun. In Naayì, as discussed in (§ 5.2.4.1), the participial verb forms head the adverbial clauses; and here, the same participial verb forms are used as participial complements.

5.2.3.6. Equi-deletion

Certain complement types may be reduced in the sense that certain components normally found in main clauses may be absent from them; and the process of deleting some grammatical components from the complements to avoid repetitions in complement relations is known as equi-deletion. Equi-deletion deletes some arguments of complements, when they are co-referential or under identity with some arguments in the matrix. (Noonan 2007:75). In Naayì, the complement subject is equi-deleted under identity with the matrix subject. In other words, when there is sharing of the same subject entity between a complement and main clauses, the complement subject is equi-deleted, as in (109a & 110a). However, if we leave the complement subjects without equi-deletion under identity with the matrix subjects, the complement constructions become ungrammatical as marked with the symbol * in (109b & 110b). Because, the same subject entity could be interpreted as two different subject entities with same pronominal subject forms.

109. a. [*naakù-s-á* *kón-tá-á-b-i/*] *ìs* *gìns-a*
 money-DEF.M-ACC receive-go-IRR-REL-DAT he plan-PAST
 'He planned to take the money.'
- *b. [*naakù-s-á* *ìs*_{*i*} *kón-tá-á-b-i/*] *ìs*_{*i*} *gìns-a*
 money-DEF.M-ACC he receive-go-IRR-REL-DAT he plan-PAST
 'He planned to take the money.'

110. a. [*peeti kaas-ná*] ìs *hàk-ù-t-kì*
 flute playing-ACC he be.able-ISR-PASS-exist
 'He is able to play flute.'
- *b. [*peeti ìs ; kaas-ná*] ìs ; *hàk-ù-t-kì*
 flute he playing-ACC he be.able-ISR-PASS-exist
 'He is able to play flute.'

Equi-deletion is involved in a subjunctive complement as in (109a) and nominalized complement as in (110a) having a shared argument with a main clause. However, when a complement and main clauses have different subjects in their complement relations, equi-deletion of the complement subject does not exist. This is because, unless the main clause shares the complement subject as its subject or object, repetition of arguments is not there and equi-deletion does not occur. Thus, both the complement and main clauses need overt subjects, as in (111a) in which the complement is subjunctive. In fact, in indicative complement construction, the complement and the main clauses have always different subjects, and hence, equi-deletion does not occur in it, as in (111b).

111. a. [*né-s-tá* ìs *tég-á-b-ij*] *hàf-ḡ-kì-ba=ùf-té-n-a*
 DISTN-DEF.M-LOC he go-IRR-REL-DAT need-TSR-exist-REL=3HON-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'They have been needing him to go there.'
- b. [*takal* *yég-ám-ba-ná*] ḡ=*ùt-ḡ-a*
 Takele come-NON.PAST-REL-ACC 1SG=like-TSR-PAST
 'I liked that Takele will come.'

5.2.3.7. Argument Raising

Argument raising is a method whereby arguments can be removed from their predications and raised from a lower to a higher clause, resulting in a non-sentence-like complement type. This method involves the placement of an argument that is notionally part of the complement proposition (typically the subject) in a slot having a grammatical relation (e.g. subject or direct object) to the complement taking predicate (Noonan 200:79). In Naayì, argument

raising takes place only in the participial complement type. The type of raising is subject to object raising (S - O raising). When a complement subject is under identity with the object of a main clause, the complement subject is equi-deleted and raised to the position of the matrix object. The raised complement subject becomes a direct object of the main clause, and this is proved by the accusative case marker *-(n)á*, as in (112a & 113a). According to Noonan 2007: 80), case marking can provide clues about argument raising.

112. a. *ìs-á* [*té-té*] *ḡ=tìt-a*
 he-ACC go-PART 1SG=see-PAST
 'I saw him gone out.'

b. [*ìs té-té*] *ḡ=tìt-a*
 he go-PART 1SG=see-PAST
 'I saw him gone out.'

113. a. *ìf-á* [*ày-kì-n*] *ḡ=sìs-a*
 she-ACC sing-exit-SEQ 1SG=see-PAST
 'I heard her singing.'

b. [*ìf ày-kì-n*] *ḡ=sìs-a*
 she-ACC sing-exit-SEQ 1SG=hear-PAST
 'I heard her singing.'

However, in (112b and 113b), the complement subjects are not equi-deleted under identity with the matrix direct objects, and at the same time, there is no argument raising. Although there is no argument raising in (112b & 113b), the complement constructions are grammatical. Because, the complement subjects are understood semantically that they are the direct objects of the main clauses; but the complement subjects are not repeatedly specified as direct objects in the main clauses syntactically. The comparison of the examples mentioned in (112a) and (113a) with the examples in (112b) and (113b) respectively shows that raising is optional in the language; because, there is no apparent effect on the truth value of the complement constructions in (112b & 113b).

Argument raising is restricted in participial complements. It does not take place in the other types of complements. For instance, in nominalized complements, there is equi-deletion of complement subject under identity with the main clause subject, as in (114a). Although there seems to be complement object raising to the position of the matrix object in (114b), there is no object raising here indeed. If we see the complement relation in the example, *ìsá* 'him' and *tít'ḥ* 'seeing' are not separate arguments of the main predicate *hàkùt'* 'be able to'. Rather, the two together *ìsá tít'ḥ* 'seeing him' as in (114a) functions as one object argument complement of the main predicate *hàkùt'* 'be able to'. In other words, the object argument of the nominalized predicate is *ìsá* 'him', but the object argument of the main predicate is *ìsá tít'ḥ* 'seeing him'. Therefore, the complement construction in (114b) is ungrammatical (*) semantically though it has the same word order as in (114a). This is because, the ultimate proof for argument raising comes from a comparison of the semantic analysis with the syntactic one (Noonan 2007: 80).

114. a. [*ìs-á tít'ḥ*] ḥ=hàk-ù-t'
 he-ACC seeing 1SG=be.able-ISR-PASS
 'I am able to see him.'
- *b. *ìs-á [tít'ḥ] ḥ=hàk-ù-t'*
 he-ACC seeing 1SG=be.able-ISR-PASS
 'I am able to see him.'

5.2.3.8. Distribution of Complement Clauses

Complement clauses in sentences function as subjects or objects; and hence, they are usually positioned in the sentences just like other subjects or objects (Noonan 2007:92). This is true in Naayì that complement clauses are used to fulfill the function of subjects or objects in a sentence. The complement clauses functioning as subjects are placed in subject position; whereas, the complement clauses functioning as objects are placed in object position. The nominalized complements in Naayì function as a subject and an object of a complement taking predicate, and hence, they can occur in subject position as in (115a) or in the object

position as in (115b) of a sentence. We can see more examples for the distribution of nominalized complements in a sentence in (104, 105 and 106) in (§5.2.3.4.).

115. a. [*marta noog-ná* *sìisù*] *is-á* *áyn-ù-s-a*
 Marta issue-ACC hearing 3MSG-ACC be.sad-ISR-CAUS-PAST
 'Marta's hearing the secret made him sad.'
- b. [*t'àlá* *mt'è-ná*] *ná ùt-è-kì*
 bread eating-ACC I like-TSR-exist
 'I like eating bread.'

The other complement types such as indicative in (116), subjunctive in (117), participial in (118) and serial in (119) complement types function only as objects of complement taking predicates. All these complement types are placed in the usual object position of the word order SOV. In fact the subjects of the main predicates can occur as pronoun or pronominal clitics. It is possible to see more examples discussed on complement clauses in the above sections.

116. [*naakù-s-á* *is wùʔ-ám-ba-ná*] *ùfkús sùs-a*
 money-DEF.M-ACC he steal-NON.PAST-REL-ACC they hear-PAST
 'They heard that he will steal the money.'
117. a. [*né-s-tá* *tég-á-b-i*] *è=hàf-è-kì*
 DIST-DEF.M-LOC go-IRR-REL-DAT 1PL=need-TSR-exist
 'We want to go there.'
- b. [*né-s-tá* *is tég-á-b-i*] *è=hàf-è-kì*
 DIST-DEF.M-LOC he go-IRR-REL-DAT 1PL=need-TSR-exist
 'We want him to go there.' (lit.: we want him that he would go there.)
118. a. [*dòdù-s* *yééf-kì-n*] *sùs-a-ba=naa-té-n-a*
 child-DEF.M cry-exist-SEQ hear-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'I have heard the child crying.'

b. [ìs-á yé-té] nà tìit-a
 he-ACC 2SG-PART I see-PAST
 'I saw him come.'

119. ìt-kís [naak-ù-s-á sán-s-á] hák-ù-s-á
 2SG-PL money-M-DEF.M-ACC be.back-CAUS-IRR be.able-ISR-CAUS-IRR
 'You may return the money.' (lit.: you would be able to return the money.)

In sum, the nominalized complements headed by verbal nouns can be distributed both in the subject and object positions; and on the other hand, the indicative, subjunctive, serial and participial complements headed by verbs are placed only in the object position within main clauses.

5.2.4. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are types of subordinate clauses that function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses. “Adverbial clauses are viewed as (hypotactic) clause combining with respect to the main clause since they relate to the main clause as a whole” (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang: 2007:238). In Naayì, the types of adverbial clauses described in this section are temporal clauses, locational clauses, reason clauses, purpose clauses, conditional clauses, and concessive clauses. In all cases, the adverbial clauses always precede the main clauses in the language.

5.2.4. 1. Temporal Clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses are constructed when there is a time sequence relationship between clauses. In Naayì, temporal clauses are marked with the morphemes *-ka* and *-n*. When there is a time sequence of two events which are mentioned together as being adjacent sequence in time, the first event is signed with the morpheme *-ka* (glossed as 'TEMP' to mean 'adjacent temporal sequence or succession') following a relative clause marker *-ba* and becomes temporal clause; and then, the second event follows as main clause, as in (120). On the other hand, when there is a time sequence of two events which are mentioned together as

being immediate sequence in time, the first event is marked by the morpheme *-n* (glossed as 'SEQ' to mean 'immediate time sequence') and becomes temporal clause; and then, the second event expressed as main clause follows, as in (121).

120. a. [*ye-s-tá* *kàlm-te ñ=kì-kì-ba-ka*] *tuur şaaaz şáz-ù*
DISTN-DEF.M-LOC sit-PART 1PL=exist-exist-REL-TEMP land heat be.heated-ISR
'When we were sitting there, the weather of land became hot.'
- b. [*ù/kús yég-a-ba-ka*] *gaans-á kóm-yég-a-ba-té-kn-a*
they come-PAST-REL-TEMP ox-ACC receive-come-PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
'When they came, they have brought an ox.'
121. a. [*yísñ-s* *èdú-s-á* *bára-s* *wóg-ù-s-n*]
one-DEF.M language-DEF.M-ACC other-DEF.M grow-ISR-CAUS-SEQ
bára-s *èdú-s-á* *ye-yís-ó* *wóg-ù-s*
other-DEF.M language-DEF.M-ACC DISTN-one-ADFOC grow-ISR-CAUS
'While the one respects other's language, the other one also respects that one's language'
- b. [*fird* *ii-k'a* *ñ=tág-n*] *fird* *ii* *kadù miit'á-ka*
court(Amh.) house-IN 1SG=accuse-SEQ court(Amh.) house three evidence-INST
gìd-ù-s-n-é *gém-kì=ís-ó*
be.presented-ISR-CAUS-IMP-N.ASS say-exist=3MSG-N.ASS
'When I accuse (someone) at the Court House, the Court House would say me, 'provide (the accusation) with three evidences!''

Another temporal clause marker is the morpheme *-té*, which is basically the marker of past participle, as in (122). The temporal clause signed with *-té* expresses a finished event before the event in the main clause. In this case, the temporal clause marked with *-té* has a sense of like 'Something happened, and then, ...' or 'After something happened, ...'.

122. [*ís-beey* *yé-té*] *gurfá-ná* *ís=ñ-a*
3MSG.POSS-mother come-PART lunch-ACC 3MSG=eat-PAST

'His mother came, and then, he ate lunch.'

When a temporal clause has a simultaneous or an overlap time with the main clause, the existential verb *-kì* 'exist', which is a progressive aspect marker, is used together with the temporal clause markers *-ka*, *-n*, and *-té* on the dependent verbs. We can see the examples in (120a) for *-ka*, in (123a) for *-n* and in (123b) for *-té*.

123. a. [dòdù-s yééf-kì-n] ìs-beey tég-ù
 child-DEF.M cry-exist-SEQ 3MSG.POS-mother go-ISR
 'While the child was crying, his mother went.'

b. [dòdù-s yééf-kì-té] ìs-beey yég-ù
 child-DEF.M cry-exist-PART 3MSG.POS-mother come-ISR
 'While the child was crying, his mother came.'

5.2.4. 2. Locational Clauses

In many languages including English, locational clauses are introduced by the subordinator having the meaning of 'where' (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang: 2007:249). However, in some other languages, locational clauses have the shape of relative clauses, and in this case, the locational clauses are easily rephrased as relative clauses with a head like 'place' (such as "the place where..." (Hellenthal 2010:356; Thompson, Longacre & Hwang: 2007:249).

In Naayì, locational clauses have the shape of relative clauses marked with case markers on the verbs. In this case, the locational clauses are expressed by a case marker having a head noun meaning 'the place where' and a prenominal relative clause, as in (124 & 125). The full verb form of locational clauses can be formed in a series as: *verb forms with verbal inflections - relativizer - case markers*. The main case marker suffixed on the verbs of relative clauses is the inessive case morpheme *-k'a* which involves contact and/or containment in the space denoted by the noun phrase, as in (124).

124. a. *maajì-t k'áy-té yé-té [dùlbr̩m̩ gé-t'-ù-kù-ba-k'a]*
 Maajì-LOC rise-PART come-PART Dùlbr̩m̩ say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-IN

ís=kés-ù

3MSG=go.up-ISR

'He rose from Maaji and came, and then, he went up to the place where it is called Dùlbn̄.'

- b. [*wafá-s* *kì-ba-k'a*] *wùk'-ù-té* *kálm-ù-ń=gé-á*
forest-DEF.M exist-REL-IN get.in-ISR-PART sit-ISR-1PL=say-IRR

'Let us get in and sit in the place where the forest exists.'

- c. [*eʃeʃ̄ñ* *k'aalù yáp-t'-ù-ba-k'a*] *ń=tég-ám-ba*
originally coffee get-PASS-TOR-REL-IN 1SG=go-NON.PAST-REL

'I will go to the place where coffee was found originally.'

The other case marker that can be used in locational clause constructions is the instrumental case marker *-ka*. This case marker is employed to mark the locational clauses by its extended function though its basic function is instrumental case marking, as in (125).

125. a. *ye-s-tá* *kàlm-té* [*ń=kì-kì-ba-ka*] *tuur ʃaaʒ ʃáz-ù*
DISTN-DEF.M-LOC sit-PART 1PL=exist-exist-REL-INST land heat be.hot-ISR

We sat there and then in the place where we were living, the land became hot.'

- b. [*ìs tég-a-ba-ka*] *ń=teg-e-ké-ám-ba-te-kn-a*
he go-PAST-REL-INST 1SG=go-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP

'I will not have gone to the place where he went.'

5.2.4. 3. Reason Clauses

Reason clauses provide explanations, or accounts, for the occurrence of a given state or action expressed in a main clause. They express a motivating event that may or may not be realized at the time of the main clause event (cf. Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007:250-251). In Naayì, reason adverbial clauses are marked with the relative clause marker *-b* (for a default masculine singular referent) followed by the dative case marker *-iʃ*, as in (126); but together they are pronounced as *[-beʃ]*. The reason clause event in (126a) is realized at the time of the main clause event. However, the reason event in (126b) is not realized at the time of the main clause event; and hence, this is indicated by the irrealis morpheme *-á*.

126. a. [nà-kṛ-ná yè=sìs-ṛ-b-i/] ḡyáts gàlatá-ná yè-tfi
 1SG-GEN-ACC 2SG=listen-TSR-REL-DAT big thanks-ACC 2SG-DAT
 pót-s-kì-ba=nà-té-n-a
 reach-CAUS-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP

'Since you listened (to me), I have been presenting great thanks for you!'

b. is-á déb-ṛ-gata [k'wayá ù/kús nìk-á-b-i/]
 he-ACC entomb-TSR-COND all they finish-IRR-REL-DAT
 níi k'át-té háá-s-tá ù/kús pót-ù-kì
 there rise-PART PROX-DEF.M-LOC they reach -ISR-exist

'If they entombed him, all of them would die, and therefore, they come from there and reach here (i.e. to do something culturally not to die).'

5.2.4. 4. Purposive Clauses

Like the reason clauses, purpose clauses are marked with the morphemes *-b* and *-if* together in sequence in Naayì, as in (126). The morpheme *-b* is relative clause marker for a default masculine singular referent and the morpheme *-if* is the dative case marker. Here, we can say that reason clauses and purpose clauses have the same subordinating suffix *-b* followed by *-if*, in the language. This is seen that many languages use the same morphology for both purpose and reason clauses; and “the semantic explanation for the fact that one morpheme can serve these two functions is that both purpose and reason clauses can be seen as providing *explanations*, or *accounts*, for the occurrence of a given state or action” (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007:250). Purposive clauses differ from reason clauses in that they *must be* unrealized at the time of the main event, and this is always signaled by the irrealis mood marker *-á(n)* in the language as in (127).

127. a. [ṛ-afal-á kàlm-ù-s-án-b-i/] gongul-á ṛ=dyáh-ṛ
 1SG.POSS-cloth-ACC 2SG=sit-ISR-CAUS-IRR-REL-DAT box-ACC 1SG=work-TSR
 'In order to put my cloth, I made a box.'

b. [kadù miit'á ṛ=gìd-ù-s-á-b-i/] miit'á ṛ-tfi
 three evidence 1PL=be.presented-ISR-CAUS-IRR-REL-DAT evidence 1PL-DAT

kày-kì=ís-ó

not.exist-exist=3MSG-N.ASS

'In order to present three evidences, there would not be evidence for me.'

5.2.4. 5. Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses in Naayì can be described based on their semantic and morphosyntactic features. Semantically, they can be classified into *real* conditional clauses, as in (128), and *unreal* conditional clauses, as in (129). Again, unreal conditional clauses are two types: *imaginative hypothetical* conditional clauses, as in (129a), and *imaginative counterfactual* conditional clauses as in (129b). Morphosyntactically, a conditional clause is formed by a matrix clause, called *apodosis*, and by an adverbial clause, introduced by a special conjunction (like *if* in English), called the *protasis*, or the if-clause, of the conditional (Giorgiand and Pianesi 1997:256). The protasis of real conditional clause type is marked differently from the protasis of unreal conditional clause type in Naayì. The protasis in real conditional clauses takes the subordinating morpheme *-gata* (or sometimes *-k'ata*¹⁹) as in (128); whereas, the protasis of unreal conditional clauses always takes the default masculine gender relativizer *-b* followed by the dative case marker *-if* as a special subordinating morphemes together, as in (129). Both *-gata* or *[-k'ata]* and *-bif* or *[-bef]* show that Naayì signals the protasis (if-clause) of conditionals by means of subordinating morphemes as most languages do (cf. Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007:256).

128. a. *[ibar té-kn-a ìs gém-a-gata] irtá kày*
fact COP-REAL-PRSP he say-PAST-COND problem not.exist
'If he said, it is a fact(true), there is no problem.'
- b. *[beentf maajì-kṇ béétṇ-k'a yè=tég-a-gata]*
Bench maajì-GEN inside-IN 2SG=go-PAST-COND
naayì-ná yáp-ám-ba=yè-té-n-a

¹⁹ The protasis of real conditional clauses is mostly signaled by the subordinating morpheme *-gata* as in (128 & 130 & 131b). However, the subordinator sometimes becomes *-k'ata* when it follows voiceless consonants across a verb root as in (131a).

Naayi-ACC get-NON.PAST-REL=2SG-COP-REAL-PRSP

'If you go in Bench Maaji (zone), you will get Naayi.'

c. *yoob-ù-s-if* *naak* *kìz-a-gata*
person-M-DEF.M-DAT money exist-PAST-COND

òòt-ná *is* *púr-ám-ba-té-ó*

cow-ACC he buy-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS

'If the man has money, he would buy a cow.'

129. a. [*níi-s-tá* *ìf* *tég-á- ba-té-b-if*] *yánk'-ám-ba=naa-té-ó*
there-DEF.M-LOC she go-IRR-REL-COP-REL-DAT deny-NON.PAST-REL=1SG-COP-
REAL-PRSP

'If she had gone there, I would have been annoyed.'

b. *yoob-ù-s-if* *naak* *kìz-a-ba-té-b-if*
person-M-DEF.M-DAT money exist-PAST-REL-COP-REL-DAT

òòt-ná *is* *púr-ám-ba-té-ó*

cow-ACC he buy-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS

'If the man had money, he would have bought a cow.'

The real conditional clause constructions are two types in the language: *type one* as in (128a & b) and *type two* as in (128c & 130), depending on the mood (i.e. the degree of probability of the occurrence of the events) in the apodosis (or matrix clause). Type one real conditionals are probable; whereas, type two real conditionals are less probable. These two types of real conditional clauses are different in their mood marking, in that the apodosis in type one real conditional clauses is not associated with a negative assertive mood marker *-ó* or they are marked with the real mood marker *-(k)n* and *presupposition* mood marker *-a* consequently following the copula verb *té-*, as in (128a & b). In this case, the main clause events are probable to be realized and hence they are not expressed with the negative assertion mood marker. If the condition in the dependent clauses is fulfilled, there is no doubt about the occurrence of the events in the main clauses.

In type two real conditional clause constructions, the verb of the apodosis is marked with the negative assertive mood marker *-ó*, as in (128c & 130). In this type of real conditional clauses, the events in the matrix clauses are expected to be realized but with a certain degree of doubt which is signaled by the negative assertion mood morpheme *-ó*. In fact, both type one and type two real conditional clauses have the same verb forms and subordinating morpheme *-gata* in their protasis (dependent clause).

130. a. [*etsá yisñ yaab naak-ná is ñ-a-gata*]
 carelessly one person money-ACC 3MSG eat-PAST-COND
koob-ka is máng-ù-t-kù-ba té-ó
 hen-INST he speak(i.e. curse)-TOR-PASS-pass-exist-REL COP-N.ASS
 'If he ate somebody's money carelessly, he would be cursed with hen.'
- b. [*fengù noogù dyáh-té gaatfù-ná yè=ñ-a-gata*]
 bad thing work-PART t'ef(Amh.)-ACC 2SG=eat-PAST-COND
yèt-ná is wùf-ám-ba-té-ó
 you-ACC 3MSG kill-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS
 'If you did bad thing and then ate Tef(grain sp.), it would kill you.'
- c. [*t'à-òòt-ná ból-ù-bab-ù-s kiz-a-gata*]
 two-cow-ACC curse-ISR-REL-DEF.M exist-PAST-COND,
t'à -òòt nalá burá kàyì-f wúk'-ó
 two-cow justice compensation guardian.sprit-DAT enter-N.ASS
 'If there is the person who cursed (i.e. promised to give) two cows, two cows would enter for the justice of the guardian sprit as compensation.'

The apodosis of real conditional clauses can be constructed with an interrogative clause as in (131a) and with imperative clauses as in (131b). Here also, the events in the interrogative and imperative clauses are not expected to be realized by their nature and hence, they can be

marked with the negative assertion mood marker *-ó* [*-é*]²⁰, as in (131b). The interrogative word *yírá* 'what?' in (131a) does not realize 'the necessary things' by itself, but rather 'the necessary things' are expected to be realized when a response would be given immediately after the question is raised.

131. a. [*kyas hak'á è-tfi* *degá* *hàf-ù-s-a-k'ata*]
king now 3MSG.POSS-DAT assistances want-TOR-CAUS-PAST-COND
ítkís dyafá *hàf-t-ù-kù-ba* *noogù yírá*
2PL near.to want-PASS-TOR-exist-REL thing what
'If the government needed assistance for himself now, what would be the necessary things with you?'
- b. [*gob sááts'-a-gata*] *k'èrù* *bìh-n=ít-é*
time be.dawn-PAST-COND lath(local.door) open-IMP=2HON-N.ASS
'If the time became dawn, please open a lath(a local door)!'

Unreal conditional clauses are two types in Naayì, as introduced above. These are *imaginative hypothetical* conditionals and *imaginative counterfactual* conditionals. Both of these are imaginative or not predictive. Morphosyntactically, both of them are characterized by the default masculine gender relative clause marker *-b* followed by the dative case marker *-if* as subordinating morphemes in their protasis, as in (129 & 132). As we can see in the case of subjunctive complements (§5.2.3.2.), reason clauses (§5.2.4.3.), purpose clauses (§5.2.4.4.), and here in unreal conditional clauses; the two consecutive morphemes *-b* and *-if* together go with irrealis events in the language in general. The subordinating morphemes in unreal conditional clauses are always suffixed to the copular helping verb *té-*. In between the main verb and the copula helping verb, there is always the default masculine singular, and plural relative clause marker *-ba* in the protasis of unreal conditionals.

²⁰[*-é*] is the allomorph of the negative assertion mood morpheme *-ó*. As in (131b), the underlying form *-ó* becomes *-é* due to the presence of *i* in the preceding pronoun clitic *=ít*. Since such assimilation is very usual in the language, the researcher simply put the allomorph *-é* as it is heard.

The imaginative hypothetical conditionals refer to situations or events which might happen, as in (129a & 132). The protasis of the imaginative hypothetical conditional clauses is characterized by the irrealis mood marker *-á*. On the other hand, the verbs of apodosis clauses which follow the protasis clauses in the imaginative hypothetical conditionals are characterized by the non-past tense marker *-ám*, the relative clause marker *-ba*, the copula *-té* and the negative assertion mood morpheme *-ó*, which occur at the end of the main verb stems in sequence respectively, as seen here in (132).

132. a. [*ṅ-toos* *yég-á-ba-té-b-i/*] *ṅ-dyahṅ-ná* *is*
 1SG.POSS-brother come-IRR-REL-COP-REL-DAT 1SG.POSS-work-ACC he
gétʃ-ù-s-ám-ba-té-ó
 be.useful-ISR-CAUS-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS
 'If my brother had come, he would have helped my work.'
- b. [*ṅ-toos* *sùb-á-ba-té-b-i/*]
 1SG-brother die-IRR-COP-REL-DAT
ná ìrt-ù-t-ám-ba-té-ó
 I be.difficult-ISR-PASS-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS
 'If my brother had died, I would have been in problem.'

The imaginative counterfactual conditionals refer to situations or events which *didn't* happen or which *couldn't* happen. Morphosyntactically, the imaginative counterfactual conditional clauses in Naayì are characterized by the past tense marker *-a* on the verbs of protasis, as in (133). The morphosyntactic features of the apodosis (matrix clause) following the counterfactual conditional clauses are the same as the apodosis following the hypothetical conditional clauses. It means that the verbs in the matrix clauses are marked with the non-past tense marker *-ám*, the relative clause marker *-ba*, the copular helping verb *té-* and the negative assertion mood marker *-ó* sequentially. A subject clitics may come between the relativizers *-ba* and the copular helping verb *té-* in the verbs of apodosis clauses, as in (133a).

133. a. [*ní-s-tá* *ìf tég-a-ba-té-b-i/*]
 there-DEF.M-LOC she go-PAST-REL-COP-REL-DAT

áyn-ù-t'-ám-ba=naa-té-ó

be.sad-ISR-PASS-NON.PAST-REL=1SG-COP-N.ASS

'If she had gone there, I would have been sad.'

b. [*ṇ-toos sùb-a-ba-té-b-i/*]

1SG-brother die-PAST-COP-REL-DAT

ná ìrt-ù-t-ám-ba-té-ó

I be.difficult-ISR-PASS-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS

'If my brother had died, I would have been in problem.'

Regarding negative conditionals, there is no special morpheme used in Naayì, like the English *unless*. Negative conditional clauses are constructed in the language by adding the normal negative morpheme *-o* or its allomorph *[-e]* to all types of the ordinary conditional clauses on their verbs of protasis. When the negative marker *-o* or *[-e]* is suffixed immediately after the verb root of the dependent conditional clause, the auxiliary verb *k'é-* 'remain', which is a perfective aspect marker, always follows the negative marker. This is illustrated in (134) for the negative real conditional clauses, and in (135) for the unreal negative conditional clauses.

134. a. [*ṇ-toos yég-e-k'é-a-gata/*]

ṇ-dyahṇ-ná is

1SG-brother come-NEG-remain-PAST-COND 1SG.POSS-work-ACC he

gétf-ù-s-o-k'é-ám-ba-té-n-a

be.useful-ISR-CAUS-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL- PRSP

'If my brother did not come, he will not have helped my work.'

b. [*ṇ-toos sùb-o-k'é-a-gata/*]

1SG-brother die-NEG-PAST-COND

ná ìrt-ù-t-e-k'é-ám-ba-té-ó

I be.difficult-ISR-PASS-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS

'If my brother did not die, I would not be in problem.'

135. a. [*ṇ-toos sùb-e-k'é-á-ba-té-b-i/*]

1SG-brother die-NEG-remain-IRR-COP-REL-DAT

ná irt-ù-t-e-k'é-ám-ba-té-ó

I be.difficult-ISR-PASS-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS

'If I my brother did not die, I would not have been in problem.'

b. [*ñ-toos yég-e-k'e-a-ba-té-b-i[l] ñ-dyahñ-ná*]

1SG.POSS-brother come-NEG-remain-PAST-REL-REL-DAT 1SG.POSS-work-ACC

is gétf-ù-s-o-k'é-ám-ba-té-ó

he be.useful-ISR-CAUS-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS

'If my brother had not come, he would not have helped my work.'

The negative conditional clauses of all types, as exemplified above, are typically similar to the ordinary conditionals in Naayì, in terms of the verb forms and the expressions of reality/unreality and hypotheticality/counterfactuality. In this regard, Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:261), mention that “negative conditionals of a language are typically like the ordinary conditionals in that language, both morphosyntactically, in that they manifest the same restrictions on verb forms, and semantically, in the way the reality/unreality and hypothetical/counterfactual distinctions are expressed”. Moreover, the propositions in the protasis clauses are not contrary to the propositions of their respective apodosis clauses. If the propositions in the protasis clauses are negated, the propositions in the apodosis clauses are also negated with the same negative marker *-o* or *-e* followed by the auxiliary verb *k'é-* 'remain', as in (134 & 135).

In connection with conditional clauses, there is also another conditional clause type in Naayì called *concessive* conditional clause. In this case also, there is no special morpheme used to mark concessive conditional clauses in the language. The term ‘concessive conditional’ refers to clauses analogous to ‘even if’ clauses in English, coding the relation ‘frustrated implication’ (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007:261).

In Naayì, concessive conditionality is expressed only by negating the proposition of protasis of an ordinary conditional clause, with the normal negative morpheme like in negative conditional clauses, but without negating the proposition of the apodosis clause found in the same conditional clause construction. We can see examples for real concessive conditional

clause constructions in (136), and for unreal concessive conditional clause constructions in (137).

136. a. [*ùyṅ-ba sáátá-k'a ṅ=t'ús-o-k'é-a-gata*] *hak'á-ba sáátá-k'a*
 former-GEN time-IN 1SG=know-NEG-remain-PAST-COND, now-GEN time-IN
giit'á-ka naayì biherəsəbá(Amh) ís=háy-kì-ba noogù
 trade-INST Naayì nationality 3MSG=live-exist-REL thing
kìz-ám-ba-té-n-a
 exist-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Even if I did not know it in the former time, there will have been a situation that the Naayì community lives with trade by this time.'
- b. [*ṅ-toos kì-e-k'e-a-ba-gata*] *ná*
 1SG.POSS-brother exist-NEG-remain-PAST-REL-COND I
irt-ù-t-e-k'é-ám-ba-té-ó
 be.difficult-ISR-PASS-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS
 'Even if my brother did not exist (live), I would not be in problem.'
137. a. [*ṅ-toos kì-e-k'e-á-ba-té-b-i/*] *ná*
 1SG.POSS-brother exist-NEG-remain-IRR-REL-REL-DAT I
irt-ù-t-e-k'é-ám-ba-té-ó
 be.difficult-ISR-PASS-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS
 'Even if my brother did not exist(live), I would not have been in problem.'
- b. [*ùyṅ-ba sáátá-k'a ṅ=t'ús-o-k'é-a-ba-té-b-i/*] *hak'á-ba sáátá-k'a*
 former-GEN time-IN 1SG=know-NEG-remain-PAST-REL-DAT, now-GEN time-IN
giit'á-ká naayì biherəsəbá(Amh) ís=háy-kì-ba noogù
 trade-INST Naayì nationality 3MSG=live-exist-REL thing
kìz-ám-ba-té-ó
 exist-NON.PAST-REL-COP-N.ASS
 'Even if I had not known it in the former time, there would have been a situation that the Naayì community lives with trade by this time.'

As we see in the examples, when the propositions of concessive conditional clauses become negative, the proposition of the apodosis (matrix) clauses remain positive as in (136a & 137b), unless the verbs of the matrix clauses have lexically negative meaning, as in (136b & 137a). The concessive conditional clauses in Naayì, like the negative conditional clauses, are typically similar to the ordinary conditional clauses in the language, in terms of verb forms and the expressions of reality/unreality and hypotheticality/counterfactuality. However, the protasis of concessive conditional clauses carry additional presuppositions not signaled by the protasis of ordinary conditional clauses, which are contrary to the propositions carried by the apodosis (main) clauses of the same conditional clause construction (cf. Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007:261).

5.2.4. 6. Concessive Clauses

“*Concessive* is a general term for a clause which makes a concession, against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted” (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007:262). Concessive adverbial clauses in Naayì are marked by the concessive subordinator *sani* 'although' as in (138 & 139). The subordinator *sani* 'although' is an independent word form. The contrast between the proposition of the adverbial clause and the proposition of the matrix clause is marked by the subordinator *sani* 'although', but not by the negative morpheme like in concessive conditional clause construction.

138. [k'wayá deetfá wə̀rə̀dá-k'a gé-t'-ḥ sani] ís=kì-ba
 all Decha district(Amh.)-IN say-PASS-TSR although 3MSG=exist-REL
 harkù-ka kafti zóná-kḥ béétḥ-k'a sák-ù-té beentf maajì-k'a kiz-a
 many-INST Kaffa zone-GEN inside-IN pass-ISR-PART Bench Majì-IN exist-PAST
 'Although everyone is said in Dechá district, he (i.e. the Naayì people) lives in Bench Majì zone in many numbers in addition to in Kaffa zone (Decha district).

139. [yè-tfi fik'ù-ka ḥ=kàlm-ù-s-ba noogù-s ye-s
 2SG-DAT short-INST 1SG=put-ISR-CAUS-REL thing-DEF DISTN-DEF.M
 àkur=ís sani] naayì nòògù-ná ḥ=pít-n
 become=3MSG although Naayì thing-ACC 1SG=list(rehearse)-SEQ

nìk-e-k'è-ám-ba-té-n-a

finish-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP

'Even though this is the idea that I put(told) for you in short, I will not have finished listing(rehearsing) the issues of Naayì.'

5.2.5. Relative Clauses

There are two types of relative clauses: restrictive and non-restrictive types (Givón 2001:176). Both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clause types code a state or event one of whose participants is co-referent with the head noun modified by the clause. However, the restrictive relative clauses differ from the non-restrictive relative clause in that they modify definite head nouns. This means, the speaker does not assert the proposition in the relative clause, but rather presupposes it to be known or familiar to the hearer, thus accessible in the hearer's episodic memory of the current text (Givón 2001:176). On the other hand, in the non-restrictive relative clauses, the head noun is indeed co-referential with some participant in the state/event coded in the relative clause; but that state/event is typically not presupposed, but is rather asserted as new information (Givón 2001:179). From these two types of relative clauses, Naayì uses the restrictive relative clauses; and hence, all the discussion in this section is about the restrictive relative clauses.

Relative clauses (henceforth RCLs) are clause-size modifiers embedded in the noun phrase; or they are clauses that modify a head noun in a clause (Givón 2001:175; Payne 2006:301-302). There are four important parts of a RCL (Payne 1997:325-326; 2006:302): (1) *the head*, which is the noun phrase that is modified by the clause; (2) *the restricting clause*, which is the RCL itself; (3) *the relativized NP*, which is the element within the restricting clause that is co-referential with the head noun in the main clause, and which is represented as \emptyset (zero or "gap"); and (4) *the relativizer*, which is the morpheme or particle that sets off the restricting clause as a RCL.

In discussing relative clauses of Naayì here, the researcher clearly marks the parts of the relative clauses in the examples with different symbols; such as, the head noun (or NP) in

- b. [...Ø *ít nás-t-a-ba*] *bérgì-ná máh=ít*
 2HON give.birth-PASS-PAST-REL year-ACC speak=2HON
 'Please tell a year (your age) when you were born!'

However, there is also a tendency for relative clauses to be postnominal in Naayì. This could be due to the fact that the head noun is asserted as focused constituent (new information). According to Payne (1997:326), this tendency is probably due to a universal pragmatic principle that shifts "heavy" information to late in the relative clause. The head nouns *kyas* 'king' in (142a) and *hááskís* 'these ones' in (142b) are followed by the RCLs indicated in the square brackets. In the related language Sheko, relative clauses are both prenominal and postnominal (Hellenhtal 2010:345).

142. a. *kyas*[*dùlbm̂ ...Ø gé-t'-ù-kù-ba*] *fùb-a dùlbm̂-tá*
 king Dùlbm̂ say-PASS-ISR-exist-REL die-PAST Dùlbm̂-LOC
 'A King who has been said Dùlbm̂ died in Dùlbm̂.'
- b. *háá-s-kís* [*...Ø ñ=kàlm̂-kì-ba*] *gabará gé-t'-ù*
 PROX-DEF.M-PL 1PL=sit-exist-REL chair say-PASS-TOR
 'These ones on which we sit are called chair.'

Internally headed and headless RCLs are not attested in Naayì based on the data of this thesis. When a clause is marked with the relativizers *-ba/-bab* or *-bey* but without a head noun, the clause is marked with an accusative case marker *-(n)á*, and it becomes an indicative object complement clause as indicated in the brackets in (143). For this, we can also see more examples from (94) - (97) in (§5.2.3.1.), which discusses about indicative complements. However, if the clause is marked with a relativizer, but does not have the accusative case morpheme *-(n)á*, it cannot be indicative object complement clause, and otherwise, there must be a head noun for the formation of RCL in the language. This is what makes relative clauses different from indicative complement clauses. Hence, we can say that headless RCL does not occur in the language.

143. [*ye-s-ka* *ìf irt-ù-t-kì-ba-ná*]
 DISTN-DEF.M-INST she be.suffered-ISR-PASS-exist-REL-ACC
ñ-tfi *mangistágé-n=it*
 1PL-DAT government say-IMP=2HON
 'Please tell our government that she is suffering with that.'

5.2.5.1. Mode of Relativization

Mode of relativization refers to the strategies of expressing the NP_{rel} in RCL. In any RCL, there must be some way of identifying the role of the referent of the head noun within the RCL (Payne 1997:330). Naayì allows a *gap strategy* to recover a NP_{rel} in the RCLs. The gap strategy is the omission of NP_{rel} in RCLs. As illustrated in all examples provided above in (140 - 142) and below in (144 - 148), this strategy is always applied to treat a relativized NP in any RCL in the language; and, the gap of the NP_{rel} is represented by the symbol ...Ø in the bracketed RCLs. Naayì employs the same gap strategy for all NP_{rel} positions of relativization; such as, subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique and possessive positions as in (144 -148) respectively.

144. [*kafi zoná-k'a* ...Ø *kyám-ù-kù-ba*] *wərədá-ná*
 Kaffa zone-IN be.available-ISR-exist-REL district(Amh.)-ACC
ñ=tìt-a-ba-ka *támù wərədá* *té-n-á*
 1PL=see-PAST-REL-TEMP ten district(Amh.) COP-REAL-PRSP
 'When we saw the districts that are found in Kaffa zone, they are ten districts.'

145. [*ñ-tfi* ...Ø *ís=àts-ù-s-a-ba*] *naak-ná*
 1SG.POSS-DAT 3MSG=give-TOR-CAUS-REL money-ACC
ñ=kóm-yég-a
 1SG=receive-come-PAST'
 I brought money that he sent to me.'

146. [...Ø *baab anduaalem yè=àts-ba*] *noogù-f* *galatá-ná* *ñ=àts-ñ*
 mister Anduaalem 2SG=give-REL thing-DAT acknowledgment-ACC 1SG=give-TSR

'Ato Andualem, I gave acknowledgment (thanked) for the thing that you gave!'

147. [...Ø *naayì kyám-ù-kù-ba*] *golí ye-s té-n-a*
Naayì be.availabe-ISR-exist-REL place DISTN-DEF.M COP-REAL-PRSP
'A place where Naayì is found is this one.'

148. [...Ø *ii bók'-ù-s-t-a-bey*] *yeeb-ñ tég-ù*
house be.burnt-ISR-CAUS-PASS-PAST-REL.F woman-DEF.F go-ISR
'The woman whose house was burnt went.'

The gap strategy is most commonly found in languages with a fairly fixed constituent order, where inferring the missing argument's case-role is probably easier (Payne 1997:330; Givón 2001b:185); and it is an extremely popular treatment of NP_{rel} (Andrew 2007:222). Since Naayì has a fairly fixed constituent order, the language uses the gap strategy consistently in all types of the grammatical functions of NP_{rel} in RCLs. Using the gap strategy is uncommon in SOV-languages that do not have overt marking of grammatical relations (Payne 1997:331). Naayì has typically an SOV basic word order; and, it overtly marks most of the grammatical relations in simple clauses. Therefore, it could not be strange for Naayì to use the gap strategy in relativization. The related language Sheko (Hellenthal 2010:348) uses the gap strategy in which the coreferent of the head in the RCL is zero (i.e. a 'gap'), and the pronoun retention strategy (i.e. anaphoric pronoun strategy) in which the coreferent is expressed by a resumptive pronoun in the RCL. However, here in Naayì, the pronoun retention strategy is not used for the treatment of the NP_{rel}.

5.2.5.2. Grammatical Functions of Relativized NP

In this section, the types of grammatical functions that NP_{rel} can bear in RCL are discussed. Based on the data of this thesis, an NP_{rel} can have the grammatical function or the position of subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique and genitive in RCLs. In other words, the relativization of a subject, a direct object, an indirect object, an oblique and a genitive(Possessor) NP are attested in Naayì. These relativized grammatical functions of an NP are demonstrated in the following subsections respectively.

I. Subject Relativization

In Naayì, an NP can be relativized in the subject position of a RCL, as in (144, 149 & 150). In the examples, the relativized position is indicated with three dots followed by the symbol of gap (...Ø) in the bracketed RCL; and the head N is indicated with bold underline outside the bracketed RCL and it is coreferent with the NP_{rel} in the RCL.

149. [*aləmə-k'a* *k'aalù-ná* *efesñ* ...Ø *kyám-ù-s-bey*]
 world(Amh.)-IN coffee-ACC first be.available-ISR-CAUS-REL.F
tuyr-ñ *mankirá* *gé-t'-ù-kù-ba* *té-n-a*
 land.F-DEF.F Mankirá say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL COP-REAL-PRSP

'The land that made coffee discovered for the first time in the Word is called Mankirá.'

150. [*ii-k'a* ...Ø *háy-kì-bab-ù-s-kís*] *òytñ zég orod ùyzi* *gé-t'-ù*
 house-IN spend.night-exist-REL-M-DEF.M-PL cow bull calf heifer say-PASS-TOR
 'That spend the night in the house are called cow, bull, calf and heifer.'

The head nouns, *wərədáná* 'district' in (144) and *tuyrñ* 'the land' in (149), have the function of subject in their respective RCLs. However, such coreferenced head nouns may have a different grammatical function in the "main" clause, i.e. different from its relativized function. For example in (144), the head noun has a direct object function in the main clause; whereas, the head noun in (149) has a subject function in the main clause. The relativized subject can agree with the relative verb by gender, person and number in Naayì. In (149), the relativized subject is coreferenced with the third person feminine singular head noun *tuyrñ* 'the land (diminutive)'; and hence, the gender and person features of the relativized subject are overtly expressed by the third person feminine singular relativizer *-bey* on the relative verb *kyámùs-bey* 'that made ... discovered'. However, if the relativizer suffixed on the relative verb becomes *-ba* or *-bab*, the gender of relativized subject or its coreferent head noun is either masculine singular or plural, as in (144& 150). The relativized subjects agree with the relative verbs not only with gender and person but also with number as in (150).

II. Direct Object Relativization

A noun phrase with direct object function can be relativized in Naayì, as in (145 & 151).

151. a. [*yaab-u-s-if* ... \emptyset *àts-ù-t-a-ba*] *naak* *kày*
 person-M-DEF.M-DAT give-TOR-PASS-PAST-REL] money non.exist
 'There is no money which was given to the man.'
- b. [*yè-tfi* ... \emptyset *ḥ=kóm-yég-a-ba*] *wark'atá* *ye-s-n-té*
 2SG-DAT 1PL=receive-come-PAST-REL paper(Amh.) DISTN-DEF.M-REAL-COP
 'The paper that we brought for you is like this one.'

In the examples, the relativized direct object positions in (151a) and (151b) are indicated by ... \emptyset in the bracketed RCLs; and these are coreferenced with the head nouns *naak* 'money' and *wark'atá* 'paper' which also have the subject function in their respective main clauses. A relativized NP with direct object function does not show agreement with the relative verb in Naayì. Unlike the case with NP_{rel} subject position, the relative verbs do not have agreement markers with any other NP_{rel} position in the language.

III. Indirect Object Relativization

An indirect object is often used to refer to recipients. In Naayì, indirect object relativization is possible (146 & 152). In (152a & b) below, the NPs with a relativized indirect object position are indicated by ... \emptyset in the bracketed RCLs.

152. a. [... \emptyset *naak-ù-s* *àts-ù-t-a-ba*] *vaab* *kày*
 money-M-DEF.M give-TOR-PASS-PAST-REL person not.exist
 'There is no person that the money was given to.'
- b. [... \emptyset *woosù* *àts-t-ù-s-a-ba*] *yeeb-m̀*
 massage give-PASS-TOR-CAUS-PAST-REL woman-DEF.F
yég-a-bey-té-kn-a
 com-PAST-REF.F-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The woman that the massage was sent to has come.'

The head nouns, *yaab* 'person' in (152a) and *yeebɲi* 'the woman' in (152b), have a subject function in their respective main clauses; but, they have the relativized indirect object function in the RCLs.

IV. Oblique Relativization

A noun phrase with an oblique function means that the noun phrase has instrumental, locative or temporal adverbial function in a clause. A noun phrase with an oblique function can be relativized in Naayì, as in (147 & 153).

153. a. [...Ø *ɲ=wóób-kì-bab*] *gord* *kìz-a*

1PL=drink-exist-REL gourd exist-PAST

'There is gourd (a glasslike calabash) that we drink(sth.) with.'

b. [...Ø *nà yég-ám-ba*] *byarɲi* *té-kn-a*

I come-NON.PAST-REL tomorrow COP-REAL-PRSP

'It is tomorrow that I will come.'

The noun phrases with relativized oblique functions which are represented by ...Ø in (147), (153a) and (153b) have locative, instrumental and temporal adverbial functions respectively. However, the coreferent head nouns of the relativized NPs *golí* 'place' in (147), *gord* 'gourd' in (153a) and *byarɲi* 'tomorrow' in (153b) have a subject function in their respective main clauses.

V. Possessor Relativization

An NP can involve a possessive construction that includes a possessor component, which can be a noun or a pronoun or a full NP, and the possessed component, which is mostly a noun. In Naayì, possessive construction is formed when a possessor noun is followed by a possessed noun; and in this case, a possessor NP can be relativized in a RCL construction, as in (148 & 154).

and adversative coordination are identified in Naayì; and these are discussed below respectively.

5.3.1. Conjunction

Conjunction in Naayì is constructed to combine two noun phrases using a coordinator *-ka*, as indicated with thick underline in (155). Languages differ with respect to the number and the position of the coordinators used in coordinate constructions (Haspelmath 2007:2). In Naayì, the coordinator *-ka* appears two times on both combined NP coordinands, as indicated with thin underline in the examples. The position of the coordinator is postpositional, i.e. the coordinator *-ka* is placed (or suffixed) at the postposition of the NPs.

155. a. *t'àà biherəsəba-s-kís* *fákù-ka* *diizì-ka* *gé-t'-ṅ*
two community(Amh.)-DEF.M-PL Sheko-CONJ Diizì-CONJ say-PASS-TSR
'The two communities are called Sheko and Diizì.'
- b. *gaans-ka* *òyt-ṅ-ka* *t'ààḡṅ-s* *té-kn* *yég-a-ba*
ox-CONJ cow-DEF.F-CONJ two-DEF.M COP-REAL come-PAST-REL
'The ox and cow are the two which came.'

The conjunctive construction is always binary, as in (155); in that, no more than two coordinands are conjoined with the coordinator *-ka*. However, it is optional in Naayì that two coordinands are conjoined with *-ka*, as in (156a). Moreover, if there are three or more than three NP coordinands in a conjunctive construction, the NP coordinands are always sequenced without the use of the coordinator *-ka*, as in (156b).

156. a. *ye-s-kís* *fákù* *diizù* *ye-s-kís* *ṅ-yára* *té-kṅ*
DISTN-DEF.M-PL sheko diizu DISTN-DEF.M-PL 1PL.POSS-relative COP-REAL
'Those ones are Sheko and Diizi; those ones are our relatives.'
- b. *tuur-k'a kì-bab* *noogù-s-kís* *abz* *intfù* *hàày* *nyólù* *té-kn*
land-IN exist-REL thing-DEF.M-PL grass tree water stone COP-REAL
'The things which exist on the land are grass, tree, water and stone.'

According to Haspelmath (2007:4), the most prominent ‘special type’ of conjunction involves the use of a commutative (i.e. comitative) marker expressing accompaniment. In this regard, the coordinator *-ka* in conjunctive construction in Naayì is the same as the operator *-ka* that encodes the comitative case in the language, as in (157).

157. a. *è-ka* *è-ka* *ìbur-t'-ù-té*
 one.self-COM one.self-COM bear-PASS-TOR-PART
 'Having borne with each other.'
- b. *gatsù-ba* *kyas-ka* *dán-té* *ń=kàlbm-a-ba* *ye;s*
 former-GEN king-COM be.together-PART 1PL=sit-PAST-REL DISTN-DEF.M
ìis-tá *te-kn* *dùmá gé-t'-ù-kù-ba*
 there-LOC COP-REAL Dùmá say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL
 'That one in which we sat together with the former king is there where it is called Dùmá.'

Moreover, the same form *-ka* is used to encode instrumental case in the language, as in (158). Such isomorphism among the instrumental, comitative, and conjunctive operators is extremely common in the world's languages (Payne 1997:339); and hence, these three grammatical functions are encoded with the same form *-ka* in Naayì.

158. *k'wáyá yaab-ù-s-kís* *kùtšù tʃ'albɲ-ka* *ùfkús dyáh-ń-kì-ba*
 all person-M-DEF.M-PL hand clean-INST they work-TSR-exist-REL
noogù kiz-a
 thing exist-PAST
 'There is a situation in which all people work with clean hand.'

Besides the normal conjunctive construction with the coordinator *-ka*, there are two types of emphatic conjunctions: the one is with additive focus particle *ké* as in (159, 160 & 161); and the other is with the additive focus morpheme *-ó* as in (163 & 164). These coordinators, as used in the examples, have nearly the meaning or function of the English word 'also;' and hence, both are glossed as ADFOC hereafter to mean additive focus marker. Although these

coordinators are different in that *ké* is an independent coordinator; whereas, *-ó* is a dependent coordinator in the form of suffix, they function to combine two consecutive clauses, not two NPs. In other words, in emphatic conjunction i.e. with the coordinators *ké* and *-ó*, the coordinands are clauses as indicated with square brackets separately in the examples below; whereas, in normal conjunction i.e. with the coordinator *-ka*, the coordinands are NPs. The semantic difference from the normal conjunction is that in emphatic conjunction it is emphasized that each coordinand belongs to the conjunction, and each of them is considered separately (Haspelmath 2007:15).

159. [kalbá-ba-ù-s-kís hàày wóób-o-a gé-t'-a-ba wuškù
 strong-REL-M-DEF.M-PL water drink-NEG-PAST say-PASS-PAST-REL meaning
 kiz-ám-s-é] [ké noogù-s ye-s-á haşñ-ka
 exist-NON.PAST-Q-N.ASS ADFOC thing-DEF DISTN-DEF.M-ACC wide-INST
 máh-n=ít]
 tell-IMP=2HON

'Is there any meaning of that it was said that the strong ones did not drink water?' Also, please tell this thing widely.'

160. [ye-s-tá dò gwárzá té-kn háá-s]
 DISTN-DEF.M-LOC SEQFOC Adam's.Apple COP-REAL DISTN-DEF.M
 [ké ye-s yé-té dò háá-s mù[kùl té-kn]
 ADFOC DISTN-DEF.M come-PART SEQFOC PROX-DEF.M nape COP-REAL

'Then, this one is Adam's apple; also, this one comes; and then, this one is nape.'

161. [ye-s yeefù té-kn] [ké yé-té háá-s sìn té-kn]
 DISTN-DEF.M eyebrow COP-REAL ADFOC come-PART PROX-DEF.M nose COP-REAL

'This one itself is nose; also, this one comes and it is nose.'

As we can see in (159 - 161) above, the coordinator *ké* often occurs at the beginning of the second clause immediately after a pause at the end of the first clause. But, the coordinator *ké* can sometimes occur at the middle of the second clause preceding a focused nominal element, as in (162). Here, the coordinator *ké* precedes the NP *hárgat'a hááy* 'left ear' which

is the complement of the second simple clause; because, the coordinator *ké* has an additional function of focus marking.

162. [*ye-s k'ùfát hááy té-kn*] [*háá-s ké hárgat'a hááy*]
 DISTN-DEF.M right ear COP-REAL PROX-DEF.M ADFOC left ear
 'This one is right ear; and, this one is also left ear.'

In the second emphatic conjunction type, the additive focus morpheme *-ó* is always used in conjunctive construction in the form of suffix in two ways to combine two coordinate clauses of the same type. In one way, the coordinator *-ó* is suffixed on the subject of the second clause only as in (163a); and in the other way, the coordinator *-ó* is suffixed on both subjects of the two coordinate clauses as in (163b), by having the meaning of 'also' in both ways.

163. a. [*ye-s sìn té-kn*] [*è-mòòt-ìf háá-s-ó*]
 DISTN-DEF.M nose COP-REAL one.self-head-DAT PROX-DEF.M-ADFOC
gángá té-kn
 chin COP-REAL
 'This one is nose; also, this one itself is chin.'
- b. [*ìf-ó ye-s-ka nà-k̀ǹ-ná ìf kóm-ám-ba*]
 she-ADFOC DISTN-DEF.M-INST 1SG-GEN-ACC she receive-NON.PAST REL
té-kn-a
 COP-REAL-PRSP
 [*ìs-ó ye-s-ka nà-k̀ǹ-na àt-̀n-ám-ba té-kn-a*]
 he-ADFOC DISTN-DEF.M-INST 1SG-GEN-ACC hold-TSR-NON.PAST-REL COP-REAL- PRSP
 'She will have received me with that one; also, he will have held me with that one.'

The different between the two conjunctive constructions is that, in (163a), only the subject of the second coordinate clause is focused because the additive focus morpheme *-ó* is attached to it. Whereas, in (163b), both the first clause and the second clause subjects are equally focused; because, both of them are marked with the additive focus morpheme *-ó* in both coordinate clauses.

Moreover, the additive focus marker *-ó* is suffixed on two consecutive coordinands of the same type to construct another type of emphatic conjunction that express the meaning of the English coordinator '*both ... and ...*', as in (164). In this case, the coordinands are not two clauses; rather they are parts of a clause.

164. a. *ye-s* *hàày wóób-o-ba* *yaab bááz-o-kì*
 DISTN-DEF.M water drink-NEG-REL person move-NEG-exist
ùy-ó *hak'-ó*
 former-ADFOC now-ADFOC
 'A person, this one, who did not drink water, does not move both formerly and now.'
- b. *ùy-ó* *hak'-ó* *hàày té-kn* *yaab-if* *ziib*
 formerly-ADFOC now-ADFOC water COP-REAL person-DAT medicine
 'Water is medicine for human both formerly and now.'

5.3.2. Disjunction

There are two basic types of disjunctive construction in Naayì: declarative disjunction and interrogative disjunction. Interrogative disjunction is constructed with the coordinator *-má* to present an alternative (or disjunctive) question, i.e. a question by which the addressee is asked to specify one of the alternatives in the addressee's answer, as illustrated in (165 & 166).

165. Speaker A. *dég-ḥ* *ís-kḥ* *toys-ḥ-má↗*
 girl-DEF.F 3MSG.POSS-GEN sister-DEF.F-DISJ
 'Is the girl his sister or not?'
- Speaker B. *kày!* *dég-ḥ* *ís-kḥ* *toys-ḥ* *kày-a*
 no(INTJ)! girl-DEF.F 3MSG.POSS-GEN sister-DEF.F not.exist-PAST
 'No! The girl is not his sister.'
166. [*dò* *háá-ná-ba-ù-s-kís-ó-tf*] [*humá-má* *yír-b-é*]
 SEQFOC PROX-ACC-REL-DEF.M-PL-ADFOC-Q thousand-DISJ what-GEN-ADFOC

'Then, what about these ones? Or what do thousands mean? (In the context: two alternative questions are raised about the meaning of numbers in Naayì.)

In declarative disjunction, the coordinator *wəyə* (it seems that *wəyə* is adapted from Amharic coordinator *wəym*) is used to conjoined two alternative NPs, for instance, *yákù haykñ* 'six days' and *útfû haykñ* 'five days' in (167), or two alternative clauses, for instance, the two dependent clauses indicated with square brackets in (168), are conjoined with *wəyə* 'or'.

167. *p'ak'umá* *yákù haykñ* *wəyə* *útfû haykñ* *bérgi-k'a yísñ-k'a*

Pagume(Amh.) six day DISJ five day year-IN one-IN

kyám-ù-kù-ba *p'agum* *atsñ yírá*

occur-ISR-exist.REAL-REL P'agume(Amh.)) month what

'What is P'agume month (i.e. in Naayì) which can occur for six or five days once in a year?'

168. [*è-tf* *àts-t-a-ba* *gaatfû-ná* *kón-té-té* *k'ààbàtsá-f]*

one.self-DAT give-PASS-PAST-REL t'ef (Amh.)-ACC take-go-PART antecedents-DAT

wəyə [*k'wàts'á-ná k'òts'-o-kù-té*]

DISJ tribute-ACC look.up.to-NEG-exist-PART

'Without having taken Tef(grain sp.) that was given to him for the antecedents or without having looked up to the tribute...'

In addition to the normal disjunction discussed above, there is an emphatic disjunction in Naayì. This emphatic disjunction is constructed with the additive focus marker *-ó* followed by *àkur=ís* 'let it be' which is the jussive verb form of *àkur-* 'become' with the default third person masculine singular subject clitics *=ís* (i.e. *-ó + àkur=ís*); and together they have the meaning of 'either ... or'. The additive focus marker *-ó* is suffixed on the first coordinand of the two alternative units in the construction. The two alternative units or coordinands can be any balanced grammatical constituents, such as dependent clauses as in (169a), noun phrases as in (169b & c), or etc, as indicated with the thin underline. Just like the difference between emphatic conjunction and normal conjunction, the semantic difference between emphatic

disjunction and normal disjunction is that in emphatic disjunction it is emphasized that each coordinand belongs to the disjunction, and each of them is considered separately (Haspelmath 2007:15).

169. a. gaatfû-ná ù/kús=sán-ba-ó àkur=ís gaatfû-ná
 t'ef(Amh.)-ACC 3PL=pound-REL-ADFOC become=3MSG t'ef(Amh.)-ACC
mùt-ñ-ám-ba pààt kùṭsù t'âl-ù-t'-ám-ba
 thresh-TSR-NON.PAST-REL body hand be.clean-ISR-PASS-NON.PAST-REL
yaab té-n-a
 person COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Either they who will pound Tef or who will thresh Tef (grain sp.) are the persons
 who have clean body hands.'
- b. naayì hak'á ís=kì-ba èdù-ka-ó àkur=ís
 Naayì now 3MSG=exist-REL mouth-COM-ADFOC become=3MSG
ís noogù-ba-tá ñ=tìt-a-ba-ka
 3MSG thing-GEN-LOC 1PL=see-PAST-REL-TEMP
 'When we saw Naayì either with the language or on his issue with which he lives
 now, ...'
- c. bérgì baará-s-ó àkur=ís moskñ-be hak'á ii-k'a
 year anniversary-DEF.M-ADFOC become=3MSG female-GEN.F now house-IN
ermá sáátá-k'a ù/kús dyahñ yír-bé yír-bé
 happiness time-IN they work what-GEN what-GEN
 'What are the female's works either during the annual anniversary or at the time of
 happiness in the house nowadays?'

5.3.3. Resultative and Consecutive Coordinations

In Naayì, resultative and consecutive coordinations, which can also be called the '*dò*' coordinations, are constructed with the coordinator *dò*, which is also a focus-marking particle. It is why the two types of coordinations come together here. Moreover, there is a

sequence of two different but related clauses in both types. In resultative coordination, the event in the second clause comes as a result of the event in the first clause of two coordinated clauses. The resultative focus-marking particle *dò* (glossed as 'RESFOC' for this function) mostly comes at the beginning of the second clause to express clausal coordination, as shown with underline in (170). The coordinated clauses are indicated separately with square brackets in the examples. In its resultative coordinating function, the coordinator *dò* has the meaning of 'so that' or 'hence'.

170. a. [*yaab naak-ná yèt kón-té*] [*dò* *yára-yaab-ù-s*
 person money-ACC 2SG receive-go RESFOC lineage-NMLZ-M-DEF.M
fùb-o-k'ó-n=ís-é
 die-NEG-remain-IMP=3MSG-N.ASS
 'You took a person's money; so that, do not let the family die (i.e. due to spiritual punishment).'
 b. [*kyas kiz-a tuur kiz-a*] [*dò* *batf'-o-k'ó-n-ít-é*]
 king exist-PAST land exist-PAST RESFOC quarrel-NEG-remain-IMP-2HON-N.ASS
 'There is government; there is land; so that, please do not quarrel.'

In consecutive coordination, the the consecutive focus particle *dò* (in this case, it is glossed as 'SEQFOC') coordinates two consecutive (sequential) clauses; and its position is often at the initial position (171a) or near to the initial position (171b) in the second coordinand clause. In consecutive coordination, two clauses are coordinated due to the sequence of their event or state in time or place. In this case, the consecutive focus particle *dò* in its coordinating function has the meaning of 'then' or 'and then'.

171. a. [*ye-s-tá swátná kì-ba-té-kn*] [*dò* *twará*
 DISTN-DEF.M-LOC brain exist-REL-COP-REAL SEQFOC downward
pín-ù-té yé-té háá-s hááy gé-t'-ù
 come.down-ISR-PART come-PART PROX-DEF.M ear say-PASS-TOR
 'There has been brain here (in the head); and then, having come downward, this is called ear.' (In the context: the informant introduces his body parts.)

5.4. The Morphosyntax of Focus and Topic

The terms 'focus' and 'topic' are the pragmatically marked structures. The notion of focus describes a condition of some pragmatically marked clauses in which the clauses that are 'focused' or have a 'focused constituent' express new, unidentifiable, foreground or asserted information that is often called *assertion*. In this conception, the term focus is viewed as a special pragmatic status that is not evident in all clauses (Payne 1997:267 & Pavey 2010:273-274).

The notion of topic, like focus, is viewed as a clause-level pragmatic notion. In a clause, every nominal participant is topical to a certain degree; and relative topicality is inferred in terms of how often various participants are mentioned over a span of text; and the topicalized constituent in the clause expresses old, given, identifiable, background or known information that is often called *presupposition* (Payne 1997:270-271; Pavey 2010:273-274).

Hence, both focus and topic are pragmatically marked constituents or structures. The conceptual distinction between presupposed information and asserted information structures are realized into the clause-level topic and focus distinction. Since, topic and focus are constituents, they may be morphosyntactically marked in a language to indicate that they are topicalized or in focus. Based on this introductory conception, the morphosyntax of focus and topic in Naayì is discussed in the following subsections.

5.4.1. Formative Strategies

Formative strategies are referring to employing affixes and particles to mark a special pragmatic status of constituents in clauses. In other words, they are morphological strategies. In addition to affixes and particles, noun phrase constituents in clauses can have special pragmatic status (focus and topic) which can be distinguished with the identifiability of their referent and the way they are expressed. Because, there is a connection between the form chosen to represent a referent and whether that referent is in focus or is a topical element as noted in (Pavey 2010:277) and represented below in (174). For example, indefinite NPs are more likely in focus than the definite NPs, as the arrow → indicates that the left one is more

likely taken as focus than the right one in the given series. On the other hand, the arrow ← indicates that the clitic/bound pronouns are more likely topical than independent pronouns; and a zero NP, like in a gap relativized NP in RCLs, is more likely topical than any other forms of a referent listed to the right side of it in the series in (174), in clauses. Hence, affixes, particles and forms of referents can be the formative indicators of the pragmatic status of constituents in clauses in a language.

174. *Relationship between the expression of an NP and its pragmatic status (Pavey 2010:277):*

MORE LIKELY AS FOCUS →

Zero - Clitic/Bound pronoun - Pronoun (unstressed) - Pronoun (stressed) - Definite NP - Indefinite NP

← MORE LIKELY AS TOPIC

Mostly both focus and topic can be analyzed together in a clause; because, when one constituent is focused in the clause, the rest part of the clause is topicalized, and vice versa. According to Pavey (2010:275), a topic is a referent which is familiar to the hearer and therefore a referent about which something can be asserted in a clause; whereas, the focus domain includes everything except the topical constituent in the clause. In fact, there may be a case that a clause can be focused as a whole while some narrow constituents are being topic in the clause. Although the two often occur together in a clause, focus marking and topic marking are discussed below separately not to overlook them due to overlapping. In the data presented, the focus and topic are indicated with square brackets [] subscripted with **FOCUS** and **TOPIC** respectively.

5.4.1.1. Focus Marking

In Naayì, the additive focus morpheme *-ó*, the additive focus particle *ké*, and the resultative/sequential focus particle *dò* are used to mark a constituent in focus in a clause. The functional difference between the two additive focus markers *-ó* and *ké* is that the morpheme *-ó* is used to make a single constituent in focus, whereas, the particle *ké* is used to introduce a clause which provides new information, i.e. it marks a whole clause as a focus. The resultative/consecutive focus particle *dò*, like the particle *ké*, is a clausal focus marker.

Additive focus is defined by Dik (1980:65) as "the focus information is meant to be added to the antecedently given presupposed information". Now, let us discuss each of the focus markers separately below. The focus markers are indicated with thick underline in the data presented.

The additive focus morpheme *-ó* is employed to mark *a narrow focus* which is often used to provide the identity of a referent, as in (175a & b). The subject NP indicated in the brackets in each clause is marked with the focus morpheme *-ó*; and hence, the subject NP is the focused constituent in the clause.

175. a. [ḥ-sùṃ-ó]_{FOCUS}_i èfèḥḥ [takə̀lə̀ bə̀yənə̀]_{FOCUS} ís_i=gé-t'-ḥ
 1SG.POSS-name-ADFOC first Takele Beyene 3MSG=say-PASS-TSR
 'First, my name also is called Takele Beyene.'
- b. [háá-s-ó]_{FOCUS} gáḥgá té-kn
 PROX-DEF.M-ADFOC chin COP-REAL
 'This one also is chin.'(In the context: the informant tells about name of the body parts in Naayì.)

When a focused subject NP moves outside the core slots (normal positions of the arguments), it can be placed in one of the special positions outside the core slots called *extra-core slots* (*pre-core slots* and *post-core slot*) (Pavey 2010:279). In this case, as in (175a), the focused NP subject moves to the pre-core slot: NP_{FOCUS} + [S + O + V]_{core slots}. However, when the focused NP subject ḥsùṃó 'my name' is placed in the pre-core slot as can be seen in (175a), there is another expression of argument (called a *coreferential copy*) that can represent the moved NP subject. In this case, the referential copy takes the form of *resumptive pronoun*, 'resuming' the referent with a pronominal form in the main clause (cf. Pavey 2010:282). As indicated with subscripted _i, the resumptive clitic pronoun ís= '3MSG' is coreferential with the argument focused in the pre-core slot.

In (175b), the definite demonstrative pronoun subject is focused with the focus morpheme *-ó*. In this case, since there is no object position, there is no additional syntactic focus marking or

there is no change of the focused subject position. Because, the basic word order in copula clauses is subject-complement-verb (SCV) in Naayì, the subject is already in the initial position and focused only with the focus morpheme *-ó*.

Furthermore, the additive focus morpheme *-ó* can also be suffixed to a dependent verb, as in (176), to make the dependent clause predicate in focus. In the example, the predicate of the dependent clause is the focus that has newly asserted information for the addressee. However, the main clause in (176) is the topic that has known information for the addressee. Therefore, we can say that a dependent verbal predicate constituent or a subject NP constituent in a clause can be focused with the focus marker *-ó* in Naayì.

176. *yè=[sìs-b-if-ó]FOCUS* *ʒyáts galatá-ná* *yè-tfi*
 2SG=listen-REL-DAT-ADFOC big thanks-ACC 2SG-DAT
pót-s-kì-ba=nà-té-n-a
 reach-CAUS-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Since you listened (to me) also, I have been presenting great thanks to you.'

The other additive focus particle *ké* is a clausal focus marker in Naayì. Besides to this function, this particle is also used as a clausal coordinator in emphatic conjunction, as discussed in (§5.3.1.). As a focus marker, it is employed to make a clause as a whole in focus. The additive focus particle *ké* is often placed at the beginning of a clause having the newly introduced information, as in (177a, b & c).

177. a. [*ké* *yé-té* *háá-s* *sìn té-kn*]FOCUS
 ADFOC come-PART PROX-DEF.M nose COP-REAL
 'Also this one comes and it is nose.'
- b. [*ké* *yé-té* *háá-s,* *háá-s* *è-mòòt-if* *gángà té-kn*]FOCUS
 ADFOC come-PART PROX-DEF.M, PROX-DEF.M one.self-head-DAT chin COP-REAL
 'Also, this one comes, and this one itself is chin.'
- c. [*ké* *k'ààbàtsá-f* *kùʃsù àts-kì-ba* *yaab-ó* *kìz-a*]FOCUS
 ADFOC antecedents-DAT hand give-exist-REL person-ADFOC exist-PAST

'Moreover, there is also a person who gives (Tef (Amh., grain sp.)) to antecedents' hand.'

The additive focus marker *ké* can sometimes occur inside a clause near to the beginning of the clause. In this case, also, it introduces a clausal focus, as in (178a & b). The focused clause with *ké* is indicated in the brackets subscribed with FOCUS in the examples.

178. a. *ye-s k'ùfát hááy té-kn,*
 DISTN-DEF.M right ear COP-REAL
*[háá-s ké hárgat'a hááy té-kn]*FOCUS
 PROX-DEF.M ADFOC left ear COP-REAL

'This one is right ear; also, this one is left ear.'

- b. *[hark'ù-ka ké [naayì [dyáh-ñ-té ís=háy-kì-ba]²² TOPIC]*
 many-INST ADFOC Naayì work-TSR-PART 3MS=live-exist-REL
*yís-yná koosù-ka té-n-a]*FOCUS
 one-ORD plow-INST COP-REAL-PRSP

'Also, it is with plowing first that Naayì mostly works and lives.'

The other focus marker in Naayì is the resultative/consecutive focus particle *dò*. This focus particle is used as a clausal coordinator in resultative and consecutive coordinations, as discussed in (§5.3.3). Besides to this function, the resultative/consecutive focus particle *dò* is used to indicate a clausal focus or introduce new information in a clause as a whole without losing its coordinating function in a given discourse. Like the additive focus particle *ké*, the resultative/consecutive focus particle *dò* often occurs at the beginning as in (179).

179. a. *kyas kiz-a tuur kiz-a [dò batf'-o-k'ó-n-ít-é]*FOCUS
 king exist-PAST land exist-PAST RESFOC quarrel-NEG-remain-IMP-2HON-N.ASS
 'There is government; there is land; so that, please do not quarrel.'

²² In a focused clause, another topical constituent can occur, as in (178b). The degree of being focus or topic is relative, as indicated in (174). A relative clause has topical information; and hence, it occurs in an NP of another focused clause as in (178b). We can see the discussion about 'syntactic strategies' in (§5.4.2.) with the same example in (185b).

- b. [dò mù/kùl té-kn]FOCUS, ye-s mù/kùl té-kn
 SEQFOC nape COP-REAL DISTN-DEF.M nape COP-REAL
 'Then, it is nape; this one is nape.'
- c. baaz-k'a kì-bab [dò ye-s-kís dwáfa té-kn]FOCUS
 inside-IN exist-REL RESFOC PROX-DEF.M-PL many COP-REAL
 'Then, these ones which exist inside, therefore, are so many.'

The focus particle *dò* can also occur inside of the focused clause near to the beginning of the clause, as in (180). Here also, it is a clause that is in focus, as indicated in the brackets.

180. a. [ye-s-tá dò gwárzá té-kn] FOCUS, háá-s
 DISTN-DEF.M-LOC SEQFOC Adam's apple COP-REAL PROX-DEF.M
 'Then, it is Adam's apple here, this one.'
- b. bálá-ná gém-té [bálá-ka yísɲè dò
 hundred-ACC say-PART hundred-CONJ one SEQFOC
 yè=páád-ɲ-ám-ba]FOCUS
 2SG=count-TSR-NON.PAST-REL
 'You say hundred, and then you will count hundred one.'
- c. [ye-s-kís hark'ù-ka dò [ɲ-té ís=háy-kì-ba]TOPIC
 DISTN-DEF.M-PL many-INST RESFOC eat-PART 3MSG=live-exist-REL
 ɲ faaháFOCUS té-n-a]FOCUS, naayi-f
 food type COP-REAL-PRSP Naayi-DAT
 'Hence, these ones are the types of food which he mostly eats and lives with, for Naayi.' (In the context: there are some food types listed preceding the sentence mentioned here.)

However, some constituents may not be the part of the focused clause due to the dislocation of some nominal constituents from their normal position. For example, the subject *háás* 'this one' in (180a), and the possessor NP *naayi*f 'for Naayi' in (180c) move from their normal position at the beginning to the end of their clauses. These moved nominal constituents are not the parts of the focused clauses; rather, they are presented as topic syntactically (see more

on this issue in (191). In (180b), the dependent clause *bálaná gémté* 'you say hundred, ' is provided just as presupposition for the next focused clause in which the focus marker *dò* occurs. Moreover in (180c), inside the wider focused clause, there is a relative clause indicated as topic. However, the whole clause in (180c) is provided as focus in general since it is accompanied with the focus marker *dò*.

In sum, the additive focus markers *-ó* and *ké*, and the consecutive/resultative focus particle *dò* are the formative strategies that mark focused structures in Naayì. The marker *-ó* is suffixed to a single constituent i.e. to a nominal subject NP or a dependent verb of a clause in order to mark it as a focused constituent. The independent focus markers *dò* and *ké*, on the other hand, are used to mark a clausal structure as a focus when they occur at the beginning or near to the beginning of the clause.

5.4.1.2. Topic Marking

Unlike in focus marking, there are no special affixes or particles to mark topic in Naayì. Topic in a clause is marked in the language with a constituent that has identifiable and background information. As we see in the examples (179 & 180), the constituents which are not indicated as focus are identified as topic since they are associated with identifiable and background or known information. The topical referents are identifiable in their forms in Naayì; in that, they are more likely expressed using definite NPs, pronouns, or a gap relativized NP in RCLs.

In Naayì, when there is a definite NP in a clause, it expresses a known referent; and it gives topical (background) information to the addressees about the focused (foreground) information given in the same clause. For example, the definite NPs *átkh̀skisi* 'the male ones' in (181a) and *yaabusif* 'for the man' in (181b) are topics; whereas, the other parts of the clauses provide new information and hence they are considered as focuses.

181. a. [*átkh̀-^s-kís-i*]TOPIC, *kátfi b̀urká* *gé-t'-̀ǹ* *kiz-a*
 male-DEF.M-PL-NOM yam boyna (Amh.) say-PASS-TSR exist-PAST
 'There are the male ones that are called yam boyna (potato sp.).'

'The male ones, there are called yam boyna(potato sp).'

b. [*yaab-u-s-if*] *TOPIC* *naak kày*
 person-M-DEF.M-DAT money non.exist

'The man has no money.' (lit. There is no money for the man.)

Topical constituents can also be identified in the form of pronouns which can have the shared information between the speaker and the hearer(s) in the discourse of the language. For examples, the pronouns *isif* 'for him' in (182a) and *èmòòtif* in (182b) are identifiable forms among other constituents in the given clauses; and hence, they can be recognized as topic in the clauses. On the contrary, the other constituents, such as *iiyaab kiza* 'there is a family' in (182a) and *sìn tékn* 'is nose' in (182b) which are the predicates in the clauses, provide new information to the hearer(s); and hence, they are recognized as focus in the clauses.

182. a. [*is-if*] *TOPIC* *ii-yaab kiz-a*
 3MSG-DAT house-person exist-PAST

'He has a family.'(lit. For him, there is a family.)

b. [*ye-s*] *TOPIC* *sìn té-kn,* [*è-mòòt-if*] *TOPIC*
 DISTN-DEF.M nose COP-REAL one.self-head-DAT

'This one is nose, itself.'

It is also important to discuss about the pragmatic status of the zero or gap (...Ø) NP_{rel} in RCLs and its coreferenced head noun in the main clauses. It is expected that the zero NP_{rel} in the RCLs has the pragmatic status of topic, and the coreferenced head noun in the main clauses has a pragmatic status of focus, as it is hypothesized in (174). We can see the examples in (183), in which the RCLs are indicated with square brackets, the zero NP_{rel} with ...Ø, and the head noun of each RCL with underline in the main clause.

183. a. [...Ø *naayì kyám-ù-kù-ba*] *TOPIC* *golí* *ye-s té-n-a*
 Naayì be.available-ISR-exist-REL place DISTN-DEF.M COP-REAL-PRSP

'A place where Naayì (people) are available is this one.'

- b. *ñ-dégñ* *nàfá*, [*nà-kñ-ná* ... \emptyset *ís=gé-ba*]_{TOPIC} *ñ-bátfá*
 1SG.POSS-daughter husband 1SG-GEN-ACC 3MSG=say-REL 1SG.POSS-father.in.law
 'That, my daughter's husband, he calls me is 'my father-in-law'.'

In these examples, the zero NP_{rel} (... \emptyset) indicated in the bracketed RCLs is a topic; because, it is understood and can be identified with the coreferenced head noun that is expressed in the main clause overtly. However, the coreferenced head noun is presented as a focus or an asserted NP in the main clause. We can also see that the RCL as a whole in the examples is recognized as topic; because, the function of RCL is to give background information in the NP.

So far we have seen that noun phrase in the form of pronoun or definite noun, a zero NP_{rel} and a RCL as a whole are topical constituents in a clause in Naayì. Now we can also see that which part of a clause can be topicalized. In this regard, there is a case that the subject NP or the predicate of a clause can be topicalized, as in (184).

184. a. [*ye-s*]_{TOPIC} *bèlù* *gé-t'-ù*
 DISTN-DEF.M forehead say-PASS-TOR
 'This one is called forehead.'
 b. *k'áánk'á -ba yeefù* [*ye-s* *té-kñ*]_{TOPIC},
 lower-GEN eyebrow DISTN-DEF.M COP-REAL
 'A lower eyebrow is this one.'
 c. *ñ-sum-ó* [*efefñ takəla bəyənə* *ís=gé-t'-ñ*]_{TOPIC}
 1SG.POSS-name-ADFOC first Takele Beyene 3MSG=say-PASS-TSR
 'First, my name, it is also called Takele Beyene.'

As shown in the examples, in a clause, if the subject NP is topicalized, then, the predicate of the clause becomes a focus, as in (184a). On the other hand, if the subject NP is the focus of a clause, then, the predicate becomes the topic of the clause, as in (184b & c). The topics are indicated in the brackets; whereas, the focuses are outside the brackets in (184).

In general, topical structures can be identified based on the identifiable and foreground information of the constituents in clauses. There are no special affixes or particles that mark topic in Naayì.

5.4.2. Syntactic Strategies

“The first step in determining what constituent orders are used to express pragmatic statuses is to decide whether the language has a basic constituent order based on grammatical relations” (Payne 1997:171). In Naayì, the basic constituent order in simple clauses is SOV based on the grammatical functions. Since the basic constituent order in the language is based primarily on grammatical functions, then unusual orders of nominals with respect to the verb is very powerful signals of marked pragmatic statuses (focus and topic) (cf. Payne 1997:172). In a clause, there are three core slots in Naayì in the order: [S-O-V]. However, outside these core slots, there are two pragmatic positions that are called (1) extra-core slots and (2) detached positions (cf. Pavey 2010:279-285). It is also noted in Pavey (2010:282) that while the extra-core slots are always in narrow focus (i.e. the focus domain is a single constituent), detached positions contain topical information. Therefore, in this section, focus and topic are discussed in the extra-core slots and detached positions respectively; and lastly, these pragmatic structures are demonstrated based on cleft constructions.

5.4.2.1. Extra-Core Slots

Extra-core slots are special positions outside the core slots, either immediately before it (*pre-core slots*) or after it (*post-core slots*); and each clause can only contain one extra-core slot (Pavey 2010:279). In Naayì, there is only pre-core slot to express a focused constituent in a clause when one of the arguments in the core slots needs to be in focus syntactically. For examples, the subject argument constituent *naayi* 'Naayì' in the RCL in (185a) and in (185b) is the focused one in the pre-core slot. But the RCL as a whole can be taken as a topic in both cases. including . in the main clauses, the information in focus, in (186a) is *gólí kàybaténa* ‘there has not been a place’ and in (185b) is *yísyná kooşùka téna* ‘it is with plowing first’

185. a. [naayì]_{FOCUS} [...Ø *ís*=*kày-ba*]_{TOPIC}/_{TOPIC} [*golí kày-ba-té-n-a*]_{FOCUS}
 Naayì 3MSG=not.exist-REL place not.exist-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'There has not been a place where Naayì does not live.(i.e. Naayì lives everywhere.)'
- b. *hark'ù-ka ké* [naayì]_{FOCUS} [*dyáh-ñ-té ís*=*háy-kì-ba*]_{TOPIC}/_{TOPIC}
 many-INST ADDFOC Naayì work-TSR-PART 3MSG=live-exist-REL
 [*yís-yná kooşù-ka té-n-a*]_{FOCUS}
 one-ORD plow-INST COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Moreover, it is with plowing first that, Naayì, he mostly works and lives.'

As it can be seen in (185), when the focused NP subject argument appears in the pre-core slot of the RCLs, there is another co-referential copy of that argument in the core slot. This copy takes the form of a resumptive pronoun, like *ís*= 'he' as in (185a & b). A resumptive pronoun resumes the referent with a pronominal form in core slot of a clause (Pavey 2010:282). In the examples, the basic constituents of the clauses have the basic order [S-V] in the core slots within the internal square brackets. Since the verbs *kàyba* in (185a) and *háykiba* in (185b) are intransitive, there is no object argument in the clauses.

In the same manner, when the object argument becomes in focus or in the pre-core slot, the subject argument does not occur in the clause explicitly and instead of it, the object argument in focus is expressed as a subject of passive clause as in (186) below. The focused object argument *gaatfù* 'Tef' in the pre-core slot is resumed by the resumptive pronoun *ís*= 'it' in its core position of the clause. From this we can say that object arguments can be focused by passivization. We can also notice that if there are adverbial expressions in a clause that has a focused subject or object argument, the adverbial expressions mostly come before the focused argument, as in (185 & 186); because, they are not considered as part of the basic constituents in the clause.

186. *ganá bérǵi baará-k'* *gaatfù*_{FOCUS} [*ís*=*ñ-t'-ù*]_{TOPIC}
 Christmas(*gäna*(Amh.)) year anniversary-IN t'ef(Amh.) 3MSG=eat-PASS-TOR
 'Tef is eaten on Christmas annual anniversary.'

Regarding the position of interrogative words in interrogative clauses, they appear in the same position as the non-interrogative words with same function would appear in Naayì. Since the interrogative words in the language appear in their normal position, they are termed as *in situ*. For examples in (187a & b), the interrogative words are referring to the subject argument, and they are placed at the initial(normal) position of the simple interrogative clauses. When an interrogative word referring to a subject occurs at the initial position of a simple interrogative clause as SOV like in (187), the subject interrogative word becomes in focus by default since the normal(initial) subject position and the pre-core slot are not distinguished by a resumptive pronoun unlike in non-interrogative subject as discussed before.

187. a. itì_{FOCUS} nà-kṛ̀-*na* pád-ṛ̀
 who 1SG-GEN-ACC count-TSR
 'Who could count me?'
 b. ití_{FOCUS} nà-kṛ̀-*na* púr-ṛ̀
 who 1SG-GEN-ACC buy-TSR
 'Who could rule me?'

However, when another nominal argument other than the subject interrogative word in simple interrogative clauses becomes in focus, it occurs in the pre-core slot (i.e. before the subject) as in (188); and here, the constituent order is IO + [S + __ + V]. This is because, “If constituent order is based primarily on grammatical relations, then unusual orders of nominals with respect to the verb can be very powerful signals of marked pragmatic statuses” (Payne 1997:272).

188. *hak'á* ṛ̀-tí_{FOCUS} [ití máh-ám]
 now 1SG-DAT who tell-NON.PAST
 'Who does tell me now?'

(Pavey 2010:282-283). In Naayì, topical information can appear in the right-detached position as in (191) or left-detached positions as in (192). As indicated in the square brackets and separated with comma from the main clause, the NP *naayìf* 'for Naayì' in (191) is the right-detached topical constituent; and, the the adverbial clause subscripted with *TOPIC* in (192) is the left-detached topical clause.

191. *ye-s-kís hark'ù-ka dò ñ-té ís_i=háy-kì-ba*
 DISTN-DEF.M-PL many-INST RESFOC eat-PART 3MSG=live-exist-REL
ṃ faahá té-n-a, [naayì_i-f]TOPIC
 food type COP-REAL-PRSP Naayì-DAT
 'Hence, these ones are the types of food which he mostly eats and lives with, for Naayì.'

192. *[èšèfn kafì zoná-k'a kyám-ù-kù-ba wərəda-ná ḥ=tùt-a-ba-ka]TOPIC,*
 first kaffa zone-IN exist-ISR-exist-REL district(Amh.)-ACC 1PL=see-PAST-REL-TEMP
támù wərədá té-n-a
 ten district(Amh.) COP-REAL-PRSP
 'First, when we saw districts which are found in Kaffa zone, they are ten districts.'

There can also be a case that one sentence may have more than one detached constituent in it, as in (193). In the example, the sentence has the left-detached topical constituent *yesif* 'for this one' and the right-detached topical constituent *yes téna* 'it is this one', which are separated with comma and indicated with square brackets at the beginning and at the end of the main clause.

193. a. *[ye-s-ìf]TOPIC , gaatfû-f fìfkḥ kùdù-ka wufkù àts-t-ù-té*
 DISTN-DEF.M-DAT t'ef(Amh.)-DAT good way-INST meaning give-PASS-TOR-PATR
té-n-a ís=dýáh-t-ù-kù-ba, [ye-s té-n-a]TOPIC
 COP-REAL-PRSP 3MSG=work-PASS-TOR-exist-REL DISTN-DEF.M COP-REAL-PRSP
 'It is by giving (symbolic) meaning for Tef(grain sp.), for this one, in good manner in which it is done(or prepared); it is this one.'

Detached positions are represented as outside the clause for three reasons (Pavey 2010:282). Firstly, there is usually a pause between the detached element and the main clause (often represented by a comma in the written form), as in (191, 192 & 193). Secondly, the detached position is outside the scope of the clause-level illocutionary force operator, i.e. outside the core, the pre-core and post-core slots, as in (191, 192 & 193). Thirdly, if the detached element is a semantic argument of the predicate in the main clause, there is a co-referential copy of that argument or resumptive pronoun within the core slot, as in (191).

5.4.2.3. Cleft Construction

A cleft construction is a type of predicate nominal consisting of a noun phrase (NP_i) and a relative clause whose relativized NP (NP_{rel}) is co-referential with NP_i . NP_i is commonly referred to as the “clefted constituent,” and is normally found to the left of the rest of the clause (Payne 1997:278). According to Pavey (2010:286), a cleft construction has the function of placing a constituent (i.e. an NP_i) unambiguously in narrow (a single constituent) focus that is often used to provide the identity of a referent.

Naayì allows cleft construction to the left of RCLs. As discussed in (§5.2.5.1.), in the language, the mode of relativization is using the gap ($\dots\emptyset$) strategy to recover the NP_{rel} in a RCL. Hence, cleft constructions in Naayì can be formulated as in (194):

194. $NP_i(COP) [\dots \emptyset_i \dots]RCL$

In the cleft construction, the focus structure is the NP_i which is co-referential with the NP_{rel} ($\dots\emptyset_i$) in RCL, as in (195a & b). In the examples, the cleft constructions are indicated in the square brackets subscripted with **CLEFT** and the focused NP_i in the cleft constructions is indicated with underline. As we see in the examples, the cleft constructions follow the relative clauses.

195. a. *hak'á dò* [édù_{FOCUS_i} *te-kn-a*]_{CLEFT} [ù/kú-f-ka ñ-tf-ka ... \emptyset_i
 now ADFOC mouth COP-REAL-PRSP 3PL-DAT-CONJ 1PL-DAT-CONJ
 irtá ákur-kù-ba]

problem become-exist-REL

'Now also, it is language that becomes a problem for them and us.'

- b. [*hak'á túnzan_{FOCUS} i té-kn*]_{CLEFT} [... \emptyset _i *ń=ám-ù-s-ń-kì-ba*]_{RCL}
 now local.cup COP-REAL 1PL=do-TOR-CAUS-TSR-exist-REL
 'Now, it is local cup which we make in use.'

Since there is the copular verb *té-* for the formation of predicate nominal constructions in the language, the presence of the copula is a clear indication to deal with a cleft construction here. In fact, the use of copula in the language is optional in copula predicate constructions. However, both in the presence of the copula as in (195) and in the absence of the copula as in (196), a cleft can be constructed in the language. The absence of the copula in (196) is indicated with *COP_{ZERO}* in the examples.

196. a. [*k'yaná ba-tá*]_{FOCUS} i *COP_{ZERO}* [... \emptyset _i *ń=sók'-kì-ba*]
 bed GEN-LOC zero.copula 1PL=sleep.in-exist-REL
 'It is on the bed that we sleep in.'
- b. [*ye-y-ń _____ wátsá*]_{FOCUS} i *COP_{ZERO}*]_{CLEFT} [*k'waya intfû-ba-tá _____*]_{RCL}
 DISTN-F-DEF.F bird.sp zero.copula all tree-GEN-LOC
ám-ù-s-ń-kì-bey
 put-TOR-CAUS-TSR-exist-REL.F
 'It is this bird which lands on every tree.'

However, the structure of predicate nominal clauses in the normal copula main clauses having a RCL that modifies their complement NP is different from the structure of copula main clause in the cleft construction. The position of the copula main clause in cleft constructions is to the left of the RCLs as in (195 & 196); whereas, the position of the normal copula main clauses is to the right of the RCLs as in (197). In both cases, the NP constituent is the focus structure as far as it is in the copula clauses and modified by the RCL, as indicated with underline and subscript *FOCUS*. In more clear terms, the clefted constituent is focused in the sense of a pragmatic structure; whereas, the nominal constituent NP in the normal copula clause associated with RCL is focused in the sense of unidentifiability or

newness of the referent expressed with the NP. Moreover, the degree of focus may differ in the two types of constructions; in that, the degree of focus in the cleft construction (196 & 197) is higher than in the normal copula main clause that has RCL modifying the NP (197).

197. a. [gaatfû-ná ...Ø_i dyáh-ḥ-ba]_{RCL} fíkñ yaab_{FOCUS_i} té-n-a
 t'ef(Amh.)-ACC work-TSR-REL good person COP-REAL-PRSP
 'The one who prepares) Tef(grain sp.) is a good person '
- b. [...Ø_i k'wàts'a k'òts'-t-ù-kù-ba]_{RCL} gaatfû-k'a_{FOCUS_i} té-n-a
 tribute look.up-PASS-TOR-exist-REL Tef(Ahm.)-IN COP-REAL-PRSP
 'It is on Tef (grain sp.) that a tribute is looked up.'

To sum up chapter five, four main topics have been discussed. These are simple clauses, complex clauses, coordinations and the morphosyntax of focus and topic. Under simple clauses, declarative clauses, interrogative clauses, imperative clauses, jussive clauses, optative clauses and hortative clauses have been investigated. Under complex clauses, serial verb construction, medial (converb) clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses have been treated. Under coordination, conjunction, disjunction, resultative and consecutive coordinations, and adversative coordination have been identified. Finally, the morphosyntax of the pragmatically marked structures such as focus and topic have been analyzed.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY

This chapter summarizes the main findings of the dissertation. It reports the core ideas of the discussions in the preceding five chapters.

Chapter one has introduced about the Naayì people and their language. It has examined that most Naayì people live in Dacha district of Kaffa zone in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State of Ethiopia. The appropriate name of the people and their language is 'Naayì' as used and given by themselves, but not 'Nà?ó' as designated by the Kaffa community in the surrounding. It is because the name 'Nà?ó' is a derogatory term in the language. The language, Naayì, is genetically classified under the northern sub-branch of Omotic language family. Under the North Omotic branch, Naayì is grouped in the Dizoid sub-branch together with Dizi and Sheko. It has been also reviewed that Naayì is genetically nearer to Sheko than Dizi. Chapter one has also reviewed previous studies done on Naayì in order to understand the research gap on the language and justify the significance of the present study. Furthermore, the methodological and theoretical approaches of the study have been designed. The research follows the descriptive approach; and theoretically, it has used basic linguistic theory with which the language is described inductively based on the competence of the native speakers. The data collection method of the study is informant method in which free speech method has been used as a main tool, and elicitation method as a supplement of the free speech method. The study has used qualitative method to analyze the data.

Chapter two has provided an overview of the phonology and morphophonemic operations of Naayì. Under phonological overview, consonant and vowel inventories, the phonemic status of the syllabic nasals *m̩* & *n̩* and the central mid vowel *ə*, the ambiguity of Cya, Cyo and Cwa sequences and tone have been surveyed. In Naayì, there are thirty consonant phonemes, two phonemic syllabic nasals *m̩* & *n̩*, and five short and five long vowel phonemes excluding the central mid vowel *ə*. On the ambiguity of Cya, Cyo and Cwa sequences, it has been

examined and used in this thesis as CCa, CCO and CCa sequences by taking each of the palatalized and labialized elements as semivowel consonant phoneme *y* and *w*, not as vowels, diphthongs, or palatalized and labialized consonants before a vowel phoneme *a* and *o*, due to economical and typological reasons. Regarding tone, the chapter has shown that Naayì is a tone language, the inventory and distribution of tone, and the function of tone in the language. It has been confirmed that Naayì has three level tones: high(H), mid(M) and low(L). The mid tone (M) is unmarked in the data. The contrast and inventory of the tonal melodies have been done based on the lexical words having the same syllabic structure. The function of tone in Naayì is both lexical and grammatical; and hence, Naayì is a tonal language.

Finally, in chapter two, eleven major morphophonemic operations have been investigated in the language. These are (1) deglottalization of the ejective passive marker *-t'* following fricatives, (2) cluster simplification of an affricate and the deglottal passive marker *-t'*, (3) cluster simplification of an affricate and deglottalization of ejective affricate preceding the causative marker *-s*, (4) reduction of velar stops from the plural morpheme *-kís* and the nominalizer *-kaba* following with velar ending stems, (5) deletion of a velar stop preceding the causative morpheme *-s*, (6) metathesis of the causative marker *-s* and the root final velar stop, (7) reduction of the form *-ís* from the plural morpheme *-kís* following the dative morpheme *-if*, (8) realization of the dative morpheme *-if* after consonant ending nouns, but *-f* after vowel ending nouns, and (9) vowel harmonization.

Chapter three has identified the major and minor word classes in Naayì. The major word classes are noun, verb, adjective and adverb, which are characterized as content words. The minor word classes are pronouns, determiners and conjunctions, which are characterized as functional words. Under the word classes of determiners, there are possessive determiners, demonstratives and quantifiers. The classification of the words of the language is mainly done based on the morphological and syntactic criteria; and as a supplement, semantic criterion is considered.

Chapter four has examined the phrase structure of Naayì. Four types of phrasal categories have been identified in the language. These are noun phrase, verb phrase, adjective phrase and adverb phrase. Noun phrase in Naayì is right headed. It means, modifiers precede the head noun in an NP. Among the modifiers of a head noun, adjectives, nouns and relative clauses are the internal modifiers of which adjectives and relative clauses are the peripheral optional modifiers; and nouns are the obligatory modifiers in NP. Other modifiers such as demonstratives, quantifiers, pronouns, and proper nouns are external modifiers that are not to do with modifying the internal properties of the head noun. Different modifiers of a head noun come in sequence within the same NP. In this case, the order of the different modifiers in an NP is: determiners (demonstratives - quantifiers - possessive determiners) - relative clause modifier - adjective modifier - noun complement - head noun.

Verb phrase is also right headed in Naayì. VP can be headed with copula verb, existential verb, simple intransitive verb with no complement, intransitive verbs complemented with an indirect object, simple transitive verb with one object complement, and bi-transitive verbs with two object complements. VP can be formed with zero copula in a copula clause. In this case, only an adjective phrase or a noun phrase covers the position of VP in the copula clause. Depending on the type of the head verb, different types of complements precede the head verb; and then, optional adverbial modifiers can precede the complements.

Adjective phrases can stand as a phrasal category in Naayì; and it is headed by an adjective. In AP, there is no obligatory constituent as a complement, but there is only one optional degree modifier *hayláka* 'very' preceding the head adjective. This means, adjective phrase is right headed in the language. Adverb phrase is formed only with its head adverb which can be time adverb, locational adverb, frequency adverb and epistemic adverb of the language. In adverb phrase, there is no use of modifier as well as complement to the head adverb.

Chapter five has dealt with simple clauses, complex clauses, coordination and the morphosyntax of focus and topic in Naayì. Under simple clauses, declarative clauses, interrogative clauses, imperative clauses, jussive clauses, optative clauses and hortative clauses have been described. In Naayì, the basic word orders are SOV in simple clauses

headed by simple transitive verbs, SCV in simple copula clauses, SV in simple existential clauses and intransitive clauses with no dative indirect object, and CSV in possession clauses and intransitive clauses with dative indirect object. The basic word order in simple clauses headed by the bi-transitive verbs is S-IO-OV.

The different types of simple clauses in Naayì can be differentiated mainly with their morphological clause markers. Declarative clauses are unmarked morphologically. Interrogative clauses are marked either with the morpheme *-s* or with the *rising intonation* (↗) when they are polar, and with interrogative pronoun or the morpheme *-tʃ* when they are constituent interrogative clauses. Imperative, jussive and optative clauses are marked with the same morpheme *-n*. Hortative clauses are not marked with special clause marker; but they can be identified with their function expressing exhortations or commands to the first person addressee. The imperative, jussive and optative clauses can be differentiated from each other with their subject and/or illocutionary forces (functions) in the language. Imperative clauses are dedicated to express orders and requests only to the second person addressees. Jussive clauses are used to express permission or permission like indirect order or command only for a third person addressee. Optative clauses are used to express wishes such as blessing and cursing to a second person or third person addressee.

Under complex clauses, serial verb constructions, medial clauses (i.e. clauses with converbs), complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses have been discussed. In complex clause constructions, a main clause is always preceded by one or more dependent clause(s). In Naayì, a serial verb construction is formed from two or more verb roots which are neither compounded nor members of separate clauses, and act together as a single predicate. Mostly, two verb roots are involved in the formation of serial verb constructions; and there is a high degree of grammatical integration, i.e. morphologically, syntactically and semantically, between the verb roots in a serial verb construction.

Medial clauses are the non-final clauses in complex clauses, and they are very common in Naayì. Medial clauses in the language are characterized by three distinctive features. The first distinctive feature is that medial clauses have less grammatical inflections than a final

clause in a clause chaining. The second distinctive feature is that, mostly, medial clause(s) and a final clause have the same subject in a clause chain; and their shared subject occurs once in the entire clause chain. However, when medial clause(s) and a final clause have different subjects, their different subjects are specified in both medial clause(s) and final main clause, i.e. in their own clausal territory. The third distinctive feature is that a medial clause expresses temporal relations, such as chronological overlap and chronological succession with respect to other medial or final clause. A medial clause expresses a chronological overlap or an immediate time sequence by using the morpheme *-n*, or the auxiliary verb *-kì* 'exist'. A medial clause expresses a chronological succession ('and then') by using the past participle marker *-té*.

Under complement clauses, the types of complement clause such as indicative complements, subjunctive complements, serial complements, nominalized complements and participial complements have been identified. In syntactic analysis of complementation, there are three main syntactic ways of characterization of complement clauses. These are equi-deletion, argument raising and distribution of complement clause in a sentence or complex clause. In equi-deletion, the complement subject is equi-deleted under identity with the matrix subject. Equi-deletion occurs in subjunctive and nominalized complement types. However, when a complement and matrix clauses have different subjects in their complement relation, equi-deletion of the complement subject does not exist. In indicative complement construction, the complement and main clauses always have different subjects; and in this case, there is no equi-deletion of complement subject. Argument raising involves the placement of an argument that is notionally part of the complement to the main clause proposition, or complement taking predicate; and due to this, a non-sentence like complement type is formed. Argument raising is restricted in participial complements in Naayì. The type of argument raising is subject to object raising (S - O raising). When a complement subject is under identity with the object of a matrix clause, the complement subject is equi-deleted and raised to the position of the matrix object. Regarding the distribution of complement clause in a matrix clause, it can be used to fulfill the function of subject or object in the main clause. In Naayì, the nominalized complements function as a subject or an object in a main clause. The other

complement types such as indicative, subjunctive, participial and serial complements are used only as an object of a main clause.

Under adverbial clauses, temporal clauses, locational clauses, reason clauses, purpose clauses, conditional clauses, and concessive clauses have been investigated in complex clauses of Naayì. Temporal clauses are marked with the morpheme *-ka* when there is adjacent time sequence or succession of two events, or with the morpheme *-n* when there is an immediate time sequence. A temporal clause can also be marked with the morpheme *-té*, which is basically the marker of past participle, when the temporal clause expresses a finished event before the event in the main clause. Moreover, when the temporal clauses have simultaneous time with a main clause, the existential auxiliary verb *-kì* 'exist' is used together with the temporal markers *-ka*, *-n* and *-té* on the dependent verbs. Locational clauses, in Naayì, have the shape of relative clauses marked with the inessive case morpheme *-k'a* which involves contact and/or containment in space denoted by a noun phrase; and with the instrumental case marker *-ka*. The locational clauses are expressed by these case markers having a head noun meaning 'the place where' and a pronominal relative clause. Reason clauses express explanations or accounts for the occurrence of an event in a main clause. Reason clauses in Naayì are marked with the relative clause marker *-b* followed by the dative case marker *-i'*. Purposive clauses, like reason clauses, are marked with the relative clause marker *-b* followed by the dative case marker *-i'* on their dependent verbs. Purposive clauses differ from reason clauses in that they must be unrealized at the time of the main event; and this is always signaled by the irrealis mood marker *-á(n)*.

Conditional clauses have been examined based on their semantic and morphosyntactic features. Semantically, conditional clauses of Naayì can be classified into real conditional clauses and unreal conditional clauses. Unreal conditional clauses are also two types: imaginative hypothetical clauses and imaginative counterfactual conditional clauses. Morphosyntactically, a conditional clause in Naayì is formed by a matrix clause, called *apodosis*, and by an adverbial clause introduced by a special subordinator, called the *protasis*, of the conditional. The protasis of real conditional clause type is marked differently

from the protasis of unreal conditional clause type in the language. The protasis of real conditional clauses is indicated with the subordinating morpheme *-gata*; whereas, the protasis of unreal conditional clause is indicated with relative clause marker *-b* followed by the dative case marker *-i/* on its dependent verb.

There are also negative conditional clauses and concessive conditional clauses in Naayì. There are no special subordinating morphemes for negative and concessive conditional clause types. The negative conditional clauses are formed by adding the normal negative morpheme *-o/ [-e]* to all types of ordinary conditional clauses on their verbs of protasis. In negative conditional clauses, the propositions in the protasis clauses are not contrary to the propositions of their respective apodosis clauses. Concessive conditional clauses are formed by negating the proposition of protasis of the ordinary conditional clauses with the normal negative morpheme *-o/ [-e]* like in negative conditional clauses, but without negative the proposition of the apodosis found in the same conditional clause construction.

Concessive clauses, which are different from concessive conditional clauses, are marked by their own concessive subordinator *sani* 'although'. The contrast between the proposition of the adverbial clause and the proposition of the matrix clause is marked by the subordinator *sani* 'although', but not by the negative morpheme like in concessive conditional clauses.

Under relative clauses, the position of RCL with respect to the head noun, the mode of expression of NP_{rel} and the types of grammatical functions of NP_{rel} have been treated. In Naayì, regarding the position of RCLs, they are typically prenominal; this means, they occur before their head noun. The mode of relativization in the language is a gap strategy, which is the omission of NP_{rel} in RCLs. The gap strategy is used consistently for all NP_{rel} functions of relativization. The types of grammatical functions of NP_{rel} in Naayì are subject relativization, direct object relativization, indirect object relativization, oblique relativization and possessor relativization.

Under coordination, conjunction, disjunction, resultative and consecutive coordinations, and adversative coordination have been identified in Naayì. Conjunction is constructed to

combine two noun phrases using a coordinator *-ka* having the meaning of 'and'. The coordinator *-ka* occurs at the post position on both combined NPs. However, two NPs involved in conjunctive coordination may not have the coordinator *-ka* for their combination; and hence, it is optional to use the conjunctive coordinator. Besides the normal conjunctive coordination with *-ka*, there are two types of emphatic conjunctions: the one is with the additive focus particle *ké* and the other is with the additive focus morpheme *-ó*. Both of these two coordinators have nearly the meaning of 'also'; and they are used to combine two NPs like the coordinator *-ka*. However, these two coordinators are different in that *ké* is an independent coordinator; whereas, *-ó* is a dependent coordinator in the form of suffix on the subject of the second coordinand clause and/or on the subject of the first coordinand clause. Furthermore, the additive focus marker *-ó* has a coordinating function when it is suffixed to two consecutive coordinands, like two NPs, which have equal grammatical status, to combine them by having the meaning of 'both ... and'.

In disjunctive coordination, declarative disjunction and interrogative disjunction have been investigated. Interrogative disjunction is constructed with the coordinator *-má* to provide an alternative question by which the addressee is asked to specify one of the alternatives in the addressee's answer. In declarative disjunction, the coordinator *wəyé* 'or' is used to conjoined two alternative NPs or two alternative clauses. In addition to the normal disjunction with the coordinators *-má* and *wəyé*, there is an emphatic disjunction that is constructed with the additive focus marker *-ó* followed by *àkur=ís* 'let it be' which is the jussive form of *àkur*- 'become' with the default third person masculine singular subject *=ís* 'it'; and together they have the meaning of 'either ... or'. The additive focus marker *-ó* is suffixed on the first coordinand of the two alternative units in a construction.

Resultative and consecutive coordinations are constructed with the same coordinator *dò*, which is also a focus marking particle in the language. In resultative coordination, the event in the second clause comes as a result of two coordinated clauses. In this case, the resultative coordinator *dò* has the meaning of 'so that' or 'hence'. In consecutive coordination, the

consecutive focus particle *dò* coordinates two sequential clauses; and in this case, it has the meaning of 'then' or 'and then'.

In adversative coordination, the expression *àkurís sanì* 'however' is used as a coordinator to express a denial of an expectation. The adversative coordinator *àkurís sanì* 'however' is formed from the two expressions *àkur=ís* 'let it be' and *sanì* 'although'. This adversative coordinator occurs preceding the second clause which has some kind of opposite relationship with the first clause.

Finally, the morphosyntax of focus and topic, which are the pragmatically marked structures, have been analyzed in the thesis. Formative and syntactic strategies have been employed to analyze the focused and topical constituents (structures) in Naayì. Based on formative (morphological) strategies, three types of focus markers are used in Naayì. These are the additive focus markers *-ó* and *ké*, and the resultative/consecutive focus particle *dò*. The functional difference between the two additive focus markers *-ó* and *ké* is that the morpheme *-ó* is used to make a single constituent to which it is attached in focus; whereas, the independent particle *ké* is used to introduce a clause which provides new information. The resultative/ consecutive focus particle *dò* is a clausal focus marker, like the focus particle *ké*. Unlike in focus marking, there are no special affixes or particles to mark topic in Naayì. Topic in a clause is marked in the language with a constituent that has identifiable and background information. Topical constituents can be identified in the form of definite NPs, pronouns, or a gap relativized NP in RCLs.

Based on syntactic strategies, focus and topics have been analyzed mainly with extra-core slots, detached positions and cleft construction. Core slots mean the positions in the basic word order [S-O-V] of the language; and extra-core slots are the special positions outside the core slots, either the pre-core slot or the post-core slot, which are under the scope of a give clause. Based on this, in Naayì, only pre-core slot is used to express a focused constituent in a clause. Detached positions are the positions further far from the core slots than extra-core slots. Detached positions are represented as outside of a clause in the left-detached position and/or in the right-detached position. In Naayì, topical constituents can occur in either in the

left-detached position or in the right-detached position. Lastly, cleft construction is the other syntactic strategy to identify a focused structure in Naayì. Cleft construction is used in the language to place an NP constituent unambiguously in narrow focus that is often used to provide the identity of a referent. Naayì allows cleft construction to the left of RCLs.

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APPENDIXES

TEXT ONE: The Naayì People and Their Settlement

(Spoken by: Mr. Takele Beyene, his age is 29, on March 11, 2016)

Mr. Takele Beyene has roles in the data collection process as an informant, interviewer and translator, in many of the other data of this research; because, he works as an expert on his language, Naayì, on the South Radio Station of the country.

01 *ḥ-sum-ó eʃeḥ takələ bəyənə is=gé-t'-ḥ*

1SG.POSS-name-ADFOC firstly takele beyene 3MSG=say-PASS-STR

'First, my name is called Takele Beyene.'

02 *ḥ=kì-ba kafi zoná-kḥ béétḥ-k'a kyám-ù-kù-ba*

1SG=exist-REL Kaffa zone-GEN inside-IN be.available-ISR-exist-REL

támù wərədə-kḥ béétḥ-k'a deetfá wərədə-k'a àkur-a-ba-ka

ten district(Amh.)-GEN among-IN Decha district-IN become-PAST-REL-TEMP

eʃeḥ kafi zoná-k'a kyám-ù-kù-ba wərədə-ná

first Kaffa zone-IN be.available-ISR-exist-REL district(Amh.)-ACC

ḥ=tìit-a-ba-ka támù wərədə té-n-a

1PL=see-PAST-REL-TEMP ten district(Amh.) COP-REAL-PRSP

'The place where I live in is found in Decha district which became one of the ten districts of Kaffa zone; and first, when we saw the districts which are found in Kaffa zone, they are ten districts.'

03 *támù wərədə-kḥ béétḥ-k'a yis-àkur-a-ba*

ten district(Amh.)-GEN inside-IN one-become-PAST-REL

kafi zoná-k'a k'áy-té yis-àkur-a-ba deetfá wərədə àkur-a-ba-ká

Kaffa zone-LOC rise-PART one-become-PAST-REL Decha district(Amh.) become-PAST-REL-TEMP

'Which it became one of the ten districts and the one from Kaffa zone became Decha district and, ...'

- 04 *deetfá wərədá gé-t'-ñ ityop'yá-kñ béeñ-k'a sák-ù-t*
 Decha district say-PASS-ISR Ethiopia-GEN inside-IN pass-PAST-PART
aləmə-k'a k'aalù-ná efefñ kyám-ù-s-bey tuyr-ñ
 World(Amh.)-IN coffee-ACC first be.available-ISR-CAUS-REL.F land.F-DEF.F
 'Decha district means the land that made coffee discovered originally in Ethiopia and further in the world.'
- 05 *k'aalù kyám-a-ba k'abalá ↗ itkís gém-a-gata*
 coffee be.available-PAST-REL locality 2PL say-PAST-COND
mankirá gé-t'-ù-kù-ba té-n-a
 Mankira say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL COP-REAL-PRSP
 'If you said, 'in which locality that coffee was found?', it has been called Mankira.'
- 06 *efefñ naayì-s kì-ba kafì zoná k'áy-té deetfá wərədá-k'a àkur-a-ba-ka*
 first naayì-DEF.M exist-REL Kaffa zone rise-PART decha district-IN become-PAST-REL-TEMP
 'First, the place where Naayì live in Kaffa zone became Decha district and ...'
- 07 *k'wáyá deetfá wərədá-k'a gé-t'-ñ sanì, ís=kì-ba harkù-ka*
 all decha district-IN say-PASS-TSR although 3MSG=exist-REL many-INST
kafì zoná-kñ béeñ-k'a sák-ù-té beentf'maajì-k'a kiz-a
 Kaffa zone-GEN inside-IN pass-ISR-PART Bench Maji-IN exist-PAST
 'Although everything is said in Decha district, he(Naayì as a whole) passes from Kaffa zone (Decha district) and lives in Bench Maji zone.'
- 08 *babak'á gé-t'-ù-kù-ba tuur-ba-t kiz-a*
 Babak'á say-PASS-TOR-exist-GEN-REL land-GEN-LOC exist-PAST
 'They live around the place where it is called Babak'a.'
- 09 *ké ye-s-tá káy-té tepì-tá kiz-a*
 ADFOC DISTN-DEF.M-LOC rise-PART Tepi-LOC exist-PAST
 'Also, further from there, they live in Tepi.'

- 10 *kafi zoná-k'a k'áy-té ginbo wərədá-k'a-ó kiz-a*
 Kaffa zone-IN rise-PART Ginbo district-LOC-ADFOC exist-PAST
 'Further from Kaffa zone, they are also found in Ginbo district.'
- 11 *ké yes-tá efefñ naayi is-saarù is-zìgá*
 ADFOC DISTN-DEF.M-LOC first naayi 3MS.POSS-ancestor(s) 3MSG.POSS-root(s)
àt-ù-t'-a-ba wosé ít-kís gém-a-gata, udadifi-k'a kiz-a
 hold-TOR-PASS-PAST-REL where 2HON-PL say-PAST-COND Udadishi-IN exist-PAST
 'Also further from there, If you said, 'where is his (Naayi's) ancestors or his descents are related to first?', they live in Udadishi.'
- 12 *ké ye-s-tá k'áy-té, angelá godá-k'a kiz-a,*
 ADFOC DISTN-DEF.M-LOC rise-PART Angela Goda-LOC exist-PAST,
ogayá-tá kiz-a, k'áydá-tá kiz-a, gaabará-tá kiz-a,
 Ogaya-LOC exist-PAST, Qayda-LOC exist-PAST, Gaabara-LOC exist-PAST,
adá-tá kiz-a, faadá-tá kiz-a, gaasá-tá kiz-a
 Ada-LOC exist-PAST, Shaada-LOC exist-PAST, Gaasa-LOC exist-PAST
 'Also further from there, they live in Angela and Goda; they live in Ogaya; they live in Qayda; they live in Gaabara; they live in Ada; they live in Shaada; and they live in Gaasa.'
- 13 *ké ye-s-tá sák-ù-té, deetfá wərədá(Amh) awradá*
 ADFOC DISTN-DEF.M-LOC pass-ISR-PART Decha district Awrada
kə̀tə́má(Amh)-kə̀n béé́tə̀n-k'a naayi hark'ù-ka is=kyám-ù-kì
 town-GEN inside-IN Naayi many-INST 3MSG=exist-ISR-exist
 'Also further from there, Naayi are living inside Awrada town of Decha district in large number.'
- 14 *naayi halá(Kaffa) is=kày-ba goli kày-ba-té-n-a*
 Naayi absolutely 3MSG=absent-REL place absent-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Absolutely, there is no place where Naayi has not lived.'

- 15 *ye-s-if* *naayì hark'ù-ka* *ís=kì-ba* *tuur ye-s*
DISTN-DEF.M-DAT naayì many-INST 3MSG=exist-REL land PROX-DEF.M
àkur-a-ba-ka
become-PAST-REL-TEMP
hark'ù-ka *ké* *naayì dyáh-ñ-té* *ís=háy-kì-ba*
many-INST ADFOC Naayì work-TSR-PART 3MS=live-exist-REL
yís-yná *koosù-ka* *té-n-a* *koosù-ka* *ís=háy*
one-ORD plow-INST COP-REAL-PRSP plow-INST 3MSG=live
'Therefore, a land where Naayì lives in great number became this one and, first, it is with
plowing that Naayì(he) also mostly works and lives; he lives with plowing.'
- 16 *t'àà-yná-k'a* *ñ=tùit-a-ba-ka* *naak-ná* *nás-ù-s-té*
two-ORD-IN 1PL=see-PAST-REL-TEMP cattle-ACC give.birth-ISR-CAUS-PART
té-n-a *ís=kì-ba*
COP-REAL-PRSP 3MSG=exist-REL
'When we saw the second one, it is by breeding cattle that he lives.'
- 17 *ùyñ-ba* *sáátá-k'a* *ñ=t'ús-o-k'é-a-gata,* *hak'á-ba* *sáátá-k'a*
former-GEN time-IN 1SG=know-NEG-remain-PAST-COND now-GEN time-IN
giit'á-ka *naayì biherəsəbá(Amh)* *ís=háy-kì-ba* *noogù kiz-a*
trade-INST Naayì community 3MSG=live-exist-REL thing exist-PAST
'Even if I did not know it in the former time, there is a situation in which the Naayì
community lives with trade by this time.'
- 18 *ye-s-if* *naayì hark'ù-ka* *koosù-ba-tá* *ké* *ye-s*
DISTN-DEF.M-DAT Naayì many-INST farm-GEN-LOC ADFOC this-DEF.M
ís=koos-ñ-kì-ba *ḡ* *faahá-k'a k'áy-té*
3MSG=farm-TSR-exist-REL cereal type-IN rise-PART
gaatfù *ùdù* *zángá* *gobsù fajám* *kátfi* *gwabzá*
t'ef(Amh.) false.banana sorgum barley legume(boləke(Amh)) boyna(Amh.) godəre

'Therefore, the types of cereals of which Naayì mostly produce with farming are Tef(grain sp.), false banana, sorghum, barley, legume, boyna(grain sp.), and godäre(grain sp.).'

- 19 *ye-s-kís-á hark'ù-ká dò ñ-té*
 DISTN-DEF.M-PL-ACC many-INST RESFOC eat-PART
ís=háy-kì-ba ñ faahá té-n-a, naayì-f
 3MSG=live-exist-REL food type COP-REAL-PRSP Naayì-DAT

'Hence, the types of food are these ones which he mostly eats and lives with, for Naayì.'

- 20 *ké ye-s-á ñ=tìt-a-ba-ka, naayì kafì zona-kñ*
 ADFOC DISTN-DEF.M-ACC 1PL=see-PAST-REL-TEMP, naayì kaffa zone-GEN
béétñ-k'a kyám-ù-kù-ba biher biherəsəbá-ka dán-té,
 inside-IN exist-be.available-REAL-REL nation nationality-COM be.together-PART
yísñ-k'a ùt-ù-t-té ùt-ù-t-té,
 one-IN love-TOR-PASS-PART love-TOR-PASS-PART
è-ka è-ka ibur-t'-ù-té
 3PL=COM 3PL=COM bear.with-PASS-ISR-PART

'When we saw those ones (the Naayì people) also, Naayì being together with Nation and Nationalities have lived in Kaffa zone by loving together strongly and borne with each other and...'

- 21 *yísñ-s èdù-s-á bará-s wóg-ù-s-n, bará-s*
 one-DEF.M mouth-DEF.M-ACC other-DEF.M respect-ISR-CAUS-SEQ other-DEF.M
èdù-s-á ye-yís-ó wóg-ù-s-n,
 mouth-DEF.M-ACC DISTN-one-ADFOC respect-ISR-CAUS-SEQ,
dan yísñ-k'a ñ-té té-n-a ù/kús=kì-ba
 together one-IN eat-PART COP-REAL-PRSP 3PL=exist-REL

Decha district be.available-ISR-exist-REL only become-NEG-REL-ACC earlier 1SG=tell

'It is by eating together that they are living while other is respecting one's language and that one also is respecting other's language.'

- 22 *naayì hark'ù-ka kafi zona-kh̄ béét̄h-k'a kyám-ù-kù-ba,*
 Naayì many-INST kaffa zone-GEN inside-IN be.available-ISR-exist-REL,
dèèt̄fá wərəda kyám-ù-kù-ba mwàtá àkur-o-ba-ná má ñ=máh
 Dechá district(Amh.) be.available-ISR-exist-REL only become-NEG-REL-ACC early 1SG=tell
 'Naayì live in Kaffa zone in large number though I said earlier that they are found not
 only in Decha district (of Kaffa zone).'
- 23 *beentf maaji-kh̄ béét̄h-k'a yè=tég-a-gata,*
 Bench Maji-GEN inside-IN 2SG=go-PAST-COND,
naayì-ná yáp-ám-ba=yè-té-n-a
 Naayì-ACC get-NON.PAST-REL=2SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'If you went in Bench Maaji zone, you would get Naayì.'
- 24 *tepi katamá(Amh)-kh̄ béét̄h-k'a yè=tég-a-gata*
 Tepi town-GEN inside-IN 2SG=go-PAST-COND
naayì-ná yáp-ám-ba=yè-té-n-a
 Naayì-ACC get-NON.PAST-REL-2SG-come-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'If you went to inside of Tepi town, you would get Naayì.'
- 25 *babak'á-k' yè=té-k'at, babak'á kyám-ù-kù-ba*
 Bəbək'a-IN 2SG=go-COND Bəbək'a be.available-ISR-exist-REL
beentf maaji zoná-kh̄ béét̄h-k'a té-n-a
 Bench Maji zone-GEN inside-IN COP-REAL-PRSP
 'If you went to Bəbəqa, it is in Bench Maji zone that Bəbəqa is found.'
- 26 *naayì kyám-ù-kù-ba goli ye-s té-n-a*
 Naayì be.available-ISR-exist-REL place DISTN-DEF.M COP-REAL-PRSP
 'A place where Naayì (people) are available is this one.'
- 27 *naayì yè=tùt-a-gata, ye-s-é saan-tá naayì wosá*
 Naayì 2SG=see-PAST-COND DISTN-DEF.M-ADFOC before-LOC Naayì where

k'áy-té is=yég-a-bab-é,

rise-PART 3MSG=come-PAST-REL-N.ASS

naayì tariká wosá k'áy-té, efefñ wosá k'áy-té naayì yég-a-ba

Naayì history where rise-PART first where rise-PART Naayì come-PAST-REL

beentf maajì zoná-k'a k'áy-té té-n-a is=yég-a-ba

Bench Maji zone-IN rise-PART COP-REAL-PRSP 3MSG=come-PAST-REL

'If you saw Naayì that from where had Naayì come before this (time and from where had the history of Naayì risen originally, it is from Bench Maji zone that he came.'

28 *ye-s-if beentf maajì zona-k'a k'áy-té kadù toos-ka k'áy-té*

DISTN-DEF.M-DAT Bench Maji zone-IN rise-PART three brother-COM rise-PART

yisñ-s naayì àkur-a-ba-u-s kafì zoná yég-té

one-DEF.M Naayì become-PAST-REL-M-DEF.M Kaffa zone come-PART

naayì is=àkur-ù-n

Naayì 3MSG=become-ISR-SEQ

'Therefore, among three brothers (to each other), when the one who was Naayì came from Bench Maji zone to Kaffa zone, and he became Naayì and ...'

29 *wòká beentf maajì zoná-k'a k'é?a-ba t'àà biherəsəbá-s-kís*

down.there Bench Maji zone-IN remian-PAST-REL two communities-DEF.M-PL

fákù-ka diizi-ka gé-t'-ñ

Sheko-CONJ Diizi-CONJ say-PASS-TSR

'the two communities who remained down there in Bench Maji Zone are named as Sheko and Diizi.'

30 *t'àà biherəsəbá-s-kís wòká ù/kús*

two communities-DEF.M-PL down.there they

k'é?a-ba noogù ye-s té-n-a ñ=t'ús-ñ-kì-ba

remian-PAST-REL thing DISTN-DEF.M COP-REAL-PRSP 1SG=know-TSR-exist-REL

'This is the situation I know that the two communities remained down there. '

31 *fik'ù-ka hak'á kàlm-ù-s-n-é yè=gém*
 short-INST now sit-ISR-CAUS-IMP-N.ASS 2SG=say
 'You said, 'put (i.e. tell) in short now!'

32 *yè-tfi fik'ù-ka ñ=kàlm-ù-s-ba*
 2SG-DAT short-INST 1SG=sit-ISR-CAUS-REL
noogù-s ye-s àkur=ís sani, haşñ-ka máh-n-é
 thing-DEF.M DISTN-DEF.M become=3MSG though wide-INST tell-IMP-N.ASS
yè=gém-a-gata, naayì noogù-ná ñ=pít-n
 2SG=say-PAST-COND Naayì thing-ACC 1SG=list(rehearse)-SEQ
nìik-e-k'é-ám-ba-té-n-a
 finish-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Even though the issue that I put for you in short is this one and if you said, 'tell widely!',
 I will not have finished listing (rehearsing) the issues of Naayì.'

33 *yè=sìs-b-if-ó òyáts galatá-ná yè-tfi*
 2SG=listen-REL-DAT-ADFOC large thanks-ACC 2SG-DAT
pót-s-kì-ba=nà-té-n-a
 reach-CAUS-REL=1SG-COP-REAL-PRSP
 'Since you listened (to me), I have been presenting great thanks to you!'

TEXT TWO: The Life of Naayì People and the Role of Government

(Spoken by: Mr. Tamene Feysa, his age is 64, on March 12, 2016)

This text is presented as an interview in which the interviewer is Mr. Takele Beyene as speaker A and the interviewee is Mr. Tamene Feysa as speaker B.

Speaker A:

01 *naayì hak'á ís=kì-ba èdù-ka-ó àkur=ís*
 Naayì now 3MSG=exist-REL mouth-COM-ADFOC become=3MSG
ís noogù-ba-tá ñ=tìt-a-ba-ka, áás-áás-é is kì-ba
 3MSG thing-GEN-LOC 1PL=see-PAST-REL-TEMP how-how-N.ASS he exist-REL

'When we saw Naayì either with the language or on his issue with which he lives now, how does he live?'

Speaker B:

02 *is kÌ-bab hak'á naayì fì/khè-s-yaab té-té*
he exist-REL now Naayì good-DEF.M-NMLZ COP-PART

irtá hak'á ñ-tfi pót-a-ba noogù yírá ít gém-a-gata,
problem now 1PL-DAT reach-PAST-REL thing what 2HON say-PAST-COND
ñ-dòdù-f kày
1PL.POSS-son-DAT not.exist

'Now it is the good one that Naayì lives and; if you said, 'what thing faced (lit. reached) as problem for us', there is nothing for our children.'

03 *ñ-dòdù-f is=kày-kì-ba noogù yírá ít gém-a-gata*
1PL.POSS-son-DAT 3MSG=not.exist-exist-REL thing what 2HON say-PAST-COND
mangistá(Amh)-s háá-s fì/khè fì/khè noogù kóm-yé-té yaab saarù-ná
government-DEF.M PROX-DEF.M good good thing receive-come-PART person lineage-ACC
k'wáyá tuur bééñ-k'a yáp-ñ-té yèf-ù-s-ñ-té is=kì-n
all land between-IN get-TSR-PART be.connected-ISR-PART 3MSG=exist-SEQ

'If you said, "what thing that our children lacks?(lit. what thing that it is not exist for our children?)", while the government is bringing these good things and getting and connecting human beings on the whole land, ...'

04 *hak'á mats'afá kày, támur-ñ-ba dòdù kày*
now textbook not.exist lean-TSR-REL child not.exist

'Now there is no textbook(i.e. to teach the language Naayi to Children); there is no child who learnt.'

05 *naayì èdù-ka kés-a-ba mats'afá kày*
Naayì language-INST be.emerge-PAST-REL textbook not.exist

'There is no textbook which is prepared with Naayì language (lit. there is no textbook that emerged with Naayì language).'

06 *naayì édu-ka kés-a-ba támur-s-ám-ba dòdù kày*
 Naayì language-INST be.emerge-PAST-REL learn-CAUS-NON.PAST-REL child not.exist
 'There is no child who graduated and teaches with Naayì language.'

07 *dò waatá ñ-dòdù-f kày-ba àkur,*
 RESFOC onward 1PL.POSS-child-DAT not.exist-REL seem
naayì háá-s te-k-n,
 naayì PROX-DEF.M COP-REAL-PRSP,
irtá ñ-tfi kù-ba mangistá háá-s dò
 problem 1PL-DAT exist-REL government PROX-DEF.M RESFOC
 'Hence, it (the language) seems that it would not exist in the future for our children.
 Naayì *is this one*. So that, the problem that exists for our government is this one.'

08 *fì/khè-s-yaab-ná ìs kóm-yé-n*
 good-DEF-NMLZ-ACC he receive-come-SEQ
noyg-ñ ye-y-ñ dò ís-khè kùtʂ[kùʃ]-k'a ñ-tfi
 thing.F-DEF.F DISTN-F-DEF.F SEQFOC 3MSG-GEN hand-IN 1PL-DAT
artù pót-e-k'é-a-b-if té-kn-a
 quickly reach-NEG-remain-PAST-REL-DAT COP-REAL-PRSP
 'While he brings the good ones, then, it is because, the thing, this one, has not reached for
 us in his hand quickly.'

09 *ye-s-á kót-n taatsù ám-kì-ba àkur*
 DISTN-DEF.M-ACC hold-SEQ idea do-exist-REL seem
 'It seems that he (i.e. the government) is taking this one into consideration.'

Speaker A:

10 *kyas hak'á è-tfi, degá hàf-ù-s-a-k'ata,*
 king now 3MSG.POSS-DAT aid need-TOR-CAUS-PAST-COND,

ítkís dyafá hàf-t-ù-kù-ba

noogù yírá

2PL near need-PASS-TOR-exist-REL thing what

'For the government itself now, if help has been needed, what is the thing that is needed near to you?'

Speaker B:

11 *hak'á ñ-tfi* *dò* *mangistá* *kyáb-t'-n=ís-é,*

now 1PL-DAT RESFOC government reign-PASS-JUSS=3MSG-N.ASS

hak'á ñ-tfi *fíp-ù-té* *wóg-ù-té* *kì-n=ís-é*

now 1PL-DAT be.increased-ISR-PART grow-ISR-PART exist-JUSS=3MSG-N.ASS

'Well, now for us, 'let the government reign! Now for us, 'let him grow and live!'

12 *hak'á ñ-tfi* *dò* *kùdù-s-á* *háá-s* *byáh-n* *kés-a*

now 1PL-DAT RESFOC road-DEF.M PROX-DEF.M open-SEQ exit/go.up -PAST

'So now, he built and opened the road for us here.'

13 *háá-s-tá* *k'áy-té* *té-kì* *té-kì* *té-kì* *té-kì*

PROX-DEF.M-LOC rise-PART go-exist go-exist go-exist go-exist

hàày *ɔwamá* *gé-t'-ù-kù-ba-k'a*

water(rever) Omo.river say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-IN

háá-s *té-kì* *té-kì* *níí* *baas-tá*

PROX-DEF.M go-exist go-exist there beyond-LOC

haaná *gé-t'-ù-kù-ba-k'* *háá-s* *wardá*

Haana(village name) say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-IN PROX-DEF.M district

ye-s-tá *háá-s* *kùd* *kés-a*

DISTN-DEF.M-LOC PROX-DEF.M road exit/go.up -PAST

'Starting from this, while this one (the road) goes and goes and goes and goes to the river where it is called Omo and this one goes and goes there beyond, this one road is opened(constructed) there where it called Haana village in this district.'

14 *ñ-tfi* *hak'á irtá* *kì-ba* *yírá* *hàày* *hak'á ñ=wóób-ṁ-ba*

1PL-DAT now problem exist-REL what water now 1PL=drink-TSR-REL

hàày ñ-tfi háás-tá kày
water 1PL-DAT here-LOC not.exist

'What is the problem for us now is water that we drink now; there is no water for us here.'

15 *ná-ka dán-té útfù sélé yaab-if hàày ñ-tfi kés-o-a*
1PL-COM be.together-PART five group person-DAT water 1PL-DAT exit/go.up-NEG-PAST
'Being together with us, water was not available for five groups of people.'

16 *mangistá baadá yaab-if àts-ù-s-ñ-kì-té ñ-tfi*
Government(Amh.) other person-DAT give-TOR-CAUŞ-TSR-exist-PART 1PL-DAT
pót-o-a
reach-NEG-PAST

'While the government is sending for other people, it did not reach for us.'

17 *hak'á háá-s-ná-é mabratá baadá yaab-if*
now PROX-DEF.M-ACC-ADFOC light(Amh.) other person-DAT
yé-kì-té
come-exist-PART

'While this light is also coming for other people, ...'

18 *kùdù-s-á háá-s-á tá-ám-bab=ná*
road-DEF.M-ACC PROX-DEF.M-ACC go-NON.PAST-REL=1PL
ye-y-ná yè-k'ùts-e-k'é-ám-ba té-kn
PROX-F-ACC 2SG-cut-NEG-remain-NON.PAST-REL COP-REAL
adará yè-baabfin-f füb-n
mandate(Amh.) 2SG.POSS-uncle-DAT die- OPT

'You will not have cut this one, (the message about) the road, this one with which we will go; it is mandatory! Let your uncle(i.e. the speaker himself) die!'

19 *ye-y-ná yèt etsá nòg-ñ-kì-ba kyas-ó sis-ám-ba-té-kn*
PROX-F-ACC you quiet tell-TSR-exist-REL king-ADFOC hear-NON.PAST-REL-COP-REAL
'Also the government will have heard this one that you are telling simply.'

20 *kùdù-s háá-s ù/kús kón-tá-ám-baab-ná*
road-DEF.M PROX-DEF.M they receive-go-NON.PAST-REL-ACC
yaab è-mòòt-ìf è-mòòt-ìf írk-té
person one.self-head-DAT one.self-head-DAT be.struggled -PART
'People struggle themselves and the road is this one that they take (construct) it.'

20 *níí baas-tá ye-s-á tìit-n=ít,*
there beyond-LOC DISTN-DEF.M-ACC watch-IMP=2HON
níí baas-tá ù/kús kés-s-ñ,
there beyond-LOC they exit/go.up-CAUS-TSR
háá-s hak'á dò ñ-tfi mabratá kày
PROX-DEF.M now SEQFOC 1PL-DAT light(Amh.) not.exist
'Watch there beyond! They(others) constructed (the road and light) there beyond. Then,
this light is absent for us now.'

21 *gwátá ùdga-k' ñ=háy-kì-ba*
night dark-IN 1PL=spend.night-exist-REL
'It is in the dark that we spend the night.'

22 *hàày kày, hàày yísñ útñ sélá yaab-f ñ-tfi ñ=wóób-ù-kì-ba*
water not.exist, water one five group person-DAT 1PL-DAT 1PL=drinking-TOR-exist-REL
kédzá gudi gé-t'-ù-kù-bab
water.for.drinking Gudi(name.of.river) say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL
'There is no water. There is (only) one that we drink it for us for five groups of people
and that is called kédzá Gudi (a river of drinking water).'

23 *só párá fùb-ù, mòòt-tá katamá-k'a párá fùb-ù, ye-s-á*
up.there horse die-ISR head-LOC town(Amh.)-IN horse die-ISR DISTN-DEF.M-ACC
etsá sém-kí-té ñ-fuun ñ=kés-ám-kì gém-té
quite see-exist-PART 1PL.POSS-soul 1PL=exit-do-exist say-PART

ń=wóób-ù-kì-ba *ye-s té-kn*

1PL=drink-TOR-exist-REL DISTN-DEF.M-REAL

'Horse died up there; horse died in the town above; while we see this one carelessly, and we said that we keep our life(soul) and it is this one that we drink.'

24 *bambù-ná yí/ń-té* *ń=kés-s-á-b-í/* *gùdá* *kày,*
ditch dig-PART 1PL=exit-CAUS-IRR-REL-DAT knee(energy) not.exist

ak'umá *kày,* *naak kày,* *hàày irtá* *yísń gé-n=ít*
capacity(Amh.) not.exist money not.exis water problem one say-IMP=2HON

'In order to dig a ditch and bring out (water), there is no energy (lit. knee), there is capacity, and there is no money. Please say the water problem 'one'!

25 *kùdù-s* *háá-s* *ń-tfì* *kés-kì* *dò* *kùdù kés-kì,*
road-DEF.M PROX-DEF.M 1PL-DAT exit/go.up-exist SEQFOC road exit/go.up-exist,

ń-tfì *t'ààgń noogù naayì yaab* *ń-tfì* *irt-ń-kì-ba*
1PL-DAT two thing Naayì person 1PL-DAT be.difficult-TSR-exist-REL

'The road, this one becomes opened and opened for us. For us, there are two things that become difficulties for the Naayì people for us.'

26 *kùdù-s* *háá-s-ka* *yé-kì-ba* *noogù t'ààgń,*
road-DEF.M PROX-DEF.M-INST go-exist-REL thing two

hàày-ka *yísń mabratá-ka t'ààgń*
water-CONJ one light-CONJ two

'Two things that are coming with this road are water and light.'

27 *ké* *hak'á woka* *gaayì-tá* *gé-t'-ù-kù-ba-k'*
ADFOC now way.down Gaayì (village name)-LOC say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-IN

şigobemì *gé-t'-ù-kù-ba-k'* *gwalkat*
Şigobemì(village name) say-PASS-TOR-exist-REL-IN Gwalkat(village name)

gé-t'-ù-kù-ba-k'
say-PASS- TOR-exist-REL-IN

'Also now, down there where it is called Gaayi, where it called Shigobemì, and where it called Gwalkat and ...'

- 28 *gaabar-tá háá-s yé-t,*
 Gaabar(a name a village)-LOC PROX-DEF.M go-PART
k'áydá-tá háá-s yé-t,
 K'áydá(a name a village)-LOC PROX-DEF.M go-PART
naayì yaab mangistà yeer ìs àts=ís
 Naayì person government(Amh.) God 3MSG give=3MSG
 'Let him come to Gaabará here and, let him come to K'aydá here and, 'let God give for the government of Naayì people (i.e. for the local government).'

- 29 *wáfá kÌ-bab-ná, şaaş kÌ-bab-ná kùy kÌ-bab-ná*
 forest exist-REL-ACC, grass exist-REL-ACC plant exist-REL-ACC
k'wáyá kàtʃ-n-ít-é gém-té
 all share-IMP-PART-N.ASS say-PART
k'abalá té-té, kàtʃ-ḥ-té, mòòt-mòòt-ka àts-t-ù-ba-ka,
 locality(Amh.) go-PART share-TSR-PART one.self-one.self-COM give-PASS-TOR-REL-TEMP
ḡ ùʃkúʃ kóş-ḥ-ba-ka, gaatʃù pót-kì, namù pót-kì,
 cereal they till-TSR-REL-TEMP t'ef(Amh.) reach-exist sorgum reach-exist
zangá pót-kì, waydá pót-kì
 sorgum.species reach-exist, corn reach-exist
 'Everybody(all) said, 'please share forest, grass and plants that exist(are available)!' and then they went to locality and shared and then when they were given their own part (of land) and they farmed cereal, Tef(grain sp.) becomes ripen; sorghum becomes ripen; (another type of) sorghum becomes ripen; and corn becomes ripen.'

- 30 *mofkḥ-be wòká iis-tá dòdù nàs-ḥ-té*
 female-REL.F way.down there-LOC child give.birth-TSR-PART
kùy-kḥ baaz-k' yír-b-é kùdù kày
 forest-GEN inside-IN what-GEN-N.ASS road not.exist

'Females gave birth child a way down there and there is no any road inside the forest.'

- 31 *kùdù-s háá-s níi gaabará-ná ye-té,*
road-DEF.M PROX-DEF.M there gaabara(village name)-ACC come-PART
kùdá áf-a-ba, kùdù-s ye-s-á mangistá-f
road stop-PAST-REL road-DEF.M PROX-DEF.M-ACC government-DAT
ítkís sí-s-ù-s-n
2PL hear-TOR-CAUS-SEQ

'The road, this one, came there over Gaabará and then it is the road stopped (unfinished), the road. When you make the road, this one, heard for the government, ...'

- 32 *ñ-èdù-ka ítíkís máh-n mangistá kóm-yé-té*
1PL.POSS-mouth-INST 2PL tell-IMP government(Amh.) recieve-come-PART
kùdá nùk-o-ba, ñ-tfi dyáh-ñ-té kóm-yé-té
road be.end-NEG-REL 1PL-DAT work-TSR-PART recieve-come-PART
gwal-ka-t háá-s kés-ñ-té
Gwal(village name)-INST-LOC PROX-DEF.M be.exit-ISR-PART

'Tell with our language that the government brought the road and did not finish. This one (the government) worked and brought (the road) and became opened over Gwalá for us and ...'

- 33 *ìs gé-máh-n mofkñ-bey wòká óó kálm-té*
he say-tell-SEQ female-REL.F way.down bare sit-PART
zyará-ka dòdù ìf kó?-n mòòt-ka ñ ìf dèt-f-té,
back-INST child she bear-SEQ head-INST cereal she carry-PART
ye-s-ka ìf ìrt-ù-t-kì-ba-ná ñ-tfi mangistá
DISTN-DEF.M-INST she suffer-ISR-PASS-exist-REL-ACC 1PL-DAT government(Amh.)

'Let him (i.e. the researcher) tell that she is being suffered with these ones for our government. Females sat down there barely and, while she bore child on the back, she carried cereal with head and, ...'

34 *ye-s-á* *dò* *ñ-tfi* *is* *pòg-ñ-a-ba*,
 PROX-DEF.M-ACC RESFOC 1PL-DAT he open-TSR-PAST-REL
pòg-n *is* *kóm-yég-ám* *nìik-o-ba*, *ye-y-ñ-kís-á*
 open-SEQ he receive-come-NON.PAST be.end-NEG-REL PROX-F-DEF.M-PL-ACC
dò *ñ-tfi* *is* *fìfk-ù-s-á-ba* *ákur=ís-é*,
 RESFOC 1PL-DAT he be.good-ISR-CAUS-IRR-REL become=3MSG-N.ASS
adará *gé-n=ít*
 mandatory(Amh.) say-IMP=2HON

'Hence it is this one that he opened (i.e. started the projects) for us and, that he open and bring will not be end. So that let him enrich these ones for us. Please say, it is mandatory!'

35 *kya* *háá-s* *aydi* *yeer dáb-ù-t'-n=ís*
 government PROX-DEF.M foot.print God follow-TOR-PASS-JUSS=3MSG
 'Let God follow this government's back.'

36 *ítkis aydi-ná* *yeer dáb-ù-t'-n=ís*
 2PL foot.print-ACC God follow-TOR-PASS-JUSS=3MSG
 'Let God follow your back.'