

The Morphology of Adverbial Clauses in Sheko

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1. Introduction

In Sheko, verb forms in adverbial clauses employ a number of poorly-understood morphemes which are not found in the verb forms of main clauses. So far adverbial clauses in Sheko have received little treatment; only Aklilu (1988:90-91) gives some useful information. However, this topic is of general interest, in view of the fact that adverbial clauses are in between complement clauses and relative clauses (Payne 1997:307). A comparison of the different clause types raises some pertinent issues concerning the morphology, and different possible analyses are presented.

In the remainder of this section some basic information about Sheko is given. The next sections give an overview of the adverbial clause types and the morphology associated with them: section 2 is concerned with clauses marked by *-nta*, which are mainly conditional clauses. Section 3 covers clauses marked with *-b*, i.e. the relative clause marker. Adverbial clauses using the relative clause comprise locational, temporal and reason clauses. These clauses are further marked by several morphemes found in the nominal domain, e.g. case markers. Section 4 treats purpose clauses. This section provides several ways of accounting for the morphemes found in purpose clauses. Subsequently, the analysis of the morphology in the other adverbial clauses is reconsidered. Thus section 4 presents different views on morphemes discussed in section 2 and 3 as well. Finally, section 5 summarizes the paper. It also contains a table which gives an overview of the morphemes playing a role in the different types of adverbial clauses.

Sheko (*fəko* or *şoku nogu*) is an Omotic language of the Dizoid (Majoid) branch, spoken by around 45.000 people.² The Sheko language is under pressure from Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia, and Bench, a neighbouring regional language. The Sheko people are subsistence farmers, producing coffee and honey for extra income. They live in the forested hills between Mizan Teferi and Tepi in Southwest Ethiopia. The research for this paper was conducted in Boyta, a village close to Sheko town.

Some characteristics of the Sheko language include: a series of retroflex consonants; tone playing an important role in person marking; Subject-Object-Verb word order; next to suffixes the language uses prefixes as well; case marking on NPs (nominative is unmarked); and different verbal morphology for final (main) verbs and non-final verbs in a clause chain ('converbs'). Furthermore, the final main verbs carry a modality marker which gives information on the type of utterance. Example (1) shows the realis declarative marker, example (2) the irrealis declarative marker, example (3) the negative marker. In addition to these, imperative/jussive and optative are marked by *-e* and *-se* respectively.

- (1) kyaa_z-_ŋ-s maa á-yee-ke
chief-DEF-M today 3MS-come-REAL
'The chief came today.'

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² Figure according to my informants.

(2) kyaaaz-ŋ-s maa á-yee-me
 chief-DEF-M today 3MS-come-IRR
 ‘The chief will/would come today.’

(3) kyaaaz-ŋ-s kaca yee-re
 chief-DEF-M yet come-NEG
 ‘The chief hasn’t/didn’t come yet.’

Finally, the interrogative can be formed by leaving out one of the declarative modality markers. An example is given in (4).

(4) kyaaaz-ŋ-s maa á-yee
 chief-DEF-M today 3MS-come[Q]
 ‘Does/did/would the chief come today?’

2. Adverbial clauses marked by *-ŋta*

This section gives an overview of clauses marked by *-ŋta*, most of which are conditional. Next to conditional clauses, the morpheme *-ŋta* also marks clauses with a temporal interpretation and clauses with indirect speech.

2.1. Conditional clauses

For each kind of condition, the protasis or ‘if-clause’ is marked with *-ŋta*. The apodosis or ‘then-clause’ is marked according to aspect and modality properties of the situation described.

The verb form in the apodosis is marked for irrealis after both hypothetical (5) and real (6-8) conditions, since in either case the fulfillment of the condition in the protasis is requisite for the event described in the apodosis to happen, and the situation described in the apodosis cannot be asserted as having been realised.

(5) ʔoci ʃeenʃ-eb a-ʔum-ŋta a-ʃub-a-me
 mushroom bad-REL 2SG-eat-COND 2SG-die-IPF-IRR
 ‘If you eat a bad (poisonous) mushroom, you will die.’

(6) kookŋ naŋ a-see-s-ŋta ʔeki ŋ-yetŋ ʔats-a-me
 road 1SG:DAT 2SG-see-CAUS-COND money 1SG-2SG:DAT give-IPF-IRR
 ‘If you show me the way, I’ll give money to you.’

(7) ʃoku nogu a-tamar-n-iʃŋta a-geri yeta-na
 Sheko word 2SG-learn-PURP-REAS 2SG-head 2SG-ACC
 sask-u ʔats-er-a-ki-ŋta ʔyaz-ar-a-k’ia-me
 bring.out-NMLZ give-NEG-2SG-BE-COND be.able-NEG-2SG-NEG:IPF-IRR
 ‘If you don’t put an effort into learning the Sheko language yourself, you won’t be able (to learn it).’ (Lit.: If you yourself don’t sacrifice in order to learn...)

(8) koynab-ee, kuʒ yeg-ŋta, koynəb te-te,
 K.-TPCLZ sickness come-COND K. go-CVB
 ‘As for the Koynab, if sickness came, the Koynab went and...’

For all generic/habitual situations the same applies: the protasis which contains the condition is marked by *-ŋta* and the apodosis is marked with irrealis, as shown in (9-10)³.

³ Even past habituais are categorized as irrealis situations in Sheko, as they make no claim to the actuality of the situation, cf. Palmer 2001:179.

- (9) i-duuf-t'-nta i-ʔoor-a-me
 3FS-hit-PASS-COND 3FS-meow-IPF-IRR
 'If she (= a cat) is beaten, she will meow.'
- (10) teng yiz, eeka-ta yaab sub-mta,
 k.o.tree DEM there-DIR man die-COND
 as-ka ifi kaaf-tu-te ifi-dep-t'-a-me
 3MS-LOC/INSTR 3PL build-PASS-CVB 3PL-bury-PASS-IPF-IRR
 'This *tengi*, if somebody there died, they were arrayed in/with it and were buried.'

Counterfactual conditions (11) are marked with *-nta* as well.

- (11) saamint ʔaagn n̄-aay-m̄bab n̄-ʔuus-nta
 week(Amh) two 1PL-spend.night-CMPLM 1SG-know-COND
 baʒa kota n̄-koyge-m-ki-b-tan
 work little 1SG-bring-IRR-BE-REL-CONJ
 'If I had known that we would stay two weeks, I would have brought a little bit of work with me.'

Concessive clauses also take the morpheme *-nta*, but have an additional *k'era* 'also' (12-14).

- (12) jeyi k'era as-k'a a-ʔiif-nta arc̄n-ar-á-k'ia-me
 stone also 3MS-LOC 2SG-add-COND tear-NEG-3MS-NEG-IPF-IRR
 'Even if you add a stone in it, it will not break.'
- (13) as-k̄n ʔaʒu ʃaŋ-s-eb á-foot-nta k'era
 3MS-GEN leg break:DEF-M-REL 3MS-become-COND also
 dor-ki-tekaari ii-k'a á-tee-ke
 run-BE-CVB towards house-LOC 3MS-go-REAL
 'Although his leg was broken, he ran all the way to the house.'
- (14) yira-k'era a-ʔooc'-nta maak-ar-á-ki-ke
 what-also 2SG-ask-COND tell-NEG-3MS-BE-REAL
 'Whatever you ask, he doesn't answer.'

2.2. Temporal clauses

Sometimes, clauses marked with *-nta* have a temporal rather than a conditional interpretation. This is not surprising as there is some overlap between the two, i.e. it can take some time before the condition is fulfilled and the situation described in the apodosis normally follows upon the situation described in the antecedent. Sentences (15-16) give examples of this.

- (15) yok'a ifi-aay-t-ifi kubm aay-te zir̄n c'or-f-nta,
 INTJ 3PL-spend.night-CVB-3PL four spend.night-CVB time finish-CAUS-COND
 bangar-t-ifi koynab-k̄n ʔyeez kob-te
 return-CVB-3PL K.-DAT honey take-CVB
 'well, they spent the night and passed four nights and when they finished the time they returned and brought honey for the Koynab and ...'
- (16) ʔincu á-kat'-a-me, á-kat'-nta á-fakus-t-u-te á-gom-t'-a-me
 wood 3MS-hoe-IPF-IRR 3MS-hoe-COND 3MS-split-PASS-u-CVB 3MS-pile-PASS-IPF-IRR
 '...wood is cut. When it is cut, it is split and stacked.'

2.3. Indirect speech constructions

There is one other place in which the morpheme *-nta* is found. Indirect speech constructions are made with *-nta* clauses as well (17-18). The verb in the matrix clause is a verb of perception and the indirect speech is in verb complement position.

- (17) *gibm* *saati-ka* *ifi-tag-nta* *t'uus-eŋ-ki-ke*
 how.much hour-LOC 3PL-go-COND know-NEG:1SG-BE-REAL
 'I don't know at what time they will go.'
- (18) *as-n* *gants'u yir-te* *á-foot-nta* *ooc'-ar-á-ki-ke*
 3MS-GEN noise what-COP[Q] 3MS-become-COND ask-NEG-3MS-BE-REAL
 'He didn't ask what that noise was.'

Compare the above two examples of indirect speech with the two following examples of direct speech (19-20):

- (19) *gibm* *saati-ka* *if-tee* *i-ge-te* *i-ooc'-u-ki-ke*
 how.much hour-LOC 3PL-go-[Q] 3FS-say-CVB 3FS-ask-u-BE-REAL
 'She asked: "At what time will they go?"'
- (20) *as-n* *gants'u yir-te* *á-ge-te* *ooc'-ar-á-ki-ke*
 3MS-GEN noise what-COP-[Q] 3MS-say-CVB ask-NEG-3MS-BE-REAL
 'He didn't ask: "What is that noise?"'

It has been shown here that *-nta* marks all types of conditional clauses, as well as clauses with a temporal interpretation. It also marks clauses with indirect speech. Section 4 gives an alternative analysis of *-nta*.

3. Adverbial clauses marked by *-b*

This section examines adverbial clauses employing the morpheme *-b*, which is a relative clause marker as exemplified in section 3.1. The adverbial clauses built on the relative are first of all locational and temporal clauses. These clauses are marked with several morphemes, such as case marking and locational phrases, as shown in section 3.2. A second type of adverbial clause built on the relative is the reason clause. Reason clauses, marked by *-b-ifnta*, are illustrated in section 3.3.

3.1. Relative clauses

The examples below exhibit the use of the relativizer *-b*. In (21), the relative clause '*nata nteke*' *ágeb* 'who said: "It is I"' modifies the head *šooz* 'snake'. In (22), the relative clause *saaynsa maakab* 'who told a fable' fills the indirect object NP, which is marked by a dative case marker. The head is not expressed.

- (21) *šooz* '*nata n-te-ke*' *á-ge-b* *sam*
 snake 1SG 1SG-COP-REAL 3MS-say-REL remain:DS
 'Snake who said: "It is I" remained behind;...'
- (22) *saay-n-s-a* *maak-əb-kń* *?eki* *n-?ats-u-ke*
 fable-DEF-M-ACC tell-REL-DAT money 1SG-give-u-REAL
 'I gave money to (the one) who told a fable.'

Sentence (23) shows a relative clause used as complement of a verb. Here the clause does not modify a head with which it is coreferential, but expresses a proposition which is taken as a complement by the verb.

- (23) teen-ki-b-era á-tuus-ki-ke
 go:NEG:1SG-BE-REL-ACC 3MS-know-BE-REAL
 ‘He knows that I didn’t go.’

3.2. Locational and temporal clauses

In many languages, relative clauses are used in forming temporal and locative expressions. This is not surprising as most temporal and locative phrases are easily rephrased as relative clauses with a head like ‘time’ or ‘place’ (such as “the time that...”, “the place where...”).

Locational adverbial clauses can be formed by employing a relative clause and case marking, as shown in (24).

- (24) fara-daws ifi-teg-eb-k’a ifi-bangar-te ifi-yee-ke
 song-children 3PL-visit-REL-LOC 3PL-return-CVB 3PL-come-REAL
 ‘The disciples came back from where they had gone.’

Some temporal adverbial clauses are formed with locative phrases (25-26). These clauses contain a relativised verb form (ending in *-b*) followed by a genitive marker and a locational noun phrase with case marking. The case is either *k’a* ‘in, at’ or *ta* ‘to, near’. The case marker *-ta* is glossed DIR for ‘directive’.⁴ These temporal clauses denote a sequence of events.

- (25) if-ts’yaats²-u-t-ifi c’or-f-a-b-kn ?adik’a p’ee’ta buuts-u-te
 3PL-tie-u-CVB-3PL finish-CAUS-a-REL-GEN after thatch mow-u-CVB
 ‘...after they finish tying it, they cut the thatch and...’
- (26) n-ts’ok-a-b-kn saanta kay-ŋ-s m-baas-ki-b nogu
 1SG-pray-a-REL-GEN before god-DEF-M 1SG-want-BE-REL thing
 á-tuus-ki-ke
 3MS-know-BE-REAL
 ‘Before I pray, God knows what I want.’

The temporal clauses in (25-26) can be compared to the postpositional constructions in (27-28), which also use a genitive marker after a noun phrase, followed by a locational noun phrase, to express time.

- (27) saamint k’oy-kn saanta naŋ ?aʂu á-shan-u-ke
 week one-GEN before 1SG:DAT leg 3MS-break-u-REAL
 ‘One week ago I broke my leg.’
- (28) wo-ta ?adik’a ŋ-ye-me
 down.there-DIR after 1SG-come-IRR
 ‘I will come later.’ (said when there is no fixed appointment)

Other temporal adverbial clauses end in *-b(-aas)-ta*, as the following examples (29-31) from stories show. They denote simultaneity of events and typically function as clauses which give the setting for the storyline events.

⁴ See examples (33)- (35) for the use of *ta* as a case marker.

- (29) ifi-kaas-ki-b-ta, deyg-ŋ wog-u sie-ki-ŋ,
 3PL-play-BE-REL-DIR child:F-DEF sit-u look-BE-DS
 ifi-wog-u kaas-ki-b-aas-ta gob ts'aw-n
 3PL-sit-u play-BE-REL-DEM-DIR sky darken-DS
 '...while they played, the girl sat looking; while they were sitting playing, it became evening;...'
- (30) šaad-k'a ŋ-kob-tee-b-ta i-kinderkonder ge-t-i
 pasture-LOC 1SG-take-go-REL-DIR 3FS-IDEO say-CVB-3FS
 i-wut-u-šub-m ṁ-baaʃ-k
 3FS-fall-u-die-DS 1SG-slaughter-REAL
 'When I took (the cow) to the pasture, she fell ill and died; I slaughtered her.'
- (31) ʔumʔa-ra sask-ut-ifi besk-u-ki-b-aas-ta
 food-ACC bring.out-u-CVB-3PL divide-u-BE-REL-DEM-DIR
 ʔum-s-a ifi ʔe-ka-kń ukuri besk-u-ki-b-aas-ta
 food:DEF-M-ACC 3PL there-LOC-DAT half(Amh) divide-u-BE-REL-DEM-DIR
 ʔum-s uʃta turu bata á-sam-o-ke
 food:DEF-M down land on 3MS-remain-u-REAL
 '...while they brought out the food and were dividing it, dividing the food there in equal parts, they were left with the last bit.'

The morphemes used in the sequence *-b (-aas) -ta* are the following: first the relative clause marker *-b*. The second morpheme is *-aas*, which shows formal similarity with the proximal demonstrative masculine (32).

- (32) aas kofu te-ke. ekiz kuci te-ke
this:M cock COP-REAL those chicken COP-REAL
 'This is a cock. Those are hens.'

The third morpheme in the sequence is *-ta*. It is interpreted here as case marker for two reasons: first, *-ta* follows a demonstrative (a nominal category), and second, this analysis is consistent with the other temporal clauses above. However, in section 4 two other interpretations are offered. Some examples which show that *-ta* is a case marker are given in (33) - (35).

- (33) bern betastiyān ii-ta ŋ-tag-a-me
 tomorrow church(Amh) house-DIR 1PL-go-IPF-IRR
 'Tomorrow we will go to church.'
- (34) az ʔadi-ta bangar-te ʔisŋ-era á-tiit-u-ki-b-aas-ta
 3MS footstep-DIR return-CVB beehive-ACC 3MS-watch-u-BE-REL-DEM-DIR
 ʔisŋ-ki-bab ʔyants'a muuru ket-aas-ta
 beehive-BE-father bee all(Amh) all-DEM-DIR
 ziipm ye-te as-era ket-ifi-k
 chase come-CVB 3MS-ACC sting-3PL-REAL
 'While he turned back and watched the beehive, all the beehive bees came chasing and stung him.'
- (35) a-kń aas-ta ifi-ye-b-aas-ta, šoku-ra feyi-te
 DEM-DAT DEM-DIR 3PL-come-REL-DEM-DIR Sheko-ACC forget-CVB
 'When they were coming here, they forgot Sheko and...'

The sequence *aas-ta* can also appear after a noun, as in (36). Another example is given in (34) above where it occurs after *keta* ‘all’. It is also found in the word for ‘now’, *aak’asta*. The examples suggest that the morphemes *aas(-ta)* belong to a nominal category. They only appear after a verbal form when it has been relativized by *-b*, and thus has become more nominal.

- (36) á-gaz-u-bar-ŋ ʔisŋ-aas-ta uʃta wut-á-k
 3MS-snap-u-abandon-DS beehive-DEM-DIR down fell-3MS-REAL
 ‘...it broke (and) the hive fell on the ground.’

3.3. Reason clauses

In Sheko, not only temporal adverbial clauses but also reason clauses are made with help of the relative. Reason clauses end in *b-ifŋta*. Examples are given in (37-39).

- (37) nata-ra á-for-ab-ifŋta á-yeef-u-ke
 1SG-ACC 3MS-fear-REL-REAS 3MS-cry-u-REAL
 ‘Because he was afraid of me, he cried.’
- (38) faadu iʃ-era a-faad-us-ob-ifŋta, ʔĩ i-ge-n
 hunger 3FS-ACC 3MS-hunger-CAUS-REL-REAS IDEO 3FS-say-DS
 ‘because she (=the calf) was hungry she mooded.’
- (39) goora ded-ŋ-s a-baab bata a-k’ud-ab-ifŋta as-era
 Amhara child-DEF-M 3MS-father on 3MS-cover-REL-REAS 3MS-ACC
 a-ʔeeb-us-ta a-woom-k
 3MS-bless-CAUS-CVB 3MS-bless-REAL
 ‘Because the Amhara boy had covered his father, he blessed him.’

As for the morphological make-up of reason clauses, they have the final element *-ifŋta* in common with purpose clauses, which end in *-ŋ-ifŋta*. It is noteworthy that *-ifŋta* occurs also after nouns, as shown in (40-41).

- (40) ʔoyti iŋta zegu á-ʒaʒ-ke
 cow REAS ox 3MS-good-REAL
 ‘An ox is better than a cow.’
- (41) yis-kŋ aamsu yir-te á-ge-nta
 DEM-GEN example what-COP[Q] 3MS-say-COND
 tooga-ifŋta mŋ-maak-u-ke
 mud-REAS 1SG-tell-u-REAL
 ‘I told this example with regard to the mud.’ (Lit. what is it that this example says: I told it because of the mud.)

Also, the word translated as ‘therefore’, typically used when reaching a conclusion in discourse, contains the ending *-ifŋta*.

- (42) iz-ifŋta ʒoku-ra iʃ-ʒe-te goora-ka guru iʃi-nonŋ-ki-ke
 DEM-REAS Sh.-ACC 3PL-forget-CBV Amhara-INSTR only 3PL-talk-BE-REAL
 ‘Therefore they forget Sheko and talk only in Amharic.’

The element *-ifŋta* is similar to *aas-ta* ‘DEM-DIR’ in that both occur after relative clauses as well as after nouns. Therefore *-ifŋta* could consist of two morphemes, the first (*-ifŋ*) meaning something like ‘reason’ and the second (*ta*) being a case marker. Of course it is also possible to split up *-ifŋta* in *-if* and *-ŋta*. We will return to the analysis of *-ifŋta* in section 4.

4. Purpose clauses

In this section I examine purpose clauses. Most purpose clauses end in *-n-ifṅta*, whereas some end in *am-ta*. Several possible interpretations of the morphemes *-n-ifṅta* and *-ta* are presented below. Since the morphemes used in purpose clauses are also found in other adverbial clauses (or at least look like them) the interpretations presented in this section affect the interpretation of the morphology found in other adverbial clauses presented before.

Examples of purpose clauses in *-n-ifṅta* are given in (43-46).

- (43) k'orukib ḡyard-er-ifi-k'i-n-ifṅta ḡed ifi-ḡis-u-ke
 beggar enter-NEG-3PL-NEG:IPF-PURP-REAS door 3PL-close-u-REAL
 'They closed the door so that beggars will not enter.'
- (44) p'uc'a-bab zirku-k'a ṣooz ṅ-see-p-ta feyi ṅ-kay-s-te
 many-owner time-LOC snake 1SG-see-REL-DIR stone 1SG-rise-CAUS-CVB
 ṣooz-ṅ ṅ-k'aatṣ'ṅ-ifṅta ṅ-but-u-ki-ke
 snake-DEF 1SG-stone-PURP-REAS 1SG-throw-u-BE-REAL
 'Often when I see a snake, I pick up a stone and throw (it) in order to stone the snake.'
- (45) iḡ-k'a a-tag-n-ifṅta as á-baas-us-ke (...)
 3FS-LOC 3MS-go-PURP-REAS 3MS 3MS-want:CAUS-CAUS-REAL
 kɔmtu á-foot'-ab-(əra) á-maak-n-ifṅta á-baas-ke
 king 3MS-become-REL-ACC 3MS-tell-PURP-REAS 3MS-want-REAL
 'He needed to go there. (...) He wanted to tell that he is king.'
- (46) ṅ-ses-n-ifṅta ṅ-tag-e
 1PL-see:CAUS-PURP-REAS 1PL-go-IMP
 'Let's go to see.'

Purpose can also be expressed in the following way (47): instead of using *-n-ifṅta* 'in order to' the language employs the irrealis declarative marker *-m(e)* followed by a morpheme *ta*, which is tentatively analysed as the directional case, even though it is suffixed to a full verb form and not to a nominalized verb form.

- (47) á-seg-a-m-ta á-k'ay-ke
 3MS-see-IPF-IRR-DIR 3MS-stand-REAL
 'He stood up in order to see.'

An open question is how to analyse the morpheme *-n* which characterizes the purpose clauses in (43)-(46), marked by *-n-ifṅta*. It could be related to dative *kṅ*, or bear a relationship to the *-ṅta* morpheme found in conditionals. Or it could be a separate morpheme with a nominalizing function. Further investigation may bring an answer to this question.

As for *-ifṅta*, as said in section 3.3 on reason clauses, it could consist of two morphemes, the first (*-ifṅ*) meaning something like 'reason' and the second (*-ta*) being a case marker. Now there is another *-ta* turning up in the second way of expressing a purpose clause, see example (47). Support for relating it to the directional case marker comes from languages in which a directional adposition is used to mark purpose clauses. The marker *-ta* in Sheko could go back to a postposition with a directional meaning. Two other possible explanations for *-ta* are offered below, although they are less likely than the explanation given here.

Firstly, *-ta* could be a verb meaning 'to be'. Two examples of the verb *ta* 'to be' are given in (48-49). In line with this, Bender (2000:164) remarks with regard to the Sheko pronouns *nata* 'I' and *yeta* 'you (sg)' that there might be an "old copula" *ta*.

- (48) yook'a toos foot-ń-ke una saanta bac'a yaab ń-ta-ke
 INTJ relative become-1PL-REAL long.ago before anger man 1PL-be2-REAL
 'Well, we have become relatives. Formerly we were opponents.'
- (49) haay nata-ra k'iis-e ge-ki-b iti á-ta-ńta
 water 1SG-ACC drink:CAUS-IMP.SG say-BE-REL who
 3MS-be2-COND
 a-t'uus-ńta kitn as-kń a-kor-am-ki-b-tan
 2SG-know-COND life 3MS-DAT 2SG-beg-IPF:IRR-BE-REL-CONJ
 'If you knew who is it who says "give me water" you would beg him life.'

Secondly, one could postulate that *-ta* is a backgrounding morpheme, whether or not related to the 'to be' verb. The morpheme marks clauses and/or NP's as background to which other events take place. It would thus typically mark adverbial clauses. The advantage of this explanation is that it can be applied not only to the morpheme *-ta* suffixed to a full verb form (as in (47)), but also to *-ifń-ta* (for purpose and reason clauses, as in (46)).

In this vein, it might be possible even to re-analyse the morpheme *-ńta* which is used in other adverbial clauses like conditionals. Then it would be necessary to postulate *-ń* as a subjunctive morpheme. This is actually how Aklilu (1988) analysed Sheko adverbial clauses, as indicated by the following sentence (50) which contains a reason clause:

- (50) anga bǎzhá ñ-bǎzh-ab-sh-ń-tà ñ-fét'ù-kee
 many work I-work-rel-reas-subj-advcl I-tire-nonfut
 'For the reason that I worked too much, I become/became tired.' (taken from Aklilu 1988:91)

If *-ń* is indeed a subjunctive marker, Sheko would have both realis/irrealis and subjunctive marking. Since the realis/irrealis occurs in main clauses and subjunctive in dependent (adverbial) clauses only, this would be possible. The subjunctive *-ń* would occur directly after the verb in conditional, indirect speech and purpose clauses, which would be perfectly possible as well. However, it would occur twice in purpose clauses, and after *-if*, as shown in (51). This would be problematic, because *-if* was analysed in section 3 as a nominal element, suffixed to nouns, demonstratives, and relative clauses in the case of reason clauses. One would not expect a subjunctive marker to suffix to nominals.

- (51) ń-ses-ń-if-ń-ta ń-tag-e
 1PL-see:CAUS-SBJNC-REAS-SBJNC-ADVCL 1PL-go-IMP
 'Let's go to see.'

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, in this paper it is shown that adverbial clauses in Sheko are - broadly speaking - of two kinds: those using *-ńta* and those using relative clauses (*-b*). Clauses which end in *-ńta* are first of all conditional clauses, which sometimes get a temporal interpretation. Furthermore, purpose and reason clauses end in *-ifńta* which contains the same element *-ńta*. However, these clauses make the picture more complicated, as reason clauses also employ the relative clause marker and purpose clauses an element *-n*. On the other hand, relative clauses marked by *-b* are used to form temporal and locational adverbial clauses. Both kinds of clause, those in *-ńta* as well as relative clauses, can also be used in verb complement position: *-ńta* clauses in indirect speech constructions and relative clauses in other constructions. Thus we see that adverbial clauses are indeed closely linked up with relative clauses and complement clauses in Sheko.

Furthermore, several ways of analysing the morphemes under consideration have been presented. Especially the case of *-ta* is interesting, since it can be related to the directive case marker *-ta*, to a copular verb *-ta* 'to be' and can be posited as a backgrounding morpheme as well. Of the three possibilities, the first seems more intuitive. Similarly, *-ńta* can be analysed as a whole or as consisting

of two parts. Its occurrence in verbal forms as well as in *-ifnta*, which appears after nominals, prevents a simple solution. By way of summary, the table below gives an overview of the morphemes and clause types discussed here. A vertical stroke represents a possible morpheme boundary.

Overview of morphology in adverbial and complement clauses					
	conditional	temporal	complement	reason	purpose
<i>-n ta</i> [sect. 2]	<i>-n ta</i> ‘if’	<i>-n ta</i> ‘when’	<i>-n ta</i> [indirect speech]		
<i>-b</i> (REL) [sect. 3]		<i>-b (-aas) -ta</i> ‘while’ <i>-b-kn ?adi-k’a</i> ‘after’ <i>-b-kn saan-ta</i> ‘before’	<i>-b</i>	<i>-b -if n ta</i> ‘because’	
[sect. 4]					<i>-n -if n ta</i> (<i>am</i>)- <i>ta</i> ‘in order to’

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative <i>-ra</i>	INTJ	interjection
BE	verb of existence used as auxiliary <i>ki</i>	IPF	imperfective aspect <i>-a</i>
CAUS	causative <i>-s</i>	IRR	irrealis declarative <i>-me</i>
CMPLM	complement <i>-mbab</i>	LOC	locative <i>-k’a</i>
COND	conditional <i>-nta</i>	M	masculine
CONJ	conjunction	MID	middle <i>-n</i>
COP	copula <i>te</i>	NEG	negation
CVB	same subject converb <i>-te</i>	NMLZ	nominalizer
DAT	dative <i>-kn</i>	PASS	passive <i>-t’</i>
DEF	definiteness <i>-n</i>	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	PURP	purpose
DIR	directive <i>-ta</i>	Q	question marking
DS	different subject converb <i>-n</i>	REAL	realis declarative <i>-ke</i>
F	feminine	REAS	reason <i>ifnta</i>
GEN	genitive <i>-kn</i>	REL	relative
IDEO	ideophone	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	TPCLZ	topicalizer
INSTR	instrumental <i>-ka</i>		

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