



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

STRUCTURE OF DETERMINER PHRASE IN GE'EZ

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Structure of DP in Ge'ez

By

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Abbreviations and Symbols

ACC	Accusative
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
AdvP	Adverb Phrase
Agr	Agreement
AgrO	Agreement for Object
AgrP	Agreement Phrase
AgrS	Agreement for Subject
AMCM	Affirmative Main Clause Marker
AP	Adjective Phrase
Asp	Aspect
AspP	Aspect Phrase
C	Complementiser
Card. Num	Cardinal Numeral/Number
Caus	Causative
Conj	Conjunction
Const	Construct
CP	Complementizer Phrase
CST	Construct State
D	Determiner
Dat	Dative
DC	Dative Construction
DEF	Definiteness
Deg	Degree
Dem	Demonstrative
DP	Determiner Phrase
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
F	Feminine
FocP	Focus Phrase

GC	Genitive Construction
GEN	Genitive
GMS	Gurage Mä sqan Soddo
Imperf	Imperfect
LF	Logical Form
M	Masculine
Mod	Modifier
Nom	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
Num	Number/Numeral
NumP	Number Phrase
Ord.	Ordinal
PF	Phonetic Form
PL	Plural
PPT	Principles and Parameters Theory
Prep	Preposition
Pro	Pronoun
Poss.	Possessive
Poss. Adj	Possessive Adjective
PS	Passive
Q	Quantifier
QP	Quantifier Phrase
Refl	Reflexive
SG	Singular
Spec	Specifier
T	Tense
ToP	Topic Phrase
TP	Tense Phrase
UG	Universal Grammar
VP	Verb Phrase

Abstract

This study is devoted to structures of determiner phrase in Ge'ez in the light of the Minimalist Program. It focuses on descriptions of words, phrases, sentences and their syntactic projections. DP in Ge'ez is formed by merging a determiner (as head) and a complement (NP). The function of each morpheme in the description is given. Construct state, dative and genitive constructions show possession relation between possessees and possessors. They use different possession markers. For example, *-ä* and *lä-* go with construct state and dative respectively, whereas *zä-*, *ʔillä-*, *ʔintä-* go with possessees and possessors in genitive constructions. Specifiers can be subjects, articles, pronouns and demonstratives.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. Background

1.1.1. The Ge'ez Language

Ge'ez is one of the Northern Ethio-Semitic languages. It has a close relationship with modern Tigre spoken in the northern highlands and Red Sea coastal area. Ge'ez also stands in a more or less proximate ancestral relationship with Tigrinya, which is the current official language of the Regional State of Tigray in the northern part of Ethiopia (Gragg 1997:169). Historically, it is assumed that the Aksumite Empire in Northern Ethiopia, the present region of Tigre was the area where Ge'ez was originally spoken. It is brought to Ethiopia as a descendant of South Semitic language by south Arabian immigrants during the first Millennium B.C (Weninger 1993). Ge'ez was used as the only official written language of the church and the state for the Aksumite kingdom when the Northern Ethiopian province of Tigre and the large parts of the present day highland Eritrea became under its control during much of the first millennium A.D (Gragg 1997).

Later, Ge'ez gradually became the standard, religious medium when Amharic became the predominant spoken vernacular after its wider expansion into the boundaries of the province of Amhara in the 16th c (Herbert 1949).

Although Ge'ez ceased to be spoken sometimes between 10th to 12th centuries (Leslau 1958, Weninger 1993) or before (Gragg 1997), it is still used as a liturgical language in the realm of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (Gragg 1997, Pankhurst 1976: 305-309).

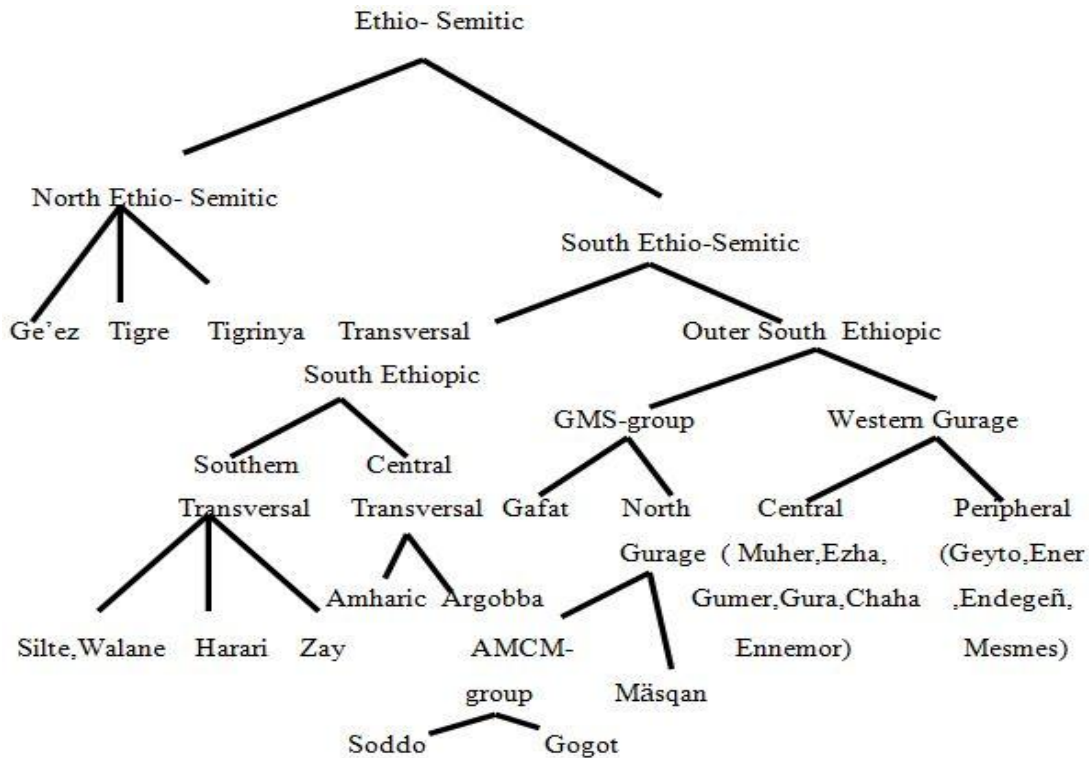
1.1.2. Previous Studies on Ge'ez

In previous times, European researchers did research works on Ethiopic or Ge'ez, more particularly Germans. They studied the language with a traditional approach using philological approach or method other than linguistic approach. Weninger (1993) attempted to study the phonology (vowels, consonants), morphology (root, stem) and syntax (i.e. NP in genitive construction, clause structure, verbal and nominal clauses) of Ge'ez. Cases such as nominative, accusative and genitive and states like construct and free state, or absolute state

are also stated by Weninger (1993). In addition, Dillman (1907) stated the grammatical or structural concepts of Ethiopic (Ge'ez). Lambdin (1978) studied construct state, gender, number, pronoun, adjective and article.

1.1.3. Classification of Ethio-Semitic

North Ethio-Semitic (NES) and South Ethio-Semitic (SES) are the two groups of Ethio-Semitic languages (Hudson 2002). There are two sub-families of South Ethio-Semitic languages. These are Transversal South Ethiopic and Outer South Ethiopic. These two sub-families are divided into other mini-sub-groups. That means, Transversal is divided into Central and Southern. The Outer South Ethiopic has two mini-sub-families. These are n-group and tt-group¹ (Hetzron 1972) or GMS- group and Western Gurage (2001). The following family tree shows the modified and generalized classification of Ethio-Semitic languages by Girma (2009).



¹ n- and tt- signify main clause markers of North and Western Gurage languages.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Different linguistic research works are done by foreign and Ethiopian researchers on the phonological, morphological, syntactic and other aspects of North and South Ethio- Semitic languages. However, the syntactic procedures used in these research works are traditional. They have not been studied in the light of recent development in syntactic theory.

It is assumed that detailed phonological, morphological and syntactic studies have not yet been conducted on Ge'ez. However, there are more studies on its phonology as well as its morphology than on its syntax. Foreign researchers have done research on Ge'ez. Some of these For example, Dillmann (1907) on Ethiopic Grammar, Lambdin (1978) introduction to classical Ethiopic, Weninger (1993,2007) Classical Ethiopic and Sounds of Ge'ez for Sixteenth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Trondheim, Gragg (1997) Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic) and Bulakh (2009) Nota-genitive zä-in Epigraphic Ge'ez.

However, there has been no work on the internal structures of DP. The present research is an attempt towards this in the light of recent developments in syntactic theory such as Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1995).

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of this study is to describe the structures of DP in Ge'ez. Its emphasis is on the projections of different nominal functional categories such as determiners, articles and possessive pronominals.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The thesis has the following specific objectives:

1. Showing the minimal, intermediate and maximal projections of the determiner phrase
2. Identifying the categories serving as complements of D
3. Showing the syntactic operations such as movement within DP
4. Showing features of heads and non-heads in the DP projections
5. Showing feature checking operations

1.4. Significance of the Study

The study will have the following significances to contribute:

It can be used as a source material for future studies on the Ge'ez language.

It can be used in the preparation of teaching materials

It may contribute to Typological research as regards the syntax of determiners and other functional categories.

1.5. Delimitation/ Scope of the Study

This study is limited to only structures of DP in Ge'ez in which syntactic and inflectional issues are considered .

1.6. Limitation of the Study

The problem that the researcher has constrained ,or faced doing this thesis as follows:

Ge'ez has no native speakers: The data in this study come from the researcher's knowledge of the language as a second language. And the data also come from others who have studied the language and teach it in Schools and Universities.

1.7. Methodology

The researcher used both introspective and informant methods. However, he focused more on the introspective method because of his familiarity with the language. He has also used the informant method to gather data about roots, affixes, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses and sentences by interviewing people who are very familiar with the language. Published Journals, articles on Ethiopic, Ethio-Semitic languages and books on minimalist syntax for example, Chomsky (1995), Adger (2003), Radford (2009) have been used as secondary sources.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Considerations

This study uses the Minimalist Program of Government and Binding (GB) Theory of Chomsky (1982), the Linear Constraint Axiom (LCA) of Kayne (1994), Chomsky (1995), Radford (2009) and Adger (2003) as a general framework for the analysis of the structure of determiner phrases in Ge'ez. The basic assumptions of the theoretical principles are stated in this chapter.

2.1. The Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program grew out of the efforts of researchers in the principles and parameters framework. The earlier theories in the principles and parameters framework, such as Government and Binding Theory presented by Chomsky (1981, 1982, 1986a and 1986b) include a rich set of principles from which it is possible to deduce the grammaticality of an utterance.

The Minimalist Program deals with the link between sound and meaning. In his earlier work, Chomsky proposes that the language faculty involves a computational system that feeds into the two components of the mind dealing with sound and meaning. In the Minimalist Program, there are two distinct interface levels; namely, Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF) or articulatory-phonetic interface and conceptual-interpretative interface. The LF refers to the linguistic aspect of meaning, whereas the PF refers to the sound aspect. According to Radford (2009), the goal of Minimalism is to reduce theoretical apparatus to the minimum which is conceptually necessary.

2.2. Government and Binding Theory

Government and Binding Theory is a theory of syntax proposed by Chomsky (1981, 1982) and refers to a specific approach to linguistic theory. It is a following of the Extended Standard Theory (EST) in transformational grammar. Government and Binding Theory differs from previous approach because it focuses on a set of theories and principles rather than rules that govern levels of representation and derivation of linguistic facts such as clauses, for example.

2.3. Principles and Parameters Theory

Principles and Parameters Theory (PPT) is outlined and developed by Chomsky at the beginning of the 1980s. In the language acquisition process, a child faces to construct the grammar of the language. Universal grammatical principles and parameters are incorporated in the Innate Language Faculty. A child's syntactic learning task is limited to determining an appropriate setting for each of the relevant grammatical parameters (i.e. parameter-setting). The proposition of Principles and Parameters Theory (PPT) plays a significant role in the nature of the language acquisition process. For example, it minimizes the complexity of the acquisition task which children face Radford (2009). The hypothesis PPT assumes that grammatical properties are universal and will not have to be learned by the child because they are wired into the language faculty and hence part of the child's genetic endowment.

Universal Grammar (UG) can be defined as the set of principles that are common to all languages as well as the initial state of language knowledge for human beings, (Fokkens 2010 and Chomsky 1982). Principles may include parameters, which represent settings that may vary from language to language.

Generally, the basic ideas of Principles and Parameters are the following:

- Language consists of universal principles and language specific- parameters: a child would only need to learn the parameters of the language

2.4 Case Theory

Case Theory is first proposed by Chomsky (1981, 1982). In the defining works of GB, it attempts to solve the puzzling distribution of lexical (phonologically overt) NP's such as subjects of infinitival clauses in English. The theory assumes that every phonetically realized NP phoned has case.

2.5. Linear Constraint Axiom (LCA)

Asymmetric c-command, the image under dominance of an ordered pair of non-terminal nodes and linear ordering are the different concepts of Linear Constraint Axiom proposed by Kayne (1994) Specifier-Head-Complement is considered as the basic word order in the theory

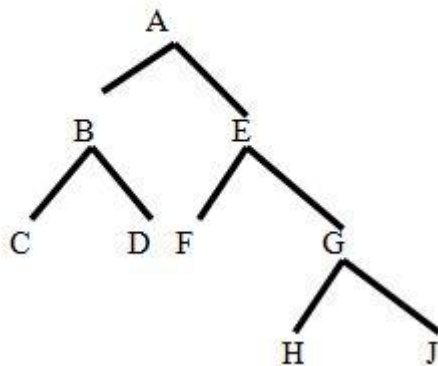
of LCA. Kayne's definition of c-command is different from that of Chomsky's which is shown in (1).

(1) **C-command**

C-Command is a particularly important syntactic relation. It is a conventional abbreviation of constituent-command. The determining relative position of two different constituents within the same tree is provided by C-Command.

a. x c-commands Y if x does not dominate Y and every Z that dominates X dominates Y Chomsky (1986). That is, a constituent X c commands its sister constituent Y and any other constituent Z which is contained within Y Radford (2009). The structural relation of the constituents is visually represented by the following tree diagram.

(2)



A is the mother of B and E. If so, B and E are the two daughters of A. B is the mother of C and D; E is the mother of F and G; and G is the mother of H and J. C, D, F, H and J are terminal nodes since they take the position of lexical and functional constituents or elements, whereas A, B, E and G take the positions of either lexical phrase or functional phrase.

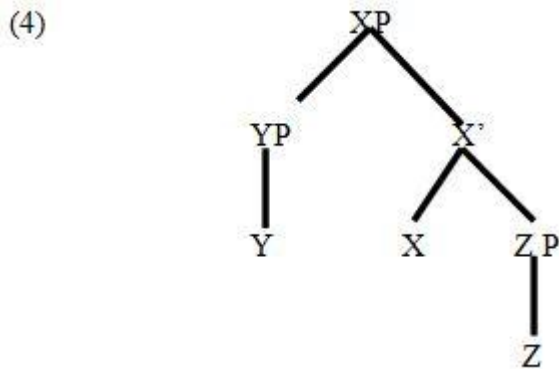
In the light of the definition of C-Command, A does not c-command any of the other nodes because it has no sister. However, B c-commands E, F, G, H and J since its sister is E. E contains F, G, H and J. C c-commands only D.

b. X c-commands Y if X and Y are categories and X excludes Y and every category that dominates X dominates Y Kayne (1993).

(3). **Asymmetric C-Command**

X asymmetrically c-commands Y if X c-commands Y and Y does not c-command X (Kayne 1993:2).

The X-bar structure of LCA is diagrammatically shown in Kayne (1994) as follows:



2.6. Full Interpretation

Every feature must be mappable to an interpretation at the interface levels. Phonetic Form (PF) and Lexical Form (LF) are the two levels of interface. The PF is associated with the articulatory and perceptual system whereas; LF is with the intentional conceptual system. Minimalists assume that derivation is the property of the Computational Human Language (CHL). Thus, the analysis considers interpretability as the property of mapping a syntactic feature onto PF or LF representation, Chomsky (1995). Mapping is determined by the information provided by the lexicon. Not all features are interpretable. However, categorical features of nouns and verbs are always interpretable at the PF and LF interface levels. Functional features are not necessarily PF interpretable. That means, there is no necessity to spell-out these features.

2.7. Economy Condition and Checking Operation

In the Minimalist Approach, Economy Condition assumes that syntactic structures should contain as few words as possible and syntactic operations should affect as few words as possible. In Economy Condition, derivations and representations...are required to be minimal, with no superfluous steps in derivations and no superfluous symbols in representations (Chomsky 1989:69). The idea of economy condition in Minimalism states that the distance between two or more agreeing components should be as short as possible Radford (1997).

Chomsky (2005) stated that in the lexical entries, inflectional features of the lexicon are inserted with their features such as, case, agreement, tense, etc. as an intrinsic property and must be checked at LF by the features of the inflectional heads.

Therefore, a derivation containing unchecked features will clash at LF (Ibid). Merge and Move are the most pivotal ways to achieve the Phonetic Form (PF) realization or representation of inflectional features. However, the lexicon prefers Merge to Move as an economical option. There is a proposed discussion by Chomsky (1995) about feature checking. Namely, feature checking is regarded as a property of the computational operation in which movement is a last resort operation. In the last resort condition, movement is licensed under the following conditions.

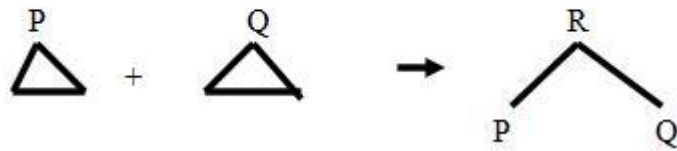
Any movement X can target K only if

- a. a feature of X is checked by the operation
- b. a feature of either X or K is checked by the operation
- c. the operation is a necessary step toward some later operations in which a feature of x will be checked.

2.8. Merge and Move Operations

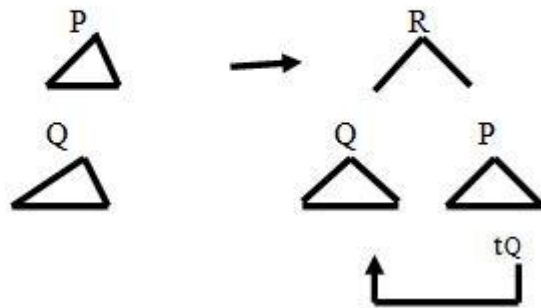
The main components of grammar include the structural-building operations of Merge and Move, feature checking through movement to functional categories, the interfaces and economies of derivation and representation in the Minimalist Program. Schematically, the structure-building operations Merge and Move are illustrated one after the other Chomsky (2003). Merge and Move are highly closed to each other in the Minimalist Program. Both are the simplest ways of forming a phrase, either a lexical or functional, or both of them. Merge is a technical term meaning ‘combining’ two words or phrases, whereas move is the raising of the combined constituents or elements Radford (2009).

(5) **Merge:**



P and Q may be lexical items or complex phrases, and Merge combines them to create a new structure R. The operation Move takes a substructure Q of P and creates a new phrase R which has P and a copy of Q as immediate substructures, again requiring the labels P, Q and R be consistent with X'-Theory, as seen below next.

(6) **Move:**



The only difference between the Merge and Move operations is that the definition of Merge requires that P and Q be separate structures - which P does not contain Q and Q does not contain P- while the definition of Move requires either P contains Q or that Q contains P. From this, it is clearly understood that the definitions of Merge and Move are complementary. Both Merge and Move are the artificially-divided halves of a single structure-building operation. Both Adger (2003) and Radford (2009) stipulate that the output of Merge is a binary branching tree. Binarity is treated as a distinct principle by Radford in the Binarity Principle and as a working hypothesis by Adger. Merge is more economical than Move and it happens before Move to make Minimal, intermediate and maximal projections. Thus, Merge is preferred over Move.

2.9. Movement

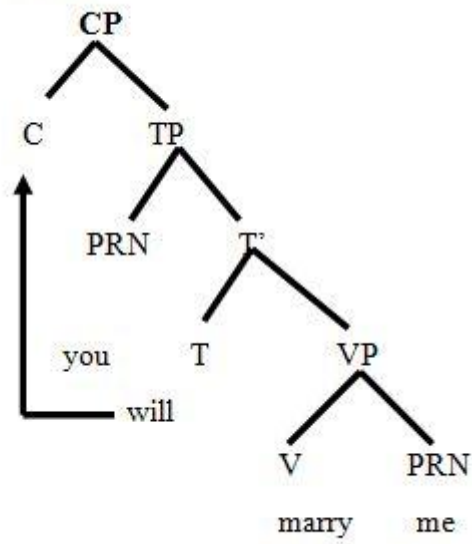
Movement is the raising of the combined constituents (lexical or functional) from a position of the minimal structural projection to an intermediate and then to the maximal projection at the higher level. Movement is cyclic and it is from right-to-left. It can be head-to-head and spec-to-spec movement. In the Principle of Economy, movement begins from the lexical domains and goes to functional domains step by step. For example, VP-to-AspP-to-TP-to-CP-to VP-to-TP via merging. In structures of relative clause or complementizer phrase (CP), DP can move to CP. In passivization structures, DP can move to $\bar{u}$ P-to- CP - to -TP. This is stated in the analysis part of Chapter Four. Substitution and adjunction are the two options available in the movement of the shortest distance in any operations of (X') and phrasal projections (XP) Chomsky (1995). He makes distinction between adjunction and substitution.

Adjunction forms two constitutions, whereas substitution forms a new category. Therefore, adjuncts are in 'A'- position but substitution is in a specifier position is in the specifier of a position. In Greed Principle, Chomsky (1995) states that movement can only benefit the moved element but might not benefit a category outside the movement chain. At the interface level, case and agreement features such as person, number and gender should be checked to be spelled-out as expressions. Morphological features are required by case filter so as to be checked somewhere for convergence. Merge and move serve to check uninterpretation features. However, movement is either substitution or adjunction.

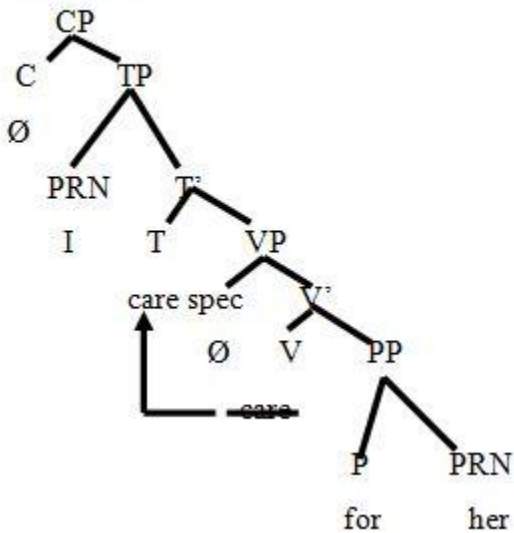
2.9.1. Head movement as General

A merger operation serves to derive a range of syntactic structures. Head movement is existed when the derivation of structures involves in merger and a specific type of movement Radford (2009). Movement can be from T-to-C and from V-to-T. Let us look at the movement in the following tree diagrams.

(7) **T-to-C movement:**



(8) **V-to-T movement:**



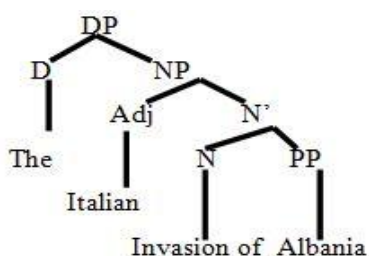
Both operations involve movement of a word from the head position in one phrase into the head position in a higher phrase. Therefore, in (7) the auxiliary moves from the head T position of TP to the head C position of CP; and in (8) the verb “care” moves from the head V position of VP to the head T position of TP as coping and deletion.

2.9.2. Head Movement in Nominals

Brief discussion is made at head-movement in nominals more particularly, at N-movement. This indicates that the movement of a noun out of the head N position of NP into a higher head position within the nominal expression containing it. Consider the syntax of the English nominal and its counterpart from (Cinque 1994, p.86).

- (9) a) The Italian invasion of Albania
b) I' invasion italiana dell Albania
c) The invasion of the Albania

If the adjective Italian is the specifier of the noun invasion, (9a) will have the specified structure:



The N-bar (intermediate nominal projection) “invasion of Albania” is formed when the noun invasion merges with its PP complement of “Albania”, and this in turn merges with the adjectival specifier “Italian” to form the NP (maximal nominal projection) “Italian invasion of Albania.” The resulting NP is then merged with the determiner “the” to form the DP, “the Italian invasion of Albania.” The adjective “Italian” can be thought as being (in an informal sense) the ‘subject’ of “invasion,” since it identifies the people who are doing the invading- and if subjects are typically specifiers, it is appropriate to analyze the kind of adjective found in (9) as the specifier of the N “invasion,” of the N-bar “invasion of Albania” and of the NP “Italian invasion of Albania.”

2.9.3. Head Movement Constraint/ HMC

Travis’s Head Movement Constraint requires head-to-head movement to be strictly cyclical without any leaps over intermediate heads. This allows to read syntactic structures of

morphological structures. Head movement is only possible between a given head and the head of its complement Radford (2009).

Head Movement Constraint assumes that an X^0 may only move to a Y^0 which properly governs it Travis (1984). It is usually assumed that the Head Movement Constraint and the Mirror Principle of Baker (1985) follow from the Empty Category Principle, but Johnson (1992) and Rohrabacher (1993) show that this is not the case. A head can skip over another head and still governs its trace, provided that the intervening head has adjoined to the target of long head movement.

2.10. Features in Minimalist Program

There is no widely-adopted and even short formalization feature theory although it is not the central role in Minimalist Program. Very much explicit discussion is not given to what features are and how they work Adger (2003) and Radford (2004). Minimalists do not say very much about interpretable features except that ‘they play a role in semantic interpretation.’

2.11. Feature Checking /Valuation: Agreement and Case Assignment

Feature-Checking is the core operation of the Minimalist Program through movement to a checking domain, Adger (2003) and Radford (2009). Certain kinds of features must be Checked/that is, licensed by being in a certain structural configuration with a head which is lexically allowed to check that feature by virtue of its features. According to Adger (2003), uninterpretable features must be checked and once checked, they can be deleted. In the “Split-Infl” system of Polloc (1989), case is checked by V or T whereas, agreement by Agr and wh by C. Agreement is matching with features. It is deeply interrelated with tense serving as a source. Agreement features, like person, gender, number, definiteness are inherent semantic features of nouns or pronouns. The agreement features are covert. They are not inherent features of verbs. However, the features come for verbs by agreement, not as inherent feature. These features are interpretable, valued, non- deleted and written in bold.

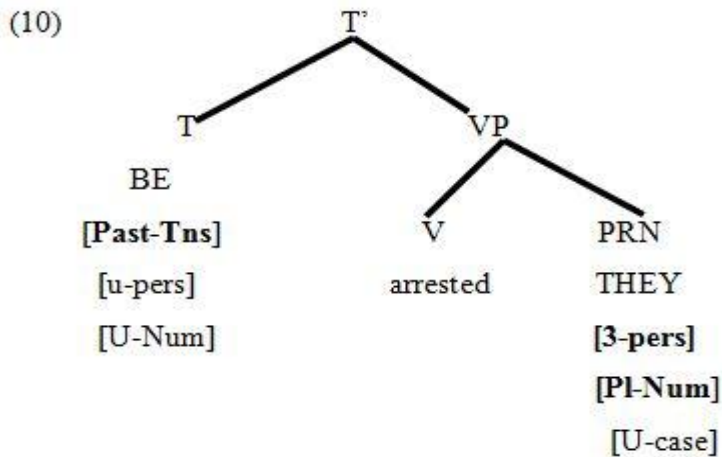
Agreement involves two feature-valuations when a probe (like T) agrees with one or active goals in its local domain.

(a) The unvalued (person, number) Φ features on the probe will be valued or assigned a value which is a copy of that on the goal/s.

(b) The unvalued case features on the goal/s will be valued or assigned a value depending on the nature of the probe. For example, nominative case is checked if the probe is a finite T, null case if the probe is a null T with nonfinite tense, accusative if the probe is transitive.

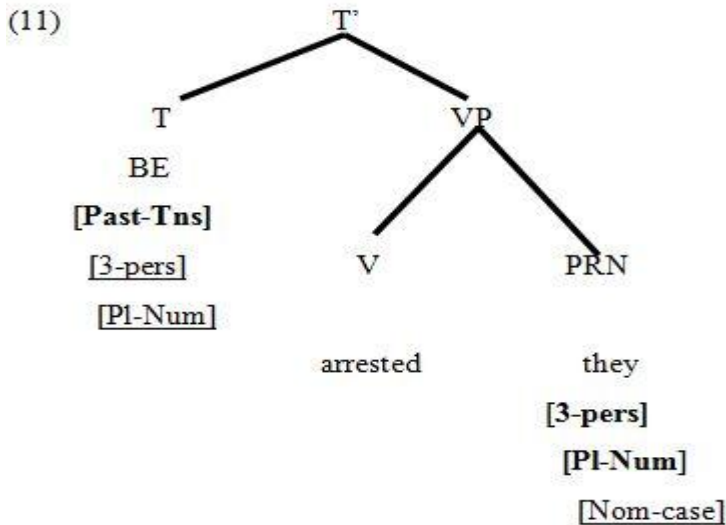
Case is one parameter to check features. It is systematically related to agreement. Both case and agreement work in a sentence. Case features do not have semantic interpretation. Such case features as nominative, accusative and genitive are uninterpretable and unvalued features of noun expressions or pronouns. They are written in italics rather than in bold and checked as well as deleted.

Chomsky (1998) argues that the difference between valued and unvalued grammatical features correlate with a related distinction between those grammatical features which are interpretable and uninterpretable. A feature is semantically interpretable if it has semantic content or plays a role in semantic interpretation, whereas uninterpretable feature has no role in semantic interpretation. A T-constituent has interpretable features (like tense, aspect and mood) and uninterpretable features like person and number. Person, number and gender are interpretable features of noun expression or pronoun, whereas case is uninterpretable feature. Look at the interpretable (valued) features shown in bold and uninterpretable or unvalued features in italics in the following diagram below.



From this diagram, THEY enters the derivation carrying the features [3-pers, pl-Num, u-case], where, pers = person, Pl =plural, Num =number, and u-unvalued. The pronoun THEY is the thematic component of the passive verb arrested and so it merges with it to form the VP arrested THEY. This VP is in turn merged with the tense auxiliary BE to form the higher structure. The finite T-constituents like the auxiliary BE enter the derivation with their tense feature already valued. However, their person and number ϕ -features as yet unvalued because they will be valued via agreement with the appropriate goal. That means, BE enters the derivation with the features [past-Tns, u-pers, u-Num].

The following structure shows the underlined features which have been valued via agreement.



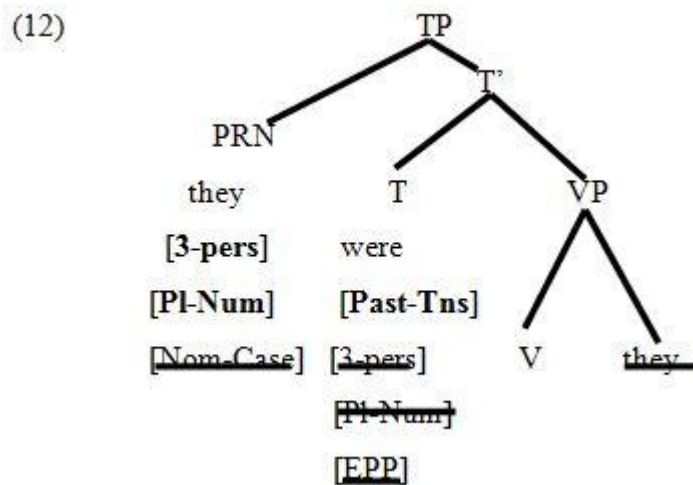
Since all of the features carried by BE are now valued, BE can ultimately be spelled out in the phonology as the third person plural past tense form “were.” Likewise, since all of the features carried by THEY are also valued at this point, THEY can ultimately be spelled out as the third person plural nominative form “they.”

2.12. Feature Deletion

In the Completeness Condition of Radford(2009), an interpretable case or agreement feature on a constituent A is deleted when A agrees (in respect of one or more Φ features) with a Φ complete constituent B which carries a complete set of person and number Φ features.

An uninterpretable EPP feature on a probe is deleted by movement of the closest active goal of the relevant type to become the specifier of the probe (EPP Condition).

Once deleted, a feature becomes invisible in the syntactic and semantic components (and hence inactive in the syntax) while remaining visible in the PF component (Invisibility Condition). Let’s look at feature deletion in the following tree diagram.



2.13. Determiners as Head of NP in Structure of DP

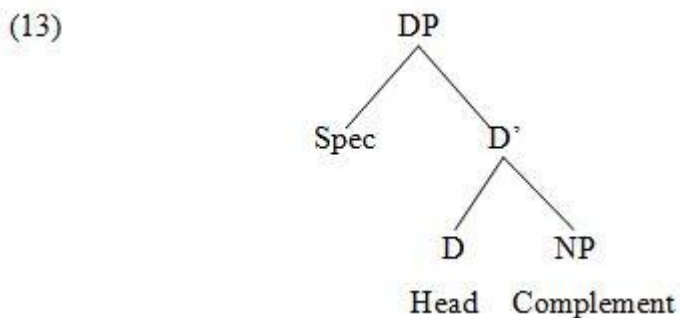
Determiner phrase is one of the functional or non-lexical phrases, among CP, TP, AgrP, FocP, Top, QP, etc. A determiner phrase uses articles and demonstratives as head together with a nominal complement. Baye (2004) stated that a determiner phrase or DP includes

articles, pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, quantifiers for the expressions of the extended projection of the noun in Ethiopian Semitic. In addition to these, DP constitutes possessive determiners or adjectives as well as nouns with the possession markers.

In works before the mid-1980s, a structure like ‘the king of Utopia’ would have been analyzed as a noun phrase (NP), comprising the head noun “king,” and its complement “of Utopia.” However, Abney (1987) showed that such kind of phrasal expressions have the status of a determiner phrase (DP).

He stated that DP has a determiner as head and uses NP as its complement. Others like Danon (1996) and Esayas (2003) support Abney’s claim. In recent developments in generative syntax, since D is the head of the noun phrase, the analysis showed “DP-analysis not NP.” In the agreement of nominal features, DP can be a subject or an object. For example, in “the man killed the lion,” there are two determiner phrases. The first DP, “the man” is a subject, whereas the second DP “the lion” is an object.

Abney (1987) and Danon (1996) put the projection of DP in English and in the head-initial Semitic languages, for example, Hebrew, Ge’ez as follows.



Here, DP stands for a phrase headed by an element of category D. However, the position of the head and the complement of head-final languages in the DP structure are changed due to movement.

In this projection, there is a Specifier-Head-Complement relation from left -to-right. So, DP consists of a head D and a complement NP respectively. The spec of DP is e or empty. D and

NP first merge and move up to form D' (D-bar), which is a minimal projection. Then, D' moves alone and forms the maximal projection, DP.

Esayas (2003) stated that the DP hypothesis has been adopted by Ritter (1987, 1988); Ouhalla (1988); Fassi-Fehri (1989); Siloni (1990) and others since they have already accepted the claim.

In addition, Siloni (1997) mentioned other supporters, like Mohammed (1988); Hazout (1990); Fuki and Speas (1986); Longobardi (1994) who has shown the overt movement of the complement, NP to the head, D. The present researcher believes that this is by merging and movement rules in EPP(Extended Projection Principle).

2.13.1 Determiner

Abney (1987) and Radford (2009) stated that a determiner is a functional category and it lacks descriptive content of its own. Traditionally, determiner included the definite article 'the' and the demonstratives 'this', 'that' 'these' and 'those' Radford (2009). According to Danon (1996) Baye (2004) determiners include articles, pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives and quantifiers.

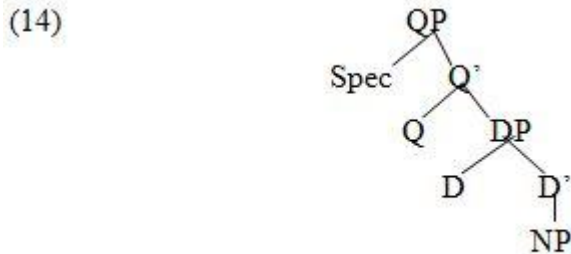
In Ge'ez, demonstratives or determiners precede nouns but not follow them. Demonstratives can appear with the accusative lä- in the absence of nouns since they imply number and gender.

The English functional elements, such as the definite article (the) and the indefinite articles (a and an), possessive and demonstrative adjectives or pronouns, nouns with the possession markers, s', 's, the preposition of and quantifiers are grouped under the category of determiner (Lyons 1968) and (Radford 1997).

Siloni (1997) considered numerals as functional elements, determiners (D). Although nouns constitute the semantic core of noun phrases, and syntactically determiners play a significant role in DP analysis in providing important morpho-syntactic features that are relevant to both the internal and the external agreement relations of noun phrase Abney (1987).

2.14. Quantifiers as Heads of Nominal Structure

QP hypothesis in Valois and Shlonsky (1991) selects D and DP as head and complement respectively. The projection of this syntactic phenomenon is shown in (13).



(15) Consider the following example of QP.

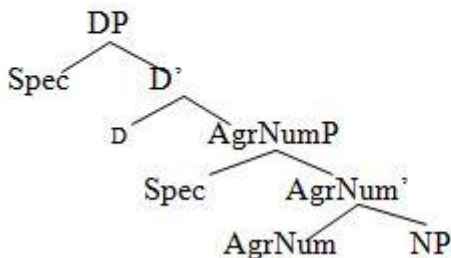
<i>ḥīdat'</i>	<i>ḥalib-ä</i>	<i>laḥm</i>
Q	milk-GEN	cow

Lit. 'Little milk of cow' This QP is structured from the quantifier *ḥīdat* 'little' as a head and the DP, *ḥalib-ä laḥm* as a complement.

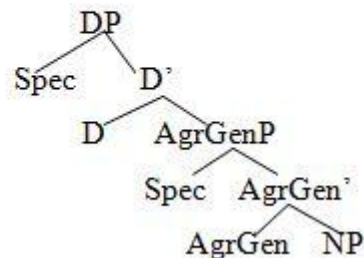
2.15. Positions of Agreement Features inside DP

In Semitic, Romance and Germanic languages, Ritter (1991) and Siloni (1997) stated that structure of DP includes extra inflectional structures like AgrNumP, AgrGenP² between DPs and NPs. Both Ritter and Siloni have shown the projection of this DP structure in the following.

(16) Ritter (1991)



Siloni (1997)



² AgrNumP and AgrGenP mean agreement number phrase and agreement gender phrase.

(17) Observe the following examples of DP structures which have the same syntactic projection shown above.

a. *ʔaḥad-u bet*

Num-DEF house

‘The one house’

b. *zä- ḥenok zäwg*

GEN- Henok relative

‘(The) relative of Henok’

CHAPTER THREE

Specifier, Head and Complement

This chapter concerns specifier, head and complement relations.

3.1. Specifier

A specifier refers to a grammatical function. The constituent that comes before the head of a lexical, functional phrase or even a sentence is considered as a specifier (Radford 2009).

Consider the following sentences and phrases of Ge'ez in (18) and (19).

- (18) *horä* *ṗiyäsus* *ṗim* *gälila* *ḥäbä* *yohannis*
 went Jesus from Gelila to John

Lit. 'Jesus went from Gelila to John.'

Here, *ṗiyäsus*, the subject of the sentence is a specifier because it is taken as a category of a specifier.

- (19) *dämmäna* *mälṗiltä* *sämay*
 Cloud on sky

Lit. 'Cloud on (the) sky'

Here, in this phrase, *dämmäna* is the specifier of the prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *mälṗiltä*.

According to their grammatical functions, specifiers found in noun phrase (NP) are articles, deictics, possessives/genitives as well as quantifiers. The definite quantifier includes numerals, measure and classifier phrases.

Generally, in Minimalist Approach, specifiers include subjects, articles (definite and indefinite), quantifiers, pronouns, degree words, genitive or possessive nouns, demonstrative pronouns.

3.1.1. Articles

Lambdin (1978:15) stated that there are no definite and indefinite articles in Ge'ez. However, in contrast to this, Dessie (2002:88) stated that Ge'ez has both definite and indefinite articles which show definiteness and indefiniteness. The present researcher supports Dessie's claim.

3.1.1.1. Definite Article

In Ge'ez, there are two definite articles which show familiarity or definiteness. Phonemically, these are *ʔaḥad-u* and *ʔaḥad-ti*. *-u* and *-ti* are definite masculine and feminine markers. In the absence of these suffixes (*-u* and *-ti*), the two words show unfamiliarity because they become *ʔaḥad* and *ʔaḥad-t*. However, the other suffices attached to the independent nouns that show familiarity are dependent. For example, in Ge'ez, *zä-* shows definiteness apart from indicating possession. Moreover, it serves as a complementizer in relative clause.

Like Ge'ez, other Semitic languages including Hebrew, Arabic, Amharic, etc. have definite articles which show definiteness or familiarity. According to Danon (1996), definiteness in Hebrew is marked by a bound morpheme (*ha-*). Borer (1989 and 1994), Siloni (1994), and others have suggested that definiteness in Hebrew as well as in other Semitic languages is a syntactic feature of the noun, similar to phi-features such as gender and number. Therefore, the definite article *ha-* in Hebrew is not an independent lexical item.

Mohammad (1988), Fassi-fehri (1993) and Benmamoun (2000) said that the definite article in Arabic has been analyzed as the head of a determiner phrase (DP) to which the nominal head raises and incorporates.

In Semitic languages, for example, Hebrew, nothing can intervene between the definite article *ha-* and the nouns as opposed to in English (Danon1996). However, in Ge'ez, there are exceptions but not for the definite articles *ʔaḥad-u* and *ʔaḥad-ti* respectively. There is an intervention between the suffices, *-u*, *-hu*, *-ʔa*, *-ha* and the independent nouns while showing definiteness. This is shown in the following examples:

- (20)
- a. *bet-u* *lä- dawit*
house-DEF GEN-Dawit
Lit. 'Dawit's known house'
 - b. *gäbo-hu* *lä- ḥenok*
waist -DEF GEN- Henok
Lit. 'Henok's known waist'
 - c. *zämäd-ʔa* *lä- rut*

- relative-DEF GEN- Rut
 Lit. 'Rut's known relative'
- d. *ʔab -u -ha* *lä- ʔaster*
 father -DEF-SGFGEN DEF GEN- Aster
 Lit. 'Aster's much known father'

In a dative construction of Ge'ez, two definite markers sometimes may come one after the other as shown in (20d) above.

Therefore, the researcher argues that *-u, -hu, -ʔa* and *-ha* show definiteness in dative construction of Ge'ez due to the presence of the genitive *lä-*.

However, in the absence of the possessors, the researcher assumes that *-u, -hu, -ʔa* and *-ha* show both definiteness and possession. Consider the following:

- (21) a. *gor-u*
 neighbor-3SGMGEN DEF
 Lit. 'his known neighbor'
- b. *wis'bo-hu*
 ring -3SGM GEN DEF
 Lit. 'His known ring'
- c. *mälbäs-ʔa*
 cloth -3SGF GEN DEF
 Lit. 'Her known cloth'
- d. *ʔab-u-ha*
 father-DEF-3SGF GEN DEF
 Lit. 'Her known father'

In dative constructions of Ge'ez, the preposition *lä-* can intervene between the possessee and possessor in showing possession.

The following DP structures show definiteness in the Semitic languages mentioned above.

(22) a. *šlošet ha-sfarim* (Hebrew)

three DEF - books

‘The three books’

b. **ha-šlošet sfarim*

(23) *’al-kitab-u* (Arabic)

DEF-book-NOM

‘The book’

(24) a. *lij-u-n* (Amharic)

Boy-DEF-ACC

‘The boy’

b. *lij-it -u-ʔa-n*

girl-3SF-3SGM DEF-3SGF DEF-ACC

‘The girl’

(25) a. *ʔaḥad-u* *wäld-u* (Ge’ez)

one-3SGM DEF son-3SGM GEN

‘His one known boy’ *ʔaḥad* is a root.

b. *ʔäḥäd-ti* *wälät*

one-3SGF DEF girl

‘The one girl (the known)’ *ʔaḥad* is the root word for *ʔäḥäd-ti* underlying. However; it becomes *ʔaḥatt-i* on the surface. When *d* is preceded before *t* underlyingly, it changes to *t* on the the surface.

In Ge’ez, the DP may contain two dependent definite markers. The first dependent definite marker is *zä-* attached to a modifier preceding the noun and the other independent noun follows the suffix *-u* as in the following example.

(26). a. *zä-ʔäbiyy* *wäld-u*

DEF-big son-3SGMGEN DEF

Lit. ‘The big son of his’ This shows definiteness and possession.

Sometimes, the suffix *-u* may not be present following the noun.

- (27) *zä-ʔäbiyy wäld*
 DEF-big boy
 ‘The big boy’

In the above examples (26) and (27), respectively, there is no intervening element between the modifier and the head noun. The dependent definite and possessive marker *zä* as well as the suffix *-u* appeared at the initial and final positions only. In dative constructions, the genitive marker *lä-* always intervenes between the suffices attached to the possessed noun and the possessor comes at the end.

- (28) *bet-u* *lä-dawit*
 house-DEF GEN- Dawit
 ‘Dawit’s house’ (the known house belonging to him.)

However, *bet-u zä-dawit* is ungrammatical because *-u* never follows *zä-* in genitive constructions of Ge’ez.

However, the preposition *lä-* as a genitive marker cannot intervene between the possessed noun and the possessor in the following other form of dative construction.

- (29) *lä-dawit* *bet-u*
 GEN-Dawit house -DEF
 ‘Dawit’s house’ (the known particular house) in this example, the genitive marker *lä-* comes at the beginning.

3.1.1.2. Indefinite Article

Ge’ez has two indefinite articles. These are *ʔaḥad* (masculine indefinite) and *ʔaḥad-t* (feminine indefinite) respectively.

- (30) a. *ʔaḥad bet*
 Indef house
 ‘A /One house’ (one house which is not known)

- b. *ʔaḥad-t* *wälätt*
 one-3SGF girl
 ‘A/One girl’ (one particular girl who is not known)

Sometimes, the indefinite articles and the dependent genitive marker may appear together as in the following.

- (31) a. *ʔaḥad wäld-u*
 Indef son-3SGM GEN
 ‘His one son’
 b. *ʔaḥad wäld-ʔa*
 one son-3SGF GEN
 ‘Her one son’

3.1.2. Quantifiers

Quantifiers are functional categories which denote quantity. This is, how much or how many of something (Radford 2009). In English, some, all, no, each, every, much, most, several, few/a few, little/a little, etc. denote the quantity or the amount of something.

In Ge’ez, quantifiers can be specific (definite) and non-specific (indefinite). Specific or definite quantifiers relate to objects of reference that are of countable and/or measurable size. So, they can be classified, measured or counted.

On the contrary, the non-specific (indefinite) quantifiers relate to objects of mass or abstract reference that cannot be classified, measured or counted.

3.1.2.1. Specific/Definite Quantifiers

Specific quantifiers express the exact number, quantity or amount by direct counting or by units of measurement. Numerals are included in this.

- (32) a. *kīlʔe-tt-u* *wīlud*
 two-AGR -DEF boys

Lit. ‘(The) two boys’ The singular noun *wäld* a root for the broken plural *wilud*. Therefore, the plural of *wäld* is *wilud* due to the insertion of the vowels *-i-* and *-u-* among the consonant sounds.

- b. *säläs-t -u* *ʔa-t’ali*
 Three-AGR -DEF PL- goat

Lit. ‘(The) three goats’

In example 32(a) and (b) above, the exact number of the nouns *wilud* and *ʔa-t’ali* is specified or known by the cardinal numbers.

In addition to numerals, specific or definite quantifiers include both measure and classifier phrases.

3.1.2.1.1. Numerals

In Ge’ez, there are two types of numerals, cardinals and ordinals. These are described below respectively.

3.1.2.1.1.1. Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal numerals such as *ʔaḥad-u*, *kilʔe-tt-u* or *kilʔe*, *säläs-t-u*, etc. on the surface can occur with countable (+count) nouns to specify them by making a definite reference to their quantity.

The basic cardinal numerals of Ge’ez are the following.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------|
| (33) <i>ʔaḥad-u</i> | ‘one’ |
| <i>Kilʔe-tt-u/kilʔe</i> | ‘two’ |
| <i>säläs-t-u</i> | ‘three’ |
| <i>ʔarḥbaḥi- tt-u</i> | ‘four’ |
| <i>ḥämmiṣi-t-u</i> | ‘five’ |
| <i>ṣiddiṣ-t-u</i> | ‘six’ |
| <i>säbḥa-tt-u</i> | ‘seven’ |
| <i>ś/sämmän-tt-u</i> | ‘eight’ |
| <i>täsiḥa-tt-u</i> | ‘nine’ |
| <i>ḥaśśär-t-u</i> | ‘ten’ |

The cardinal numbers from 11-19 are primary derivatives of the basic ones as in *ʕassär-t-u wä-ʔaḥad-u*. These numerals derived from *ʔaśśär-ṭ-t-u* preceding and the linker/*wä-/* (and) are attached to the other aforementioned basic cardinal numerals above.

In Ge'ez, there are secondary derivatives of cardinal numerals. Except the number *mīṣīt* and *säman-ya*, all have suffices *-ʕa* and *-ʔa* attached to them.

(34)	<i>ʕiśr-ʔa</i>	‘twenty’
	<i>śālas-ʔa</i>	‘thirty’
	<i>ʔaribiʕi-ʕa</i>	‘fourty’
	<i>ḥams-ʔa</i>	‘fifty’
	<i>siss-ʔa/sids-ʔa</i>	‘sixty’
	<i>sābʕi-ʕa</i>	‘seventy’
	<i>s/śäman-ya</i>	‘eighty’
	<i>täsʕi-ʕa</i>	‘ninty’
	<i>mīṣīt</i>	‘hundred’

Ge'ez has also other cardinal numerals which express vast, great multitude/number, or aggregates that can be difficult to finish counting in a short period of time. These numerals can be pluralized with some repetition or duplication. But, this is not true for all numerals.

(35)	<i>ʕaśśär-t-u mīṣīt</i>	‘one thousand’
	<i>ʔīlf</i>	‘ten thousand’
	<i>ʔa-ʔīlaf</i> (plural)	‘hundred thousand’
	<i>ʔa-ʔīlaf-at</i> (plural of plural)	‘million (myriad or miliyard)’
	<i>ʔīlf-it</i>	‘ten million’
	<i>mī-ʔīlf-it</i>	‘hundred million’
	<i>ʕaśśär-t-u mī-ʔīlf-īt</i>	‘one billion’

The basic cardinal numerals have both nominative and accusative forms for masculine and feminine genders (Amsalu 2003). Consider the following examples given below.

(36)

	Nominative	Accusative
Masculine	<i>ʔaḥäd-u</i>	<i>ʔaḥäd-ä</i>
Feminine	<i>ʔaḥäd-ti</i>	<i>ʔaḥäd-tä</i>

The cardinal numerals can occur with demonstratives, nouns, possessive adjectives and pronouns.

Observe these examples here below.

- (37) a. *wi-ʔi-to-n* *kiliʔe-tt-u* *ʔa-waliḍ-* *ä-* *zi-ʔa-yä*
 STEM-STEM-this-PLF two -AGR-DEF PL- daughter- GEN-STEM-GEN-1SG
 Lit. ‘Those two my daughters’ or ‘those two daughters of mine’

In Ge’ez, words such as *zi-ʔa-yä*, *ʔi-ntti-ʔa-yä* and *ʔi-lli-ʔa-yä* can be both possessive adjectives and pronouns with the same form. All have the same meaning, my/mine.

- b. *za-tti (za)* *wälät-ä* *zi-ʔa-hu*
 that -F girl -GEN STEM-GEN-3SGM
 Lit. ‘That his girl’

- c. *ʔi-ll -u* *kiliʔe-tt-u* *kahin-ʔat*
 STEM-this-PLM two-AGR-DEF clergyman-PL
 Lit. ‘These two clergymen’

3.1.2.1.1.2. Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are specific or definite quantifiers. They are derived from the basic cardinal numerals with the addition or attachment of some vowel changes. When markers like ‘-ay’, ‘-awi’ are added to ordinal numbers in final positions, they show masculine, whereas ‘-it’ and ‘-awit’ show feminine.

- (38) **Ordinal numbers** **Gloss**
 q’ä dam ‘first’
 dagim ‘second’

<i>śalīs</i>	‘third’
<i>rabʿi</i>	‘fourth’
<i>ḥamis</i>	‘fifth’
<i>sadis</i>	‘sixth’
<i>sabʿi</i>	‘seventh’
<i>samīn</i>	‘eighth’
<i>tasʿi</i>	‘ninth’
<i>ʿaśśir</i>	‘tenth’

Ordinal numerals can occur with the definite marker *zā-* and before adjectives and nouns to show definiteness or specificity.

- (39) a. *zā- dagīm-it sāmay*
DEF- second-3SGF sky
‘The second sky’
- b. *zā- dagīm tīguh māmīḥir*
DEF- second diligent teacher
Lit. ‘The second diligent teacher’

3.1.2.1.1.2. Measure Phrases

Measure phrases are noun phrases which denote the amount of non-countable or mass entity with nominal heads.

Measure phrases always use containers/scales, units of measurement or other measuring devices. Cardinal numerals appear preceding nominal heads in measure phrases. However, the mass or the non-countable entities follow the cardinal numerals and the nominal heads.

Here are examples.

- (40) a. *ʾāḥād-u māste may*
one -DEF can/glass water
‘A single or one (can/glass) of water’
- b. *kīlī ʾe-tt-u māzag#bt-ä mānāhi*
two-AGR-DEF stores -GEN teff (white)

‘Two individual stores of teff’

- c. *śäläs-t-u* *mäste* -at -ä *may*
three-AGR-DEF cans/glass -PL -GEN water
‘Three individual containers of water’

- d. *ʔaḥad -u* *sizr* -ä *ḥäs’s*
one-DEF span -GEN wire/coil
‘A single span of wire/coil’

- e. *kīlīʔe-tt-u* *mätän* - at -ä *zäyt*
two-AGR-DEF liter -PL - GEN oil
‘Two individual liters of oil’

In number 40 above, examples (a- e) contain two specific or definite quantifiers for the quantity or amount of the entities denoted by the noun. The first are the cardinal numerals, and the second are the nominal heads which refer to the containers or measuring units. The measure phrases given in (a, b and c) are noun phrases with *mäste* and *mäzigäb* as their nominal heads. However, in the remaining examples (d and e), the head nouns of the measure phrases are measuring units/devices and not containers. Containers, measuring units or devices serving as nominal heads in measure phrases are plural when the numeral specifiers denote more than one entity.

In structures of definite or specific measure phrases of Ge’ez, the dependent definite marker *zä-* occurs with the numerals not with the nominal heads of the noun phrases. The cardinal numerals show definiteness or specificity in the absence of the definite marker *zä-*.

The following examples demonstrate these.

- (41) a. *ʔaḥad-u* *mäzrajt* -ä *ḥabl*
one-DEF arm/arm strip -GEN rope
‘The one arm/arm strip of rope’

- b. *zä-ʔaḥad-u mäsrajt -ä ḥabl*
 DEF-one-DEF arm/arm strip -GEN rope
 ‘The one arm/arm strip of rope’

3.1.2.1.1.3. Classifier Phrase

Classifier phrases are definite or specific quantifiers. Like measure phrases, they are noun phrases. However, there are differences between them. For example, measure phrases use units of measurement/devices and containers like enclosures, vessels, pots, sacks, etc. as nominal heads. But classifier phrases never employ these; rather they use body parts such as head, leg, horn, arm, span, etc. as metaphors of individual elements of the mass.

Consider the following classifier phrases.

- (42) a. *ʔaḥad-u riʔis bis’ältuma/siguräd*
 One - DEF head garlic(white onion)/ red onion
 ‘A single (head of) garlic/onion’

In Ge’ez, body parts serve as nominal heads with specific cardinal numerals like *ʔaḥad-u* cannot be pluralized as in the above example. But body parts like nominal head of a classifier phrase with other specific or definite cardinal numerals can be pluralized.

- (43) a. *śäläs-t-u ʔa-ʔiḡar -ä p’erka/ziful*
 three-AGR-DEF PL- leg - GEN chickpea
 ‘Three individual legs of chickpea’
- b. * *śäläs-t-u ʔa-ʔiḡar-ä p’erk-at/ziful-at*
 Three-AGR-DEF PL- leg-GEN chickpea-pl
 ‘Three individual legs of chickpeas’
- c. *śäläs-t-u ʔa-ʔiḡar -ä q’abela/q’abila*
 Three-AGR-DEF PL- leg - GEN maize/dura
 ‘Three individual legs of maize/dura’

- d. *kiljʔe-tt-u* *ʔinsʃs-at-ä* *q'ärn*
 Two-AGR-DEF cattle-PL-GEN horn
 'Two cattles of horn'

In (43 a, b, c and d), the classifier phrases are structured in the form of construct state. The nouns of the classifier phrases in (a, b and c) cannot be pluralized but the nominal heads cannot since they refer to mass (-count) nouns. The noun of the classifier phrase in (d) is plural because it is a unit or countable noun. The nominal head *q'ärn* can be plural since it is countable.

3.1.2.2. Non-specific/Definite Quantifiers

Non-specific quantifiers which are grouped under specifier, do not show the exact quantity, amount, number or size of the mass (non-count) and unit (count) nouns. Non-specific quantifiers show instances of non-specific quantificational references. Adjectives of quantification are employed to serve as specifiers of nominal heads of both count and mass references.

The singular and plural adjectives of quantification are given in the following examples.

- (44) a. *bizuḥ-an*
 many -PLM
 'Many or several males'
- b. *bizuḥ-at*
 many-PLF
 'Many or several females'

In example 44 (a and b) above, the quantifiers are plural. They use the plural markers *-an* and *-at* for masculine and feminine respectively.

Baye (2004) has shown that the forms of adjectives of quantification of small or large in size and with both mass (-count) and unit (+count) nouns may have collective reference that can be made specific and non-specific.

- (45) a. *bīzuḥ* 'many/much'
 b. *nīst-it* 'little, some, small amount'
 c. *ḥīdat* 'few, little'

In 44 and 45(a), the masses or the collections are non-specific or indefinite for classification and quantification because they are too large or huge to count or measure.

In Ge'ez, the singular adjectives of quantification *bīzuḥ* goes with mass or non-countable nouns but not with unit (+count) singular and plural nouns. However, the plural adjectives of quantification *bīzuḥ-an* and *bīzuḥ-at* can go with unit or countable plural nouns. This is shown in the following examples.

- (46) a. *bīzuḥ* may (mass (-count) nouns)
 much water
 'much or more water'
- b. *bīzuḥ -a* *may-ä*
 much-Acc water-Acc
 'much or more water'
- c. *bīzuḥ-an* *māmihir-an*
 many- PLM teacher-PLM
 many male teachers'
- d. *bīzuḥ-at* *māmihir-at*
 many-PLF teacher- PLM
 'many female teachers'

Examples 46 (a) and (b) show the occurrence of an adjective preceding the mass or non-countable nouns respectively whereas,(c) and (d) show the plural adjectives of quantification preceding the plural unit(+count) nouns masculine and feminine genders.

The non-specific adjectives of quantification go with both mass and plural unit nouns as in the following examples.

- (47) a. *nɨst-it* *may*
 little/small-count water
 ‘Little or small amount of water’
- b. *hɨdat’ wäyn*
 little wine
 ‘little wine’
- c. *hɨdat’-an bişiray-at*
 few -PL ox -PL
 ‘Few oxen’

3.1.3. Floating Quantifiers

Floating quantifiers agree in case with an antecedent subject in a sentence Radford (2009).

Ge’ez has floating quantifiers. For example, the basic word *kull-u* and its derived forms *kull-ik-ɨmu*, *kull-ik-ɨn*, *kull-o-mu*, *kull-on*

- (48) a. *kahin-at* *kull-ik-ɨmu*
 clergy-PL all -2-PLM
 ‘(You) all clergymen’
- b. *kull-ik-ɨmu* *kahin-at*
 all -2-PLM clergy-PL
 ‘(You) all clergymen’
- c. *mämhir-at* *kull-ik-ɨn* *hor - k-ɨn* *mängälä* *känisa*
 teacher-PLF all-2-PLF went-2-PLF to church
 ‘(You) all female teachers went to market’

d. *kull -ik -in mämmihir-at ḥor - k -in mämmigälä känisa*
all-2-PLF teacher-PL went-2-PLF to church

e. *kahin-at kull -om -u s'alläy -u lä- sälam*
clergy-PL all -3 -PLM prayed-3MPL for- peace
'All clergymen (they) prayed for peace.'

f. *kull -om -u kahin-at s'alläy -u lä- sälam*
all -3 -PLM clergy-PL prayed-3MPL for- peace
'All clergymen (they) prayed for peace.'

Floating quantifiers are found not only in Ge'ez but also in other Semitic languages. In Hebrew, floating quantifiers occur with a much wider range of determiners than in English (Danon (1996). There was an argument on floating quantifier raised by Shlonky (1991) following Sportiche (1988). The argument was Q-float is the result of leftward movement of the nominal projection which is quantified over to a position that comes before the quantifier. Thus, Hebrew sentences like (49b) and (49c) are derived from (49a) by leftward movement of the quantified phrase *ha-yeladim*:

- (49) a. *ne?elmu kol ha-yeladim*
disappeared all the-children
b. *ne?elmu ha-yeladim kul-am*
c. *ha-yeladim ne?elmu kul-am*

According to Shlonsky's analysis, *ha-yeladim* first raises to the pre-quantifier specifier position, which is its position in (49b); and from that position, the noun phrase moves again to its position in (49c).

Example 49 (a) shows the word *kol* is a floating quantifier in Hebrew. This language uses *kul-am*, the derived form of *kol* as a floating quantifier.

Floating quantifiers are found in different sentential aspects or forms in Semitic such as in Hebrew, Amharic, Ge'ez, etc. Amharic uses *hullu* and derivatives like *hullačč-ihu/-ačč-äw* as floating quantifier. These floating quantifiers appear preceding or following the subject in a sentence with or without a topic marker-m. For better understanding and clarity, it is possible to show this in the following examples of Amharic.

- (50)
- a. *säw -očč hullu ?and ?ay-däll-um*
human -PL all same not-are-3PL
‘All humans are not the same.’
 - b. *hullu-m säw -očč ?and ?ay-däll-um*
all-Top human -PL same not-are -3PL
‘All humans are not the same.’
 - c. *hull-ačč-ihu-m tamari - wočč ?all-ačč-ihu?*
all -3PL-DEF-Top student-PL present-are-3PL
‘Are you all students present?’
 - d. *tamari - wočč hull-ačč-ihu-m ?all-ačč-ihu?*
student-PL all -3PL-DEF-Top present-are-3PL
‘Are you all students present?’

Therefore, the researcher concludes that Ge'ez, Hebrew and Amharic have different basic floating quantifiers and derivatives. They can appear before a subject of a sentence or after.

3.1.4. Pronouns

Pronouns are functional categories used in the form of substitution. According to Longobardi (1994) and Radford (1997, 2009), pronouns are parts of the category of determiners. Like other languages, Ge'ez has different types of pronouns, such as personal, reflexive, interrogative and possessive pronouns.

3.1.4.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have different forms in different cases.

(51)	Nominative	gloss	Accusative	gloss
	Singular			
First	<i>ʔan-ä</i>	‘ I ’	<i>ki-ya-yä</i>	‘ me ’
Second M	<i>ʔan-ttä</i>	‘ you ’	<i>ki-ya-kä</i>	‘ you ’
F	<i>ʔan-tti</i>	‘ you ’	<i>ki-ya-ki</i>	‘ you ’
Third M	<i>wiʔt-u</i>	‘ he ’	<i>ki-ya-hu</i>	‘ him ’
F	<i>yiʔt-i</i>	‘ she ’	<i>ki-ya-ha</i>	‘ her ’
	Plural			
First	<i>nih-n-ä</i>	‘ we ’	<i>ki-ya-nä</i>	‘ us ’
Second M	<i>ʔant-mu</i>	‘ you ’	<i>ki-ya-kim-u</i>	‘ you ’
F	<i>ʔant-n</i>	‘ you ’	<i>ki-ya-ki-n</i>	‘ you ’
Third M	<i>wiʔit-om-u/ʔimm-ant-u</i>	‘ they ’	<i>ki-ya-hom-u</i>	‘ them ’
F	<i>wiʔt-on/ʔimm-ant-u</i>	‘ they ’	<i>ki-ya-ki-n</i>	‘ them ’

Observe the following sentences in the example given here.

(52) a. *wiʔt-u* *yi-* *ʔakibʃr* *ki-ya-ki*
 he-3SGMNOM 3SG M imperf- respect STEM-ACC-2SGF
 ‘Let he/him respect her.’

b. *ʔamlak-ä* *ʔisraʔel* *ʔakābä* *ki-ya -nä* *bä- kull-u* *mākan-ʔat*
 God-GEN. Israel keeps STEM- ACC-1PL in- all-DEF place-PL
 ‘God of Israel keeps us in all places.’

3.1.4.2. Interrogative Pronoun

The interrogative pronouns of Ge'ez are the following.

(53)

Nominative/Genitive	Gloss	Accusative	Gloss
SG <i>männ-u</i>	‘who’	<i>männ-ä</i>	‘whom’

	<i>min-t</i>	‘ what’	<i>mint-ä</i>	‘ what’
PL	<i>ʔill-ä männ-u</i>	‘ who’	<i>ʔill-ä männ-ä</i>	‘whom’

Observe interrogative pronouns in the following examples.

- (54) a. *männ-u* *yä-* *ḥaśśiś* *männ-ä*
 who-NOM Imperf- wants who-ACC
 Lit. ‘Who wants whom?’

3.1.4.3. Reflexive Pronoun

Ge’ez has both singular and plural reflexive pronouns.

(55)	Reflexive Pronoun		Gloss
Singular			
First		<i>lä-lj-yä</i>	‘ myself ’
Second	M	<i>lä-li-kä</i>	‘ yourself’
	F	<i>lä-li-ki</i>	‘ yourself’
Third	M	<i>lä-li-hu</i>	‘ himself’
	F	<i>lä-li-ha</i>	‘ herself’
Plural			
First		<i>lä-li-nä</i>	‘ ourselves’
Second	M	<i>lä-li-ḳɨm-u</i>	‘ yourselves’
	F	<i>lä-li-ḳɨ-n</i>	‘ yourselves’
Third	M	<i>lä-li-hom-u</i>	‘ themselves’
	F	<i>lä-li-ho-n</i>	‘ themselves’

Reflexive pronouns sometimes come preceding the subject of a sentence, or preceding the verb.

Consider the following examples.

- (56) a. *lä- li-hu* *yä-* *ʔanäbjb* *mäs ’ḥäf-ä*
 STEM- he-3M refl Imperf - reads book-ACC
 Lit. ‘He himself reads book.’

- b. *lä-li-ha* *mämihr-īt* *säty- ät* *may-ä*
STEM- she-3F refl teacher-3F drink-3SG F water-ACC
Lit. ‘Teacher herself drinks water.’

3.1.4.4. Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns show possession with possessive markers. These markers are suffices attached to the end of the independent nouns. In Ge’ez, the possessive suffices are -yä, -kä, -ki, -hu, -ha, -nä, -kīm-u, -kī-n, -hom-u and -ho-n. There are three different possessive pronouns which have the same function.

(57)

Possessive Pronouns		Gloss
Singular		
First	<i>zi-ṣa-yä /ṣi-lli-ṣa-yä /ṣi-ntti-ṣa-yä</i>	‘ my/mine’
Second	M <i>zi-ṣä-kä /ṣi-lli-ṣa-kä/ṣi-ntti-ṣa-kä</i>	‘ your/yours’
	F <i>zi-ṣa-ki /ṣi-lli-ṣa-ki/ṣi-ntti-ṣa -ki</i>	‘ your/yours’
Third	M <i>zi-ṣa-hu /ṣi-lli-ṣa-hu/ṣi-ntti-ṣa-hu</i>	‘ his’
	F <i>zi-ṣa-ha /ṣi-lli-ṣa-ha/ṣi-ntti-ṣa-ha</i>	‘ her/hers’
Plural		
First	<i>zi-ṣa-nä /ṣi-lli-ṣa-nä /ṣi-ntti-ṣa-nä</i>	‘ our/ours’
Second	M <i>zi-ṣa-kīm-u/ṣi-lli-ṣa-kīm-u/ṣi-ntti-ṣa-kīm-u</i>	‘ your/yours’
	F <i>zi-ṣa-kī-n /ṣi-lli-ṣa-kī-n /ṣi-ntti-ṣa-kī-n</i>	‘ your/yours’
Third	M <i>zi-ṣa-hom-u /ṣi-lli-ṣa-hom-u /ṣi-ntti-ṣa-hom-u</i>	‘ their/theirs’
	F <i>zi-ṣa-ho-n /ṣi-lli-ṣa-ho-n/ṣi-ntti-ṣa-ho-n</i>	‘ their/theirs’

In Ge’ez, there are other dependent possessive markers such as -ṣu, -ṣa, -ṣo-mu and -ṣo-n which are equivalent to the aforementioned markers -hu, -ha, -ho-mu and -ho-n respectively.

- (58) a. *mānbär-ṣu*
 chair-3SGM GEN

‘His chair’

b. *mānbār-ʔa*

chair -3SGF GEN

‘Her chair’

c. *mānbār-ʔo-mu*

chair- GEN -3PLM GEN

‘Their chairs’

d. *mānbār-ʔo-n*

chair-GEN -3 PL F GEN

‘Their chair’

3.1.5. Demonstrative

Demonstrative is a term which refers to words like this, that, these so as to indicate a location relatively nearer to or further from the speaker (Radford 2009).

3.1.5.1. Demonstrative pronouns

In Ge’ez, demonstrative pronouns indicate relative distance from a speaker to a hearer. They can be proximal and distal.

3.1.5.1.1. Proximal demonstrative pronouns

(59)	Proximal			Gloss
	Singular			
Third	M	<i>zj-ntt-u/z</i>		‘ this’
	F	<i>za-tti/za</i>		‘ this’
	Plural			
	M	<i>ʔj-ll-u/ ʔj- ll-on-tu</i>		‘ these’

F *ʔi-ll-a/ʔi-ll-an-tu/ʔi-ll-on* ‘these’

These singular and plural proximal demonstratives occur in phrase and sentence.

(60) a. *zɪ* *mämħɪr* (DP)

3SGM teacher

‘This teacher’

b. *za-tti* *wälätt* *sänay-ɪt* *yɪʔɪt-i* (sentence)

this-3SGF girl beautiful-3F is-3F

‘This girl is beautiful.’

c. *ʔi-ll -u* *kahin-at* *sägäd -u* *q'ɪdm -ä* *ʔigziʔabɪħer*

this-PL-3PL DEF clergy-PL bowed-3PL in front of -GEN God

Lit. ‘These clergymen bowed in front of God.’

3.1.5.1.2. Distal Demonstrative Pronouns

Distal demonstrative pronouns refer to distant objects relative to speaker and hearer or listener. These pronouns have singular and plural forms.

(61)		Distal Demonstrative	Gloss
		Singular	
Third	M	<i>zɪ-kku/zɪ-ktu/zɪ-sku/wɪʔt-u</i>	‘that’
	F	<i>yɪʔt-i/ʔi-nt-a-kti/ʔi-nɪttɪ-ku</i>	‘that’
		Plural	
Third	M	<i>ʔi-llɪ-ku/ ʔi-llɪ-kt-u/ʔimm-unt-u/ wɪʔt-om-u</i>	‘those’
	F	<i>ʔi-llɪ-kko-n/ʔi-llɪ-kto-n/ ʔimm-antt-u/wɪʔt-on</i>	‘those’

Both proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns always appear preceding nouns in a phrase or a sentence. When a noun in a phrase or a nominal subject of a sentence has other

constituents like numerals and adjectives, demonstrative pronouns come first as in the following example.

- (62) . *zj-kku* *ʔahd-u* *njʔus* *wäld*
 That-3SGM one-3M DEF small boy
 Lit. ‘That one small boy’

3.2. Head

Head is a lexical or phrasal element which forms a phrase. It is the key word which determines the type of phrase .It is universal and complementary with the other obligatory constituents like specifier and complement. The type of phrase is identified or determined by the head it contains. For example, NP, VP, AP, ADVP and PP have heads like N, V, Adj, Adv and P respectively.

Head is an obligatory word for a phrase. Therefore, all phrases have heads. For example, NP, VP, AP, ADVP and PP are lexical phrase which take N, V, A, ADV and P as their heads. Phrases like CP, TopP, FocP, NegP, AspP, DP, QP, etc are functional phrases.

A language can be either head initial or head final. For example, in English all heads precede their complements. Thus, English is a head-initial language. However, in languages like Korean heads follow their complements (Radford 2009).

Ge’ez is usually head-initial but not all the time. The heads of the phrases precede immediately their complements. Consider the following examples here below.

- (63) a. *ʔakbjr* *ʔabba-kä*
 respect father –2SGMACC/GEN
 Lit. ‘respect your father’

In this imperative sentence or VP, the head *ʔakbjr* precedes the complement *ʔabba-kä*.

- b. *mämjhr-an -ä* *ʔingilt’ar* (DP/NP)
 teacher-PL-GEN language

Lit. ‘Teachers of language/language teachers’

In this DP, *māmīhr-an -ā* is head, whereas *ʔingilt’ar* is complement.

- c. *mīslā* *marta* (Prepositional phrase)
 With Marta
 Lit. ‘With Marta’

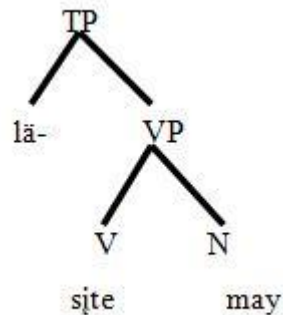
In this PP, the preposition *mīslā* and the proper name *marta* are head and complement respectively.

- d. *t’iq’q’ā* *nīʔus* (Adjectival phrase)
 Very small
 Deg Adj
 Lit. ‘Very small’

The head of a phrase, whether lexical or functional determines the grammatical properties of its complement (Radford 2009).

- (64) a. *lā-sīte may* (TP)
 To-drink water
 Lit. ‘To drink water’

This infinitival projection/phrase *lā-* which serve as a head. The verb phrase *sīte may* is the complement of the head. Let us look at this in the following diagram.



3.3. Complement

A complement is a constituent which is selected by a head . It occurs with a specifier and a head. A complement may come before or after a head. When it merges with a head , it forms a minimal projection of a phrase. There are words which need complement obligatorily. For example, auxiliary verbs, prepositions, transitive verbs need complement. Consider the following examples.

- (65) a. *mj̥slä- mäm̥h̥j̥r-u* (PP)
with- teacher -3M DEF
Lit. ‘With the/his teacher’

In this prepositional phrase, the head *mj̥slä-* cannot stand alone in the absence of the nominal complement *mäm̥h̥j̥r-u*.

- b. *mähärä dawit wängel-ä lä - wäld-u* (TP)
taught Dawit gospel-ACC DAT- son-GEN
Lit ‘Dawit taught gospel the/his son.’

In this TP, the transitive verb *mähärä* has two nominal complements. The first *wängel-ä* is a direct object and the second *lä-wäld-u* as genitive complement which is an indirect object. *mähärä* is a head, whereas *dawit* is a specifier.

For word categories like adjective, adverb, noun, intransitive verbs, complement is optional.

3.3.1. Simple Nominal Complements

Nominal complements occur with head nouns.

3.3.1.1. Genitive NPs

The term genitive includes sources, locatives, purposive, temporal understood as complements of a simple nominal head.

3.3.1.1.1. Source Genitives

Source Genitives show the head noun in relation to the items that designate from which it /the head noun/ derived or prepared. In Ge'ez, it serves as a complement of a nominal head in noun phrase. Examples are like the following.

- (66) a. *ḥalib- ä laḥm*
milk-GEN cow
'milk of cow'
- b. *ḥibist- ä širnay*
bread-GEN wheat
'bread of wheat'

In the structures of 66 (a and b), *laḥm* and *širnay* are genitive sources and occur as complement and modify head nouns, *ḥalib* as well as *ḥibist* in the nominal phrase. Adjectives occur preceding source genitives as in the following.

- c. *t'i ṣum ḥibist- ä širnay*
delicious/sweet bread-GEN bread
'delicious/sweet bread of wheat'

3.3.1.1.2. Locative Genitives

Locative Genitives modify head nouns with regard to their location or place of origin.

- (67) a. *ṣasa ṣim- wist-ä baḥr / zä- baḥr*
fish LOC- inside-GEN sea/ GEN- sea
'fish from inside the sea/ fish of sea'
- b. *niguś zä- šäwa*
king LOC-Shewa
'king of Shewa'
- c. *mānahi zä- gojjam*

white teff LOC- Gojjam

‘white teff of Gojjam’

baḥr, - *šäwa* and *gojjam* are locative genitives.

3.3.1.1.3. Purposive Genitives

Purposive Genitives indicate the function or purpose of nominal heads and serve as complements.

(68) a. *laḥm* *lä- ḥalib*
cow Purps-milk
‘cow for milk’

b. *wärk’* *lä- ḥlk’ät*
gold Purps-ring
‘gold for ring’

3.3.1.1.4. Temporal Genitives

Temporal genitives refer to genitives of time which modify a noun by giving a specific reference to time. Consider the following examples.

(69) a. *zīnam-ä* *yom*
rain-TEMP.GEN today
‘today’s rain’

b. *nāfas-ä* *timalim*
wind-TEMP.GEN yesterday
‘yesterday’s wind’

CHAPTER FOUR

Description and Projection of DP in Ge'ez

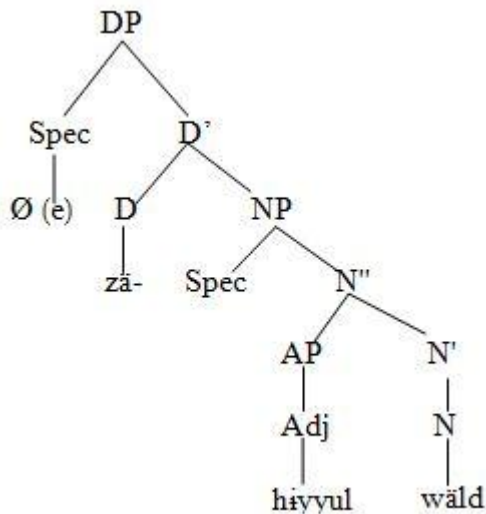
In this chapter, the research focuses on the description and projection of DPs. Structures of DP can be simple and complex. Structures of construct state, dative as well as genitive constructions will be described.

4.1. Simple DP

In Ge'ez, simple DP may have one or more constituents. Examples are like the following:

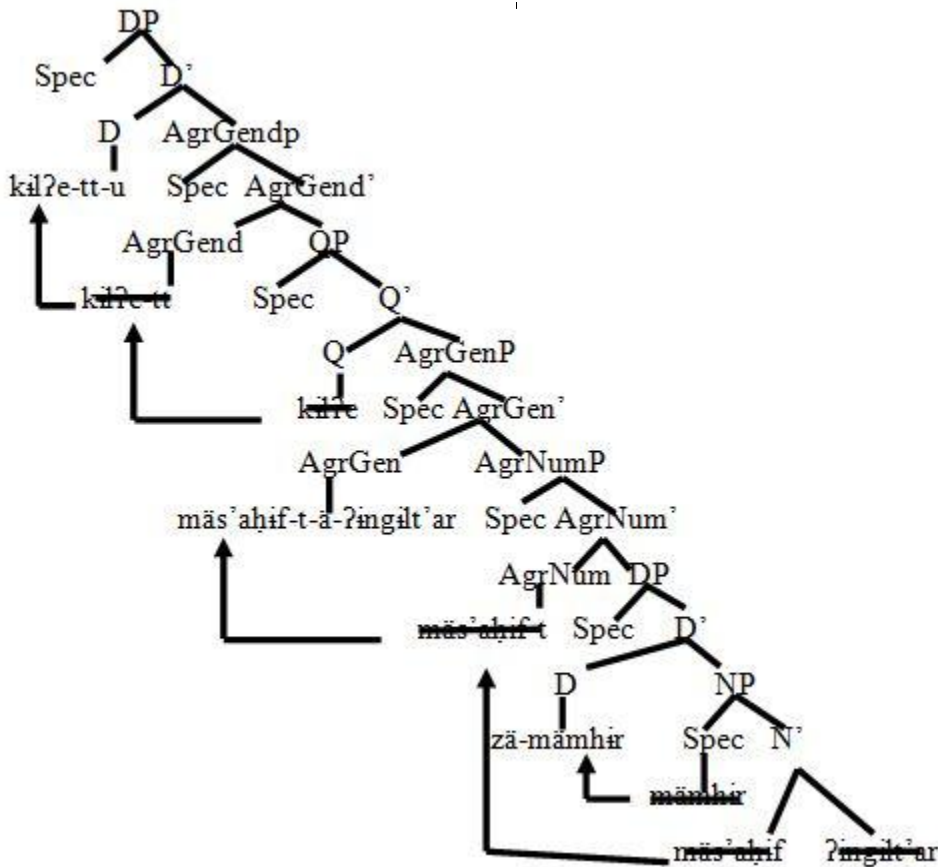
- (70) a. *zä- hiyyul wäld*
 DEF-clever boy
 'The clever boy'

In Ge'ez, *zä-* serves as possessive prefix in genitive constructions, definite and as a complementizer in relative clauses. However, in 70(a), *zä-* shows definiteness. This simple DP has one dependent and two independent constituents. The noun *wäld* alone can be simple DP in the absence of *zä-* and *hiyyul*. The above simple DP can be shown in the following diagram below.



- b. *kilʔe-tt-u* *mäsʾahaf-t-ä* *ʔingiltʾar* *zä-mämihir*
 two-AGR-DEF book -PL-GEN language DEF GEN -teacher
 ‘The two books of English of (the) teacher’

Diagrammatically, such kind of simple DP structure has the following projection.

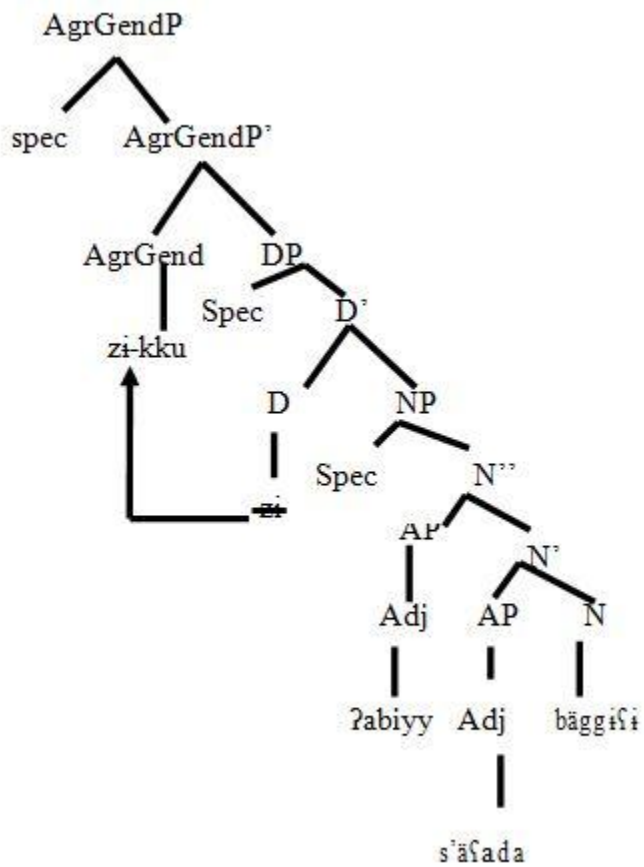


Numerals or quantifiers come before the construct state and genitive construction. One simple DP may consist of one or more modifiers and other constituents like noun or nominal phrase.

Consider the following examples.

- (71) a. *zi-kku* *ʔabiyy* *sʾäʕada* *bäggiʕi*
 that-3M big white sheep
 ‘That big white sheep’

Diagrammatically, the projection seems as follows:

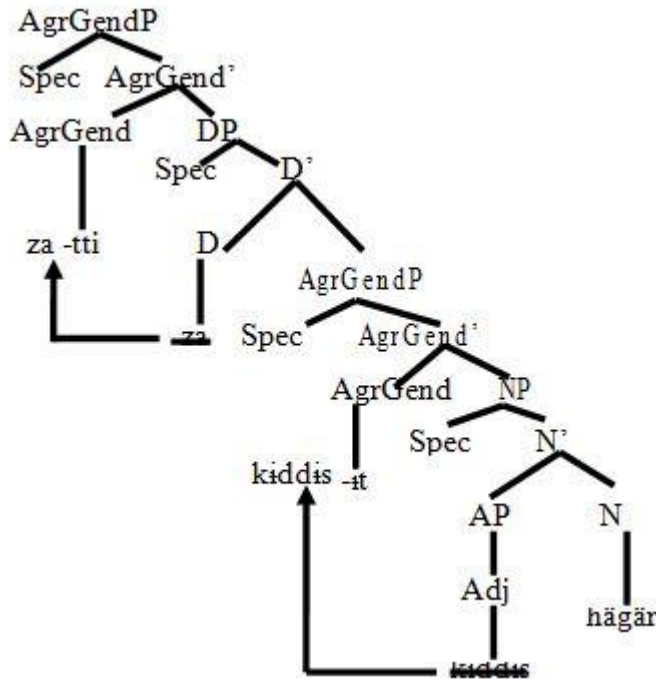


- b. *za-tti k'iddis-it hagär*
 that-3F blessed-3F country
 'That blessed country'

- c. * *k'iddis-it za-tti hagär*
 blessed- 3F that-3F country
 'Blessed that country'

- d. * *hagär kiddis -it za-tti*
 country blessed-3F that-3F
 'Country blessed that'

The projection of DP in 71 a looks as in the following way.



According to specifier-modifier (optional)-head-complement order, demonstratives come first since they are specifiers, and then modifiers follow. As a result, 71 (c) and (d) are ungrammatical because they violate the order. The above simple DP in 70 (a) contains three constituents namely, specifier, modifier and head but no complement. This is grammatically acceptable.

- (72) a. *zä-yared timhirt-ä q'ine*
 GEN-Yared education-GEN poetry
 'Yared's poetry education/education of poetry'

This DP in Ge'ez contains two possessive constructions. That is, *timhirt-ä q'ine* is a construct state, whereas the second *q'ine zä-yared* is a genitive construction. Functionally, in the above simple DP, the nominal word *q'ine* serves in two different ways:

One, in the construct state, *q'ine* is employed as possessor. Two, in the genitive construction, it serves as possessee.

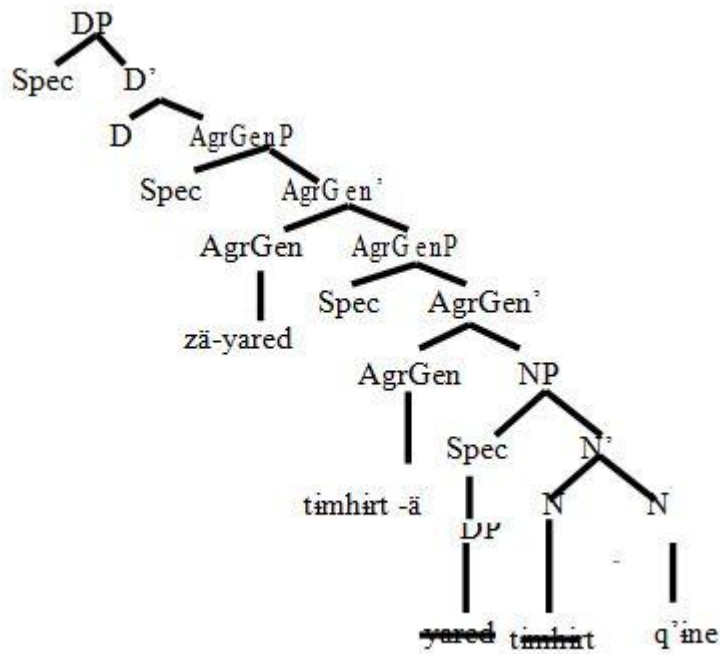
b. *lä- yared timhirt-ä q'ine-hu*

GEN - Yared education-GEN poetry-3M GEN

‘Yared’s education of poetry’

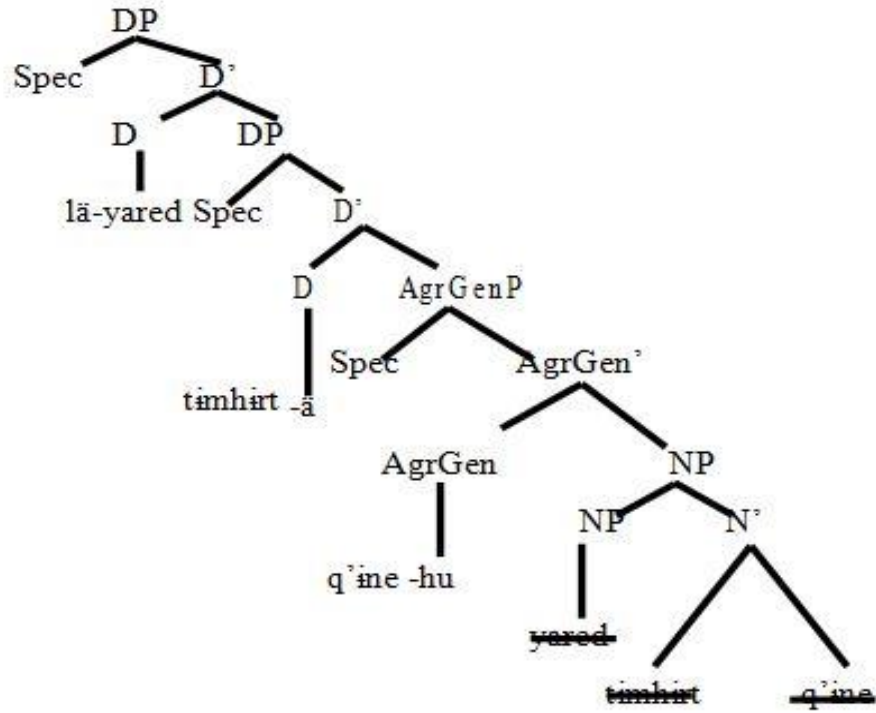
Look at the projections of DPs in 72 (a) and (b) mentioned above as examples respectively.

72 a.



There is a difference between *lä-* and *zä-*. *lä-* serves as a possessive marker in dative, whereas *zä-* serves as a genetical marker in genitive construction.

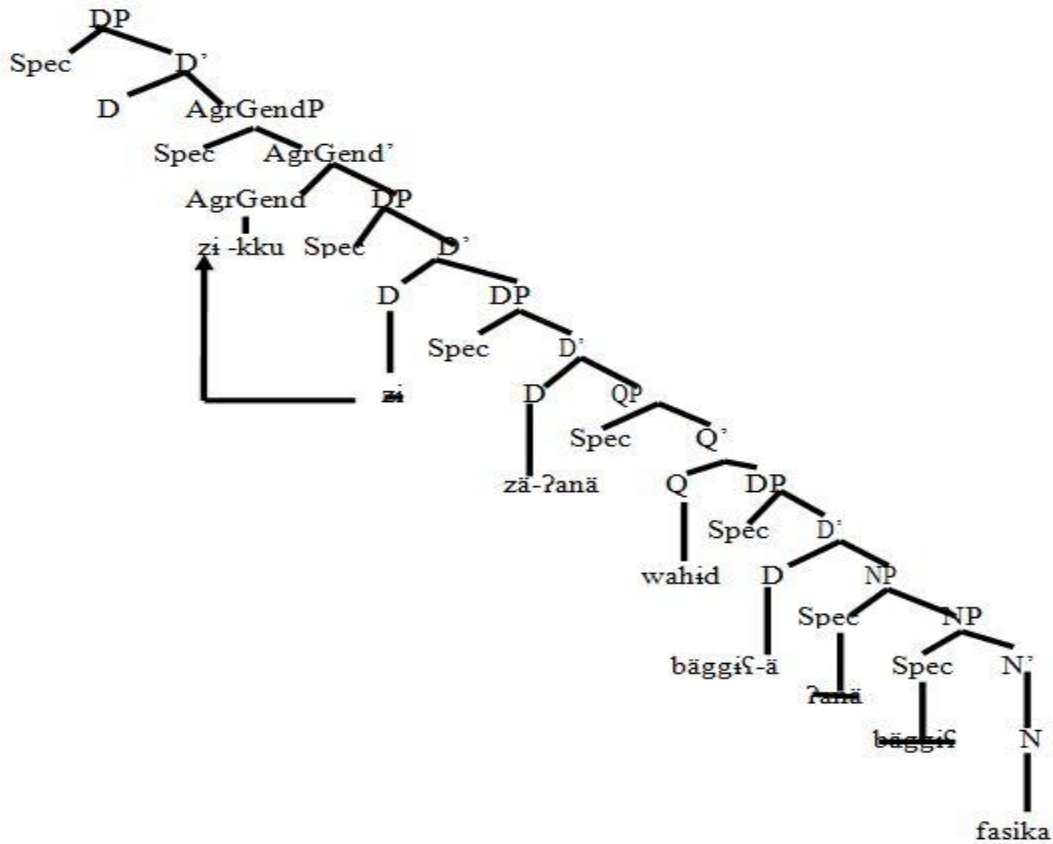
72 b.



- (73) a. *zi-kku* *zä-ʔanä* *wahid* *bäggif-ä* *fasika*
 that-3M GEN-I one sheep-GEN. Easter

‘That my one sheep of Easter’ This is also a simple DP. Here, *bäggif-ä* serves as head and possessee, whereas *fasika* is employed as complement and possessor in the construct state.

Diagrammatically, the above structure of DP has the following projection.



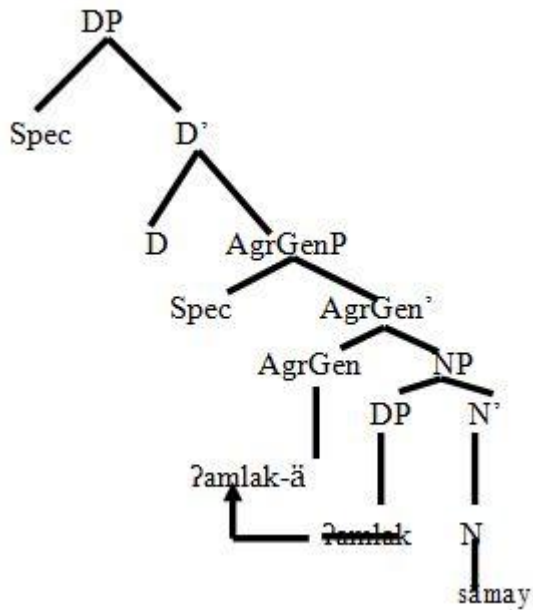
4.1.1. Possessors and possesseees in simple DP

Analysis is developed for nominal phrase which treats them as DPs, rather than as NPs. Since D is a head, we might expect it to have a specifier as well as a complement. Certain possessor phrases in English and other languages are taken as specifiers of DP Adger (2003). In a construct state of Ge'ez, DP has a possessor as well as a possessee. This is a common phenomenon (KideaneWeld 1948). Consider the following examples.

- (74) a. *ʔamlak-ä sämay*
 God-GEN Heavens
 ‘God of Heavens’

ʔamlak is a possessee, whereas *sämay* a possessor.-*ä* is construct which is a possession or genitiva marker in a construct state.

Its diagrammatic projection is as follows:



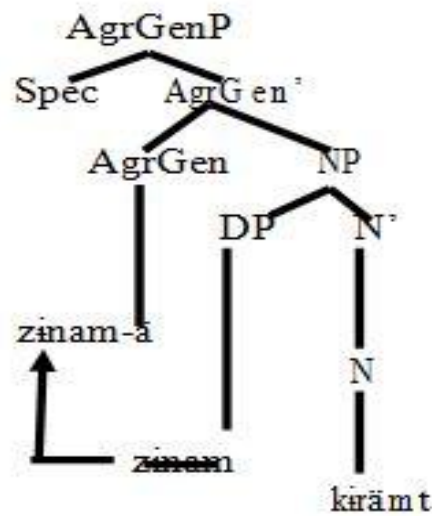
Consider the following example.

- (75) a. *ṛinam-ä kirämt*
rain-GEN summer

Lit. 'Summer rain , or rain of summer'

KidaneWold (1948) stated that the occurrence of two possessives linked by *wä-* is not common in Ge'ez grammar like *gime wä- ṛinam-ä kirämt* 'summer rain and summer fog' In this structure, there are two DPs.

The projection of the DP in 75 (a) is as in the following.



4.1.2. Grammatical Possession of DP in Ge'ez

Like in many Semitic languages, including Ge'ez, possession relation is shown by a possessor and possessed noun or possessee. Possession by noun phrases or NPs in Ge'ez is shown through a construct state, dative and genitive constructions. In addition, it is shown by possessive pronouns.

4.1.2.1. Construct State (CST)

Hoyt (2002) states that in Semitic, the construct state consists of two nominal expressions grouped as single constituents. The first nominal expression is possessor. The second expression is possessee.

Semitic nominal construct states which express a genitival relation between a head noun and a noun phrase (NP) without the mediation of a (dummy) preposition, have received much attention in the recent generative literature Fassi-Fehri (1989), Mohammad (1988), Ritter (1988), Siloni (1991, 1994, 1997).

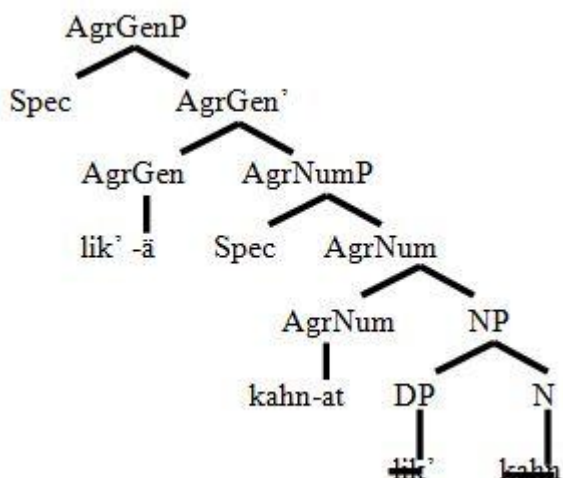
The absolute state is the unmarked form (NOM and GEN). The construct state is the marked state form for (ACC) Weninger (1993). Consider this in the following example.

(76)	Unmarked form (NOM and GEN of the absolute state)	Marked form (ACC; CST)	Meaning
	<i>wilud</i>	<i>wilud-ä</i>	sons
	<i>k'idus-an</i>	<i>k'idus-an- ä</i>	saints (M.PL)
	<i>k'idus-at</i>	<i>k'idus - at - ä</i>	saints (F.PL)

In Ge'ez, construct state is formed by inserting the suffix *-ä* between the possessee and the possessor. *-ä* is attached to the end of the first noun in the sequence Noun1- + Noun2. Noun one is said to be in a construct with Noun two in the construct state Lambdin (1978). Look at the following examples.

(77) **Construct**

State	Possessed	Construct	Possessor	Gloss
<i>wäld- ä nägus</i>	<i>wäld</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>nägus</i>	The son of the king
<i>lik'-ä kahn-at</i>	<i>lik'</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>kahn-at</i>	The chief of the priests



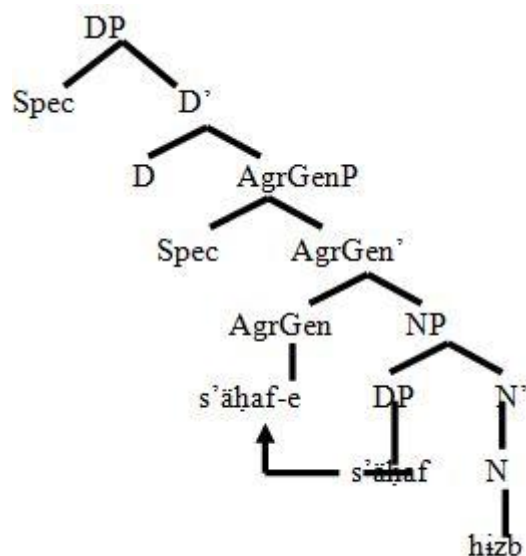
There are two important points in a construct state. One, most nouns ending in the vowel /-i / have their construct in /-e/. This happens when possessed nouns and possessors are put together in a

construct state. Two, nouns ending in the long vowels /a:/, /e:/ and /o:/ remain unchanged in the construct state. These are shown as in the following examples.

(78) a. *s'āḥaf-i* 'scribe' *s'āḥaf-e ḥizb* 'the scribe of the people'

b. *s'āwar-i* 'carrier' *s'āwar-e mānībār* 'carrier of the chair'

s'āḥaf-e ḥizb and *s'āwar-e mānībār* have the same kind of diagrammatic projection. Observe the one.



c. *ʔanbäs-a*: 'lion' *ʔanbäs-a: gādam* 'the lion of the monastery'

d. *widdas-e*: 'praise' *widdas-e: mariam* 'the praise of Mary'

e. *gāb-o*: 'waist' *gāb-o: ʔamlak* 'waist of God'

Most such combinations in a construct state may be translated, at least roughly, by the use of the preposition 'of'.

4.1.2.2. Dative Construction

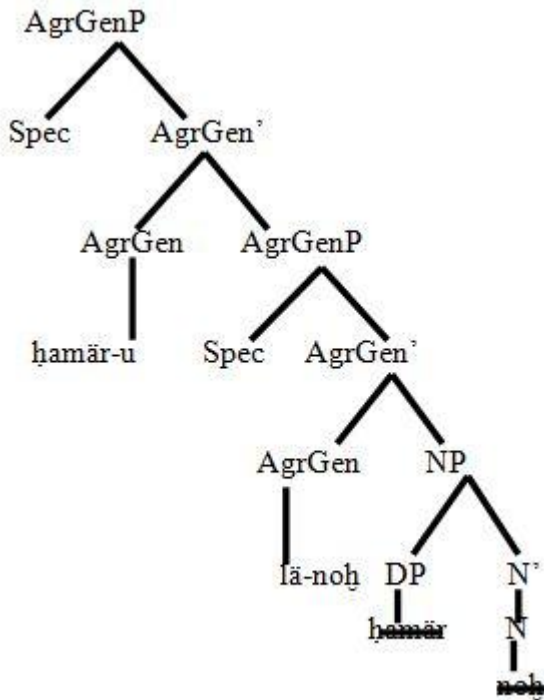
Dative Construction (DC) is formed by inserting genitival or possessive preposition /-lā/ between possessed nouns and possessors. /-lā/ has equivalent translation as a preposition of and possessive markers/s'/, or /'s/.

(79) a. *tāʔamīr-i-ha -lā mariam* 'miracle of Mary'

b. *lā-noḥ ḥamār-u* 'ship of Noh' or 'Noh's ship'

c. *ḥamār-u lā-noḥ* ‘ship of Noh’ or ‘Noh’s ship’

In the above 79 (b and c), it is possible to use the positions of both possessed nouns and possessors interchangeably. Observe the projection of *ḥamār-u lā-noḥ*.



4.1.2.3. Genitive Construction

Genitive Construction (GC) uses three genitive-markers. These are /zä-/ , /ʔintä-/ and /ʔillä-/ which are equivalent with a preposition/ of /and apostrophe/’s/ or /s’/. These genitive-markers have the same meaning. This makes them become related to one another. However, there are differences among them Dessie (2002). /zä-/ is used with both singular and plural nouns, whereas /ʔintä-/ and /ʔillä-/ are used with singular and plural nouns respectively. All of them can occur either in initial or medial positions but not final.

The following are examples:

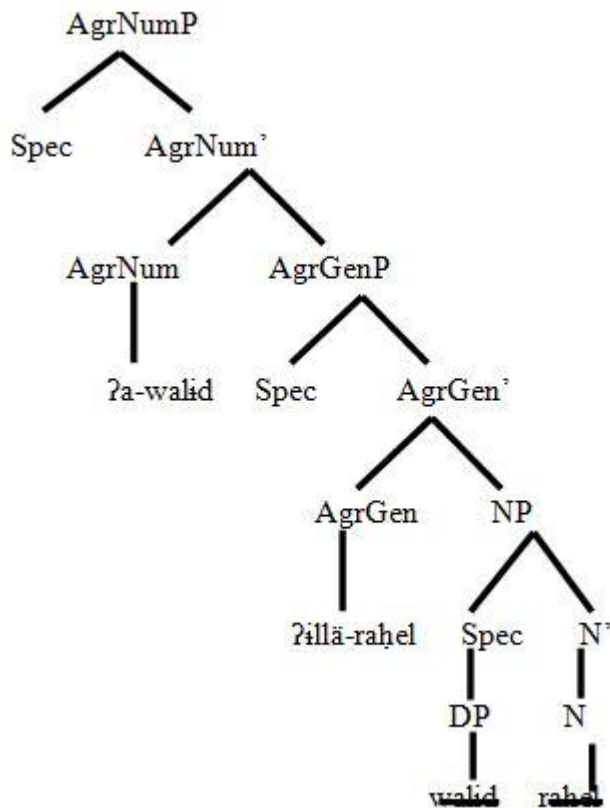
(80)	Genitive Constructions	Genitive markers	Gloss
	<i>wäld zä-yosef</i>	<i>zä-</i>	‘the son of Yosef’ or ‘Yosef’s son’
	<i>ʔa-walid ʔillä- raḥel</i>	<i>ʔillä-</i>	‘daughters of Rahel’

wälätt ?intä- muse

?intä-

‘daughter of Muse’ or ‘Muse’s
daughter’

Observe the projection of *?a-walid ?illä- raḥel*.



There are similarities and differences between construct state, dative and genitive constructions. One similarity is that all show possessive relation. The other is that all of them have their own possessive markers. Their difference is that their possessive markers are different. The possessive marker of a construct state cannot occur at initial position but medial, whereas the possessive markers of both dative and genitive constructions appear at the beginning and medial positions but not final.

If we use the possessive markers of these possessive constructions interchangeably, the structures become ungrammatical. Consider the following examples.

(81) a. *giyorgis zä- gasiča* (grammatical GC)

Giorgis G E N - Gascha

Lit. 'Giorgis person/father/resident/founder, etc of Gascha'

In such kind of genitive constructions, the possessee can be existed on the genitive marker *zä-* like person, founder, father, etc. via the possessor *gasiča*. The reason behind this is that proper names of persons cannot be possesseees. They are rather possessors.

Therefore, such kind of genitive construction mentioned above is grammatically accepted in Ge'ez.

b. **giyorgis-ä gasiča*

Giorgis-GEN Gascha

Lit. '*Giorgis of Gascha'

The reason that this structure being ungrammatical is proper names of persons in a construct state of Ge'ez cannot be possessed or possessee.

Ge'ez does not allow such kind of possessive construction in the construct state because proper names like *giyorgis* are employed as possessee.

As a result, it is ungrammatical phenomenon. The same is true for dative constructions like the following.

c. **giyorgis-u lä-gasiča*

Giorgis-DEF GEN- Gascha

Lit. '*Giorgis the of Gascha'

In dative construction, this structure is not allowed because definite markers are never attached to the proper name of person. In addition, the proper noun *giyorgis* cannot be a possessee because of the addition of *-u*. This kind of affix is never attached to proper names of persons.

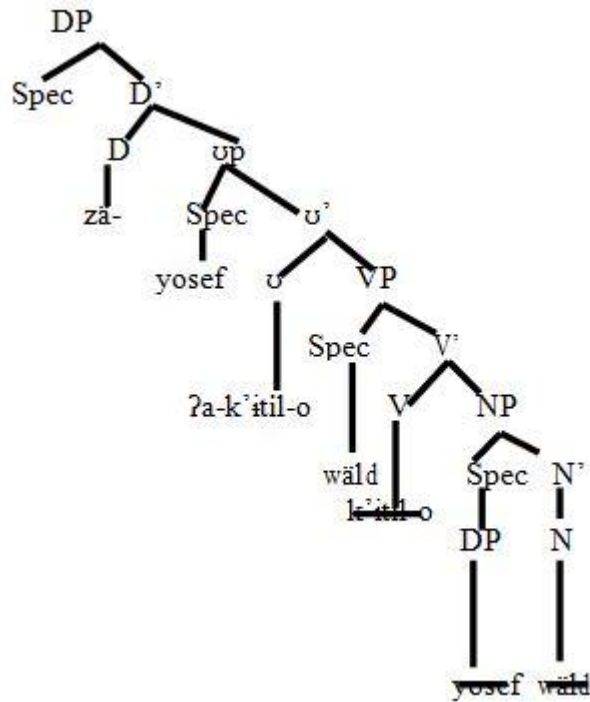
Therefore, the researcher concludes that the use of proper names of persons as possesseees in both construct state and dative construction does not have grammatical acceptance. KidaneWold (1948) stated that the possible and impossible grammatical phenomena of Ge'ez construct state, dative and genitive constructions.

4.1.3. DP in Causative Structure

In causative structures of Ge'ez, there is a causative DP which uses a causative verb with the dependent, causative prefix *ʔa-*. Consider the following example.

- (82) *ʔa-k'itil-o* *wäld* *zä- yosef*
 Caus-killed-ACC son GEN- Yosef
 Lit. 'Yosef's making son kill'

Diagrammatically, the projection of this causative DP as in the following.



4.2. Complex DP with Relative Clause

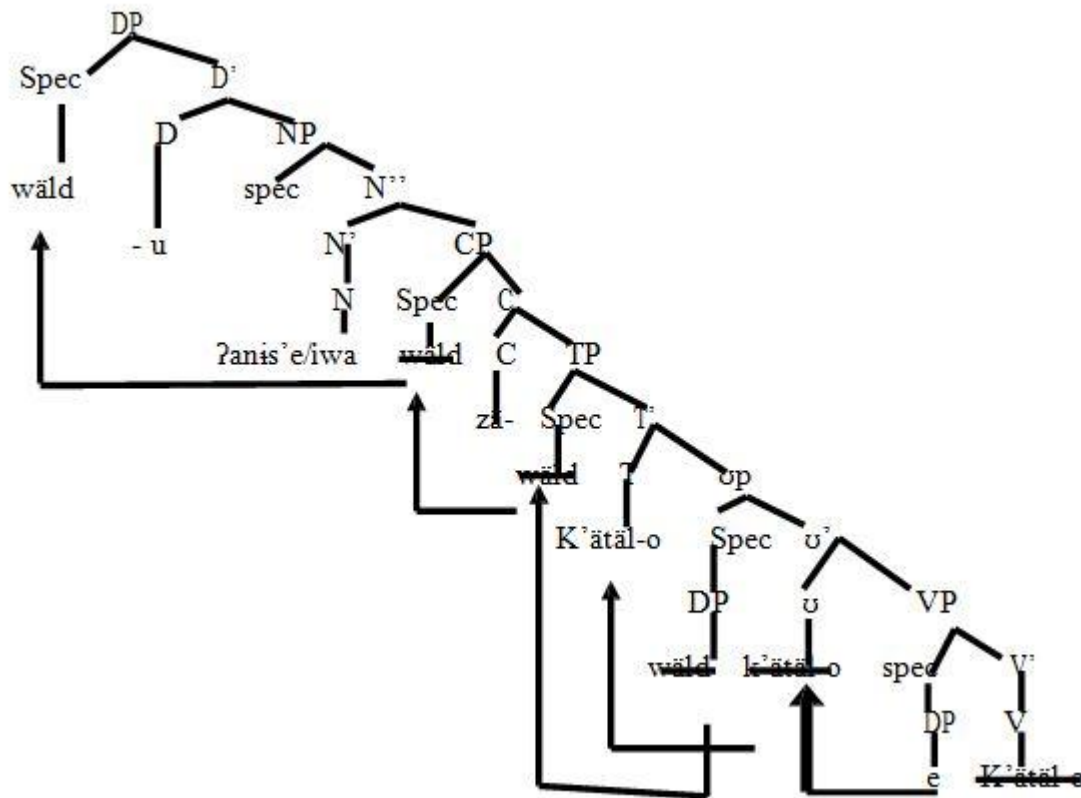
In both defining and non-defining relative clause, relative pronouns such as who, which, that, whom and whose are employed for the existence of complex DP in English.

The Semitic language, for example Ge'ez has its relativization marker or complementizer. That is *zä-* which always precedes the verb. Amharic also has one relativization marker, which is *yä-* which is attached to the verb. The reason why the researcher raises relative clause is because of

having complex DP through it. Consider the following example.

- (83) a. *wäld-u* *zä-* *k'ätäl-o* *?anis'e/iwa*
 boy-DEF complementizer- killed-Acc rat
 Lit. 'A rat that the boy killed'

The projection of the complex DP of the above relative clause is as follows:



In the aforementioned relative clause of Ge'ez, *wäld-u zä-k'ätäl-o ?anis'e/iwa* is a complex DP. This DP has CP and C. The complementiser phrase consisted of the dependent morpheme *zä-* and the transitive verb *k'ätäl-ä*. Both *wäld-u* and *?anis'e/iwa* are independently simple DPs found inside the complex DP.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study concerns the structure of DP in Ge'ez. The study tried to address three important issues. First, DP projection in Construct State, Dative and Genitive Constructions with their grammatical possibility and impossibility. Second, identifying the internal constituents serve as complements of DP. Third, showing the movement of DP in relative clause.

The analysis is done, viz. Minimalist Program. Simple and Complex DPs are separately stated in the form of phonemic transcription with their projection. Ge'ez has both definite and indefinite articles. The independent definite articles are *ʔaḥad-u* and *ʔaḥad-ti*, whereas the indefinite articles are *ʔaḥad* and *ʔaḥad-t*. The suffices such as *-u*, *-hu*, *-ʔa* and *-ha* show definiteness as well as possession according to their context.

The syntactic order, specifier-head-complement is universal for all languages. A specifier refers to a grammatical function. It includes for example, articles, quantifiers, numerals, subjects, pronouns. A head is the key word which determines the type of phrase. A complement is a constituent selected by the head of a phrase. It may appear before or after a head depending on head-final and head-initial languages. Complements function to modify or specify a head noun. Genitive NPs include sources, locatives, purposive and temporal are understood as complements of a simple nominal head.

In Ge'ez, Construct State, Dative and Genitive Constructions show the existence of possession. All these possessive constructions are the same in function. However, there are noticeable differences among them. For example, Construct State and Dative construction use the possession markers *-ä* and *lä-* respectively, whereas Genitive Construction employs *zä-*, *ʔintä-* and *ʔillä-* to imply possession.

In Dative construction, the definite possession markers always attach to the possesseees.

Proper names of persons can be only possessors other than possesseees in Construct State, Dative and Genitive Constructions. If they are employed as possesseees, they will be grammatically wrong.

Features are interpretable and uninterpretable. Interpretable features play a role in semantic interpretation, whereas uninterpretable features do not have semantic concept. Interpretable features of probe (T) and noun expression or pronoun are checked and written in bold. Their uninterpretable features are written in italics and deleted.

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and all sources of materials used for the thesis have duly been acknowledged.

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Date of Submission: September 2014

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Approval

This MA Thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the thesis advisor.

Prof. Baye Yimam (PhD.)

Signature: _____

Date: September 2014

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- ደሴ ቀለብ፡፡ (፳፻፪)፡፡ ትንሣኤ ግእዝ፡፡ አዲስ አበባ ፣ በኢትዮጵያ ኦርቶዶክስ ተዋሕዶ ቤተክርስቲያን በሰንበት ትምህርት ቤቶች ማደራጃ መምሪያ ማኅበረ ቅዱሳን፡፡
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Appendix-I: Consonants- /h/, /ħ/, /ħ/, /ʃ/, /s/, /ʒ/, /ʃ/, /s/ and /d' /

Ge'ez	አማርኛ	English
/h/ ሀ ብሂል ሀልዎቱ ለአብ እምቅድመ ዓለም	‘ሀ’ ማለት የአብ አኗኗሩ ከዓለም በፊት ነው። ፩ ራዕይ ፩፡፰፣ ዕብ ፲፫፡፯	Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever.
/ħ/ ሐ ብሂል ሐመ ወሞተ	‘ሐ’ ማለት ክርስቶስ ታመመ፤ ሞተ፤ መከራን ተቀበለ ፤ ራሱን አሳልፎ ሰጠ ። ማቴ ፳፯፡፱	Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.
/ħ/ ኀ ብሂል ኃይል እግዚአብሔር	‘ኀ’ ማለት እግዚአብሔር ኃይል ነው። ፩ ዜና መ ፳፱፡፲፩	...O Lord, is the greatness and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty...
/ʃ/ ሠ ብሂል ሠረቀ በሥጋ እምድንግል	‘ሠ’ ማለት በሥጋ ተገለጠ፤ ከድንግል ተወለደ። ውዳሴ ማርያም ፤ ገላትያ ፱፡፬	...God sent forth his son, made of a St. Marry... Glut 4,4
/s/ ሰ ብሂል ሰብዐ ኮነ እግዚእነ ኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ	‘ሰ’ ማለት ጌታችን ኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ ሰው ሆኑ። ፍሊጵ ፪፡፮	...And was made in the likeness of man.
/ʒ/ አአኩቶ ወእሴብሐ ለእግዚአብሔር	‘አ’ ማለት እግዚአብሔርን ፈፅሞ አመሰግነዋለሁ። መዝ ፱፯፡፮	I will extol thee, my God, O king; and I will bless the Name for ever and ever.
/ʃ/ ዐ ብሂል ዐርገ እግዚእነ በይባቤ	‘ዐ’ ማለት እግዚአብሔር ወልድ በእልልታ አረጉ። መዝ ፱፯፡፲	So then after the Lord had spoken unto them he was received up into heaven...

/s/	ጸ ብሂል ጸጋ ወጽድቅ	‘ጸ’ ማለት ጸጋና ክብር	And the word made flesh and
	ተውገበ ለነ	ተሰጠኝ፡ ዮሐ ጩ፲፬	dwell among us (and we beheld
			His glory, the glory as of the only
			Begotten of the father full of
			Grace and truth).
/d’ /	ፀ ብሂል ፀሐየ ጽድቅ	‘ፀ’ ማለት እግዚአብሔር	...But unto you that fear my name
	እግዚአብሔር	የእውነት ፀሐይ ነው፡፡	shall the sun of righteousness
		ሚልክያስ ጩ፪	arise with healing in his wings

Appendix II-Labio-velar and vowel sounds of Ge’ez

Labio-velars

/g ^w /	- ግ
/h ^w /	- ጒ
/k ^w /	- ከ
/q ^w /	- ቁ

Vowels

Ge'ez has seven vowels.

/ä/-አ mid central vowel

/u/-ኡ high back vowel

/i/-ኰ high front vowel

/a/-አ low central vowel

/e/-ኰ mid front vowel

/i/-አ high central vowel

/o/-አ mid back vowel

Appendix-III Number inflection in Ge'ez

Ge'ez has singular and plural numbers. Adjectives, feminine nouns and some masculine nouns have plural endings, “**outer, inflectional** or **sound plural**.” The ending of the masculine plural is “**-an**” whereas, the ending of the feminine plural is “**-at**.” The feminine plural ending sometimes replaces the feminine singular endings “**-t**” and “**-at**”, in many cases the plural ending is attached to the singular. The feminine ending is often used for masculine nouns. Most masculine nouns, however, have lexicalized nominal patterns for the plural, “**inner, derivational, or broken plural**.”

Outer Plural

	SG	PL	Meaning
M	mämhir	mämhir-an	‘teacher’
	kibur	kibur-an	‘honoured’ (M)
	q’iddus	q’ddus-an	‘blessed’ (M)
F	mämhir-t	mämhir-at	‘teacher’
	q’iddis-t	q’iddus-at	‘blessed’ (F)

Masculine plural nouns of Ge'ez sometimes may end with feminine plural ending. For example, p'ap'as (SG). Its plural is p'ap'sas-at (popes).

Inner or broken plural

SG	PL	Meaning
q ^w os'l	ʔaq ^w s' il	'leave'
kinf	ʔakinaf	'wing'
hagär	ʔahgur	'country'
rîʔs	ʔarʔist	'head'
t'äli	ʔat'ali	'goat'

A plural ending is sometimes affixed to an inner plural. For example, nägäs-t-at "kings."