

THE STRUCTURE OF NOUN PHRASE IN KISTANINNA

A Thesis

Presented to

The School of Graduate Studies

Addis Ababa University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Linguistics

by

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June, 1990

Addis Ababa

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A . C . K . N . O . W . L . E . D . G . E . M . E . N . T

I am greatly indebted to Ato Habtemariam Marcos, my thesis adviser, without whose valuable advice the completion of this study would not have been possible.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Baye Yinam who read the first draft and gave me insightful comments and suggestions.

I would also like to thank Ato Teshome Yimer, my friend and colleague in Bahir Dar Teachers' College, for his cooperation in supplying me with valuable materials.

The encouragement of my friends and colleagues, Ato Sieme Kebede and Demeke Dessu has enhanced the completion of this study. They have also assisted me with the correction of the first version of this work. To both of them I wish to express my appreciation of this invaluable assistance.

My heartfelt thanks go to Haregewoin Abbay, my wife, for the moral support she has given me. I appreciate her patience and understanding as well as the special care she gave to our baby, Sefanit, during my stay in Addis Ababa for my graduate study.

Finally, I would like to express my indebtedness to Woizero Atitegeb Alemneh, who has been cooperative in typing the script with much care.

ABSTRACT

This Study examines the Structure of Noun Phrase in ktstaninna in terms of the X-bar theory formulated by Jackendoff (1977) and recent developments. This approach is a recent theoretical innovation in the stage of grammar which falls within the general framework of Extended Standard Theory (EST) of generative grammar. This theory has emerged from the earlier model-i.e. Standard Theory.

In this new version, an attempt was made to decrease the degree of abstractness, the power of transformation was decreased and the rewrite rules of the categorial component were constrained. Other theoretical developments such as the introduction of traces and the new conception of S-Structures, etc. appeared.

Following Jackendoff (1977) the study assumes three levels of phrasal expansions for a head noun, where a noun is a lexical head. Accordingly, the following levels of nominals are recognized: $N(N^0)$, N' , N'' and N''' .

Noun is a major lexical category which is found at $N(N^0)$ level and serves as a head of NPs. This category requires certain other maximal phrasal categories as its complement.

The study shows that the NPs are the only complements of the derived nominals at N' level. Such complements are inseparably linked up with the lexical category. The complements in this minimal projection are functional arguments.

At the intermediate projection, the complements are genitive NPs (of source, purpose, location, time), adjectival phrases, prepositional phrases and relative clauses. All of them are referred to as restrictive modifiers.

The maximal projection consists of non - restrictive modifiers as complements - i.e. appositives and some noun phrases.

Regarding the Np specifiers, it is argued that these elements lack the potential for maximal projection. Specifier occur with a noun head in phrasal structure in order to limit the referential or quantitative scope of the head. They include articles and quantifiers. Articles are found under N''' Whereas quantifiers are found under N''. In other words, they are generated at maximal and intermediate levels, respectively.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	=	accusative
ART	=	article
Comp.	=	complement
Cop.	=	copula
DEF.	=	definiteness
neg.	=	negative marker
pf.	=	perfective
pl.	=	plural marker
p.m	=	present marker
poss.	=	possessive
Qp	=	quantifier phrase
Rel.	=	Relativization
Spec.	=	specifier
1cs	=	first person, common, singular
2ms	=	second person, masculine, singular
2fs	=	second person, feminine, singular
3ms	=	third person, masculine, singular
3fs	=	third person, feminine, singular
3mp	=	third person, masculine, plural
3fp	=	third person, feminine, plural

Key To Symbols

For typographical reason, I will use the following symbols in this thesis.

- A - Open-mid, Central vowel
- I - Close, central vowel
- T - Voiceless, alveolar, ejective stop
- K - Voiceless, velar ejective stop
- C - Voiceless, palatal, affricate
- C' - Voiceless, palatal, ejective stop
- j - Voiced, palatal, affricate
- S - Voiceless, palatal, fricative
- N - Voiced palatal, nasal

C.H.A.P.T.E.R. O.N.E

1. I.N.T.R.O.D.U.C.T.I.O.N

1.1. THE KISTANE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

Hetzron (1972) divides Ethio-Semitic languages into two major groups: (i) North Ethiopic which consists of Geez, Tigre and Tigrinna, and (ii) South Ethiopic which includes Amharic, Argobba, Harari (Adari), Gafat and the Gurage languages.

The Gurage tribes living in a compact mountaineous area, South-West of Addis Ababa, in Shewa Administrative Region are surrounded by Cushitic language speaking communities such as the Oromo in the North and the East, the Sidamo in the South and the West (Bender 1976, Hetzron 1972). The geographical location in which these languages are spoken was described by Ullendorf (1955:26) as follows: "The Gurage language... is spoken in an area which lies to the South West of Addis Ababa and is bordered in the North by river Awash, in the West by river Omo, and in the East by lake Zway."

However, according to Hetzron (1972:1) the exact number of the Gurage languages is unknown and it needs further research. Some linguists such as Bender, Hetzron have made an attempt to identify different languages and to classify them into three groups. According to Hetzron's (1972) classification the Northern Gurage consists of Soddo

(Kistaniñña), Gogot, and Muher, while Eastern Gurage includes Zway (zay), Ulbarag, Innekor, Selti, Welene, and Western Gurage includes Masqan, Chaha, Iža, Gumer, Gura, Gyeto, Ennemor, Ener, Endegagn. Somewhat similar classification is given by Bender (1976).

Ullendorf (1955) thought that the Gurage languages were a cluster of dialects. However, this was proved to be entirely wrong by Hetzron (1972). Thus, what Hetzron (1972) classifies as a cluster of dialects consist only of the following: Eastern Gurage (Selti, Welene, Ulbarag, Innekor, Zway), Central Western Gurage (Chaha, Iža, Gumer, Gura), and Peripheral Western Gurage (Gyeto, Innemor, Ener, Endegagn). To Hetzron Northern Gurage (Kistaniñña, Gogot, Muher) is a language cluster and Masqan is one language.

The Kistane people who live in the northern part of the Gurage land bordered by Lemmon, Awash and Meki River are a part of the Gurage speech community. So far, no information is available with regard to the exact number of the speakers of the language.

In some works, Kistaniñña speaking people are referred to as the Aymallal, and in others as ~~Soddo~~ or Kistane. But the "... speakers call themselves Kistane "Christian" and their language ~~Kistanipna~~" (Hetzron 1972:6). In this work, the name Kistaniñña is used to designate the language and Kistane to refer to the people who speak this language.

1.2. PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC INVESTIGATIONS

To the best knowledge of this researcher, the earlier linguistic investigators on Kistaniñña are Goldenberg (1967), Leslau (1968), Hetzron (1968, 1972, 1977), Bezuwork (1981), Assebe (1981), Alemayehu (1985), Fisseha (1985), and Tesfaye (1986).

Goldenberg (1967) in his article "Kistaniñña: studies in a Northern Gurage language of Christians" demonstrates the historical background of the Kistane people and the territorial war with the neighbouring Oromo tribes. He also deals with the phonological features of the language, particularly, the vowels and suprasegmental features such as stress, pitch and length. Moreover, a vast section of his discussion stresses the classification of form classes, which is mainly devoted to the grammatical categories and their morphological features.

Leslau's (1968) study entitled Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background III Soddo attempts to give an outline of the phonological features of the language by discussing the meeting of vowels, prepalatalization, assimilation, etc. This is accompanied by an inventory of the phonemes. Moreover, his description comprises some of the form classes and a comprehensive morphological analysis of Kistaniñña.

Furthermore, his work is largely devoted to giving texts and translations. The stories which are narrated by the native speakers of the language manifest the political, social economic and cultural life of the Kistanes. To convey the meaning of the narrations he uses two types of translation in the text: a literary translation and a free translation in English.

Hetzron has contributed several major works on Gurage Languages. His first article "Main Verb Marker in Northern Gurage" (1968) discusses the main verb markers of Kistaniñña in comparison with other Northern Gurage language clusters, i.e., Kistaniñña *vis a vis* Gogot and Muher.

In Hetzron's (1972) Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification a comparative description of the two major branches of Ethiopian Semitic languages (i.e., North and South Ethiopic) is given. A detailed investigation of the Gurage languages is also made and their similarities and differences is precisely explained.

Hetzron (1977), in his resourceful material "Gunnän-Gurage" gives a brief account of the comparative grammar of the Gunnän Gurage languages. His comparison focuses on phonological, morphological and syntactic features of Kistaniñña *vis a vis* the other Gurage languages. In addition, a historical survey of the classification of the "Gunnän-Gurage" languages is presented. The last section of his work

is devoted to the description of a text of the Gunnän Gurage Reader.

Bezuwork's senior essay "A phonology of Kistane language" (1981) presents a descriptive account of the language. The description incorporates the allophones and phonemes as well as the morphophonemic and syllabic structure of Kistaniña.

Assebe (1981) in his M.A. thesis "Bilingualism in Kistane Nationality" discusses the sociolinguistic aspects of the language. His discussion includes language use in different places and situations, the bilingual nature of the Kistanes and their attitudes towards their own language and other languages.

Alemayehu in his senior essay "The structure of Simple sentence in Kistane" (1985) describes the structure of simple declarative sentences of the language. His syntactic analysis deals with word order, sentence pattern and elementary transformational rules such as agreement rules, deletion, substitution, etc. The discussion in this senior essay is based on the transformational generative approach-particularly on the 'Standard Theory'.

Fisseha's (1985) senior essay entitled "Morphophonemics of Nouns and Verbs in Kistane language" examines the most important features of inflectional and derivational categories of nouns and verbs. He also discusses the morphophonemic changes (i.e. phonological and morphological) that occur in the language.

Tesfaye's (1986) M.A. thesis "The sound pattern of Kistaniña: a Generative approach" consists of three major sections:

- (i) phonemes and allophones
- (ii) rules of phonetic realizations
- (iii) suprasegmentals

The first section describes consonant and vowel phonemes together with their allophones. This, then, is accompanied by their distribution, supported by a number of examples. The classification of consonants in their manner of articulation such as stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, liquids, glides and their distribution in words is thoroughly demonstrated in the same section.

Tesfaye recognizes twenty-three consonants in the inventory of phonemes as opposed to Leslau's (1968) twenty-six consonants. Leslau claims that Kistaniña has 26 consonants and his chart includes the labialized consonants such as k^W , q^W , g^W which Tesfaye considers as allophonic

variants of their non-rounded counterparts. Tesfaye argues that the labialized consonants do not contrast with their counterparts and that their distribution is limited to the environment of the back vowels in the underlying representations.

Regarding the vowel phonemes, Tesfaye again disagrees with Leslau's (1968) and Bezuwork's (1981) claim. Both Leslau and Bezuwork identify seven vowel phonemes in the language, including /ɨ/ in the inventory vowel phonemes whereas Tesfaye recognizes only six vowel phonemes and treats /ɨ/ as a non-phonemic sound which serves as an epenthetic vowel. Tesfaye (p.6) states that the vowel /ɨ/ is used for breaking up two - term initial clusters and three -term clusters in any other position at phonetic representation, thus having a predictable occurrence.

In section two, the application of phonological rules such as palatalization, labialization, nasalization, assimilation, intervocalic weakening, vowel reduction, vowel insertion and glide formation are discussed and analysed with adequate examples for each.

In the last section, he deals with suprasegmentals such as consonantal length, pitch, stress and the intonational patterns of the language. In general, Tesfaye gives a more comprehensive phonological description of a language.

According to Alemayehu (1985), Fisseha (1985) and Tesfaye (1986), the phonemic inventory of ktstaninna has the following consonants and vowels:

Consonants:

		Bilabial	Labio dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	vl			t		k	
	vd	b		d		g	
Affricate	vl				tʃ		
	vd				dʒ		
Fricative	vl		f	s	ʃ		h
	vd			z	ʒ		
Nasal	vl						
	vd	m		n	ɲ		
Trill	vl						
	vd			r			
Lateral approximant	vl						
	vd			l			
Ejective stop	vl			t'	č'	k'	
	vd	w					
Glide	vl						
	vd				y		

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		U
Mid	e	ɤ	o
Low		ɔ	

This study has adopted the above 23 consonant phonemes and 6 vowel phonemes in transcribing the data.

1.3. THE PRESENT STUDY

As it has been pointed out in the previous section, Kistaniñña is one of the least studied Ethio-Semitic languages. The various linguistic investigations made in the language in most of the cases were comparative studies, which mainly deal with the phonological and morphological components of the language. The study of the syntactic structure has remained quite neglected.

The primary objective of this study is, therefore, to analyse the structure of the Noun phrase in Kistaniñña. The study proceeds within the framework of the theory of generative grammar, particularly, that of EXTENDED STANDARD THEORY(henceforth EST). The data of the study is drawn out from the speakers of Kistaniñña found in Addele - a section of Kistane in a district of Buí .

To accomplish the objective of the study the researcher, who himself is a native speaker of the language, has consulted native speakers of the language in order to collect data which will then be analysed and discussed in terms of the recent version of X-bar theory formulated by Jackendoff (1977). The discussion and analysis is based on self-prepared phrases and sentences.

1.4. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As mentioned earlier, the discussions in this study are based on the X-bar theory of Jackendoff (1977) and recent developments. X-bar syntax is a recent theoretical innovation in the stage of grammar which falls within the general framework of Extended Standard Theory (EST) of generative grammar. EST has emerged from the earlier model i.e. Standard Theory (or Aspect model).

In the Aspects, Chomsky attempted to formalize a set of rules known as phrase structure rules and Transformational rules. In the Aspects conception of grammar, phrase structure is a set of rules which help to produce deep structure and transformational rule is a set of rules which convert deep structures into surface structures.

Some theoretical modifications of the Aspect model of generative grammar appeared in EST. The reasons that motivated such modifications was briefly stated in Radford (1981). According to him, it was felt that:

- (i) Deep structure was too abstract
- (ii) The transformational component was too strong
- (iii) The categorial component was too restrictive in some sense and not restrictive enough in another.

As a result, an attempt was made to decrease the abstract nature of D-structures, the power of transformation was decreased and the unlimited rules of categorial component were constrained (Baye 1986). Other theoretical developments such as the introduction of traces and the new conception of s-structures, etc. appeared in EST.

According to EST, a grammar of a language comprises a variety of constrained rule systems containing the following three basic parts:

- (a) Lexicon
- (b) Syntax
 - (i) Base component
 - (ii) Transformational component
- (c) Interpretive components
 - (i) PF component
 - (ii) LF component

(Chomsky, 1986:5)

Here, the rules of the syntactic component (rule (a) and (b)) generate s-structures, the rules of PF and LF components map s-structures to the phonetic form and the logical form, respectively.

The syntactic component of a generative grammar is assumed to perform the following tasks:

- i) generates all and only the grammatical sentences of the language (i.e. specifies how words can be combined to form sentences)
- ii) assigns an appropriate syntactic structure to the sentences concerned which accounts for the native speaker's intuitions about the structural relations between the words in a sentence.

(Radford, 1981:34)

Since the main concern of this study is the NP structure, we shall focus mainly on the nature of phrase structure rules.

1.4.1. The Base Component

The base component incorporates the lexicon and the categorial (phrase structure) component. These components are discussed as follows.

1.4.1.1. The Lexicon

In the Aspects the lexicon was considered as an unordered list of all lexical formatives, together with their lexical entries. A lexical entry for each lexical item provides a specification of the phonological, syntactic and semantic properties with a set of lexical insertion rules.

However, in EST the role of the lexicon is not only restricted to the specification of inherent properties of lexical items, but it also comprises lexical redundancy rules, morpheme structure rules and rules of allomorphy. This is stated in Jackendoff (1977:2-3) as follows:

The lexicon is the repository of idiosyncratic information about individual formatives of the language. Each formative is assigned a lexical entry which describes its phonological, semantic and syntactic properties. The lexicon also contains a class of rules called lexical redundancy rules, morpheme structure rules, and rules of allomorphy.

This amounts to saying that the lexicon provides a list of lexical items together with a specification of their idiosyncratic phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic information. In other words, the lexicon comprises thematic structures of lexical items which serve as heads of constructions.

Chomsky (1970) in Remarks on Nominalization argued that the derivation of words by means of syntactic transformations was wrong. He proposed that all processes of word formation should be relegated to derivational morphology, which operates in the lexicon. The approach of treating word formations as lexical rules gave an insight about morphology. Then after, a clear distinction between lexical and syntactic transformations was made, and the power of the transformational component was reduced to only obligatory syntactic processes.

1.4.1.2. The Categorical Component

This component is essentially concerned with the formulation of a set of sentence formation rules which deal with the distribution of words and phrases using a set of syntactic categories. In short, the categorial component specifies the hierarchical structure of syntactic categories, and also determines the left-to-right or right-to-left order of constituents.

In the pre-Aspect model of grammar, the position of words and phrases in a sentence was described by word-based grammar which does not make use of syntactic categories. In Aspects, Chomsky formulated a set of "category-based sentence" formation rules. Such rules provide recursive rule systems which are capable of describing language with infinitely many sentences.

In EST, category - based grammar was claimed to have the following three advantages:

It captures distributional regularities, it can handle recursion, and it is more constrained than a word based grammar (Radford, 1981)

Eventhough a category - based grammar was considered more descriptively adequate than word - based grammar , it was not without problems. It was considered:

- i. ...to restricted in the number of types of categories it permits.
- ii. ... too unconstrained in a set of possible phrase structure rules it permits.

(Radford, 1981:91)

Claim (i) states that the categorial component recognizes only lexical (minimal) categories and phrasal (maximal) categories. Such a consideration is too limited because it fails to allow categories smaller than the phrasal and larger than the lexican. In other words, since lexical categories project to phrasal categories they make no room for intermediate categories.

On the other hand, according to claim (ii) the categorial component is 'too^{***} constrained' because it permits an unlimited number of rules such as the following:

- i) NP --- V --- VP
- ii) VP --- DET - N (Radford, 1981:102)

Such rules permit phrasal categories to be expanded into any phrasal or lexical categories. In such rules '... there was no condition that could maintain the categorial relationship of any two derivationally related categories.' (Baye;1986:17)

In order to overcome such deficiencies, a new version, popularly known as the x-bar theory, was proposed mainly in Chomsky (1970) and later in Emonds (1976), Jackendoff (1977), Stowell (1981) and others.

In general, the x-bar theory attempts to accomodate a number of intermediate categories between the minimal and the maximal categories of heads. It also determines the position of the head, and ensures that the head shares some feature specifications with its maximal projections.

More generally the theory claims that:

- i. every phrasal category is endocentric
- ii. every lexical category projects three levels of super structures
- iii. the head of a phrase is always one bar-level lower than the phrase node immediately dominating it.
- iv. only maximal projections may appear as specifiers and complements, except for some non-head terms that are selected interms of specified grammatical formatives.

- v. Specifiers will always occur peripheral to complements of the lexical head of a phrase.

(Hockstra 1984:24)

In Chomsky (1970) and Jackendoff (1977:14) the general base rule schema of a complement and a specifier for English is postulated in (ia) and (b), respectively

- (i) a. $x' - x - \text{comp}$
b. $x'' - \text{spec}_x - x'$

According to (ia) a projection of x' consists of a lexical head x and its complement. And a projection of x'' contains x' and a specifier, where the specifier varies from category to category. The complements and specifiers may occur preceding or following their head in a given language. This is a language particular variation.

Following the above general rule schema, Chomsky (1970) and Jackendoff (1977:14) show again the expansion of the noun phrase for English as follows:

- (ii) a. $N' \text{ --- } N - \text{Comp}_N$
b. $N'' \text{ --- } \text{Spec}_N \text{ --- } N'$

In (iia), the N' consists of a lexical category N obligatorily and then the complements optionally. In (iib) the N'' includes specifiers optionally and N' . (A detailed discussion concerning complements and specifiers shall be presented in chapters two and three, respectively.)

In general, the NP structure may contain a lexical head, a complement and a specifier. Radford (1981:69) proposed structural devices for determining whether a given sequence of words is a constituent or not. According to him:

A given string of elements is a constituent just in case it has one or more of the following properties:

- i) It behaves distributionally as a single structural unit - i.e. it recurs as a single unit in a variety of other sentence-positions.
- ii) It can be coordinated with another similar string.
- iii) It does not readily permit intrusion of parenthetical elements internally...
- (iv) It can be replaced by, or serve as the antecedent of, a proform.
- v) It can be omitted, under appropriate discourse conditions.

In recent literature the expansion of S and S' are included in the categorial rules. Chomsky (1981) assumes the following schema for S' and S respectively, incorporating the non-lexical categories like complementizer and inflection into the x-bar system:

- a. \bar{S} --- Comp S
- b. S --- NP INFL VP

S and S' are maximal projections of the categories INFL (lection) and COMP (lementizer), respectively (cf: Chomsky, 1986 b). INFL specifies Tense, AGR (ement) elements such as person, number and gender associated with subjects and modals; whereas complementizer serves to distinguish c' ause types, an element such as 'that', 'for', 'than' etc. are complementizers in English.

1.4.2. The Transformational Component

It is one of the components of generative grammar. Its role is explained briefly in lightfoot (1982:66) as follows:

A transformational rule operates on the basic units provided by the PS rules and changes an abstract phrase marker into another phrase marker; moving a unit, or constituent, to another position. It does not, as it is sometimes said, change a sentence into another sentence.

The transformational component formulated in Aspects consists of a structural description (SD) and a structural change (SC). A structural description specifies the structures to which the transformation is applicable, while the structural change describes the resulting structure. These mechanisms involve unlimited rules which operate in the process of transformations. That is why the transformational component of the Aspect model is said to be unconstrained, and severely criticized by the contemporary x-bar syntacticians as mentioned earlier.

In EST, a number of constraints and conditions are imposed on the transformational component, and its power is also reduced. Some such constraints are Emonds' (1976) structure preserving hypothesis, Chomsky's (1968) A-over-A principle, and Ross's (1967) island constraints, etc, which manage to attain a certain degree of descriptive adequacy.

In recent theories of grammar a more general constraint with a greater explanatory power has appeared. This constraint is subjacency, which states that "No constituent can be moved out of more than one containing NP-or-s-node (in a single rule application)." (Radford, 1981:227). According to this statement, NPs and Ss are considered as bounding nodes for English, because no movement can take place across more than one of this node in a single rule application. Subjacency is also assumed to be a universal principle with some parametric variation.

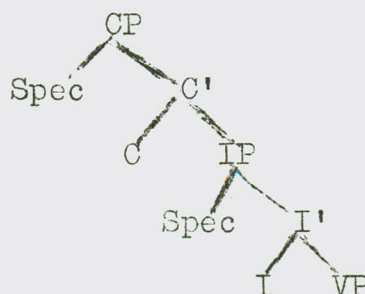
Regarding the theory of movement, recent theory of generative grammar assumes two types of movements: substitution and adjunction - which are instances of one general movement rule called "Move α " which is also subject to parameteric variations. Alpha stands for any maximal category.

Chomsky (1986 b:4) proposes the following general properties for substitution movement:

- a) There is no movement to complement position
- b) Only x^0 can move to the head position
- c) Only a maximal projection can move to the specifier position
- d) Only minimal and maximal projections (x^u and x'') are "visible" for the rule move α

He also states the following principle with respect to adjunction: "Adjunction is possible only to a maximal projection (hence x'' ,) that is a non-argument" (Ibid).

These properties suggest that movement should be from a thematic position to a non-thematic position. Movement is also possible from a head position to another head position i.e. a constituent should move into another category of the same type. In other words, the movement of a lexical category is to the head position and the movement of maximal category is to a specifier position of CP or IP. A bare head is not permitted to appear in the specifier position. The specifier of CP is considered to be a position to which a WH item may move, and the specifier of IP is the position to which a subject NP may move. The basic structure of a clause is here as follows:



Thus far, the main theoretical assumptions of the X-bar Theory was outlined. The next task would be to examine the structure of kistaniĭna NPs in light of this theory.

C H A P T E R . . . T W O

2. NOUN PHRASE

This chapter examines the internal structure of the noun phrase in Kistaniñña. Following Jackendoff (1977) and recent developments, the study assumes three levels of phrasal expansions for a head noun, where a noun is a lexical head. Accordingly, the following levels of nominals are recognized: N, N', N'' and N'''.

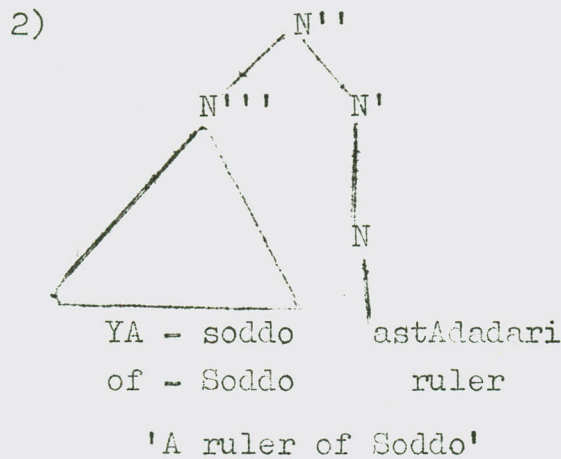
Noun is a major lexical category which is found at N(N⁰) level and serves as head of NPs. This category requires certain other maximal phrasal categories as its complements.

N' level is the minimal phrasal category which is formed by the lexical category together with its complements. The complements are closely linked up with the lexical heads and occur immediately preceding them. Such complements are referred to as functional arguments.

The intermediate phrasal categories which may also occur as complements of the lexical head is found at N'' level. The complements at this level are restrictive modifiers. Ofcourse, we may find some specifiers at this level. N''' level is the maximal syntactic category which includes non-restrictive modifiers and some specifiers (arguments concerning these formatives shall be presented in the next chapter). The following is an example of structures with such levels:

- 1) $\sqrt{N''}$ $\sqrt{N''}$ YA - soddo_7 \sqrt{N} astAdadari_7_7
 of - Soddo ruler
 'A ruler of Soddo'

In terms of X' PS rules, this structure can be represented as follows:



In the above sentence, the noun /astAdadari/ 'ruler' is the head of the N'. And this head together with the genitive NP /YA-Soddo/ 'of-Soddo' form N'' /YA-Soddo astAdadari/ 'A ruler of Soddo' which is an NP constituent.

Moreover, we have to mention one point regarding non-restrictive modifiers as far as Kistaniña is concerned. Ofcourse, Jackendoff (1977), claims that clausal complements (particularly relative clauses) should be treated at two different levels. According to him, relative clauses are classified as restrictives and non-restrictives (appositives). Restrictives are N'' complements whereas non-restrictives are N''' complements (for detail, see, Jackendoff 1977).

Such distinctions should be pursued in this study for the reason that Kistaniñña relatives exhibit such type of distinction like the English one. Therefore, the clausal complements are treated under N'' or N''' based on their restrictiveness or not.

2.1. Nominals (N)

Nominals are major lexical categories which serve as heads of NPs like the following:

- 3) a. $\begin{matrix} \boxed{N''} \\ \boxed{N'''} \end{matrix}$ YA - Taf-i_] $\begin{matrix} \boxed{N''} \\ \boxed{N'''} \end{matrix}$ T̄beta_]] Wajj - A - t
of - tef injera buy-pf-3fs

'She bought injera of tef'

- b. $\begin{matrix} \boxed{N''} \\ \boxed{N'''} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \boxed{A''} \\ \boxed{A'''} \end{matrix}$ b I S-i_] $\begin{matrix} \boxed{N''} \\ \boxed{N'''} \end{matrix}$ ATay_]] Wajj - A
red-DEF Sheep buy-pf(3ms)

'He bought the red sheep'

In these NPs, the nouns /T̄beta/ 'injera' and /ATay/ 'sheep' are the lexical heads of their respective structures. These type of nouns are referred to as **simple nominals**, i.e. non-derived nominals.

Derived nominals can also head an NP structure. Consider the following sentences:

- 4) a. $\begin{matrix} \boxed{N''} \\ \boxed{N'''} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \boxed{NP} \\ \boxed{NP} \end{matrix}$ kiTTa_] $\begin{matrix} \boxed{N} \\ \boxed{N} \end{matrix}$ WA - bIla_]] gAssAss-A-t
bread to eat/eating refuse-pf-3fs

'She refused to eat/eating bread'

- b. $\begin{matrix} \boxed{\text{TIfo}} \\ N'' \quad A'' \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \boxed{\text{WazAltANNO}} \\ N' \end{matrix}$ kaTAR - A
bad worker hire - pf(3ms)
'He hired a bad worker'
- c. $\begin{matrix} \boxed{\text{YA - gArAd-i}} \\ N'' \quad N''' \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \boxed{\text{mAlkamanAt}} \\ N' \end{matrix}$ al-WAdAd-A
of-girl -DEF beautifulness neg-like-pf(3ms)
'He hated the beautifulness of the girl'

As the structures in (4) show, the derived nominals occur as heads of their respective structures.

What follows is the general distribution of NPs in Kistaniña:

- 5) a. bayy-i daK - A
boy-DEF laugh-pf(3ms)
'The boy laughed'
- b. kwa mISt-i waKa - nat
he woman-DEF hit - pf.her
'He hit the woman'

The underscored noun phrases in (5a) and (b) above, appear in subject and object positions respectively.

In (5a) the NP /bayy-i/ 'the boy' occurs in subject position. Following Chomsky (1981:42), the grammatical function can be indicated as $\boxed{\text{NP,S}}$ which means 'subject-of-S'. This is to say that the subject NP is directly dominated by S.

In (5b) /mIst-i/ 'the woman' is found in the direct object position dominated by the VP. Such a grammatical function is shown as $\underline{NP, VP}$ which means 'object-of-VP'.

2.2. The NP Complements

This section explores the complements of NPs at the levels of N', N'', and N'''. Before treating the complements it is essential to have a definition for the term 'complement'.

This term has various definitions. In Chomsky (1970) and Jackendoff (1977) the term is used to refer to materials following a head of a phrase. This is shown in Jackendoff (1977:14) by the base rule in (6):

6) X' -- X -- Comp

On the otherhand, Radford (1988) uses the term as the material which branches from an N' only. He also makes a distinction between complements and adjuncts. The latter branch from an N'' (1988:176)

In this study the term 'complement' is employed to refer to both the minimal phrasal categories which are subcategorized by the lexical heads and other maximal phrasal categories which occur outside the minimal syntactic category. This approach is followed simply for '... expository convenience only, with no theoretical significance implied' (Jackendoff 1977:37).

2.2.1. The N' Complements

This sub-section deals with the complements of N'. Jackendoff (1977:69) shows the expansion of an N' for English in the following rule scheme:

$$7) N' \text{ --- } N - (\text{prt}) - (\text{NP}) - (\text{pp}) - \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{np} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \right\} \right)$$

According to this scheme, the possible candidates for complements of N' are (NP), (pp), and (\bar{S}). N and (prt) are not recognized as complements, since this study considers only maximal projections as complements. Also, the clause (\bar{S}) is not treated as the complement of N', since it is found under N'' & N'''.

In Kistaniina the NPs can be the complements of derived nominals at N' level. This is shown in (8):

- 8) a. gosaye $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \bar{S} \\ \text{gACA} \end{array} \right] \right]_{N'} \left[\begin{array}{c} \bar{S} \\ \text{WA-gIdI1} \end{array} \right]_{N'} \text{ gAssAss-A}$
 Gosaye hyena to kill/killing refuse-pf(3ms)
 'Gosaye refused to kill/killing a hyena'
- b. amado $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \bar{S} \\ \text{Kaysa} \end{array} \right] \right]_{N'} \left[\begin{array}{c} \bar{S} \\ \text{WA -bIla} \end{array} \right]_{N'} \text{ ti-WadId}$
 Amado Cheese to eat/eating neg-like-pf(3ms)
 'Amado hates to eat/eating cheese'

- c. dAhA [[wAzAl-i_] [WA - gIfr_] inAb-ko
 N' NP N
 you job -DEF to leave have-pf-2ms
 'You have to leave the job'

In (8) the NPs modify their heads. In these structures the heads are preceded by their complements. Hence, the complements do not occur following the head nouns as it can be noticed from the ungrammatical structures in (9) below:

- 9) a* gosaye [[WA - gIdIl_] [gACA_] gAssAss-A
 N' N NP
 Gosaye to kill/killing ~~Wena~~ refuse-pf (3ms)

- b* amado [[WA-bIla_] [Kaysa_] ti-wAdId
 N' N NP
 Amado to eat/eating Cheese neg-like-pf(3ms)

What will be our evidence for the structures in (8) above, to be found under N' level. This will be tested using one of the syntactic devices i.e. intrusion of external elements. Consider the following structures:

- 10) a* gosaye [[gACA_] [TAKIr_] [WA-gIdil_] gAssAss-A
 N' NP A'' N
 Gosaye hyena black to kill/killing refuse-pf(3ms)

- b* amado [[Kaysa_] [nAC'A_] [WA-bIla_] ti-wAdId
 N' NP A'' N
 Amado cheese white to eat/eating neg-like-pf(3ms)

These structures are ungrammatical because of the intrusion of adjectives between the heads and the complements. From this, we can deduce that in this language the complement NPs and their heads can not be easily separated without this causing ungrammaticality. Also, the illformedness of these structures may indicate that the intruded elements (adjectives) are not under N'. This may be supported by the grammatical structures in (11):

11) a. gosaye $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{TAKIr-i} \right] \\ \text{N}' \text{ A}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{SACA} \right] \left[\text{WA-gIdIl} \right] \\ \text{N}' \text{ NP} \quad \text{N} \end{array} \right] \right] \text{gAssAss-A}$

Gossaye black-DEF hyena to kill/killing refuse-pf(3ms)

'Gossaye refused to kill/killing the black hyena'

b. amado $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{naC'A} \right] \\ \text{N}' \text{ A}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{Kaysa} \right] \left[\text{WA-bila} \right] \\ \text{N}' \text{ NP} \quad \text{N} \end{array} \right] \right] \text{ti-wAdId}$

White cheese to eat/eating neg.like-pf(3ms)

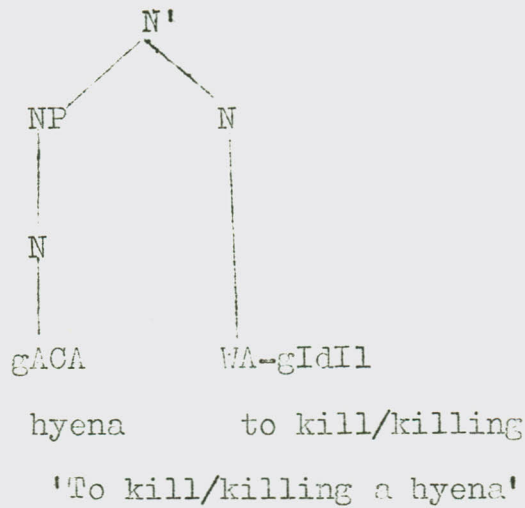
'Amado hates to eat/eating white cheese'

In (11) the adjectives occur preceding the entire N'. Since they appear outside the N', we can suggest that this class is under the next higher level.

In the structures given so far, the derived nominals reflect the subcategorization properties of their verbal source. For example, in (11a) /WA-gIdIl/ 'to kill/killing' manifests the property of the verb /gAddAlA/ 'kill' from which it is derived and it subcategorizes the same complement types.

Based on the argument given above, we can show the NP structure of (8a) in the following tree diagram:

12)



As it can be observed from this diagram, the complement NP forms strict sister relationship with the derived nominal.

Bearing in mind the discussion made so far, it can be argued that in Kistaniñña N' complements are the NPs only. Thus, the phrase structure rule may be postulated as in (17) below:

$$13) N' \longrightarrow (NP) \rightarrow N'$$

This shows that N' is reserved for optionally subcategorized NPs.

So far, the complements in N' are identified. What follows would be the description of N'' complements.

2.2.2. The N'' Complements

In Jackendoff (1977:74) the possible candidates for complements of N'' for English are presented in the following rule scheme:

- 14) N'' -- (A''') -- N' --(PP) - (S)

In Kistani^hna genitive NPs of source serve as N'' complements. This is shown in (15):

- 15) a. gosaye [[YA-jArA] [bAsAr]] ti-wAdId
 N'' N''' N'
 Gosaye of - chicken meat neg - like - pf(3ms)

'Gosaye hates meat of chicken'

- b. birke [[YA - KISSo] [WAT]] balla-t
 N'' N''' N'
 Birke of - pea wot eat-pf-3fs

'Birke ate wot of pea'

- c. aster [[YA Alam] [Afat]] sAC' - A - t
 N'' N''' N'
 Aster of - cow milk drink - pf- 3fs

'Aster drank milk of cow'

- d. amado [[YA - InC'A] [alga]] SIkAt - A
 N'' N''' N'
 Amado of - wood bed make - pf (3ms)

'Amado made a bed of wood'

In (15) the genitive NPs show the source and modify their heads. For instance, in the NP in (15a) the noun /bAsAr/ 'meat' is the head of the phrase and the genitive NP /yA-jArA/ 'of-chicken' is the complement which shows the material source of the meat.

What evidences shall we have for considering the genitive NPs of source as N' complement? Let's verify the situation by using gapping.

16. a. aster [[YA-Alam] [Afat]] saC' - A - t Adi gIn
 N' N' N'
 Aster of cow milk drink-pf-3fs I but

[[YA - Alam] [anguba]] al-saC' - A - hu
 N' N' N'
 of-cow buttermilk neg-drink-pf-1cs

'Aster drank milk of cow but I didn't drink even
 buttermilk of cow'

b. aster [[YA-Alam] [Afat]] saC' -A-t Adi gIn
 N' N' N'
 Aster of-cow milk drink-pf-3fs I but

[[-----] [anguba]] al-saC' -A-hu
 N' N' N'
 buttermilk neg-drink-pf-1cs

'Aster drank milk of cow but I didn't drink even
 buttermilk'

In (16b) the N' is not omitted along with the complement. The omission of the genitive NP alone shows that it is a single constituent which is found in the next higher level.

In addition to this, exchanging the position of the genitive NPs of source with adjectives without this leading to ungrammaticality shows that they are under the same node. This is observable from the following structures:

17) a. $\begin{matrix} \text{[YA-Alam]} & \text{[nAC'A]} & \text{[Afat]} & \text{[]} & \text{saC'-A-t} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{A''} & \text{N'} & & \\ \text{of-cow} & \text{white} & \text{milk} & & \text{drink-pf-3fs} \end{matrix}$

'She drank white milk of cow'

or

b. $\begin{matrix} \text{[nAC'A]} & \text{[YA-Alam]} & \text{[Afat]} & \text{[]} & \text{saC'-A-t} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{N'''} & \text{N'} & & \\ \text{white} & \text{of - cow} & \text{milk} & & \text{drink-pf-3fs} \end{matrix}$

'She drank white milk of cow'

Moreover, the source genitive can be separated from its head by genitives of location and time as in (18):

18) a. $\begin{matrix} \text{[YA-mareKo]} & \text{[YA-Alam]} & \text{[Afat]} & \text{[]} & \text{saC'-A-m} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{N'''} & \text{N'} & & \\ \text{of-Mareko} & \text{of-cow} & \text{milk} & & \text{drink-pf-p.m} \end{matrix}$

'He drinks milk of cow from Mareko'

b. $\begin{matrix} \text{[YA-Alam]} & \text{[YA-mareko]} & \text{[Afat]} & \text{[]} & \text{saC'-A-m} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{N'''} & \text{N'} & & \\ \text{of-cow} & \text{of-Mareko} & \text{milk} & & \text{drink-pf-p.m} \end{matrix}$

'He drink milk of cow from Mareko'

c. $\begin{matrix} \text{[YA-tilabANN-i]} & \text{[YA-Alam]} & \text{[Afat]} & \text{[]} & \text{saC'-A-t} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{N'''} & \text{N'} & & \\ \text{of-yesterday-DEF} & \text{of cow} & \text{milk} & & \text{drink-pf-3fs} \end{matrix}$

'She drank yesterday's milk of cow'

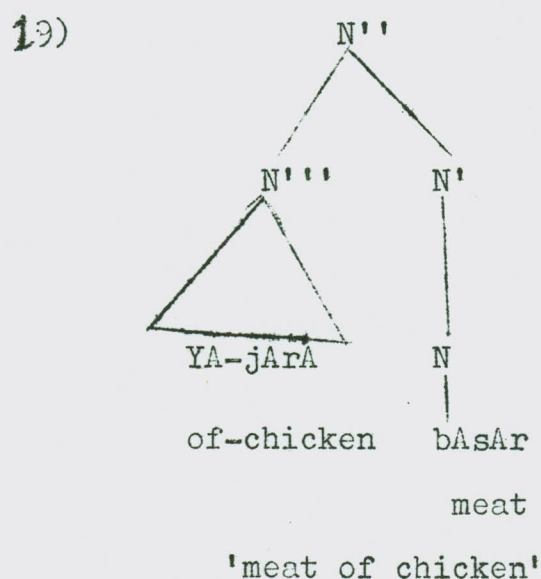
d. $\begin{matrix} \text{[YA-Alam]} & \text{[YA-tilabANN-i]} & \text{[Afat]} & \text{[]} & \text{saC'-A-t} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{N'''} & \text{N'} & & \\ \text{of-cow} & \text{of-yesterday-DEF} & \text{milk} & & \text{drink-pf-3fs} \end{matrix}$

'She drank yesterday's milk of cow'

Notice that in the structures (18b) and (d) there is a pause immediately after the source genitives. Such occurrence of genitives of location and time separating the head and the complement genitive without this leading the structure to ill-formedness tempt us to conclude that all genitives (except possessive genitives) belong to the same level (i.e N'') in Kistaniñña.

This situation also suggests that in such types of NPs the language doesnot follow strict sister relationship between a head and its complement.

Based on the above argument the structure in (15 a) can be shown in a tree diagram like the one below:



The head noun and its complement are in sister relationship, However, the sister relationship seems to be loose in this language since it is possible for other elements to separate the genitive NP complements from their heads (cf. examples (17) and (18) above)

The fact that these genitive NPs serve as N'' complements can be proved by separating the heads and their genitive complements:

- 22) a. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{YA-sIkAr} \right] \\ \text{N}'' \text{ N}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{bISa} \right] \\ \text{A}'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{gAbIs} \right] \\ \text{N}' \end{array} \right] \text{sIbAsAb-A-t}$
of-beer red barley collect-pf-3fs
'She collected red barley for beer'

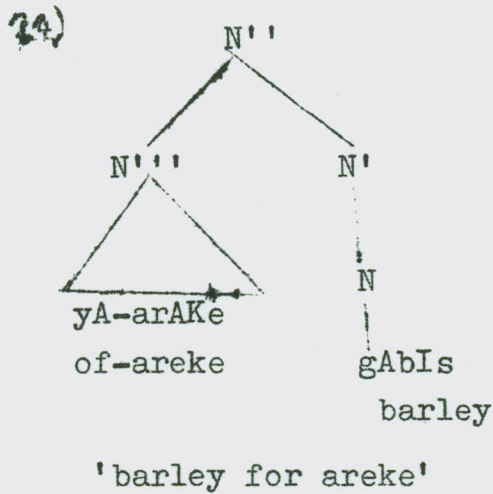
- b. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{YA-bAsAr} \right] \\ \text{N}'' \text{ N}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{nAC'A} \right] \\ \text{A}'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{bora} \right] \\ \text{N}' \end{array} \right] \text{wajj-mu-n}$
of - meat white ox buy-pf-3mp-acc.
'They bought white ox for meat'

As these examples show, the intrusion of the adjectives between the genitives and the head nouns does not lead to ungrammaticality. This situation suggests that these complements belong to N'' level. Hence, it is possible to exchange the position of the genitives and adjectives as in (23):

- 23) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{bISa} \right] \\ \text{N}'' \text{ A}'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{yA-sIkAr} \right] \\ \text{N}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{gAbIs} \right] \\ \text{N}' \end{array} \right] \text{sIbAsAb-A-t}$
red of-beer barley collect-pf-3fs
'She collected red barley for beer'

It is possible to exchange the positions of purpose genitive with adjective within the same domain. This situation shows that both occur under N'' node.

Thus, we can show the sister relationship between the genitives of purpose and their heads in (24) below.



Following the diagram, we can say that purpose genitives are sisters of N', since both branch from the maximal node i.e. N''.

Hence, the occurrence of the complement precedes its head.

The following unacceptable structures in (25) below, may support our argument:

25) a* [[gAbIs_] [YA-sIkAr_]] wajj-A-t
 N'' N'' N''
 barley of - beer buy-pf-3fs

b.* [[bora_] [yA - bAsAr_]] wajj - mu-n
 N'' N'' N''
 ox of-meat buy-pf-3mp- acc.

These sentences are unacceptable, because the heads occur preceding the genitives.

Also, temporal genitives are considered as N'' complements. Observe the structures in (26):

26) a. $\begin{matrix} \text{[yA-tilabANN-i]} & \text{[WAT]} & \text{C'Am-n} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{N'} & \\ \text{of-yesterday-DEF} & \text{wot} & \text{expensive-is} \end{matrix}$
 'Yesterday's wot is expensive'

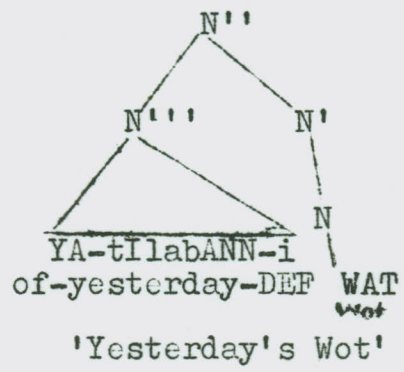
b. $\begin{matrix} \text{[yA-WITAt-i]} & \text{[TAj]} & \text{fAyya-n} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{N'} & \\ \text{of-monday.DEF} & \text{mead} & \text{good-is} \end{matrix}$
 'Monday's mead is good'

c. $\begin{matrix} \text{[y...an-i]} & \text{[fIy/t]} & \text{TigAr-hu-nIt} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{N'} & \\ \text{of-last year-DEF} & \text{goat} & \text{sell-I - it} \end{matrix}$
 'I sold the last year's goat'

d. $\begin{matrix} \text{[yA-ahoNN-i]} & \text{[KITa]} & \text{[WA-bIla]} & \text{fAyya-n} \\ \text{N'' N'''} & \text{NP} & \text{N} & \\ \text{of-today-DEF} & \text{bread} & \text{to eat/eating} & \text{good-is} \end{matrix}$
 'To eat/eating today's bread is good'

In (26) above, the N'' complements precede N' and modify it. Thus, the temporal genitives are daughters of N'' and form sister relationship with the N'. This can be shown in the following tree diagram:

27)



We can also prove this by applying the syntactic device referred to as coordination. Consider the following example:

- 28) [[YA-tIlabANN-i] [sIkAr]] nnd [[YA-ahoNN-i]]
 N'' N''' N' N''N'''
 of-yesterday-DEF beer and of-today-DEF
 [TAj]]] fAyya-n
 mead good-is

'Beer of yesterday and mead of today is good'

In these examples /YA-tIlabaNN-i sIkAr/ 'beer of yesterday' and /YA-ahoNN-i TAj / 'mead of today' are coordinated by being constituents of the same type.

Temporal genitives do not occur intruding between complement of the derivid nominal and the head in N', since their occurrence is outside N' level. Observe the following ungrammatical structures.

- 29) a.* [[gACA] [YA-tIlabann-i] [wA-gIdIl]] gAssAss-A
 N' NP N''' N
 hyena of-yesterday-DEF to kill/killing refuse-pf
- b.* [[Kaysa] [YA-ohoNN-i] [wA-bIla]] inAb-ko
 N' NP N''' N
 Cheese of-today-DEF to eat/eating have-pf-2ms

The ungrammatical structures in (29) show that the position of the temporal genitives should not be under N' but under N'''.

We can also notice that the position of temporal genitives is outside N' level when we observe the grammatical sentence in (30):

- 30) $\begin{matrix} \text{YA-tIlabANN-i} \\ \text{N''N'''} \\ \text{of yesterday-DEF} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{gACA} \\ \text{N'NP} \\ \text{hyena} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{WA-gIdIl} \\ \text{N} \\ \text{to kill/killing} \end{matrix} \text{gAssAss-A} \\ \text{refuse-pf(3ms)}$
- 'He refused to kill/killing yesterday's hyena'

Locatives are found under N'' level as the following examples in (31) show:

- 31) a. $\begin{matrix} \text{YA-dammo} \\ \text{N''} \\ \text{of-Dammo} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{AmarArA} \\ \text{N'} \\ \text{donkeys} \end{matrix} \text{wajj - mu - n} \\ \text{buy-pf-3mp-acc.}$
- 'They bought donkeys from Dammo'
- b. $\begin{matrix} \text{YA-marAKo} \\ \text{N''} \\ \text{of-Moreko} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{bArbAre} \\ \text{N'} \\ \text{pepper} \end{matrix} \text{gAlIf-n} \\ \text{tall-is}$
- 'Pepper from Mareko is tall'
- c. $\begin{matrix} \text{YA-bu:fi} \\ \text{N''} \\ \text{of-Bu:fi} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{TAj} \\ \text{N'} \\ \text{mead} \end{matrix} \text{fAyya AdAbIl} \\ \text{good is not}$
- 'Mead from Bu:fi is not good'
- d. $\begin{matrix} \text{YA-kella} \\ \text{N''} \\ \text{of-Kella} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{KiTTA} \\ \text{N'NP} \\ \text{bread} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{WA - bIlA} \\ \text{N} \\ \text{to eat/eating} \end{matrix} \text{TIfo-n} \\ \text{bad-is}$
- 'To eat/eating bread from Kella is bad'

(In 31) genitive of location modify N', and occur preceding the heads.

We can test whether locative genitives are under N'' or not by using gapping. Consider the following structures:

32) a. kwa [[YA-dammo] [AmarArA]] wajj-A dA AgIn
 N'' N''' N'
 He of-Dammo donkeys buy-pf you but

[[YA-dammo] [bIC'IlalA]] wajj - A - A
 N''N''' N'
 of-Dammo mules buy-pf-2ms

'He bought donkeys from Dammo but you bought Mules
 from Dammo'

b. kwa [[YA-dammo] [AmarArA]] wajj-A c A
 He N'' N''' of-Dammo N' donkeys buy-pf you

gIn [[-----] [bIC'IlalA]] wajj - A-hA
 but N'' N''' N' mules buy-pf-2ms

'He bought donkeys from Dammo but you bought mules'

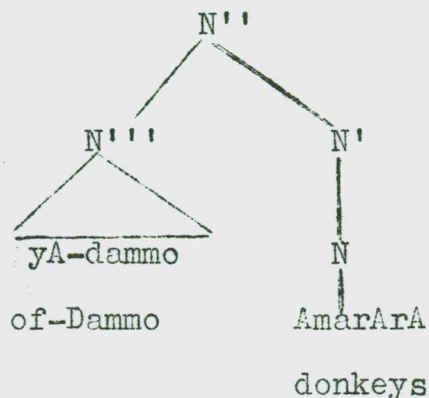
In (32b) the genitive is omitted without leading the structure to ungrammaticality. This situation suggests that genitives are independent units.

Also, our argument can be supported by the following ungrammatical structure:

33)* [[KITTa] [YA-kella] [wA - billa]] Tifo-n
 N'' NP bread N''' of-kella N' to eat/eating bad-is

This structure is ill-formed because the genitive of location is found under N'. It can be also said that the structure is ungrammatical because ~~the structure~~ 'bread' which is the complement of the derived nominal in N' is raised to the maximal level as complement of N'' which is not permitted.

Accordingly (32a) can be shown in the tree diagram in (34):



'donkeys from Dammo'

As it can be seen in (34) genitive of location is a sister to N' and branches from the maximal node-i.e. N''. Since the position of locative genitives are preceding their head, their occurrence following the heads would be ill-formed as in (35):

35) a.* $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{AmarArA} \right] \left[\text{YA-dammo} \right] \end{array} \right] \text{ wajj-mu-n}$
 $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{N''} & \text{N'''} & \text{N'''} \\ & \text{donkeys} & \text{of-Dammo} \end{array}$ buy-pf-3mp-acc.

b.* $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{bArbAre} \right] \left[\text{YA-mareKo} \right] \end{array} \right] \text{ gAlIf-n}$
 $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{N''} & \text{N'} & \text{N'''} \\ & \text{papper} & \text{of-Mareko} \end{array}$ tall - is

These structures are ungrammatical because the genitive locative occurs following the head.

Unlike source and purpose genitives, temporal and locative genitives can appear together in a simple structure without the structure being ungrammatical. The following grammatical sentences show that this is so:

36) a. $\begin{matrix} \text{YA-tIlat} & \text{YA-bu} & \text{sIkAr} & \text{fAyya-n} \\ \text{N}'' & \text{N}''' & \text{N}'' & \text{N}' \end{matrix}$ ~~DEF~~ $\begin{matrix} \text{of-yesterday-DEF} & \text{of Bu} & \text{beer} & \text{good-is} \end{matrix}$

'Yesterday's beer from P*i* is good'

b. $\begin{matrix} \text{YA-WIrsAnbAt-i} & \text{YA-addele} & \text{ginz} & \text{Tifo-j} \\ \text{N}'' & \text{N}''' & \text{N}'' & \text{N}' \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{of-Sunday} & \text{of-Addele} & \text{honey} & \text{bad-is} \end{matrix}$

'Sunday's honey from Addele is bad'

The examples in (36) show that temporal genitives precede the locative genitives. However, these genitives can exchange their positions freely as in (37).

37) $\begin{matrix} \text{YA-addele} & \text{YA-WIrsAnbAt-i} & \text{ginz} & \text{Tifo-n} \\ \text{N}'' & \text{N}''' & \text{N}'' & \text{N}' \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \text{of-Addele} & \text{of-Sunday} & \text{honey} & \text{bad-is} \end{matrix}$

'Sunday's honey from Addele is bad'

This shows that there is no restriction in the precedence relation of genitive NPs of time and location.

Thus far, the genitive NPs of source, purpose, time and location are recognized as complements for N'''. Such consideration emerges because they have a restricting effects on their heads. Those genitive NPs which show possession without restricting their heads function as specifiers and are assigned to N'' (cf. chapter 3).

The other candidate for N'' complements are adjectival phrases (APs). Since APs modify their heads it would be plausible to include them under N'' complements. Consider the structures in (38) below:

- 38) a. $\begin{matrix} \boxed{} & \boxed{\text{m}^{\text{d}}\text{LAs-i}} & \boxed{\text{TAg}} & \boxed{} \\ \text{N}'' & \text{A}'' & \text{N}' & \\ \text{small -DEF} & & \text{calf} & \text{die-pf-3fs} \end{matrix}$
 'The small calf died'
- b. $\begin{matrix} \boxed{} & \boxed{\text{mAlkam-i}} & \boxed{\text{gArAd}} & \boxed{} \\ \text{N}'' & \text{A}'' & \text{N}' & \\ \text{beautiful-DEF} & & \text{girl} & \text{shout-pf-3fs} \end{matrix}$
 'The beautiful girl shouted'
- c. $\begin{matrix} \boxed{} & \boxed{\text{TAKr-i}} & \boxed{\text{KInaC'}} & \boxed{} \\ \text{N}'' & \text{A}'' & \text{N}' & \\ \text{black-DEF} & & \text{flea} & \text{kill-pf-I-it} \end{matrix}$
 'I killed the black flea'

In these sentences APs occur in the same position where the genitive NPs, we have seen above, may occur. Like the genitive NPs, APs precede their heads. The reverse order is not permitted. Observe the ungrammatical structures in (39):

- 39) a.* $\begin{matrix} \boxed{} & \boxed{\text{TAg}} & \boxed{\text{malAs-i}} & \boxed{} \\ \text{N}'' & \text{N}' & \text{A}'' & \\ \text{calf} & & \text{small-DEF} & \text{die-pf-3fs} \end{matrix}$
- b.* $\begin{matrix} \boxed{} & \boxed{\text{gArAd}} & \boxed{\text{mAlkam-i}} & \boxed{} \\ \text{N}'' & \text{N}' & \text{A}'' & \\ \text{girl} & & \text{beautiful-DEF} & \text{shout-pf-3fs} \end{matrix}$

The ill-formedness of these structures, shows that APs cannot be preceded by their heads.

As it can be seen from the structures in (38) APs are found outside N' level. Thus, putting an adjective in N' will lead the structure to ungrammaticality as in (40) below:

- 40)* $\left[\left[\left[\text{KiTTa} \right] \left[\text{bISa} \right] \left[\text{wA-bIla} \right] \right] \right]$ Tifo-n
 N' NP_{bread} A'' read N_{to eat/eating} bad-is

From the ill-formedness of this structure, we can argue that the place of adjective is not in N' but in N''. The following grammatical structure shows that this is so:

- 41) $\left[\left[\left[\text{bIS-i} \right] \left[\left[\left[\text{KITTa} \right] \left[\text{wA - bIla} \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$ Tifo-n
 N''A'' N' NP N
 red-DEF bread to eat/eating bad-is
 'To eat/eating red bread is bad'

From the ill-formedness of (40) and the well-formedness of (41) we can say that in this language, N'' complements precede N' complements.

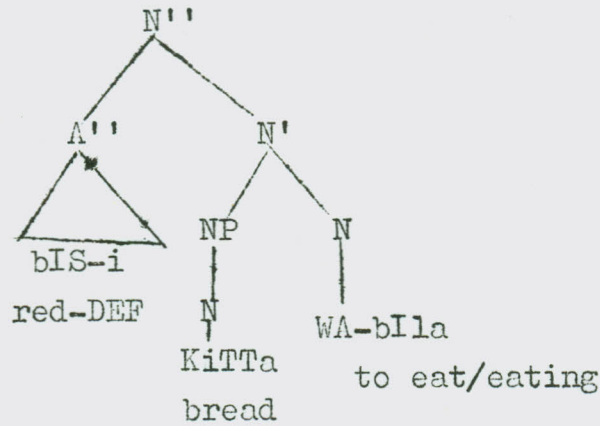
Moreover, further evidence in support of our assumption that APs are found under N'' comes from the facts of coordination

- 42) gosaye $\left[\text{fAyya} \right]$ nna $\left[\text{ruru} \right]$ sAb-n
 Gosaye A'' good and A'' kind person-is
 'Gosaye is good and kind person'

The coordination of /fAyya/ 'good' and /ruru/ 'kind' suggests that both are single constituents and that they are found in identical category level.

Based on the above discussion, the NP structures in (41) have the following tree representation:

43)



'To eat/eating a red bread'

Prepositional phrases (PPs) also can be included under N'' complements, as the examples below demonstrate:

- 44) a. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{tA-InSitat-igoy} \\ \text{to-women-DEF} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{kASat} \\ \text{with} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{WA-bIla} \\ \text{lunch} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{KiT-ki} \\ \text{to eat/eating} \\ \text{not able-pf-1cs} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
 'I don't be able to eat/eating lunch with the women'
- b. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{tA-amado} \\ \text{from-Amado} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{bIC'I1} \\ \text{mule} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{WA-wajj} \\ \text{to buy/buying good} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{fAyya AdAbI1} \\ \text{is not} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
 'To buy/buying mule from Amado is not good'
- c. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{bA-golAd} \\ \text{with-knife} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{WAajj} \\ \text{to shoot/shooting} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{TIfo-n} \\ \text{bad-is} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
- d. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{bA-ge wISTa} \\ \text{in-house} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{WAiNNa} \\ \text{inside} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{inAb-Ko} \\ \text{to sleep} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{have-pf-2ms} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
 'You have to sleep in a house'

- e. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} sIla \\ N'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} mIss-i \\ P'' \\ \text{about man-DEF} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} fAyyInAt \\ N \\ \text{goodness} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} tASal \\ P'' \\ \text{ask-pf-3ms} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

'Ask about the man's goodness'

In these structures PPs function as the complements of the derived nominals. The PPs occur in the same position where the APs occur (cf. the structures in (38) above). Like the APs, PPs precede their head nouns. Hence the reverse order is unacceptable:

- 45) a.* $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} KASat \\ N'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} wAbIla \\ N' \\ \text{lunch} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} tA-InSItat-i \\ N \\ \text{to eat/eating} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} goy \\ P'' \\ \text{to-women-DEF} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} KiT-ki \\ P'' \\ \text{with not able-pf-1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

- b.* $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} WAiNNa \\ N'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} bA-ge \\ N' \\ \text{to sit} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} wISTa \\ P'' \\ \text{in-house} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} inAb-ko \\ P'' \\ \text{inside have-pf-2ms} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

These structures are ill-formed because of the **occurrence** of the PPs following the heads. Unlike the complements of derived nominals in N' complement PPs for the derived nominals in N'' can be separated from their heads by other elements as in (46):

- 46) a. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} tA-InSItat-i \\ N'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} goy \\ P'' \\ \text{to-women-DEF} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} fAyya \\ A'' \\ \text{with good} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} KASat \\ N' \\ \text{lunch} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} WA-bIla \\ N \\ \text{to eat/eating} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} KiT-ki \\ P'' \\ \text{not able-pf-1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

'I am not able to eat/eating good lunch with the women'

- b. [[bA-golAd] [YA-tIlabANN-i] [Alam] [WA-ajj] Tifo-n
 N'' P'' N''' N' N
 with-knife of-yesterday-DEF cow to shoot/shooting bad-i

'To shoot/shooting yesterday's cow with a knife is bad'

In these structures the complements are not tightly bound to their heads. From these structures and the examples in (44) above, we can see that the relationship of the head is at the level higher than N' i.e. at N''.

Moreover, the structural relationship of the head and its complement can be shown by using gapping:

- 47) a. [[tA-amado] [bIC'Il] [WA-wajj] fAyya AdAbil
 N'' P'' N' N
 from Amado mule to buy/buying good is not

[[tA-fAKadu] [bIC'Il] [WA-wajj] gIn fAyya-n
 N'' P'' N' N
 from-Fekadu mule to buy/buying but good - is

'To buy/buying mule from Amado is not good but to buy/
 buying mule from Fekadu is good'

- b. [[tA-amado] [bIC'Il] [WA-wajj] fAyya-AdAbil
 N'' P'' N' N
 from-Amado mule to buy/buying good is not

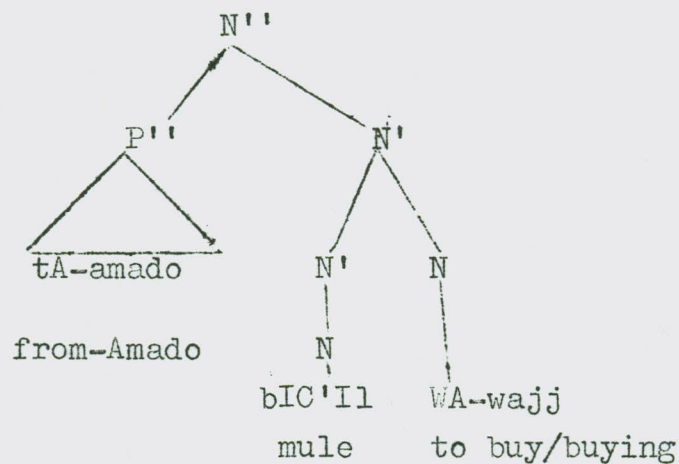
[[tA-fAKadu] [] [WA-Wajj] gIn fAyya-n
 N'' P'' N' N
 from-Fekadu to buy/buying but good-is

'To buy/buying mule from Amado is not good but to buy/
 buying from Fekadu is good'

In (47b) the N', which is the head on identity with another phrase, is deleted without leading the structure to ungrammaticality. However, the PP/tA fAK adu/ 'from Fekadu' has not been deleted along with N'. This situation shows that the relationship of the complement with the head is not at N' level, but at N'' level.

Accordingly, such structures can be shown in a tree diagram like (48):

48)



'To buy/buying mule from Amado'

From this tree we can see that the PP and the N' are sisters. The complement PP restrict the reference of its phrasal head (N').

Furthermore, restrictive relative clauses serve as complements of N'', by restricting the reference of the head as in (49) below:

49) a. [[ahoNNyA-mott-i] [bayy_]] zAmi-ddi-n
 N'' S' today Rel-die-DEF N' boy brother-my-is

'The boy who died today is my brother'

- b) $\left[\left[\text{fAKadu } yA\text{-amATTa-n-i} \right] \left[\left[yA\text{-gAbIs} \right] \left[\text{SiKAi} \right] \right] \right] \text{sAC!A-t}$
 $N'' S' \quad \quad \quad N'' N''''$
 Fekadu Rel-bring-pf-acc-DEF of-barley beer drink-pf-3fs

'She drank beer of barley which(that) Fekadu brought'

- c) $mIss\text{-i} \left[\left[\text{gosaye } yA\text{-sIbAsAb-A-n-i} \right] \left[\left[yA\text{-mareko} \right] \right] \right]$
 $\text{man-DEF} N'' S' \text{Gosaye Rel-collect-pf-acc-} N'' N'''' \text{of-MareKo}$
 $\left[\left[\text{bArbAre} \right] \right] \text{TigAr-A-nIT}$
 $N' \quad \text{pepper} \quad \quad \text{sell-pf-it}$

'The man sold pepper that Gosaye collected from Mereko'

- d) $\text{bayy-i} \left[\left[yA\text{-Wajj-A-n-i} \right] \left[\left[yA\text{-Taf-i} \right] \left[\text{Tabeta} \right] \right] \right]$
 $N'' S' \quad \quad \quad N'' N'''' \quad \quad \quad N'$
 boy-DEF Rel-buy-pf-acc-DEF of-t'ef-DEF injera
 al-bAla
 neg-eat-pf(3ms)

'The boy doesn't eat injera of ef that he bought'

As the examples in (49) demonstrate, restrictive relative clauses occur under N''. In these structures the S' occurs preceding N'. Thus, it is not possible for it to occur following N' as in (50):

- 50) a.* $\left[\left[\text{bayy} \right] \left[\text{ahoNN } YA\text{-mott-i} \right] \right] \text{zAmi-ddi-n}$
 $N'' N' \quad \text{boy} \quad S' \text{today} \quad \text{Rel-die-pf-DEF-brother-my-is}$
- b.* $\left[\left[\text{KiTTA} \right] \left[\text{wA-bIla} \right] \left[\left[\text{fAKadu } yA\text{-amATTa-n-i} \right] \right] \right] \text{fAyya-n}$
 $N'' N' \quad \quad \quad N \quad \quad \quad S'$
 bread to eat/eating Fekadu Rel-bring-pf-acc-DEF good-is

These structures are ill-formed because of the occurrence of S' following the N'. This also supports the claim we made earlier- i.e. that N'' complements occur preceding N' complements.

Relative clauses do not separate the complements of N' and the heads as the ungrammatical structure in (51) show:

- 51)* $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{KiTTa} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{FAKadu } yA\text{-amATTa-n-i} \right] \\ S' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{WA-bila} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{gAssAss-A} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right]$
 bread Fekadu Rel-bring-pf-acc-DEF to eat/eating
 refuse-pf-3fs

The ungrammaticality of (51) suggests that relative clauses are not found at the level of N', but N". This can be proven by the syntactic device of gapping:

- 52) a. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{bIrKe} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{gosaye } yA\text{-Wajji-An-i} \right] \\ S' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{Afat} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{sAC'-A-t} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right]$
 Birke Gosaye Rel-buy-pf-acc-DEF milk drink-pf-3fs
 $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{Adi } gIn \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{gosaye } yA\text{-wajj-A-n-i} \right] \\ S' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{anguba} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{al-sAC'-A-hu} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right]$
 I but Gosaye Rel-buy-pf-acc-DEF butter milk neg-drink-pf-1cs

'Birke drank the milk which Gosaye bought but I did not drink the buttermilk which Gosaye bought'

- b. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{bIrKe} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{gosaye } yA\text{-wajj-A-n-i} \right] \\ S' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{Afat} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{sAC'-A-t} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right]$
 Birke Gosaye Rel-buy-pf-acc-DEF milk drink-pf-3fs
 $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{Adi } gIn \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{----} \right] \\ S' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{anguba} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{al-sAC'-A-hu} \right] \\ N' \end{array} \right]$
 I but butter milk neg-drink-pf-1cs

'Birke drank the milk which Gosaye bought but I did not drink the butter milk'

In (52b) the S' as a whole is deleted without this leading to ungrammaticality. This supports the argument that is a complement of N'.

c. gosaye [[bISa] [yA-tIlabANN-i] [amado yA-wajj-A n-i]
 N'' A'' N''' S'
 Gosaye red of-yesterday Amado Rel-buy-pf-acc-DEF

[yA-dammo] [yA-Afat] [Alam] arAd-A-nat
 N''' N''' N'
 of-Dammo of- milk cow slaughter-pf-it

d. gosaye [[yA-tIlabANN-i] [amado yA-wajj-A-n-i]
 N'' N''' S'

Gosaye of-yesterday Amado Rel-buy-pf-acc-DEF
 [yA-dammo] [yA-Afat] [bISa] [Alam] arAd-A-nat
 N''' N''' A'' N'
 of-Dammo of-milk red cow slaughter-pf-it

The well-formedness of the structures like (54) shows that the complements in N'' can exchange their position freely within this domain. This means that there is no restriction in the precedence relation of any two or more complements of N''.

We can say that in Kistani^{va} the N'' complements are genitive NPs, Aps,pps and S'. Accordingly, the phrase structure rule of an NP may be formulated as follows:

55) N'' → (N''') - (A'') - (P'') - (S')-N'.

2.2.3. The N''' Complements

As hinted earlier, N''' is the maximal projection that includes non-restrictive modifiers such as non-restrictive relative clauses (appositives) and some noun phrases. The complements at this level do not provide new information about the heads in which they occur. However, they may give additional information concerning their heads. This is observable from the following structures:

56) a. [[amado ya-wAKa-n-i_] , [[ahoNN yA-mott-i_]]
 N''' S' N''' S'
 Amado Rel-hit-pf-acc-DEF today Rel-die-pf-DEF

[bayy_]]]] t-ASII
 N' boy neg-know-pf

'I don't know the boy, that Amado hit, who died today.'

b. [[baqeYa-tona-t-i_] , [[tA-kella yA-mATTa-t-i_]]
 N''' S' N''' S'
 in-house Rel-sit-pf-3fs-DEF from-kella Rel-come-pf-3fs-DEF

[gArAd_]]]] Atit ldi - n-a
 N' girl sister-my-is-cop.

'The girl who came from Kella, who sits in the house, is my sister'

In (56) the first relative clauses are non-restrictive ones and they do not define the heads, because the head nouns are already defined by the restrictive relative clauses which are inside ~~'''~~.

The restrictive relative clauses form a single pause group with their heads, whereas the appositives do not. Thus, one of their difference is associated with intonation break. This can be observed from (56) above, and the following structure in (57):

57) [[amado yA-wAKa-n_] , [[bayy_]]]] zAmi-ddi-n
 N''' S' N''' N'
 Amado Rel-hit-pf-acc. boy brother-my-is

'The boy, that Amado hit, is my brother'

It is equally acceptable to use this structure without using a comma as in (52, below:

- 58) [amado yA-wAKa-n] [bayy] zAmi-ddi-n
 N''' S' Amado Rel-hit-pf-acc. N' N' boy brother-my-is

'The boy that Amado hit is my brother'

The difference between (57) and (58) is that of intonation break. In (57) the head is separated from its clausal complement by a comma, whereas in (58) it is not. Hence, the appositives in (57) do not form one pause-group with their head, but in (58) they do.

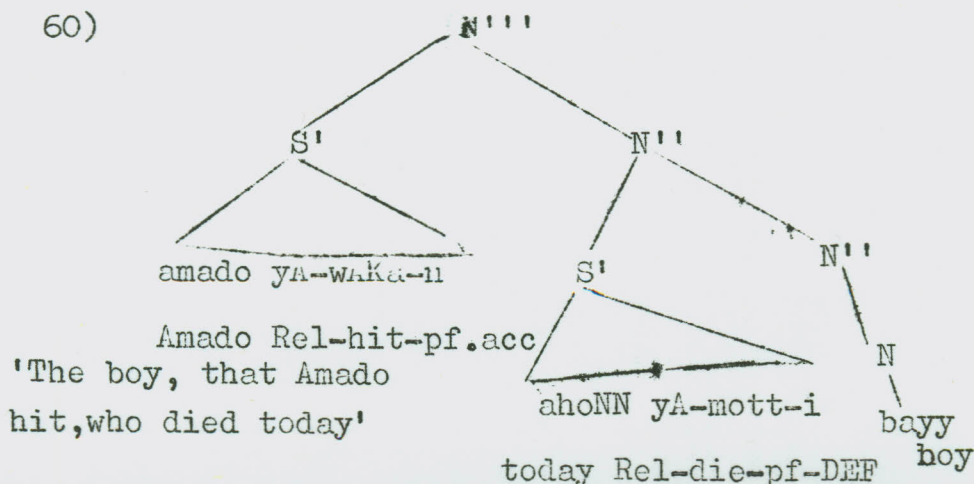
NPs with a proper noun preceded by another NP may function as the appositives we have seen above. Consider the following structure:

- 59) [yA-amado Immit] [WayzAro birKe] mott-A-t
 N''' N''' N'''
 of-Amado mother Mrs. Birke die-pf-3fs

'Mrs. Birke, the mother of Amado, died'

In this sentence, the head of N''' is /WayzAro birKe/ 'Mrs. Birke' and the complement NP is /yA-amado Immit/ 'the mother of Amado'. In this structure the head is a proper noun, and it does not need to be modified by the complement.

We can show appositives in a tree diagram, as follows:



As it can be seen from the tree in (60), the appositive forms a sister relationship with an N'' and both branch from N'''.

The restrictive relative branch from N'' forming sister relationship with the N'.

Accordingly, the rule scheme for appositives may be written as in (61):

$$61) \quad N''' \longrightarrow N'' \text{ --- } (S') \text{ --- } (N''').$$

CHAPTER THREE

3. SPECIFIERS

These are functional elements that '... occur peripheral to complements of the lexical head of a phrase.' (Hoekestra 1984:24). Unlike, the major lexical categories, like verbs, for example, specifiers (except Qp) do not have the potential for maximal projection. They occur with a noun head in phrasal structures in order to limit the referential or quantitative scope of the head. The class includes articles and quantifiers which are entity and quantity denoting elements, respectively (see, Baye, 1984).

3.1. Articles

These are entity denoting elements. They may be suffixes or independent formatives. They are divided as definite and indefinite articles.

3.1.1. Definite Articles

These do not introduce new information in a discourse. They refer to one which has already been introduced and is known. These include determiners, demonstratives, pronominals and certain genitive NPs.

3.1.1.1. Determiners

These are deictic elements that specify nominals. In *kistaniña* they include the /-i/ 'the' in (62):

- 62) a. [ʔbayy-i_ʔ] allAf-A
NP boy-DEF go-pf(3ms)
'The boy went'
- b. [ʔmIss-i_ʔ] sAkaram-n
NP man-DEF drankard-is
'The man is drankard'
- c. [ʔfArAsAs-i_ʔ] mATT-A--mu-n
NP horses-DEF come-pf-3mp-acc.
'The horses came'
- d. [ʔgIridad-i_ʔ] daK-ma-n
NP girls-DEF laugh-pf-3fp-acc.
'The girls laughed'

As it can be seen from the examples, the article /-i/ 'the' is attached to a noun. Without this affix the noun would be indefinite as in (63):

- 63) [ʔbayy_ʔ] allAf-A
NP boy go-pf(3ms)
'a boy went'

When the noun has a modifier, the definite article appears on the modifier and not on the head as that would lead to ungrammaticality.

- 64) a. [ʔgAlf-i mIss_ʔ] allAf-A
NP tall-DEF man go-pf(3ms)
'The tall man went'

- b. [̣mAlkam-i mISt_7 mott-A-t
NP beautiful-DEF woman die-pf-3fs

'The beautiful woman died'

If a structure has several modifiers, the definite article can be attached on each of them. Consider the following structures:

- 65) a. [̣gIdr-i bIS-i bora_7 Wajj-A-hu-nIt
NP big-DEF red-DEF ox buy-pf-I-it

(Literally) 'I bought the big the red ox'

'I bought the big red ox'

- b. [̣fAyy-i malAs-i mAlkam-i gArAd_7 mott-A-t
NP good-DEF small-DEF beautiful-DEF girl die-pf-3fs

(Literally) 'The beautiful the small the good girl died'

'The beautiful small good girl died'

3.1.2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are formatives which indicate entities as definite. The following examples may illustrate this:

- 66) a. [̣zi bora_7 fAyya-n
NP this ox good-is

'This ox is good'

- b. [̣zi borarA_7 wajj-A-hi
NP these oxen buy-pf-1cs

'I bought these oxen'

- c. [̣za wussa_7 Tifo -n
NP That dog bad-is

'That dog is bad'

- d. [za wussa ssA] wAKa-t
NP those dogs hit-pf-3fs
'She hit those dogs'

From these examples, we can observe that *kāstaniřā* makes no distinction between singular and plural demonstratives. The distinction is shown by the form of the noun. For instance, in the NP /zi bora / 'this ox' ^{the} demonstrative is singular since the noun /bora/ 'ox' is singular. In the same way, in the NP /zi borarA / 'these oxen' the demonstrative is plural, since /borarA / 'oxen' is plural. In other words, demonstratives with singular nouns are considered as singular, whereas demonstratives with plural nouns are considered as plurals.

As in the other semitic languages, demonstratives occur preceding their heads and the reverse order is unacceptable as in (67):

- 67) a.* [bora zi] fAyya-n
NP ox this good-is
b.* [borarA za] wajj-A-hi
NP oxen those buy-pf-1cs
c.* [bayy-oCC zi] awAy-mu-n
NP boy-pl these shout-pf-3pl-acc.

In addition to demonstratives, /yitta/ 'which' and /min/ 'what' have the role of specifying entities as definite in much the same way as demonstratives do. The examples in (68) illustrate this:

- 68) a. [yItta Amar_] TigAr - *A
NP which donkey sell-pf-2ms
'Which donkey did you sell?'
- b. [yItta gIbr_] sAbbAr-ki
NP which material break-pf-1cs
'Which material did I break?'
- c. [mIn wAzAla_] inn-A-nIt
NP what job have-pf-him
'What job does he have?'
- d. [mIn nAgda_] mATTa-m
NP what strangeman come-pf-p.m.
(Literally) 'What strangeman come?'
'What type of strangeman does appear?'

3.1.1.3. Genitive NPs

These forms express possession and occur in the specifier position of an NP. Observe the following structures:

- 69) a. [yA-gArAd-i TibuyA_] malAs-n
NP poss-girl-DEF breast small-is
'The girl's breast is small'
- b. [yA-amado Immit_] amATAT-A-nat
NP poss-Amado mother sick-pf- her
'Amado's mother was sick'

c. [yA-gurz-i gunnAn_] wAKKa-hu-nIt
NP poss-oldman-DEF head hit-pf-I-it

'I hit the oldman's head'

d. [yA-almaz ATabAt_] gAllIf-n
NP poss-Almaz finger tall-is

'Almaz's finger is tall'

As can be seen from the examples in (69), the genitive NPs restrict the head noun to the one possessed.

Genitive NPs include pronominals as well. Genitive pronominals are formed by affixing the possessive element /yA-/ 'of' to personal pronouns as in (70):

70) a. [yA-Adi gIlajA_] bISa-n
NP poss-I trouser red-is

'My trouser is red'

b. [yA-kya Sama_] sAbbAr - ku-nIt
NP poss-she pot break-pf-I-it

'I broke her pot'

c. [yA-dAhA ansabi_] allAf-A
NP poss-you uncle go-pf(3ms)

'Your uncle went'

d. [yA-kInnAma metIyyA_] mott-A-t
NP poss-they grandmother die-pf-3fs

'Their grandmother died'

The forms in (70) indicate possession. Distributionally and functionally they are similar to genitive NPs.

Like demonstratives, the genitive pronominals occur preceding their heads and restrict the reference of the noun to the one possessed by, say /Adi/ 'I' for example in (60).

3.1.2. Indefinite Articles

Indefiniteness is indicated by adding the indefinite pronoun /att/ 'one' before the noun. This article introduces new information into discourse. This can be seen from the examples given in (71).

- 71) a. [att kInaC'A] gAddAl - A-t
NP one flea kill-pf-3fs
'She killed a flea'
- b. [att anbAssa] awAy. -i
NP one lion roar-pf.
'A lion roared'
- c. [kInaC'A] gAddAl - A -t
NP flea kill-pf-3fs
'She killed (a) flea'
- d. [anbAssa] awAy. -i
NP lion roar-pf
'(A) lion roared'

In (71a) and (b) indefiniteness is indicated by the presence of the indefinite pronoun /att/ 'one', whereas in (71c) and (d) it is indicated by the absence of the pronoun. The absence of the article may give a generic meaning. In this sense, it refers to the class of a whole, as distinct from other classes of animals.

3.2. Quantifiers

Quantifiers are quantity or intensity denoting elements which appear preceding head nouns. These forms are classified into two types: definite and indefinite.

3.2.1. Definite Quantifiers

Definite quantifiers comprise numerals, measure phrases and classifier phrases. The amount of the substance may be quantified by direct counting or by using units of measurements.

3.2.1.1. Numerals

These are forms that indicate amount by directly enumerating. Consider the following structures.

- 72) a. [kitt bayy-oCC_] mATT-mu-n
NP two boy-pl. come-pf-3mp-acc.
'Two boys came'
- b. [arat AmarArA_] TigAr-ki
NP four donkeys sell-pf-1 cs
'I sold four donkeys'
- c. [sost ge-woCC_] arAS-A
NP three house-pl build-pf (3ms)
'He built three houses'

In these examples, the numerals quantify the heads. Such numerals occur with [+count] nouns. The occurrence of cardinals with [-count] nouns leads to unacceptable structures as in (73):

73) a.* [arat yIga_7 sAC' - A -t
NP four water drink-pf-3fs

b.* [kitt Afat_7 wajj-hy-n
NP two milk buy-2fs-acc

(73) is ill-formed because the nouns /yIgà/ 'water' and /Afat/ 'milk' are [-countable_7.

As we have seen above, the numerals occur preceding their heads. The reverse order is unacceptable:

74) a.* [bayy - oCC kitt_7 mATT-A-mu-n
NP boy-pl. two come-pf-3mp-acc.

b.* [AmarArA arat_7 TigAr - ku
NP donkeys four sell-pf-1cs

The definite article /-i/ 'the' is affixed to numerals in structures like (75) below:

75) a. [kitt-i bayy-oCC_7 mATT-A-mu-n
NP two - DEF boy-pl come-pf-3mp-acc.

'The two boys came'

b. [sost-i Amarara_7 TigAr-ki
NP three-DEF donkeys sell-pf-1cs

'I sold the three donkeys'

Affixing the definite article to both the noun and the numeral or to the noun only leads to ungrammaticality:

- 76) a.* [kitt-i bayy-oCC-i_] mATT-A-mu-n
NP two-DEF boy-pl-DEF come-pf-3mp-acc.
- b.* [kitt bayy-oCC-i_] mATT-A-mu-n
NP two boy-pl-DEF come-pf-3mp-acc.

Since the definite article, which refers to the nominals, is attached to the numerals, it is possible to drop the head noun without this causing any ill-formedness.

- 77) a. [kitt-i_] mATT-A-mu-n
NP two-DEF come-pf-3mp-acc.

'The two came'

- b. [sost-i_] TigAr - ki
NP three-DEF sell-pf-1cs

'I sold the three'

Such structures may lead us to assume that numerals behave like nominals.

Such numerals can be preceded by demonstratives as in (78) below:

- 78) a. [zi kitt-i_] wajj -A-hi
NP these-two-DEF buy-pf-1cs
- b. [za sost-i_] abb-ku - nat
NP those three-DEF give-pf-I-her

'I gave those three to her'

They can also be modified by adjectives as illustrated in the following examples:

- 79) a. [nAC'aC' - i kitt_] wajj-A
NP white(pl.)- DEF two buy-pf (3ms)
'He bought the white two'
- b. [malAsas-i sost_] TigAr-A-t
NP small(pl.)-DEF three sell-pf-3fs
'She sold the small three'

It is also possible for adjectives to occur following numerals as in (80).

- 80) a. [kitt nA C'aC' - i_] wajj-A
NP two white(pl.)-DEF buy-pf(3ms)
'He bought the two white ones'
- b. [sost malAsas-i_] TigAr-A-t
NP three small(pl.)-DEF buy-pf-3fs
'She sold the three small ones'

3.2.1.2. Measure Phrases

The set of nouns whose specification involves measure phrases includes all [count_] nouns. The quantity or amount of such nouns is not expressed by direct counting; instead, it is expressed by using certain units of measurement. For instance, liquid substances may be specified by units of measurement as in (81):

- 81) a. [[kitt Tarmus_] Afat_] TigAr-A-t
NP NP two bottle milk sell-pf-3fs
'She sold two bottles of milk'

- b. [[sost mAlAkiya_7 arAKe_7 sAC'-A
NP NP three beaker arAKe drink-pf(3ms)
'He drank three beakers of areke'
- c. [[kitt bIrc'IKKo_7 yIgga_7 abb-ku-nIt
NP NP two glass water give-pf-I-him
'I gave two glasses of water to him'
- d. [[sost Tasa_7 sIkAr_7 sAC'-A
NP NP three can beer drink-pf(3ms)
'He drank three cans of beer'
- e. [[kitt gan_7 TAj_7 TAMAK-A-t
NP NP two vessel mead prepere-pf-3fs
'She prepared two vessels of mead'
- f. [[sost liter_7 ZAyIt_7 wajj-A
NP NP three liter oil buy-pf(3ms)
'He bought three liters of oil'

In these examples, the constituents which are found in the innermost brackets are the measure phrases. These constituents are noun phrases themselves and their function is to specify the amount of the object which the head noun expresses. They occur preceding their heads. The reverse order is ³¹⁵⁹acceptable as in (82):

- 82) a. [TAj [kittgan_7_7 TAMAK-A-t
NP mead NP two vessel prepere-pf-3fs
'She prepared two vessels of mead'

- b. [zAyIt [sost liter_]_] wajj-A
NP oil NP three liter buy-pf(3ms)
'He bought three liters of oil'

In such a construction, there is a noticeable pause following the head noun.

The following are structures with units of measurement.

- 83) a. [[arat kuntal_] Tafi_] sIbAsAb-mu-n
NP NP four sack tef collect-pf-3mp-acc.
'They collected four sacks of tef'
- b. [[sost Kuna_] KiSSo_] inn-A-nIt
NP NP three basket pea have-pf-him
'He had three baskets of pea'
- c. [[arat gow tera_] maSIla_] abb-ku-nIt
NP NP four barn sorghum give-pf-j-him
'I gave four barns of sorghum to him'
- d. [[kitt kilo_] aSAbo_]Abb-ko
NP NP two kilo salt give-pf-2ls
'I will give you two kilos of salt'

In these examples, the measure phrases occur preceding the head nouns. But it is also possible for them to occur following the heads. But when this is the case, there is always a pause. Observe the following structures:

- 84) a. [maSila [arat gowtera_7_7] abb-ku-nIt
NP sorghum^{NP} four barn give-pf-I-him
'I gave four barns of sorghum to him'
- b. [aSAbo [kitt kilo_7_7] Abb-ko
NP salt NP two kilo give-; ns
'I will give you two kilos of salt'

Sometimes, the means of transport and the pen of animals may serve as units of measurement as in the following examples;

- 85) a. [[kitt Amar_7] bArbAre_7] wAsAd-A
NP NP two donkey-load pepper take-pf(3ms)
'He took two donkey-loads of pepper'
- b. [[kitt mAkina_7] gAbIs_7] TigAr-A
NP NP two lorry-load barley sell-pf(3ms)
'He sold two lorry-loads of barley'
- c. [[kuya angAdo_7] kAbIt_7] inn-A-nIt
NP NP twnty pen cattle have-pf-him
'He had twenty pens of cattle'
- d. [[sost gorono_7] fIyyA!_7] inn - A - nat
NP NP three pen goat have-pf-her
'She had three pens of goat'

As it can be seen from the structures of (85a) and (b), the amount is expressed in terms of the means of transport used for that object, that is donkeys and lorries, whereas in (c)^{and (d)} it is expressed by pen which serves as a means quantification.

There are units of measurement for length. Some of these are given in (86) below:

- 86) a. $\begin{matrix} \text{[} & \text{[} & \text{arat} & \text{kIr}_7 & \text{]IbaS}_7 & \text{] inn -A-nat} \\ \text{NP} & \text{NP} & & & & \end{matrix}$
four cubit cloth have-pf-her
'She had four cubits of cloth'
- b. $\begin{matrix} \text{[} & \text{[} & \text{kitt} & \text{Agat}_7 & \text{]mIdIr}_7 & \text{] inn-A-nIt} \\ \text{NP} & \text{NP} & & & & \end{matrix}$
two span-of land have-pf-him
'He has two spans-of land'
- c. $\begin{matrix} \text{[} & \text{[} & \text{arat} & \text{meter}_7 & \text{]bIrdIIIbIs}_7 & \text{] wajj-ma-n} \\ \text{NP} & \text{NP} & & & & \end{matrix}$
four meter blanket buy-pf-3fp-acc.
'They bought four meters of blanket'

In (86) the measure phrases specify the amount of the head nouns. They can be preceded by their heads as in the following structures:

- 87) a. $\begin{matrix} \text{[} & \text{]IbaS} & \text{[} & \text{arat} & \text{kIr}_7 & \text{]_7} & \text{] inn-A-nat} \\ \text{NP} & & \text{NP} & & & & \end{matrix}$
cloth four cubit have-pf-her
'She had four cubits of cloth'
- b. $\begin{matrix} \text{[} & \text{]bIrdIIIbIs} & \text{[} & \text{arat} & \text{meter}_7 & \text{]_7} & \text{] wajj-ma-n} \\ \text{NP} & & \text{NP} & & & & \end{matrix}$
blanket four meter buy-pf-3fp-acc.
'They bought four meters of blanket'

Notice that in all the structures given in (81-87) the measure phrases have numerals. It is not possible for numerals or units of measurement alone in the measure phrases to occur and function as specifiers, as the following ungrammatical structures show:

- 88) a.* [[kitt_] Afat_] TigAr-A-t
NP NP two milk sell-pf-3fs
- b.* [[arat_] bAKkollo_] wajj-A-t
NP NP four maize buy-pf-3fs
- c.* [[Tarmus_] Afat_] TigAr-A-t
NP NP glass milk sell-pf-3fs
- d.* [[meter_] bIrdIlIbIs_] wajj-ma-n
NP NP meter blanket buy-pf-3fs-acc.

But, examples (88c) and (d) may be acceptable when the amount 'one' is understood. Thus, examples (89a) and (b) can be paraphrased as in (c) and (d) of (89), respectively.

- 89) a. [[kitt] Tasa_] sIkAr_] sAC'-A
NP NP two can beer drink-pf(3ms)
'He drank two cans of beer'
- b. [[arat meter_] bIrdIlIbIs_] wajj-ma-n
NP NP four meter blanket buy-pf-3fp-acc.
'They bought four meters of blanket'
- c. [[tasa_] sIkAr_] sAC'-A
NP NP can beer drink-pf(3ms)
'He drank cans of beer'
- d. [[meter_] bIrdIlIbIs_] wajj-A-ma-n
NP NP meter blanket buy-pf-3fp-acc.
'They bought meters of blanket'

Though such structures are acceptable, the measure phrases do not function as specifiers.

Moreover, in examples (81-87) above, we can also observe that the phrases expressing units of measurement do not take plural markers. The ungrammatical sentences in (90) illustrate this case:

- 90) a.* [[sost mAlAkiya-woCC] arAKe] sAC'-A-t
NP NP three beaker-pl. areke drink-pf-3fs
- b.* [[arat kuntal-oCC] bAKKaollo] sIbAsAb-mu-n
NP NP four sack - pl. maize collect-pf-3mp.acc.
- c.* [[kitt meter- oCC] bIrdIlibIs] wajj-ma-n
NP NP two meter - pl. blanket buy-pf-3fp.acc.

3.2.1.3. Classifier Phrases

Classifier phrases, like measure phrases, are noun phrases. They are used for purposes of enumeration and individuation. They are specific to certain classes of nouns. But, unlike measure phrases, the head of a classifier phrase is a collective noun. Consider the following examples:

- 91) a. [[sost anat] mASila] wajj-A
NP NP three head sorghum buy-pf(3ms)

'He bought three individual sorghum plants'

- b. [[arat anat_] bAKKollo_] TigAr-A-t
NP NP four cob maize sell-pf-3fs
'She sold four cobs of maize'
- c. [[kitt AgIr_] IssAt_] inn-A-nIt
NP NP two foot false banana have-pf-him
'He had two individual false banana plants'
- d. [[arat AgIr_] bunna_] abb-ku-nIt
NP NP four foot coffee-bean give-pf-I-her
'I gave four individual coffee trees to her'
- e. [[sost AgIr_] C'at_] wajj-A-t
NP NP three foot Chat-leav^s buy-pf-3fs.
'She bought three individual chat trees'

In (91) the numerals occur together with the classifier.

The numerals alone can not be used as in (92):

- 92) a.* [[sost_] maSila_] wajj-A
NP NP three sorghum buy-pf(3ms)
- b.* [[arat_] bunna_] abb-ku-nat
NP NP four coffee-bean give-pf-I-her

In the same way, a classifier alone cannot occur in the position of a quantifier phrase and function as a specifier:

- 93) a.* [[anat_] maSila_] wajj-A
NP NP head sorghum buy-pf(3ms)

* Chat is a type of plant whose leaves can be chewed and have a stimulating effect.

- b.* $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{AgIr} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ bunna} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{abb-ku-nat} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$
foot coffee-bean give-pf-I-her

In a quantifier phrase the quantifying element does not take a plural marker. Hence, the expressions in (94) are ill-formed:

- 94) a.* $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{sost anat} - \text{oCC} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ maSIla} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{wajj-A} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$
three head-pl. sorghum buy-pf(3ms)
- b.* $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{arat AgIr} - \text{oCC} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ bunna} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{abb-ku-nat} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$
four foot - pl coff-bean give-pf-I-her

Also, the plural marker cannot be attached to the head of a noun phrase:

- 95) a.* $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{sost anat} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ maSIla} - \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{woCC} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ wajj-A}$
three head sorghum-pl. buy-pf(3ms)
- b.* $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{arat AgIr} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ bunna-woCC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{abb-ku-nat} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$
four foot coffee-bean pl. give-pf-I-her

Also, we can observe that the classifiers are preceded by the numerals, and that the reverse order is unacceptable as in (96):

- 96) a.* $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{anat sost} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ maSIla} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{wajj-A} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$
head three sorghum buy-pf(3ms)
- b.* $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{AgIr arat} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{ bunna} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{abb-ku-nat} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$
foot four coffee-bean give-pf-I-her

It is, however, possible for the classifier phrases to occur following the head noun with a preceding pause.

Observe the following examples:

- 97) a. [maSila [sost anat_]_] wajj-A
NP_{sorghum} NP three head buy-pf(3ms)
'He bought three individual sorghum plants'
- b. [bunna [arat AgIr_]_] aab-ku- nat.
NP NP
coffee-bean four foot give-pf-I-her
'I gave four individual coffee trees to her'
- c. [C'at [sost AgIr_]_] wajj-A-t
NP NP
chat-leaves three foot buy-pf-3fs
'She bought three individual chat trees'

3.2.2. Indefinite Quantifiers

These are forms that occur preceding a head noun, which is not specific in reference. They include forms such as /kulIm/ 'all'; /bIzu/ 'many/ a lot of' /malAs/ 'little', etc. Some of the indefinite quantifiers may occur with both [countable_] and [uncountable_] nouns. Compare the structures below:

- 98) a. [kulIm sAb-oCC_] allAf-mu-n
NP all people-pl. go-pf-3mp-acc
'All peoples went'

- b. [bIzu borarA_] TigAr-ku
NP many oxen sell-pf-1cs
'I sold many oxen'
- c. [TIKit bayy - oCC_] TAff-A-mu-n
few boy - pl. disappear-pf-3mp-acc.
'A few boys disappeared'
- d. [attIm bayy_] al-mATTa
NP any boy neg-come-pf
'Any boy didn't come'
- e. [att att †Amari - woCC_] allAf-mu-n
NP one-one student-pl. go-pf-3mp-acc.
'Some students went'

The examples in (98) have indefinite quantifiers occurring with [+count] nouns. Those which occur with [-count] nouns are shown in the examples below:

- 99) a. [malAs yIga_] abb-ku-nIt
NP small water give-pf-I-him
'I gave him little Water'
- b. [bIzu TAj_] sAC'-A
NP a lot of mead drink-pf (3ms)
'He drank a lot of mead'
- c. [attIm Afat_] al-sAC'-hu
NP any milk neg-drink-pf-1cs
'I didn't drink any milk'

In (98) and (99) the indefinite quantifiers occur preceding the head nouns. But it is possible for them to occur following their head:

- 100) a. [borarA bIzu_] TigAr-ku
NP oxen many sell-pf-1cs
'I sold many oxen'
- b. [yIga malAs_] abb-ku-nIt
NP water small give-pf-I-him
'I gave him some water'
- c. [bayy-oCC TIKit_] TAff - A-mu-n
NP boy -pl. few disappear-pf-3mp-acc
'A few boys disappeared'

In all such phrases, a nominal head can have only one quantifier phrase

When there are articles and quantifiers in a single Np structure the order is as shown in the examples below:

- 101) a. [[zi [kitt borarA_]_]_] wajj-A-hi
NP ART Qp
these two oxen buy-pf-1cs
'I bought these two oxen'
- b. [[yA-amado [sost TAgaGAgA_]_]_] mott-mu-n
NP ART Qp
poss-Amado three calves die-pf-3mp-acc.
'Amado's three calves died'

In such structures, the class of articles occur preceding the class of quantifiers. But, it is possible for articles to follow quantifiers with a marked pause:

- 102) a. [[kitt [zi borarA_7_7 wajj-A-hi
NP QP two ART these oxen buy-pf-1cs

'I bought these two oxen'

- b. [[sost [yA - amado borarA_7_7 mott-mu-n
NP QP three ART poss-Amado oxen die-of-3mp-acc.

'Amado's three oxen died'

The presence of a pause in these structures suggest that the articles do not occur at the same level as quantifiers in a tree. We may hence suggest that quantifiers are found under N'', as sister of N' and articles under N''' as sister of N'' . This suggestion can be supported by using such syntactic device as gapping. Compare the structure in (104) with (103).

- 103) zi sost bayy-oCC yA-dAhe nAm za sost bayy-oCC
these three boy-pl. poss-you are those three boy-pl
gIn yA-kya nAm
but poss-she are

'These three boys are yours but those three boys are hers'

The idea in the sentence can be expressed by (104) which has omitted the common elements that are found in (103).

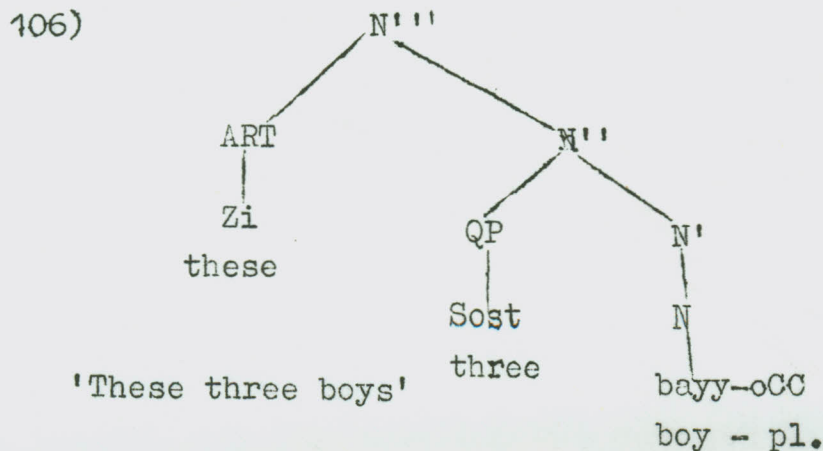
104) zi sost bayy - oCC yA-dAha nAm za [-----] gIn
 these three boy-pl poss-you are those but
 yA - kya nAm
 poss-She are

'These three boys are yours but those are hers'

In this structure it is the quantifier phrase which is omitted. The omission includes the head /bayy - oCC/ 'boys' together with the quantifier /sost / 'three'. The fact that the article /za/ 'those' is not omitted along with the quantifier phrase suggests that it is generated at higher level. In other words, the articles do not belong to the same level that the quantifiers belong to.

In light of this, the configuration of an NP structure such as (105) may be shown to be like (106) in a tree diagram:

105) [zi sost bayy - oCC] allAf--mu-n
 NP these three boy-pl. go-pf-3mp-acc.
 'These three boys went'



Finally, one point remains to be said about NP specifiers. This relates to the number of specifiers in a single NP. Consider the following structures:

- 107) a. [Za kitt borarA_] wajj-A
NP those two oxen buy-pf (3ms)
'He bought those two oxen'
- b. [Za yA - amado kitt borarA_] mATT - A-mu-n
NP those poss-Amado two oxen come-pf-3mp-acc.
'Those Amado's two oxen came'
- c.* [Zi kitt bIzu borarA_] wajj - A
NP these two many oxen buy-pf (3ms)
- d.* [Zi kitt TIKit bayy - oCC_] allAf-mu-n
NP these two few boy - pl. go-pf-emp-acc.

According to (107a), the occurrence of one article and one quantifier in an NP is acceptable, and according to (107b) the occurrence of two articles and one quantifier is also allowed. On the otherhand, the occurrence of two quantifiers in an NP is not permitted as (107c) and (d) demonstrate.

Based on this observation, we can state, following Jackendoff (1977:104), a semantic constraint on number of specifiers in an NP:

108) Specifier Constraint

An Np specifier may contain at most two articles and one quantifier in a single structure.

This constraint, although proposed for languages like English, is also workable for other languages, like kistaniñña and Amharic (see, Baye, 1984).

CHAPTER FOUR

4. C.O.N.C.L.U.S.I.O.N

In this chapter I shall summarize what has been discussed in the preceding chapters.

As stated in chapter one, the x-bar theory is a recent theoretical innovation in the stage of grammar which falls within the general framework of extended standard theory of generative grammar. The discussions in the study were made following the claims and predictions of this theory.

In the study, I have assumed that nominals consist of a lexical category which serves as the head of NPs. Nouns are divided as simple and derived nominals. The lexical category requires phrasal categories as its complements in its projection line. We have seen that kistaninna nominals have the potential for a uniform three-bar projection as claimed by Jackendoff (1977) for languages like English.

At minimal projection, we found NPs serving as the complements of derived nominals. Such complements are inextricably linked up with the lexical category and occurs immediately preceding them. The complements at this level are functional arguments.

At the intermediate phrasal category the complements are genitive NPs (of source, purpose, location and time), adjectival phrases, prepositional phrases and relative clauses.

These are referred to as restrictive modifiers on the basis of their effect of restricting the head of the construction in which they occur as modifying complements.

The complements at the maximal level of projection are non-restrictive (appositive) modifiers. They include non-restrictive relative clauses and certain NPs.

The complements at the intermediate and the maximal levels are peripheral to the main predicate structure.

Regarding specifiers, we have argued that these are functional elements whose occurrence are peripheral to complements of the lexical head of a phrase. Their function is to limit the referential or quantitative scope of the head in an NP. These formatives do not have the potential for maximal projection. Hence, they do not subcategorize other categories or occur as heads of constituents. Articles and quantifiers are generated at N''' and N'' levels, respectively, as adjuncts.

The articles are entity-denoting elements which include determiners, demonstratives, genitive NPs, and genitive pronominals and indefinite articles.

Quantifiers include all elements which refer to quantity or amount such as numerals, measure phrases, classifier phrases and indefinite quantifiers.

The discussions we have had with respect to complements and specifiers may be captured by the following rules:

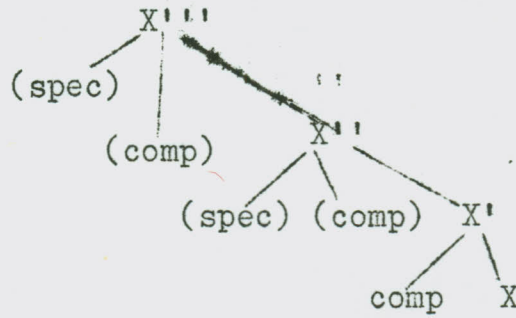
109) a. $N''' \rightarrow (\text{spec}) \text{---} N'' \text{---}(S') \text{---} (N''')$

b. $N'' \rightarrow (\text{spec}) \text{---} (N''') \text{---}(A'') \text{---} (P'')\text{---}(S')\text{---}N'$

c. $N' \rightarrow (\text{NP}) \text{---} N$

Based on this rule schema, we can show the position of complements and specifiers by the following tree structure:

110)



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D E C L A R A T I O N

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

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