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THE SYNTAX OF SIMPLE VERBAL AND NOMINAL
CLAUSES OF YEM

BY
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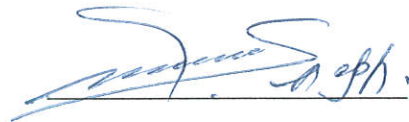
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EXAMINER

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Abbreviations and Symbols

| | | |
|--------|---|----------------------------------|
| Accu | = | Accusative |
| Agr | = | Agreement |
| Agro | = | Object agreement |
| AgroP | = | Object agreement phrase |
| Agrs | = | Subject agreement |
| AgrsP | = | Subject agreement phrase |
| AspP | = | Aspect phrase |
| Aux | = | Auxiliary |
| C | = | Complementizer |
| CP | = | Complementizer phrase |
| def | = | definite |
| DP | = | Determiner phrase |
| Imperf | = | imperfective |
| indef | = | indefinite |
| Intro | = | interrogative |
| IP | = | Inflectional phrase |
| Juss | = | Jussive |
| LF | = | logical form |
| MP | = | Minimalist program |
| Neg | = | Negative |
| Negp | = | Negative phrase |
| Noml | = | Nominalization / Nominalizer |
| Perf | = | Perfective |
| PF | = | Phonological form |
| Pol | = | polite |
| t | = | trace |
| T | = | Tense |
| TP | = | Tense phrase |
| V | = | Verb |
| vP | = | light verb phrase |
| VP | = | Verb phrase |
| spec | = | specifier |
| 1s | = | first person singular |
| 1pl | = | first person plural |
| 2m.s | = | second person masculine singular |
| 2f.s | = | second person feminine singular |
| 2pl | = | second person plural |
| 3m.s | = | third person masculine singular |
| 3f.s | = | third person feminine singular |
| 3pl | = | third person plural |

Abstract

This study is about the syntax of simple verbal and nominal clauses of Yem in light of the Minimalist Approach of Chomsky (1995a and 1995b). The focus is on the derivation of simple verbal and nominal affirmative clause structures. The first chapter has dealt with the background, research question, objectives, methodology and the theoretical framework of the study.

Previous studies are available on the phonology, morphology and to some extent on the syntax and sociolinguistics of the language. This study intended to fill some gaps in the description of the syntax of the language. So the basic questions that are answered in this study include how are simple affirmative verbal and nominal clause structures of Yem derived? What are the possible derivational operations as well as the feature checking principles of verbal and nominal clause structures? What are the projections and hierarchical orders of functional and lexical categories in IP and VP in the language? What are the similarities and differences between the structure of verbal and nominal clauses in the language?

The objective of this study is to describe the derivation of simple verbal and nominal clauses in the language. The study identify derivational operations, the projections of functional and lexical categories and the conditions of theta- role assignment, feature checking condition, the hierarchical order of functional and lexical categories in the VP and IP layers as well as the similarities and differences between verbal and nominal clause structures the language.

The research method includes reading relevant research materials and creating a point of departure for the present study and developing clear concepts about the Minimalist approach as a theoretical framework. Data is collected from native speakers of Yem. Sample verbal and nominal structures are prepared in Amharic

for soliciting equivalents in the target language. The data is phonemically transcribed and checked against tape recordings. Finally, data is described and analyzed on the bases of the Minimalist approach and conclusions are drawn about the syntax of simple verbal and nominal clauses. Under the theoretical framework, basic assumptions of the Minimalist approach about syntactic representations in general and clause derivations in particular are considered in this chapter.

In the second chapter, some functional and derivational inflections on verbs and infinitives are described. These include agreement, tense, aspect and case in verbal clauses as well as agreement and case in nominal clauses. Some derivational elements like nominalizers and causativizers are also described.

The third chapter shows the derivations of simple verbal and nominal clauses including their similarities and differences. The derivational operations are merge and move. Features like agreement, tense and case trigger movement. The functional categories projected in IP layer are TP, AgrsP, and AspP. Their hierarchical order is [AgrsP[TP[AgrsP[AspP[vP[VP]]]]]] for past perfect simple affirmative clauses and this goes in line with Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle. The basic word order is SOV derived from Kayne's (1994) SVO universal order. OSV is also possible when object is focused. Nominative case is checked at the spec of AgrsP whereas accusative case is checked at the spec of vP in verbal clauses.

The derivation of nominal clauses is similar to that of their verbal counterpart in Yem. The assumption of this study is that the derivation of nominal clause takes place in the lexicon following the lexicalist hypothesis. The word order in nominal clauses is similar to the basic order. The difference is that there is no temporal element in nominal clauses and it is interpreted as DP, not as IP. The hierarchical order that observed in nominal clause is [DP[AgrsP[nP[NP]]]]. Accusative and nominative cases are checked at the spec of nP and AgrsP respectively. The highlights and some facts about the derivations of verbal and nominal clauses are given in chapter four.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

1.1.1. The people

The Yem speakers call themselves Yemma, and they live in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. There are different names found in previous literatures about the Yem language and its speakers. However, some of these names are avoided at present time, since they have derogatory senses (Derib, 2004). Thus, in this paper, the word Yemma represents the people, whereas Yem refers to the language.

The center of the Yemma People is Fofa, located northeast of Jimma, which used to be the seat of the Yem Kingdom. The Yemma people live here isolated Huntingford (1955) (cited in Aklilu, 1992; Derib, 2004). At present, the Yemma people have their own special administration in SNNPRS¹. According to Ashenafi (2007), Yem special administration is bounded by the Oromia region, Jimma zone in the northwest and south, by the Gurage zone in northeast and by Hadiya zone in south. However, there are speakers who live in the Jimma zone of Oromia Regional state, either mixed with the Oromos or side by side in villages, for instance, around Sokoru, Saja, Jiren, Dedo and Sek'a. According to the 1994 census, the population is about 167,570 of which 81,613 are mother tongue speakers of Yem (Derib, 2004).

1.1.2. The language

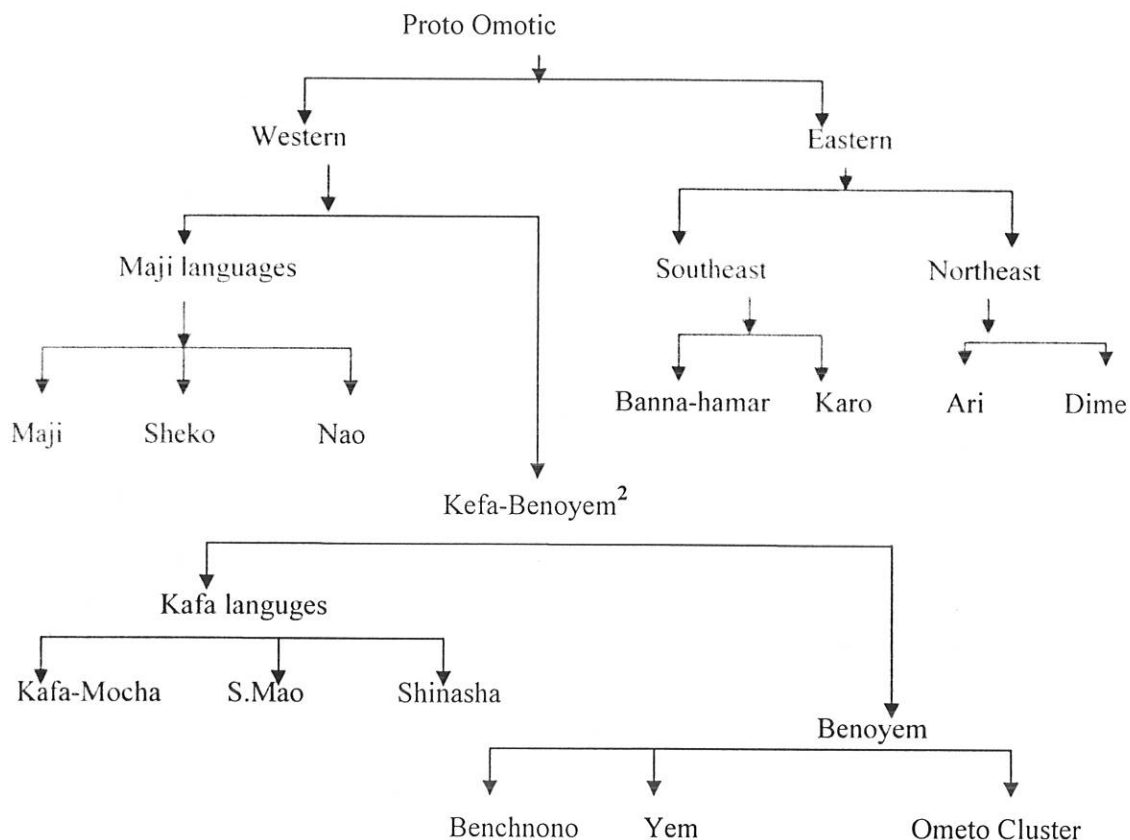
1.1.2.1. General points on the language

According to Fleming (1976) in Bender (1976:47), Yem is classified as a branch of the Kafa-Gimojan group of West Omotic.

¹ South Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State

However, Benoyem is used as the abbreviation for Gimojan in recent works. It stands for Benchnono, Ometo and Yem. The following family tree of Omotic adapted from Bender (1976) illustrates this.

Chart 1. Omotic family tree, adapted from Bender



According to my informants, there are two dialects of Yem known as Fofa and Tobba. There are bi-lingual and tri-lingual speakers in Yem and Amharic or in Yem, Amharic and Oromo, especially among those who live in towns and in the Jimma zone.

² In Bender (1976) the subfamily Kefa-Benoyem is named as Kefa-Gimojan, but since the abbreviation Gimojan has derogatory names and it is renamed as Benoyem in recent works on these languages.

Moreover, due to contact with Afan Oromo and Amharic speakers, we can find a number of words in Yem borrowed from these languages³.

The language is not used as a medium of instruction in schools at the present time. Amharic is the working language in the Yem special administration and the medium of instruction in schools.

The vocabulary is stratified into three levels. As a result, different vocabulary items can convey the same concept. According to Aklilu (1992) words are classified as royal, respectful and informal. He states that the use of a particular level depends on the speaker's status, age and occupation relative to the person being addressed. The royal forms refer to parts of the body, weapons, household objects and activities of the kings. The respectful forms are used to describe ordinary actions of notables, whereas the common forms are used for ordinary or informal references.⁴

³ According to Girma (1986), the following words in Yem are borrowed from Amharic and Afan Oromo.

| Amharic | Yem | gloss |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| mä-täkkos | / tokkos-ol/ | 'to shoot' |
| mä-zämmar | /zämmar-ol/ | 'to sing' |
| mä-mmar | /tämmar-ol/ | 'to learn' |
| mäs'ihaf | /mas'afal/ | 'book' (from my data) |
| k'it'at | /k'it'ati/ | 'Punishment' (from my data) |
| Afan Oromo | | |
| K'amadu | /k'amad-ol/ | 'to plough by ox' |

⁴ For instance the following examples show these levels in the Yem language listed in (Huntingford, 1955) and Aklilu (1992):

| Informal | Respectful | Royal | Gloss |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Kúšù</i> | <i>tawnà</i> | <i>zurma</i> | 'hand' |
| <i>kí:tū</i> | <i>nipu</i> | <i>dugu</i> | 'to die' (Huntingford, 1955) |
| <i>àfàʔo</i> | <i>gigito</i> | <i>gigito</i> | 'to sleep' |
| <i>odó</i> | <i>we:sa</i> | <i>we:sa</i> | 'to hear' |

né mu mú ni fitto taʔ-ni ni fitto boston- ni 'you(singular) eat food' (Aklilu, 1992)
 In the present usage of the language, we found the polite and ordinary forms than the royal. As a result, there are polite and ordinary forms found in my data rather than royal forms that are listed in Aklilu (1992).

The respect and informal forms are reflected in the present usages of the language. For instance, *ime* is informal and *kuso* is formal for 'to give', attested in my data. According to Girma (1986), the three levels of vocabulary are found in the lexicon with different conjugations⁵.

Another point concerns the tone system of the language. Yem is identified as a tone language; it shows lexical contrasts. The three registered tones are high /´/, level /˘/ and low /˘˘/ (Fisseha, 1984; Girma, 1986 and Kassie, 1987). As it is stated in Girma (1986), tonal distinctions are made in gender in personal pronouns. High tone /´/ marks masculine and low tone /˘/ marks feminine. Hence, *bár* is 3rd singular masculine and *bàr* is 3rd singular feminine. Moreover, *né* is 2nd singular masculine 'you' and *nè* is 2nd singular feminine.

Also words like *āsú* 'the man' and *āsū* 'man' show grammatical distinction since definiteness is indicated by tone, whereas *āsū* 'man' and *āsù* 'wife' show contrast in meaning. This means that tone is grammatical as well as lexical in Yem.

According to Kassie (1987), the common word order is subject-object-verb (SOV). He says that SOV is free, since OSV is also possible without basic meaning change. However, I argue that word order is not free, because OSV does not have the same meaning as SOV as I will show in chapter three. Kassie (1987) further states that there are two types of aspects, perfective and imperfective. Perfective aspect is marked by the morpheme /-i/ for singular, and /-e/ for both singular and plural, whereas imperfective aspect is marked by the morpheme /-f/.

⁵ Based on the three levels of usages verbs in Yem, will show different person markers. In Girma (1986), for instance 2nd singular marker for respect and informal are /-eni/ and /-at/ respectively, whereas 2nd plural markers for respectful and informal are /-eni/ and /-eti/ respectively.

1.1.2.2. Phonology of the language

Derib (2004) states that Wedekind (1990) had identified twenty-three consonant and five-vowel phonemes and that the alveolar implosive /ɖ/ was doubted by Ferguson (1976). However, Derib mentioned that /ɖ/ is found in the Jimma dialect. This sound is also attested in Girma (1986) in the word *kiɖsisi* ‘cause to be broken’. In Zaugg-Coretti (2006) a dental fricative /s/ and a liquid retroflex /r/ were attested. In my data, /ɖ/ and /s/ are attested. The first one is in the word *kaɖe* ‘He/she cut/ will cut’ and the latter in the word *mas’afa* ‘book’ borrowed from Amharic.

Wedekind (1990), cited in Hirut (1993) and Derib (2004), described vowel length, gemination and syllable types of Yem. The following examples for vowel length in (1) and gemination in (2) are from Wedekind (1990) cited in Hirut (1993:5).

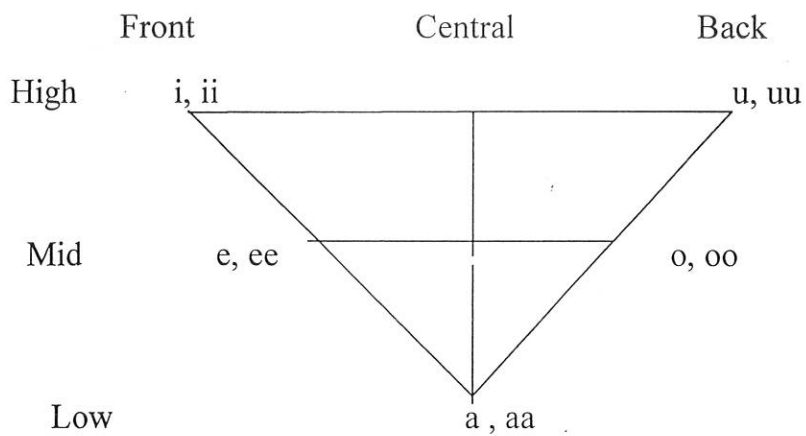
- (1) *Káɖò* ‘ape’
Ká:ɖò ‘flat stone, for washing cloths’
- (2) *ɖukó* ‘rabbit’
ɖukkó ‘earlier some time ago’

The phonemes of the language identified by Wedekind (1990) cited in Hirut (1993) and Derib (2004) are presented in the following tables.

Table 1: Consonant phonemes of Yem

| | Bilabial | | Alveolar | | Palatal | | Velar | | Glottal | |
|-------------|----------|----|----------|------|---------|----|-------|----|---------|----|
| | Vl | Vd | Vl | Vd | Vl | Vd | Vl | Vd | Vl | Vd |
| Stops | P | b | t | d | | | k | g | ʔ | |
| Ejectives | p' | | t',s' | | c' | | k' | | | |
| Implosive | | | | ɖ | | | | | | |
| Fricative | f | | s | z | š | | | | h | |
| Affricate | | | | | č | ǰ | | | | |
| Nasal | | m | | n | | ɲ | | ŋ | | |
| Liquids | | | | l, r | | | | | | |
| Approximant | | w | | | | y | | | | |

Table 2: Vowels of Yem



1.2. Research questions

The basic research questions are the following.

1. How are simple affirmative verbal and nominal clause structures of Yem derived?
2. What are the possible derivational operations as well as the feature checking principles of verbal and nominal clause structures?
3. What are the projections and hierarchical orders of functional and lexical categories in IP and VP in the language?
4. What are the similarities and differences between the structure of verbal and nominal clauses in the language?

1.3. Objectives

1.3.1. General objective

The general objective of the study is to describe the derivation of simple verbal and nominal clause structures of Yem in the light of the Minimalist approach⁶.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

The study tries to identify:

- (a) how simple verbal and nominal clauses are derived in the language;
- (b) the possible operations that derive verbal and nominal clause structures; the projections of functional and lexical categories and the conditions of theta- role assignment, feature checking and the principles involved in these;

⁶ According to Epstein and Hornstein (1999) minimalism is anchored in the suspicion that at certain times and for certain purposes less can be more. They summarize the basic assumptions in Minimalist program based on Chomsky's (1995) model of grammar in Minimalist program. Thus, there are only two levels in Minimalist approach LF and PF, and the two basic grammatical operations are Merge and Move. Move is a last resort operation and it must be short. Features can be interpretable and Uninterpretable, strong or weak. Uninterpretable features at LF or PF must be checked and removed so as to prevent violation of full interpretation.

- (c) the hierarchical order of functional and lexical categories in the VP and IP layers ; and
- (d) the similarities and differences between verbal and nominal clause structures.

1.4. Research Methodology

The research methods include reading relevant research materials and creating a point of departure for the present study and developing clear concepts about the Minimalist approach as a theoretical framework. Data is collected from native speakers of Yem. Sample verbal and nominal structures are prepared in Amharic for soliciting equivalents in the target language. In addition, oral narratives in Yem are recorded in order to see simple verbal and nominal clause structures in contexts. Then, the data is phonemically transcribed and checked against tape recordings. Finally, data is described and analyzed on the bases of the Minimalist approach and conclusions are drawn about the syntax of simple verbal and nominal clause structures.

1.5. The delimitation of the study

This study deals with the derivation of simple verbal and nominal affirmative clauses of Yem. Specifically, the study is limited to describing the derivation of simple verbal and nominal affirmative clauses in general and the functional projections as well as their hierarchy, feature checking and word order in particular. Moreover, the analysis that are made in this thesis are based on the data collected from Fofa dialect.

1.6. Previous works on the language

Previous studies are available on the phonology, morphology and to some extent on the syntax and sociolinguistics of the language. Some of these works are reviewed as follows according to their chronological order.

Fleming and Bender (1976) made a comparative study of Cushitic and Omotic languages, including Yamsa (now Yem). The Yem language is classified under the western Omotic sub-family, within Gimojan (now Benoyem), which is a subgroup of Kafa-Gimojan.

Fisseha Hailu (1984) described some noun inflections such as gender, determiners, number and case. He has also made analysis of some derivations of noun stems, and morphophonemic changes observed in the processes.

Girma Mammo (1986) analyzed different suffixes of verbs that show grammatical features including person, gender, aspect and mood.

Kassie Shifere (1987) described the possible sentence patterns, the phrase structure rules, sub-categorization rules, and transformational processes that apply on constituents. He has identified about 11 sentence patterns of which the frequent one is subject - object - verb (SOV). Other possible patterns include OSV.

Aklilu Yilma (1992) described the sociolinguistic aspects of the language including the history and social organization of the Yemma kingdom. The work includes the general linguistic characteristics of etiquette⁷ forms, the factors that determine the choice of appropriate forms and the linguistic changes that result from the social structures.

Hirut (1993) described the word formation processes of Yem. Affixation, compounding and reduplication with their deferent phonological, morphological

⁷ Etiquette, in Aklilu's (1992) work refers to the social strata found in a society that can be reflected by the linguistic forms. According to him, society is stratified in the hierarchical order. Language reflects reality and therefore reflects the reality of social strata in a society.

2003). Moreover, MP has a set of principles and constraints, which are described below.

1.9.2. Minimalist assumptions

As it is mentioned in (1.9.1) above, Minimalism has some basic assumptions. In this section, I present these assumptions since the study is based on them.

1.9.2.1. Levels of representations

As stated above, in MP there are only two levels of representations PF and LF. This means that syntactic structures generated by merging pairs of categories serve as input for computing two types of structural representations. These are representations of its phonetic form (PF), which tells us how it is pronounced, and its logical form (LF), which describes the linguistic aspects of its meaning. A linguistic expression is grammatical when its phonetic and semantic interfaces are legible for convergence (Chomsky, 1995a; Adger, 2003).⁸

Some grammatical features are interpretable at LF by virtue of their having semantic content, whereas others are un-interpretable at LF by virtue of their not having semantic content; and LF representation contains only interpretable features. If this is the case, a derivation converges at LF if it contains only interpretable features; otherwise and it crashes at LF if it contains uninterpretable features (Radford, 1997:70).

1.9.2.2. The economy principle

The economy principle⁹ states that the link between a phonological form (PF) and logical form (LF) should be as economical as possible. Derivations must involve

⁸ According to Chomsky (1995b), in Weblhuth (ed.), particular language L must provide instructions to be interpreted at two interface levels. So, L is understood as a generative system that constructs (π, λ) that are interpreted at articulatory-perceptual system and a conceptual-intentional system. From the two pairs, π is a PF representation and λ is an LF representation. Moreover, in MP there are no levels of linguistic structure apart from the two interface levels PF and LF, in other words there is no D-structure and S-structure. On the other hand, the presence of un-interpretable linguistic element causes the derivation to crash, which means that when a given linguistic expression converges, we say it is grammatical.

fewer steps. It is better to move small units than large ones to satisfy interface requirements. According to this principle, movement applies only when it must be driven by greed. It must be short, local and cyclic. The moved element must aim at the nearest higher position, and it should move cyclically if the target position is still higher up.

1.9.2.3. The operations merge and move

The two operations that take place in the derivation of structures are merge and move¹⁰. As it is stated in Adger (2003), syntactic structures are hierarchical in nature, with smaller structures merging to make larger one, which themselves, become parts of yet a larger structure. Thus, the operation merge builds up larger structures out of smaller ones, the smallest element being lexical items. Merging is binary and it does not specify the linear order of the elements being merged.

Adger defines the operation as follows:

- a. Merge applies to two syntactic objects to form a new syntactic object.
- b. The new syntactic object is said to contain the original syntactic objects, which are sisters but which are not linearized.
- c. Merge only applies to the root nodes of syntactic objects.
- d. Merge allows the checking of un-interpretable c-selectional feature on a head, since it creates sisterhood syntactic relation.

Adger (2003: 90-91)

Movement can apply only if it is triggered by the requirement that some formal features should be checked. This means that any movement must be triggered by

⁹ As to Marantz (1995) in Webelhuth (ed.), the major economy principles are shortest move, procrastinate and greed. Shortest move prohibits skipping over any head position between the position start and the target-landing site. On the other hand, procrastinate is a principle that prefers derivations that hold off in movements until after spell-out and the results of such movement do not affect PF. Also, the principle of greed states that a constituent may not move to satisfy the needs of some other constituent; movement is motivated for selfish reasons, to satisfy the needs of the moving constituent. Also, the last resort condition follows from more general economy principle banning the use of superfluous constituents and operations.

¹⁰ sentences are constructed from linguistic items such as words by an operation of merge. However, such element can be displaced in the derivation recursively by the operation move. Following the economy principle, movement is a last resort and is triggered by features, which have to be checked.

some kind of feature checking or valuation. Movement can be overt or covert. Covert movement triggers movement of features alone, that is, it does not lead to movement of the whole category (Chomsky, 1995a; Radford, 1997).

1.9.2.4. Checking theory

The notion of features is basic in MP. For instance, Radford classified features as follows:

The grammatical properties of words can be described in terms of sets of head features (which describe the intrinsic grammatical properties of words); Complement features, (which describes the types of Complement that they allow) and specifier features, (which determine the kind of specifier or subject they allow. (Radford, 1997:77)

These features can be interpretable or un-interpretable, strong or weak, verbal or nominal. Strong features trigger overt movement whereas weak features trigger covert movement. Features are checked in Specifier- Head or Head- Head relations. This assumes that the landing site for an overtly moved element is the specifier of the head element, which contains the feature that triggers the movement (Chomsky, 1995a; Radford, 1997; and Adger, 2003). Marantz (1995) states the following about feature checking:

...Features are associated with tense, case and agreement elements.... The addition of tense and agreement morphology to a verb in the lexicon involves the simultaneous addition of tense and agreement features that play a role in computation, but which has no role at the PF and LF. If this is the case, these features must be checked and eliminated prior to PF and LF. Failure to delete these features causes a derivation to crash at this interface. ...The functional categories of Agr and T, for instance are the locus of tense and agreement features that may check off the corresponding features on a verb that moves V and adjoins it to these categories. Agr and T have case and Phi-features that may check features of DPs that raise to their spaces. (Marantz ,1995:363)

Morphological features like case and agreement are checked in the projection of functional heads through movement and they trigger movement in the derivation of clauses. Therefore, Checking requires that un-interpretable feature must be

checked and erased in order to avoid the violation of the principle of full interpretation. According to principle of full interpretation, the structure to which the semantic interface rules apply contains no uninterpretable features (Adger, 2003). This means, the LF and PF levels should contain interpretable elements for the derivation to converge at the interface of PF and LF. All un-interpretable features must be checked and erased before spell out.

1.9.2.5. Theta role assignment

Theta roles are different from morphological features. Theta roles are assigned within the projections of lexical heads, whereas morphological features are checked within the projections of functional heads. Moreover, theta roles are relational, where the assignee of a role is adjacent to the assigner and that the roles assigned are semantic. The assignment takes place in the thematic layer before the operation of movement takes place.

Adger (2003) states that verbs can be classified as zero place, one place, two place and three place based on the numbers of their combinations of expressions. These combinations of expressions may have the role of agent, theme, goal, source and experience. These are known as thematic roles. For instance, a one-place predicate has one θ -role, a two-place predicate has two θ -roles and a three-place predicate has three θ -roles to assign.

1.9.3. The syntax of clauses

In recent syntactic analysis “categories like T, which head a projection, but which do not assign θ -roles, are called functional categories” (Adger 2003:165). He further explained that such functional categories have semantics, which is quite different from the θ -related semantics of items, which bear the category feature V, N, A, and P, since these are lexical. Therefore, functional categories serve to provide positions in the structure of clauses for lexical categories. The projection

of these categories found in hierarchical order in the three layers, which are discussed below.

1.9.3.1. The layers of clauses

In traditional Generative Grammar, a clause is understood as having NP and VP, where NP is the subject and VP is the predicate that contains the remaining part of the sentence. However, with the advance of syntax, a clause is divided into the layers VP, IP and CP.

The VP layer is known as a thematic layer or VP-shell, where V assigns thematic roles to its arguments. The arguments of V are filled by DPs and/or PPs. Following Baker's (1988) uniform theta-assignment hypothesis (UTAH)¹¹ a VP layer is split into two projections one of which includes light verbs (Radford, 1997).

The IP layer is a functional layer, where functional categories are projected for the checking of V-features such as tense; and NP features such as case. Pollock (1989), cited in Girma (2003) argues that IP has to be split into AgrP and TP, where AgrP stands for subject agreement and TP for tense. Later, Chomsky (1991) split the Agr node into Agr_s (subject agreement) and Agr_o (object agreement), where Agr_s is the head of the clause and Agr_o projects immediately dominating the thematic layer or VP. Ouhalla (1991) and others argue for the existence of AspP in the IP layer, and Cinque suggests that mood is also category that projects in the same layer (Girma, 2003).

Concerning the hierarchical order of these functional projections, Baker (1985:375), proposed that, "morphological derivations must directly reflect

¹¹ As it is stated in Adger (2003:138), by Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH), identical thematic relationships between predicates and their arguments are represented syntactically by identical structural relationships when items are merged.

syntactic derivations (and vice versa)” by the Mirror Principle. This means the linear order of morphemes of functional categories show the hierarchical order of their projection and it is different in different languages. Ouhalla (1991) stated that in VSO languages TP dominate AgrP, and in SVO languages AgrP dominate TP.

The CP layer links the syntax to pragmatics, i.e. to discourse and it is where operator like properties are projected (Girma 2003:16). In addition, Girma stated that Rizzi (1997) had argued for split of the CP layer into finite phrase (FinP), force phrase (ForceP) two topic phrases (TopPs) in addition to focus phrase (FocP). Hence, the CP layer has the hierarchical order [ForceP [TopP [FocP [TopP [FinP [IP]]]]] in its domain.

1.9.3.2. Word order in a clause

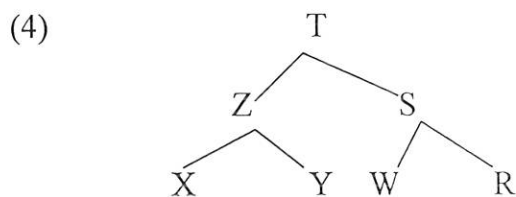
In relation to word order, the standard assumption is that order is determined by the head parameter, and languages can be head-initial or head-final. According to Chomsky (1995b), Kayne has a proposal for universal constraint, which states that asymmetric c-command imposes a linear ordering of terminal elements. According to Kayne’s proposal, every clause has Specifier- Head-Complement (SVO) order where specifiers are adjuncts. All other word orders, like SOV, VSO, etc are derived from this universal order.

According to Chomsky (1995b:248), quoted in Girma (2003), adjunction is different from substitution in that it forms a two-segment category rather than a new category. For Kayne (1994), cited in Girma (2003), multiple adjunctions are excluded according to his linear correspondence axiom (LCA)¹².

¹² According to Chomsky (1995b: 413) in Webelhuth (ed.), Kayne proposed that order reflects universal structural hierarchy and he proposed the Linear Correspondence Axiom, which states that asymmetric c-commanding imposes a linear ordering of terminal elements. From this Kayne draws further conclusions that there is a universal spec- head- complement (SVO) ordering, and that specifiers are considered as adjuncts.

However, in Minimalism, specifiers and adjuncts are different and multiple adjunction is possible. Girma further stated that since multiple features are common phenomena in languages and multiple adjunction should be possible as long as head has multiple features that license unchecked syntactic objects.

Adger (2003: 117) states, “in addition to sisterhood, there is another important syntactic relation which holds between nodes in a tree. This is the relation of C-command”. He illustrated this using the following tree diagram.



According to Adger the c-command relation in the above tree is such that:

X c-commands Y, but nothing else. This is because Y is X's sister. Since Y does not contain any other node, it turns out that X c-commands only Y. Z, however, c-commands S (because S is Z's sister), and also W and R (since W and R are contained in S). (Adger 2003:117)

In relation to word order variations, Marantz (1995) states that the differences among languages is attributed to differences in the features of lexical items and functional categories. The functional nodes in the syntax are associated with features like tense, case and agreement. In minimalism, specific bundles of these features specify lexical items and differences between bundles available in the lexicon account for cross-linguistic syntactic differences. Such bundles of features must be checked at some point in the derivation and this triggers movement of syntactic objects leading to word order variation.

1.9.4. On nominal clause structure

In his DP-hypothesis, Abney (1987) states that nouns show agreement with their possessor. This leads to the conclusion that noun phrases are headed by

inflection-like elements, which he labeled as determiner (D) which projects to DP. NP is a complement of D, as VP is that of I in the projection of IP. This means that all nominal and pronominal arguments are projections of an overt or covert D.

The notion of nominal clause is a result of the similarities between the structures of DP's and verbal clauses, specifically gerundive and infinitival clauses. Abney's (1987) proposal leads to considering the constructions of gerundive and infinitival clauses as DPs.

Abney (1987) suggests that nominal clauses result from de-verbal constructions with determiners as heads. In addition, he considers Agr in such gerundive constructions as a class of determiners, and that constructions like (5.a.) have a corresponding verbal clauses like (5.b.).

5. a. Saba's building a house

b. Saba built a house

(5.a.) can be interpreted as a DP whereas (5.b.) can be interpreted as IP. Therefore, both (5.a) and (5.b) can be analyzed as (6.a) and (6.b) respectively (Girma, 2006).

6. a. [DP Saba's [D' [D Agr] [VP building house]]]

b. [IP Saba [I' [I Agr] [VP built a house]]]

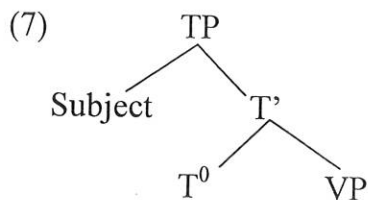
If D and Agr belong to the same category as represented in (6.a), DP is equal to IP. Girma states that, "the reason that the argument structure of nominal clause is identical with that of their corresponding verbal clause and the arguments have the same cases seem to indicate that nominalization takes place after the verb is merged with its arguments and after the case of the arguments has been checked" (2006:10). On the other hand, Ogawa (2001), cited in Girma (2006), suggests that nominalization takes place in the syntax and the nominalizer element is considered as the parallel of a light verb in verbal projections. But for Siloni (1997) the derivation of event nominals must be in the lexicon based on the argument that category changing derivation is in the lexicon.

CHAPTER TWO

Description of some functional and derivational elements in Yem

The focus of this chapter is on the description of functional categories in verbal and nominal clauses of the language. Mainly, categories like agreement, tense and aspect are treated. Moreover, case marking elements in simple verbal and nominal clause are examined. However, it is important to restate some theoretical issues here about clausal derivations in MP in relation to functional categories.

According to Adger (2003:155) “sentences have a core consisting of the projection of a lexical category (a verbal cluster) surmounted by a series of other categories, which are not assign theta roles, but project in the IP layer”. From the categories that are projected in the IP layer, tense (T) is the most important one which carries the tense features. Adger propose the following schematic structure for clausal projection.



In the above structure, a sentence is a projection of T with a subject in the specifier of TP, and the VP is the complement of T. In fact, the subject undergoes movement from a specifier position of vP (which is the extended projection by the VP shell analysis for the projection of light verbs) to the Spec of TP (see also Radford 1997:201).

Adger (2003:156) further explained that in the earlier generative assumptions, a sentence (S) is analyzed as comprising two major components: an NP that is often a subject and a VP that contains the remaining constituents of S. Hence, in this assumption S=NP+VP. This type of analysis however is found to have a major discrepancy with regard to the basic principle of the theory itself. In the theory, it

was assumed that every constituent must project as a phrase, which must have a head. Since a sentence by itself is also a constituent, i.e. a phrase consisting NP+VP but it does not provide a head. Due to this, S is reanalyzed as an IP (inflectional phrase) and its lexical head is V where the subject NP is internal to VP, its maximal projection.

However, after Pollock's (1989) 'split infl hypothesis' where IP splits into agreement (Agr) and tense (T), Chomsky (1993) also divides agreement (Agr) into subject agreement (Agrs) and object agreement (Agro) within IP. Still, others like Ouhalla (1991), cited in Girma (2003), argue that there is also aspect, which projects to AspP in the same IP layer (see 1.9.3.1).

In this chapter, I deal with the description of the functional categories in Yem and in chapter three I show how clauses are derived.

2.1. Agreement elements in Yem

The morphological realization of agreement is not uniform in languages. Verbs in clauses may or may not have overt subject and object agreement. In this section, I show the facts of agreement in simple verbal clauses of Yem.

Verbs in affirmative simple clauses of Yem show agreement with their subjects. However, these agreement elements vary according to the type of clauses. First, I describe subject agreement elements in the perfective, imperfective, imperative and jussive clauses. Then, I present the summary of the description. Consider the following examples in (8a-m), (9a-m), (10a-e) and (11a-g).

Perfective Forms

8. (a) tá ham-i-an
I go-Perf-1s
'I went'
(b) inno ham-i-ni

- we go-perf-1pl*
 ‘We went’
- (c) *né ham-i-at*
you go-perf-2s
 ‘You went’ (masculine)
- (d) *nè ham-i-at*
you(feminine) go-perf-2s
 ‘You went’
- (e) *ni of-i-eni*
you go-perf-2s
 ‘You went’ (Pol.)
- (f) *nitto ham-se-i-eti*
you go-pl-perf-2pl
 ‘You went’ (masculine and/or feminine, plural)
- (g) *nino of-se-i-eni*
you go-pl-perf-2pl
 ‘You went’ (Pol., masculine and feminine, plural)
- (h) *bár ham-i-e*
he go-Perf-3s
 ‘He went’
- (i) *bàr ham-i-e*
she go-Perf-3s
 ‘She went’
- (j) *ba:s of- i-ete*
he/ she go-Perf-3s
 ‘He/She went’ (Pol.)’
- (k) *básakito ham-se-i*
they(masculine) go-pl-Perf
 ‘They went’

(l) bàrkito ham-se-i
 they(feminine) go-pl-Perf
 ‘They went’

(m) ba:sso of-se-i-ete
 they go-pl-Perf-3pl
 ‘They went’ (Pol, masculine and feminine)

Since it is a phonemic transcription, we find the succession of different vowels but they are indicated by morpheme boundary in the above data and somewhere in the study. This means that in the surface form of the data, we find some morphophonemic conditions resulted in change of forms or deletion of morpheme. For instance, the 2nd person singular subjects are indicated by the element /-t/ in the surface form, which has to be /-at/ as in (8c,d). This is because, the vowel /-a/ is deleted when it comes after the perfective marker vowel /-i/ in this case. Moreover, the perfective marker element /-i/ is deleted when it comes before the vowel /-e/ in (8e,j,m), and when it comes after the vowel /-e/ in (8f,g,k,l) and we do not find /-i/ in the surface form of the verb. The plural number marker is also indicated by the element /-s/ in the surface reading in (8f,g,m), which has to appear as /-se/ in the underling level. Therefore, the vowel /-e/ is deleted after the perfective marker /-i/ is deleted and when the person marker /-eti/, /-eni/ and /-ete/ are added respectively in these data.

In the first person (8a,b) the verb agrees with the singular and plural subject showing the morpheme /-an/ and /-ni/ respectively. For second person singular (8c,d) the morpheme is /-at/, and in (8e) it is /-eni/ for polite. For 2nd person plural (8f) it is /-eti/ and but in (8g) it is /-eni/ for polite. In (8h,i) the agreement element is /-e/ for both masculine and feminine and in (8k,l) the agreement is only in number /-se/. For polite in (8j,m) it is /-ete/. Except for first person plural, the verb agrees in number with the subjects by showing /-se/.

In addition, consider the following examples for subject agreement in imperfective forms.

Imperfective Forms

9. (a) tá ham-f-an
I go-*Impf-1s*
'I go/shall go'
- b) inno ham-f-eni
we go-*Impf-1pl*
'We go/will go'
- (c) né ham-f-at
you go-*Impf-2s*
'You go/will go'
- (d) nè ham-f-at
you go-*Impf-2s*
'You go/will go'
- (e) ni of-f-eni
you go -*Impf-2s*
'You go/will go' (Pol.)
- (f) nitto am-se-f-eti
you go-*pl-Impf-2pl*
'You go/ will go' (masculine and/or feminine, plural)
- (g) nino of-se-f-eni
you go -*pl-Impf-2pl*
'You go/will go' (Pol.masculine or feminine, plural)
- (h) bár ham-f-en
he go-*Impf-3s*
'He goes /will go'
- (i) bàr ham-f-en

- she go-Impf-3s*
 ‘She goes/ will go’
- (j) *ba:s of-f-en*
he/ she go -Impf-3s
 ‘He/She goes/ will go’ (Pol)
- (k) *básakito ham-se-f-é*
they (masculine) go-pl-Impf-m
 ‘They go/will go’
- (l) *bàrkito ham-se-f-à*
they (feminine) go-pl-Impf-f
 ‘They go/will go’
- (m) *ba:sso of-se-f-en*
they go-pl-Impf-3pl
 ‘They go/ will go’ (Pol, feminine and/or masculine, plural)

In the imperfective clauses, the verb in (9a,b) shows the subject agreement elements */-an/* and */-eni/* for 1st singular and plural respectively. In (9c,d) the subject agreement is */-at/* for 2nd singular, whereas it is */-eni/* for polite as in (9e). In (9f,g) the subject agreements are */-eti/* and */-eni/* for 2nd person plural and polite respectively. It is */-en/* for 3rd person masculine and feminine singular (9h,i) as well as for 2nd singular polite (9j). In (9k,l) the verbs agree in number and gender not in person. In (9m) it is */-en/* for 3rd plural (polite). Plural number is also indicated by the morpheme */-se/* in (9f,g,k,l,m), whereas masculine gender is marked by */-é/* (9k) and feminine is marked by */-à /* in (9.l).

Imperative Forms

10. (a) *né hamm-á*
you go-Imper -2m
 ‘You go!’ (Masculin, singular)

- (b) nè hamm-è
you go-Imper-2f
 ‘You go!’ (Feminine singular)
- (c) ni of-o-ni
you go-Imper-2s
 ‘You go!’ (Pol, feminine and/or masculine)
- (d) nitto ham-se-o-ti
you go-pl-Imper-2pl
 ‘You go!’ (masculine and/or feminine, plural)
- (e) nino of-se-o-ti
you go-pl-Imper-2pl
 ‘You go!’ (Pol, masculine and/or feminine, plural)

The subject agreement in (10a,b) is /-á/ and /-è/ for 2nd person singular masculine and feminine respectively; whereas /-ni/ is for 2nd singular and polite in (10c). Moreover, it is /-ti/ for 2nd plural in (10d) and plural/polite in (10e). Plural is indicated by /-se/ in (10d e).

Jussive Forms

11. (a) tá ham-o-ana
I go-Juss-1s
 ‘Let me go’
- (b) inno ham-o-ani
we go-Juss-1p
 ‘Let us go’
- (c) bár ham-o
he go-Juss
 ‘Let him go’
- (d) bàr ham- o- ø
she go-Juss-3s
 ‘Let her go’

(e) ba:s of-o

he/ she go -Juss

'Let him/her go' (Pol)

(f) básakito/ bàrkito ham-se-o

they go-pl-Juss

'Let them go' (*masculine or feminine*)

(g) ba:sso of-se-o

they go- pl.Juss

'Let them go' (*Pol., masculine and/or feminine*)

In the above data (11a,b) the subject agreements are /-ana/ and /-ani/ for 1st singular and plural respectively. For others (11c-g) it is /-∅/ in all jussive forms. Based on the above data, subject agreement elements of Yem are summarized in table 3 bellow.

Table 3. Subject agreements in Yem

| Person, number and gender | Perfective verb | | | Imperfective verb | | | Imperative verb | | | Jussive verb | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|------|-----|-------------------|------|-----|-----------------|------|-----|-----------------|------|
| | Num | Pers | Gen | Num | Pers | Gen | Num | Pers | Gen | Num | Pers |
| Singular | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 st | | -an | | | -an | | | | | | -ana |
| 2 nd m | | -at | | | -at | | | -∅ | -á | | |
| 2 nd f | | -at | | | -at | | | -∅ | -è | | |
| 2 nd (Pol) | | -eni | | | -eni | | | -ni | | | |
| 3 rd m | | -e | | | -en | | | | | | |
| 3 rd f | | -e | | | -en | | | | | | |
| 3 rd (Pol) | | -ete | | | -en | | | | | | |
| Plural | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 st | | -ni | | | -eni | | | | | | -ani |
| 2 nd m | -se | -eti | | -se | -eti | | -se | -ti | | | |
| 2 nd f | -se | -eti | | -se | -eti | | -se | -ti | | | |
| 2 nd (Pol) | -se | -eni | | -se | -eni | | -se | -ti | | | |
| 3 rd m | -se | | | -se | | -é | | | | -se | |
| 3 rd f | -se | | | -se | | -à | | | | -se | |
| 3 rd (Pol) | -se | -ete | | -se | -en | | | | | -se | |

On the other hand, there is no overt object agreement on the verb as we can observe from the following examples.

- 12 (a) *jago*¹ *e:to* *wor-i- e*
J. lion-indef kill-perf-3s.s
‘Jago killed a lion’
- (b) *jago* *e:to-s-in* *wor-i-e*
J. lion-def-Accu kill-perf-3s
‘Jago killed the lion’
- (c) *tamsa:s*² *gaččuwa-s-on* *wa:g- i-e*
T. ox-def-Accu buy-perf-3s
‘Tamsa:s bought the ox’
- (d) *tamsa:s jago-nik fizo-s-in wa:g-i -e*
T. Jago-for goat -def-Accu buy-perf-3s
‘Tamsa:s bought the goat for Jago’

Although, the direct objects *e:to* ‘lion-indef’, *e:to-s-in* ‘lion-def-Accu’, *gaččuwa-s-on* ‘ox-def-Accu’ and *fizo-s-in* ‘goat-def-Accu’ in (12a,b,c) respectively show accusative case, there is no overt object agreement on the verbs. Similarly, there is no indirect object agreement as (12d) shows.

2.2. Tense and Aspect

Tense and aspect are related to the concept of time. Tense locates a situation or events and states with reference to the moment of utterance (Girma, 2003). In other words, tense expresses relationship between the time of an action and the time of speaking about it. Actions that take place at a time of speaking are in present tense, whereas actions that precede the time of speaking are in the past

¹ Jago is a masculine proper noun in this language

² Tamsa:s is a masculine proper noun

tense, and actions that happen after the time of speaking are in the future tense.

Aspect tells us whether an action that takes place in the past, present, or future time, is on going or completed. The difference is that aspect cannot be explained in time line. Although, the classifications of aspect is not uniform in the literatures the most fundamental aspectual distinctions in many languages are between perfective and imperfective (Girma, 2005). Usually, the perfective form of the verb indicates completed actions regardless of time, whereas the imperfective form a verb shows that an action is not completed.

Concerning tense and aspect in Yem, Girma (1986) said that verbs in Yem have a clear distinction of perfective and imperfective aspect. As to him, since aspect and tense are highly linked to each other in the language, it is difficult to treat one without the other. He further states that there is no special way of dealing with tense in this language except using auxiliaries. In my data perfective aspect is indicated by /-i/ and imperfective is by /-f/ (see (8a-m) and (9a-m) above).

There is no overt morphological element to show simple past, present and future tense as far as my data shows (see (8a-m) and (9a-m) above). However, auxiliaries are used specially to indicate actions that take place in the remote past. Consider the following examples:

13 (a) *bár ham-i-e-w-á*
he go-Perf-3s-Aux-3ms

‘He had gone’

(b) *bàr ham-i-e-w-è*
she go-Perf-3s-Aux-3fs

‘She had gone’

(c) *jago ya-di-f-é-wa*
J. come-progressive-Imperf-3ms-Aux

‘Jago had been coming.’

- (d) tobo³ ya-di-f-à-wa
T. come-progressive-Imperf-3fs-Aux
 ‘Tobo had been coming’
- (e) bár ham-f-en
he go-Impf-3s
 ‘He will go’
- (f) bàr ham-f-en
she go-Impf-3s
 ‘She will go’

In (13a,b) , it seems that past perfect tense is expressed by the auxiliary /-w/, whereas perfective aspect is indicated by /-i/. Progressive in (13c,d) is indicated by /-di/ whereas the imperfective aspect and past perfect tense are marked by /-f/ and /-wa/ respectively. Note that, /-é/ (13c) shows masculine singular and /-à/ (13d) feminine singular. However, in (13e,f) there is no overt simple future tense marker on the verb.

Girma (2003) stated that if there is no visible tense marker in any simple clause, the perfective aspect shows past and the imperfective non-past. Concerning tense, he proposes that in languages in which tense is not expressed phonetically, one can assume an abstract tense feature (Girma 2003:150). In such languages, there is a tense head, which is null. If this is so, I assume the same for the TP projection in this language whenever tense is not visible.

2.3. Case marking in Yem

As mentioned in chapter one, case can be considered as being structural or inherent. In this section, I try to examine this in simple clauses of Yem. First, I will show structural cases that are nominative and accusative. Then, I will describe inherent cases.

³ Tobo is a feminine proper noun

Consider the following examples for structural nominative and accusative cases.

14. (a) *tamsa:s gačču-s-on wa:g-i-e*

T. ox-def-Accu buy-perf-3s

‘Tamsa:s bought the ox’

(b) *tobo ma:ma:-s-on wa:g-i-e*

T. cloth-def-Accu buy-perf-3s

‘Tobo bought the cloth’

(c) *Jago tobo-no ič-i-e*

J. Tobo-Accu hit-perf-3s

‘Jago hit Tobo’

(d) *muc'e⁴ tamsa:s-ni šun-i-e*

M. Tamsa:s-Accu like-perf-3s

‘Muc'e liked Tamsa:s’

(e) *tamsa:s e:to-s-on⁵ wor-i-e*

T-ms.s lion-def-Accu kill-perf-3s

‘Tamsas killed the lion’ (female lion)’

(f) *bár bàro-no šun-i-e*

he her-Accu like-perf-3s

‘He liked her’

⁴ Muc'e is a feminine proper noun

⁵ If the noun has no lexically identified gender distinction for masculine and feminine like *fizo* ‘goat’ and *e:to* ‘lion’ the accusative case indicator */-in/* is for masculine accusative noun where as */-on/* is for feminine accusative noun.

Example :

- a) *fizo-s-in* ‘goat-def-Accu’ (for male goat)
- b) *fizo-s-on* ‘goat-def-Accu’ (for female goat)
- c) *e:to-s-in* ‘lion-def-Accu’ (for male lion)
- d) *e:to-s-on* ‘lion-def-Accu’ (for female lion)

But nouns like *gačču* ‘ox’ that have lexically determined gender distinction and nouns that are commonly considered as masculine gender like *ma:ma:* ‘cloth’ take accusative case marker */-on/* in this language. On the other hand, for masculine proper noun and pronoun it is */-ni/* like *Tamsa:s-ni* and for feminine proper noun and pronoun it is */-no/* like *Tobo-no*.

(g) *tamsa:s fizo-s-in wa:g-i-e*

T. goat-def-Accu buy-perf-3s

‘Tamsa:s bought the goat (male goat)’

(h) *gawo wa:ga: im-i-e*

G. money give-perf-3s

‘Gawo gave money’

Although, in (14a-h) the subjects *Tamsa:s*, *Tobo*, *Jago*, *muc'e*, *Tamsa:s*, *bár* *Tamsa:s* and *Gawo* are in nominative case, there is no overt nominative case indicator on these subjects. When we examine the simple clauses (14a-g), we find direct objects with accusative case markers. These are */-on/* in (14 a,b,) for nouns that are lexically identified for gender, */-no/* for feminine proper nouns and pronouns like *Tobo* and *Bàro* in (14c,f). In (14d), it is indicated by */-ni/* for masculine proper nouns like *Tamsa:s*. However, in (14e) the affix is */-on/* for feminine accusative in (14g) it is */-in/* for masculine accusative noun since the noun *e:to* ‘lion’ is not identified for gender. Covert accusative case marking is possible as in *wa:ga:* ‘money’ (14h). Thus, except for proper nouns and pronouns, overt case is optional.

I will discuss how nominative and accusative cases are checked in chapter three. Now consider the following examples (15a-e) for inherent case.

15 (a) *bàr wa:ga-s-on gawo-nik im-i-e*
she money-def-Accu G. -for give-perf-3s

‘She gave the money to Gawo’

(b) *bár hebo-sik e:to-s-in wor-i-e*
he spear-with lion-def-Accu kill-perf-3s

‘He killed the lion with the spear’

(c) *bár tobo-nik masakkar-i-e*
he T. -for testify-perf-3s

‘He testified for Tobo’

- (d) *bár tamsa:s -nista masakkar-i-e*
he T. against testify-perf-3s ‘He testified against Tamsa:s’
- (e) *tamsa:s-ni gačču-ni wa:g-o*
Tamsa:s-Gen ox- Gen buy-Noml ‘Tamsa:s ‘s buying of an ox’

In (15a) and (15b) dative and instrumental cases are indicated by the postposition /-nik/ and /-sik/ respectively. In (15c) and (15d) the benefactive and malefactive cases are indicated by /-nik/ and /-nista/ respectively. In (15e) both the possessor and the possessed are marked for genitive case by the element /-ni/ .

2.4. Functional categories in nominal clauses

In this section, I try to describe the basic facts of functional elements in nominal clauses. Before that, I raise some points about verb stems of derived nominals . In Yem, as in other languages, nouns can be derived from verb stems . According to Hirut (1993:22), gerundive nominals are derived from verb stems by adding suffixes like / -a,-o,-u/ as in the following examples.

| | <u>Verb stem</u> | <u>suffix</u> | <u>Gerundive Nominal</u> | <u>Gloss</u> |
|--------|------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| 16 (a) | /wag- | + -o / | → [wag-o] | ‘buying’ |
| | <i>buy</i> | + <i>-ing</i> | | |
| (b) | /bat- | + -a/ | → [bat-a] | ‘breaking’ |
| | <i>break</i> | + <i>-ing</i> | | |
| (c) | /wor- | + -u / | → [wor-u] | ‘killing’ |
| | <i>Kill</i> | + <i>-ing</i> | | |

(Hirut, 1993:22)

In the above examples, the affixes /-o/, /-a/ and /-u/ are nominalizers⁶ and *wag-o*, *bat-a* as well as *wor-u* are nominal in category. These nominals serve as argument

⁶ According to Hirut (2003) ,deverbal nominalization is a very productive process in Haro which is also an Omotic language . For instance, action nouns in Haro are formed from verb roots by adding one of the four suffixes:- /-a/ ,/-o/ /-e/ and /-i/ . Association of a suffix with a verb root is unpredictable and remains lexically determined. This means, the set of verbs to which the suffixes :- /-a/ ,/-o/ and /-e/ are added cannot be generalized or predicted.

Example : Haro

| <u>verb root</u> | | <u>Nouns</u> | |
|------------------|---------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| woss- | ‘run’ | woss-i | ‘running’ |
| bey- | ‘see’ | bey-e | ‘seeing’ |
| hantt- | ‘work’ | hantt-a | ‘working’ |
| bot- | ‘bless’ | bot-o | ‘blessing’ (Hirut , 2003: 88) |

like non-derived nouns. Girma (1986) considered such forms as infinitives in Yem. If this is so, then nominal clauses in Yem can be treated as DPs following Abney's (1987) proposal.

There are agreement and case elements in derived nominal clauses like the following:

17 (a) *tamsa:s gačču-s-on wa:g-o-bás*

T. ox-def-Accu buy-Noml-3ms

'Tamsa:s's buying of the ox'

(b) *tobo ma:ma: wag-o-bàs*

T. cloth buy-Noml-3fs

'Tobo's buying of cloth.'

(c) *né ma:ma:-s-on wag-o-nés*

You cloth-def-Accu buy-Noml-2ms

'Your buying of the cloth'

(d) *tá tamsa:s gačču-s-on wa:g-o-bás-on od-i-an*

I T. ox-def-Accu buy-Noml-3ms-def-Accu hear-perf-1s

'I heard Tamsa:s's buying of the ox'

In the examples (17a-c) the subject agreement elements on infinitival *wag-o* 'to buy' are /-bás/, /-bàs/, and /-nés⁷. However, there is no tense or aspect

⁷ we find such Agr elements on derived nominals which are attached next to the nominalizer morpheme. For instance, see the following paradigm.

| <u>Nominals</u> | <u>Gloss</u> | <u>Nominals</u> | <u>Gloss</u> |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>Wag-o-nas</i> | | <i>Wag-o-nis</i> | |
| <i>buy-Noml-1s</i> | 'my buying' | <i>buy-Noml-1pl</i> | 'our buying' |
| <i>Wag-o-nés</i> | | <i>Wag-o-nitis</i> | |
| <i>buy-Noml-2ms</i> | 'your buying' | <i>buy-Noml-2pl</i> | 'your buying' |
| <i>Wag-o-nès</i> | | <i>Wag-o-besis</i> | |
| <i>buy-Noml-3fs</i> | 'your buying' | <i>buy-Noml-3pl</i> | 'their buying' |
| <i>Wag-o-bás</i> | | <i>Wag-o-bàs</i> | |
| <i>buy-Noml-3ms</i> | 'his buying' | <i>buy-Noml-3fs</i> | 'her buying' |

marker and object agreement. There is no overt nominative case marker on subjects whereas overt accusative case is indicated by /-on/ in (17a,c,d). In (17b) accusative case is covert. Note that the bold part in (17d) is nominal clause which is marked for accusative that is /-on/. Regarding inherent case, it is similar to what has been described in verbal clauses.

2.5. Causative elements on verbs and infinitives

According to Adger (2003:131), causatives involve special particle or auxiliary. In causatives structures, verbs undergo movement to a higher position, which encodes causality. The causative element is a ‘little v’. According to Girma (2006), such verbs introduce arguments.

In Yem, causative verbs and infinitives add arguments. For instance, compare the following clauses⁸.

- 18 (a) jago ma:ma: wag-i-e
J. cloth-indef buy-caus-perf-3s
 ‘Jago bought a cloth’
- (b) jago tamsas-ni ma:ma: wag-s-i-e
J. Tms-Accu cloth buy-caus-perf-3s
 ‘Jago made Tamsas buy cloth’
- (c) jago tamsa:s-ni ma:ma: wag-s-o-bás
J. T. -Accu cloth buy-caus-Nom-3ms
 ‘Jago’s making Tamsas to buy a cloth’

⁸ Anderson (1985:330), cited in Hirut (1999) defines causative verb as a “verb that describes a situation where some entity of a causer either brings about an action or at least, fails to prevent it.” Hirut further describes that, in Yem causative stems are formed by attaching the suffixes [(i)s] and [(i)sis]. Their distribution is determined by the transitive or intransitive nature of the verbal root. Therefore, [(i)s] goes with transitive roots while [(i)sis] goes with intransitive ones. [(i)sis] is a sort of a reduplicated form of the former.

| Example: | <u>Roots</u> | <u>Gloss</u> | <u>Causative verbs</u> | <u>Gloss</u> |
|----------|---------------------------|--------------|------------------------|--|
| | wor- | kill | wor-s- | cause to kill |
| | kas- | sing | kas-is- | cause to sing |
| | ič- | hit | iš-š- | cause to hit |
| | <u>Transitivized stem</u> | | | |
| | fat-is- | fatten | fat-is-is | cause to fatten (Hirut, 1999: 165-170) |

In (18b,c) there is a causative element */-s/* on the verb stem *wag-* ‘buy’ in both verbal and nominal clauses. When we compare (18a) with (18b,c), a new argument *tamsa:s-ni* is introduced in the latter.

So far, we have seen that in simple verbal clauses there are subject agreements. The verbs also show overt morphology for the perfective and imperfective aspects, but there is no morpheme for tense. Auxiliary verb is used for past tense (remote past). Nominative case is covert whereas accusative is overt. Except in proper nouns or pronouns overt case marker is optional for other nouns. Agreement and case marking in nominal clause is similar to that of the verbal clauses. However, the subject agreement in nominal clauses is different in form. The nominals in such clauses are derived from simple or causative verb stems and project like their verbal counterparts.

CHAPTER THREE

The syntax of verbal and nominal clauses in Yem

In this chapter, I deal with the syntactic derivation of simple verbal and nominal affirmative clauses. All the analyses under this chapter are based on the theoretical framework introduced in chapter one and the descriptions made in chapter two. In the first section (3.1.), I show the derivation of verbal clauses. Then, I proceed to the derivation of nominal clauses in section (3.2.) Finally, in section (3.3.), I discuss the similarities and differences between verbal and nominal clauses.

3.1. Derivation of verbal clauses

The major theoretical assumptions of MP are presented in chapter one (see 1.9.). Based on those assumptions, I show how theta roles are assigned; features are checked and word orders are derived in verbal clauses. In addition, the hierarchical order of lexical and functional categories in the VP and IP layers will be illustrated.

3.1.1. Theta role assignment in clauses

The basic assumption in MP is that theta roles like Agent and Patient are assigned by a predicate in argument structures as in the following clauses.

- 19 (a) gawo gaño-s-on wor-i-e
 G. wild animal-def-Accu kill- perf-3s
 ‘Gawo killed the wild animal’
- (b) gawo wos-i-e
 G. cry- perf-3s
 ‘Gawo has cried’

Since the verb *wor-i-e* in (19a) is a two-place predicate, it assigns Agent and Patient theta roles to the DP arguments *Gawo* and *gaño-s-on*, respectively. The

DPs *Gawo* and *gañño-s-on* are the external and internal arguments of the verb *wor-i-e* ‘killed’, respectively. However, in (19b) since the verb is a one-place predicate, it has only one theta role to assign to the DP *Gawo*.

Prepositional heads assign theta roles like instrumental and also assign inherent case as described in chapter two. In addition, consider the following examples.

20 (a) *gawo tobo-nik ma:ma:-s-on im-i-e*
G. T.- to cloth-def-Accu give-perf-3s

‘Gawo gave the cloth to Tobo’

(b) *bár hebo-sik e:to-s-in wor-i-e*
he spear-with lion-def-Accu kill-perf-3s

‘He killed the lion with the spear’

(c) *tobo jimma-a ham-i-e*
T. Jimma-to go-perf-3s

‘Tobo went to Jimma’

The DP *Tobo* in (20a) has a goal role which is assigned by postposition element */-nik/* in the PP, whereas the DP *ma:ma:-s-on* is assigned a theme role by the predicate *im-i-e* ‘gave’. In (20b), the instrumental role is assigned to the DP *hebo* ‘spear’ by the postposition */-sik/*.

3.1.2. Feature checking in simple verbal clauses

Feature checking is a basic assumption in syntactic derivations (see 1.9.2.4). According to this assumption, uninterpretable features like case must be checked in the course of a derivation. In this section, I describe how uninterpretable features are checked in simple clauses. Before I directly go to the facts, I reconsider some theoretical issues on checking.

Feature checking takes place between two categories sharing features of the same sort. Checking is possible only when an element possesses a feature, which should be checked by another in its checking domain.

Chomsky (1995a), Radford (1997), Ura (2003) and Adger (2003) among others, state that strong features must be checked and deleted before spell out, while weak features can be checked at LF. If strong features remain unchecked before spell out the derivation crashes.

In Yem, nominative and accusative cases are structural whereas other cases are inherent. Therefore, in the next section, I show nominative and accusative case checking in verbal clauses.

3.1.2.1. Nominative case checking

As it is mentioned above, the two responsible categories for nominative case checking are T and Agrs. To show whether these two categories are responsible for checking nominative case or not, it is useful to examine the relationship between these functional categories and nominative case in this language.

In Yem, we find nominative case without tense and aspect and the derivation converges as in (21a,b) below.

21 (a) jago fizo wag-o-bás

J. goat- Indef buy-Noml-3ms

‘Jago’s buying of a goat’

(b) né amm- á

you go- Imper -2ms.s

‘You go!’

In nominal clause (21a) and in the imperative (21b) there is no tense or aspect. But nominative case is checked and the derivation converges. There is Agrs in both clauses. Therefore, it is logical to assume that nominative case in such clauses can be checked at the spec of AgrsP.

Girma (2005b), argued that structural case can be found in the absence of tense. Infinitival clauses in Ethio-semetic have neither tense nor agreement but transitive infinitival clauses have both nominative and accusative cases. He suggest that in verbal clauses the lower temporal projection that is AspP can check nominative case whereas in infinitival clauses there is FverbP¹ which immediately c-commands the argument structure or vP.

Following Girma (2005b), I proposed that in the simple verbal clauses nominative case is checked at the spec of AspP in this language. The following example shows this.

- 22 (a) tá jago-nik ma:ma:-s-on im-i-an
I Jago-to cloth-def-Accu give-perf-1s
 ‘I gave the cloth to Jago’

On the verb *im-i-an* (22a) there is the perfective aspect feature immediately projected next to the argument structure and heading AspP. Then there is the projection of Agrs that is AgrsP below TP. Thus, the lower temporal projection is AspP and nominative case is checked at its spec. Still, the subject can move up to the spec of AgrsP to check its ϕ -features. I show the hierarchical order in detail under (3.1.4.) of this chapter.

3.1.2.2. Accusative case checking

When we examine accusative case in simple clauses, we find a direct object with accusative case. Although there is no object agreement element on verbs, direct objects are indicated by overt or covert affix that shows accusative case (see 2.3).

¹ Girma (2005b) argued that there is no temporal projection in infinitival clauses but we find both nominative and accusative structural cases. Since, nominative case can not be licensed in the argument structure what checks nominative case is projection in IP that is FverbP. Because, the future structure of infinitives (minus the infinitival marker) has [+V] categorial feature [+ case] feature for structural nominative case.

It is possible to say that there is no relation between accusative case and object agreement. If there is no Agro on the verb and there is no relation between Agro and accusative case, it is unnecessary to propose a Projection of AgroP in simple clauses. Therefore, following Girma (2003:82) I assume that accusative case is checked against the projection of a light verb in Yem.

3.1.3. Word order and hierarchy of projection in simple clauses

In this section, I show the basic word order and hierarchical organizations of functional categories in verbal clauses. Specifically, I show the hierarchical order of lexical and functional categories in the projections of simple clauses. Furthermore, I try to show how the SOV word order is derived from the universal word order proposed by Kayne (1994).

As discussed in chapter one, word order is determined by the head of constituents in languages (see 1.9.3.2). In this section, I consider the word order of Yem in light of the universal SVO.

- 23 (a) jago tobo-no ič-i-e
J. T.-Accu hit-perf-3s
 ‘Jago hit Tobo’
- (b) tobo-no jago ič-i-e
T.-Accu J. hit-perf-3s
 ‘Jago hit Tobo’
- (c) tamsa:s e:to-s-in wor-i-e
T- lion-def-Accu kill-perf-3s
 ‘Tamsa:s killed the lion’
- (d) e:to-s-on tamsa:s wor-i-e
lion-def-Accu T. kill-perf-3s
 ‘Tamsas killed the lion’

(e) jago ma:ma:-s-on tobo-nik im-i-e
J. cloth-def-Accu T.-to give-perf-3s

‘J. gave the cloth to Tobo’

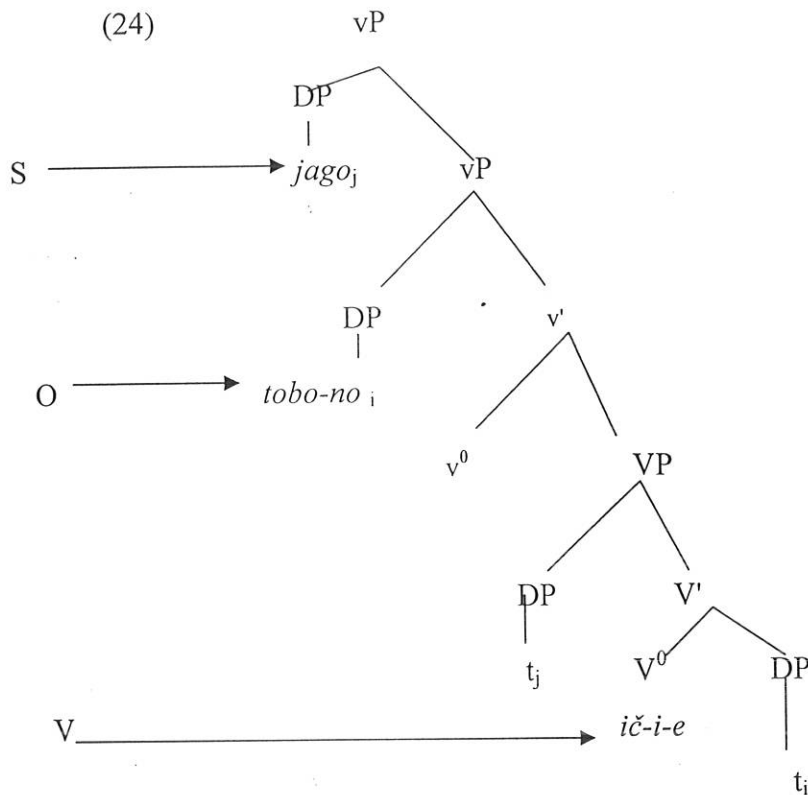
(f) jago tobo-nik ma:ma:-s-on im-i-e
J. Tobo.-to cloth-def-Accu give-perf-3s

‘J. gave the cloth to Tobo’

Kassie (1987) stated that SOV is the basic word order in simple clauses of Yem but with variation. As to him, the constituents in simple clauses can be ordered as OSV essentially with the same meaning. Similarly, in the clauses above, the word order is SOV(23a,c) and OSV(23b,d).

Following Dillman (1899), cited in Girma (2003), I suggest that OSV in (23b,d) is not semantically the same as SOV in clauses like (23a,c). Dillman’s argument is that the change of word order from the unmarked basic order leads to semantic differences. Any part of a clause may be focused or topicalized if it is moved to the beginning of a clause. Since many languages use this to mark focus, his proposal seems convincing. Thus, OSV in (23 b, d) can be marked for focus and semantically it is not the same as the SOV basic word order in Yem. Moreover, in MP there is no movement without purpose since this goes against the economy of derivation.

However, if we accept Kayne’s S-H-C (SOV) universal word order, how does one derive SOV and OSV word orders in languages? Kayne stated that all other orders like SOV, VSO and OSV, etc are results of movement. For the derivation of SOV like in (23a,c) above, the proposed structure is in which the object moves to the left of the verb, to the spec of vP . Therefore, the clause in (23a) has undergone such movement and the structure is as 24 bellow.

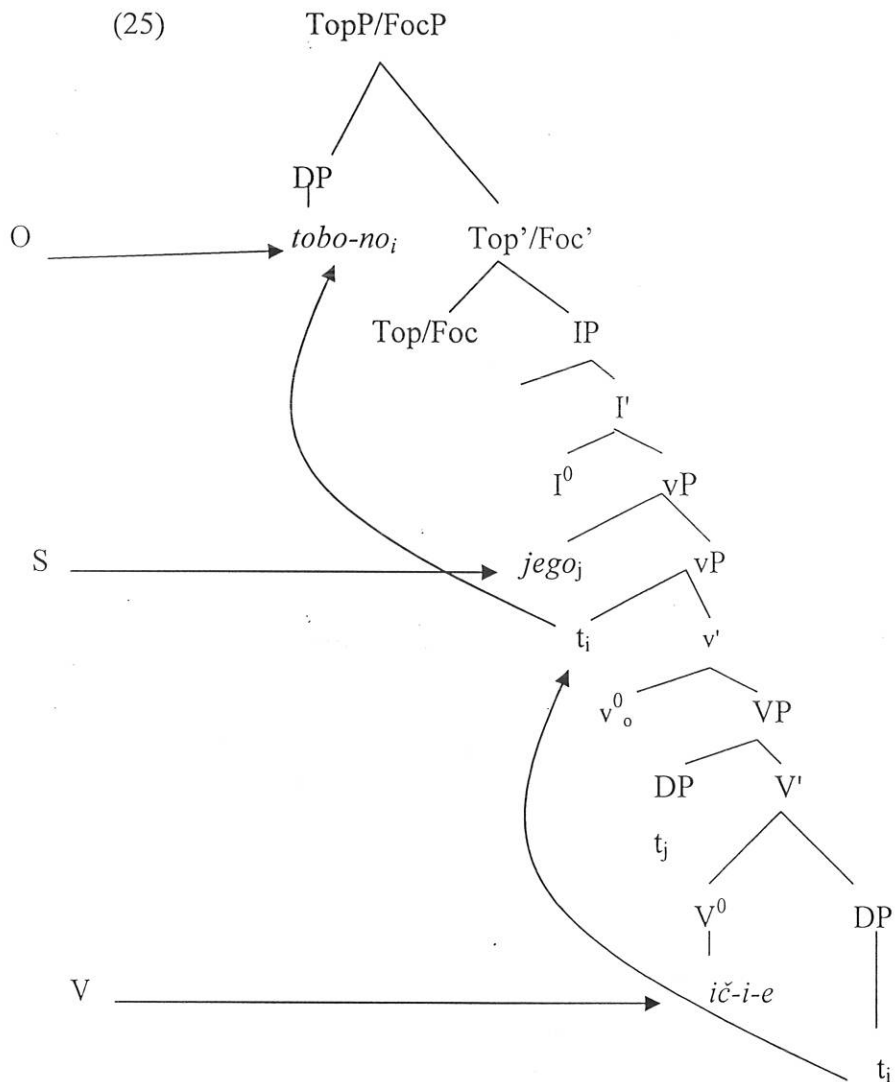


The assumption here is that the accusative case checking can be a trigger for the movement. As it is cited in Girma (2003), Chomsky (2001b) explained that such kind of movement results in double theta role assignment. This is because the object is assigned a theta role at the complement position, and it moves to the place where another theta role is assigned. Thus, the proposed solution by Chomsky, quoted in Girma (2003: 275) is that, “proper positioning might be immediately applied under various assumptions: ... if the simultaneous satisfaction of properties of *v* involves an internal cyclic order, with raising of the object first, then ‘tucking in’ of externally merged subject” is possible.

Following this assumption, the object moves to the spec of *vP* for the purpose of accusative case checking and the subject moves up to the spec of the extended (higher) *vP* or to the higher functional layer to check its nominative case while the verb remains in situ. Note that this is not the full projection of the clause derivation.

It shows simply the word order and I show the functional projection in the next sections.

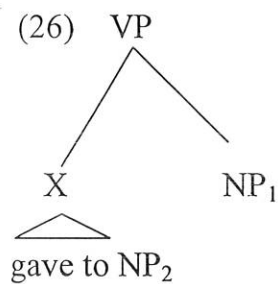
The OSV order shown in (25) is a result of object movement first for case then for focus or topic.



In the above structure, the assumption is that after accusative and nominative cases are checked in VP and IP layers respectively, the object still moves to the Spec of TopP/FocP for the feature of Top/Foc . In other words, after the direct object moves to the Spec vP for accusative case checking, then it moves to the spec of Top/Foc for Top/Foc feature. But the nominative case of the DP *Jego* can

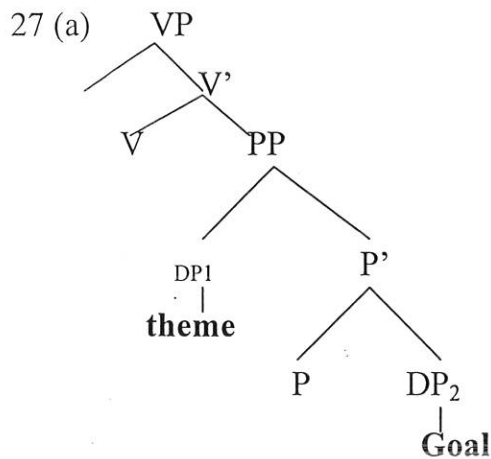
be checked at the spec of AspP, and its phi-feature at the spec of AgrsP in the IP layer to which it moves. The complete structure is shown under (3.1.4.) of this chapter.

There is a variation in the ordering of DO and IO as in (23e,f) . According to Larson (1988), in English double object constructions following Chomsky's (1975) proposal, the DO appears at the spec of VP whereas IO (PP) occurs as a complement of V in VP. In the same work, Chomsky proposes the following for English dative structure.

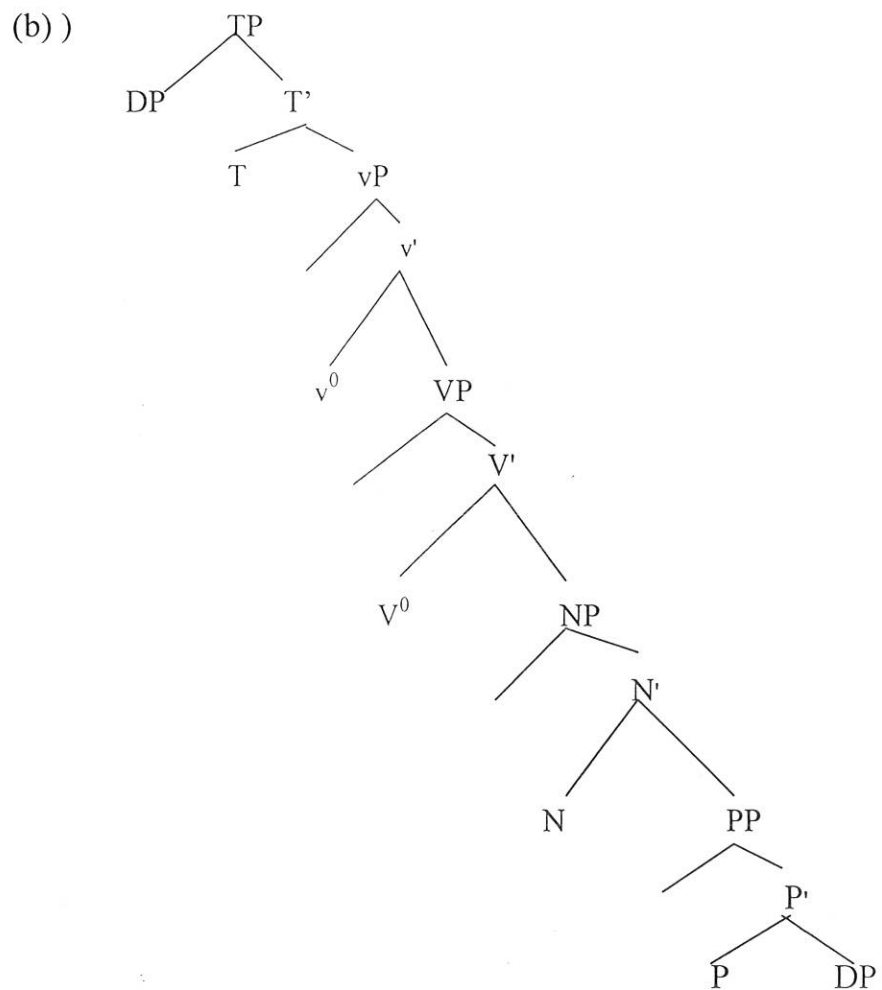


In this structure, the IO (NP₂) is an inner object forming a constituent with the verb and the assumption is that NP₁ receives a theta role from the “phrasal verb” give to (NP₂).

On the other hand, according to Hale and Keyser (1993, 1995), the following structure in (27) is proposed, for dative constructions where PP is the complement of V, the theme and the goal are specifier and complement of P respectively.



Adger (2003:254) proposes the following structure for the projection of verbal clause with double object in English.



Recall that in simple clauses of Yem, DO moves to the spec of vP for accusative case checking. However, in the case of IO, since inherent case is assigned by a postposition in this language, a question to raise is what triggers PP movement to the spec of VP. According to Adger (2003), in three place predicates, the verb is specified not only for uninterpretable N-features of the direct object and subject, but also for uninterpretable P-feature of the indirect object. If this is the case, a possible assumption is that the IO (PP) moves to the spec of VP to check the P-feature on the verb followed by the movement of DO up to the spec of vP.

The other question is how IO and DO interchange their order as in (23f). Here what is suggested is that the DO moves to the spec of vP for accusative case checking in the case of (28) above. However, if IO first moves to Spec₁ then to the extended spec of vP which can be attributed to EPP the order would be S-IO-DO-V in this language .

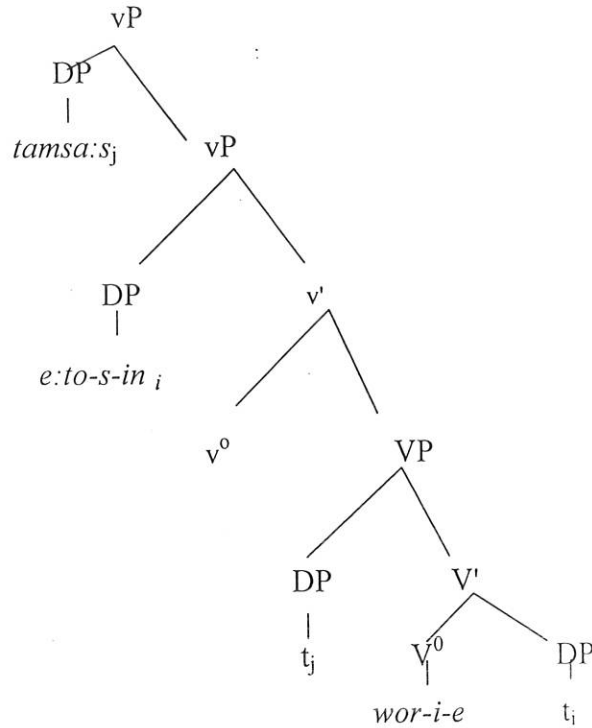
In general, in the derivation of the basic word order as well as its variants there is an overt movement of subject as well as object movement while the verb remains in situ, or covertly moves to the functional heads to check those weak uninterpretable features which affect the word order of simple declarative clause.

3.1.4. The hierarchy of lexical and functional projections in verbal clauses

So far, the basic word order of Yem and its derivation from the proposed universal word order has been shown. In this section, the hierarchical order of lexical and functional projections in the VP and IP layers are considered. Following Chomsky's schematic projection of light verbs, the VP layer is split into vP, which is headed by light verbs and VP which is headed by lexical verbs. Thus, I show the projection of the VP layer of simple clause like (29a) as (29b). Here also the structure in (29b) is not including the functional projection and it is simply show the hierarchical order in the lexical projection.

- 29 (a) tamsa:s e:to-s-in wor-i-e
T. lion-def-Accu kill-perf-3s
 'Tamsas killed the lion'

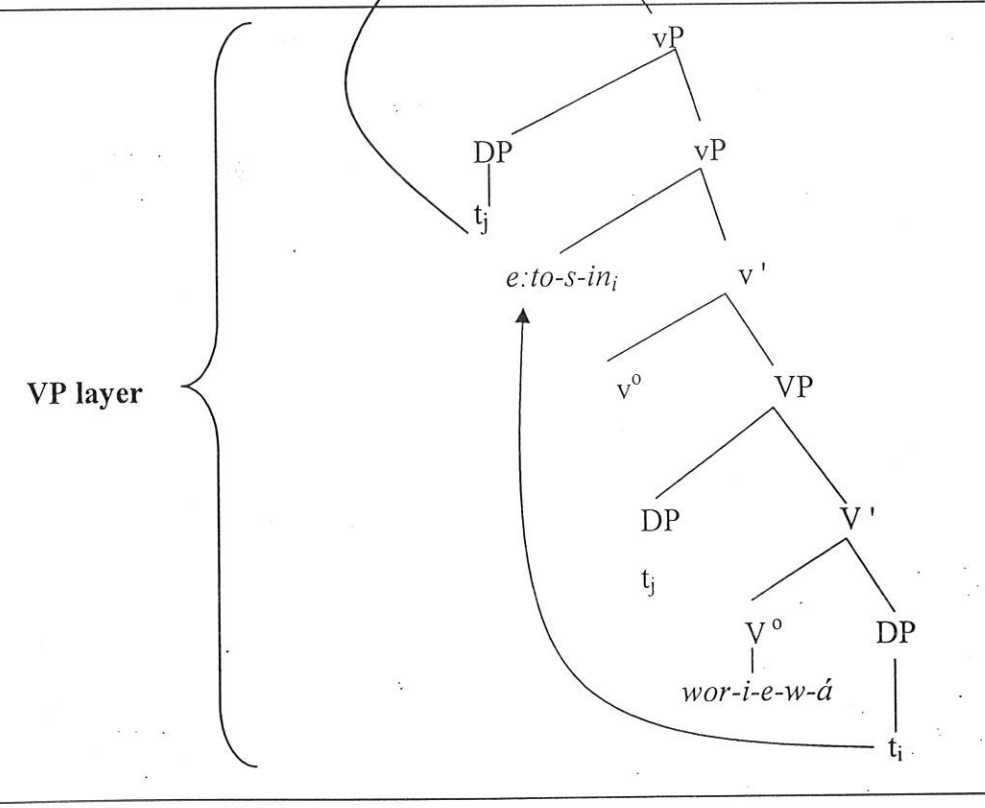
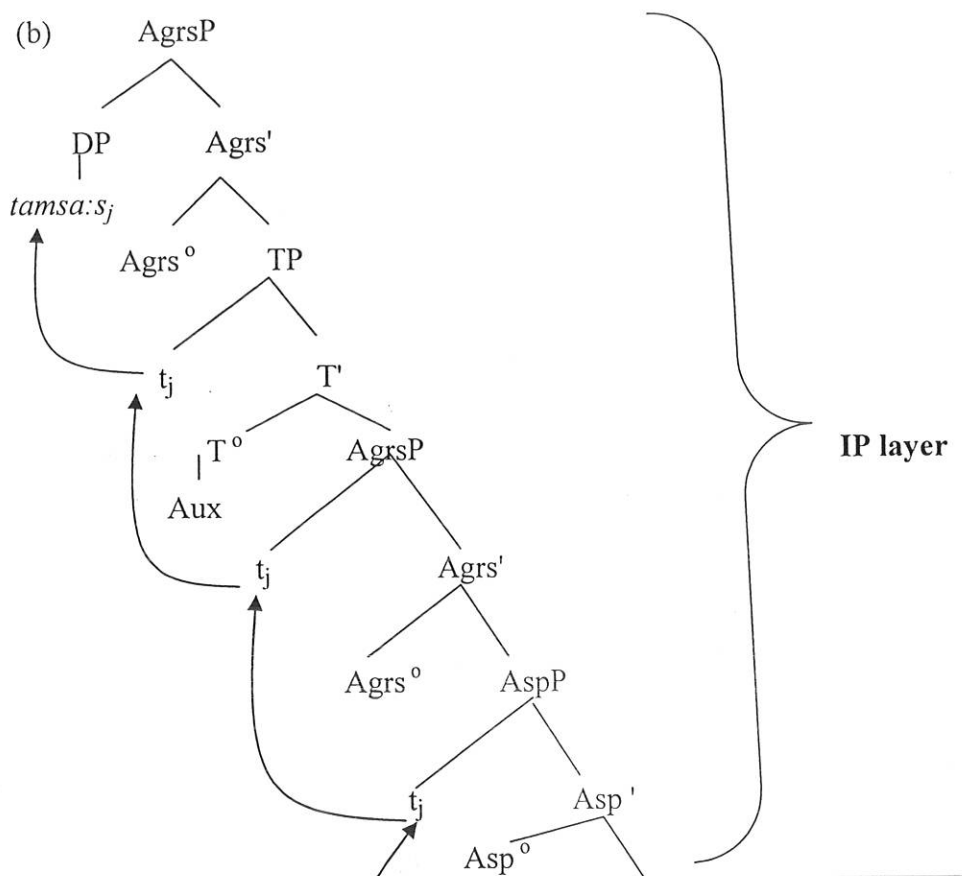
(b)



There is a projection in the IP layer which involves functional categories. The arguments and the head that project in the VP layer as in (29b) move to the IP layer overtly or covertly. According to Pollok's (1989) split-infl hypothesis and Chomsky's (1995b) split Agr analysis, the IP layer includes at least TP, AgrsP and AgroP. However, the question that follows from this concern the hierarchical order of these categories (see 1.9.3.1, p.16).

In simple verbal affirmative clauses of Yem, the linear morphological ordering of verbs is **verb stem-Aspect-subject agreement (person and gender) - Auxiliary** (for past tense /remote past) if the subject is singular, whereas **verb stem- number -Aspect - subject agreement (person and gender) – Auxiliary** if the subject is plural. Based on this fact, I proposed the hierarchical order of functional projections for the simple clause in (30a) to be as in (30b).

- 30 (a) *tamsa:s* *e:to-s-in* *wor-i-e-w-á*
T. *lion-def-Accu* *kill-perf-3s.s-Aux-3ms*
'Tamsa:s has been killed the lion'



In the structure (30b), the object overtly moves to the spec of little vP, as it is mentioned before for accusative case checking, and the subject also overtly moves to the spec of AspP for nominative case checking, then to spec of AgrsP for checking of agreement features. Still it moves to the spec of the upper AgrsP since there is another Agrs feature that has to be checked. However, the verb covertly moves to its respective head positions to check its temporal and agreement features. The priority of object and subject movement supports Chomsky's (1995b) idea, that strong features must be checked as soon as they are introduced into derivation (cf. the discussion in 1.9.2.4).

In light of this, the object *e:to-s-in* in (30b) must move first to spec vP for accusative case checking, since strong accusative case feature is introduced in the vP projection. Then the subject *tamsa:s* moves up to the spec of upper AgrsP to check its strong nominative case and Agrs features respectively.

So far, we have seen the derivation of simple verbal affirmative clause in Yem. In this section, the theta role assignment, feature checking, word order and the hierarchy of lexical as well as functional projections have been described respectively. In the next section, I show the derivation of nominal clauses in this language.

3.2. The syntax of nominal clauses in Yem

Based on the theoretical discussions in chapter one and the basic facts about nominal clauses described in chapter two, I deal with the derivation of nominal clauses in Yem.

The analysis of nominal clauses is similar to that of verbal clauses where a nominal clause structure is interpreted as DP derived through a process of deverbalization (Girma, 2006). Constructions of gerundive and infinitive forms

have the characteristics of nominal clauses (see Abney, 1987; Baye, 1986²). I show this, using the following nominal clauses.

31 (a) *tamsa:s gačču-s-on wa:g-i-e*

T. ox-def-Accu buy-perf-3s

‘Tamsas bought the ox’

(b) *tamsa:s gačču-s-on wa:g-o-bás*

T. ox-def-Accu buy-Noml-3s

‘Tamsa:s’s buying of the ox’

(c) *tá tamsa:s gačču-s-on wa:g-o-bás-on od-i-an*

I T. ox-def-Accu buy- Nom-3ms.s-Accu hear-perf-1s

‘I heard Tamsa:s’s buying of the ox’

(31a) is a verbal clause whereas (31b) is its nominal counterpart. When we closely observe (31a) and (31b), we realize that the infinitival *wa:g-o* ‘to buy’ and the verb *wa:g-* ‘buy’ merge with similar constituents. In addition, the nominal clause in (31c) shows structural case like other nominals. From this similarity one can consider the nominal clause in (31b,c) as the DP counterpart of the verbal clause in (31a), which is an IP.

When we see the structural case of the subject *tamsa:s* and the direct object *gaččuwa-s-on* (31b,c), they have nominative and accusative case. Note that the nominal clause that bold in (31c) shows accusative case marker */-on/* like other DPs. In the next section, I show how these cases are checked.

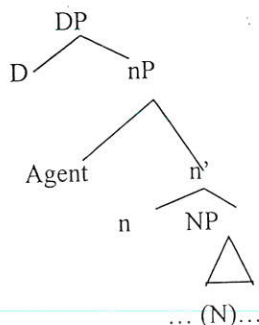
² Baye (1986:88) described that infinitival or gerundive are assumed to be characterized by the same frames that their verbal sources are associated with. For instance, in Afan Oromo the infinitival *bit-uu* ‘to buy’ and the verb stem *bit-* ‘buy’ from which it is derived subcategorizes the same complement types.

3.2.1. Case checking in nominal clauses

There is no tense or aspect as well as object marker on the infinitival head in (31b,c). There are only the nominalizer morpheme /-o/ and the agreement /-bás/ for 3rd person masculine singular subject. The accusative case of the direct object *gaččuwa-s-on* is checked at the spec of *nP*³, parallel to verbal clauses where it is checked at the spec of *vP*. The question is how nominative case of the subject *tamsa:s* is checked?

Girma (2003) suggest that verb stems without nominalizer or infinitival marker have [+V] feature, which is specified for structural nominative case. Following Girma, one can assume that, the nominative case in nominal clause is checked at the spec of the projection of the [+v] feature (FverbP). But if we follow Girma's analysis the derivations of nominal clause do not converge at the stage of FverbP in this language. However, in my analysis I follow the lexicalist hypothesis, which says category changing derivation takes place in lexicon. This means the derivation of the nominals from verbal stem is in lexicon and there is no V head in nominal clauses.

³ According to Adger (2003:267) proposed that the hierarchy of the projection in nominal structure can be [DP [nP[N]]]. This is because; the arguments in DP structure or nominal clauses are very similar to those of verbal clauses. He shows the structure of DP as follows.



I follow the same proposal for the projection of nominal clause in this thesis.

The derivation of nominal clauses like those in (31b,c) converges if there is an Agrs element like */-bás/*. We observe that such Agrs elements change their form according to the person and gender feature of the subject. Although they are different from subject agreement elements in verbal clauses, I labeled such elements as Agrs. Abney (1987) considers Agr elements in gerundive construction to be a class of determiners, it is possible to argue that Agrs in (31b,c) are the head of DP. However, I suggest that such Agrs head the AgrsP projection and the nominative case of the subject like *tamsa:s*, in nominal clause is checked at the spec of AgrsP.

On the other hand, the subject of the nominal clauses can be filled by Pro if there is overt agreement marker on the infinitival head similar to the one in the verbal clause. Consider the following examples:

- 32 (a) [Pro *gačču-s-on* *wa:g-i-e-w-á*]
he ox-defAccu buy-perf-3s.s- Aux-3ms
 ‘He had bought the ox’
- (b) [Pro *gačču-s-on* *wa:g-o-bás*] *maʔa:r* *wa*
he ox-def.Accu buy-Nom-3ms good is
 ‘His buying of the ox is good’
- (c) [PRO *gačču-s-on* *wa:g-o*] *maʔa:r* *wa*
ox-def-Accu buy-Noml good is
 ‘PRO buying of the ox is good’

In clauses (32a,b) Pro represent the subject ‘he’. This is because the subject agreement element on the verb *wa:g-i-e-w-á* and on the infinitival *wa:g-o-bás* refers to 3rd singular subject. In (32c) the subject is PRO⁴ that has null case feature and it is unpronounced (Adger 2003).

4 According to Adger (2003) PRO can occur in structures where another DP, in which case it is arbitrary in its interpretation, does not control it. The pronoun that it is on is unpronounced but the morphological effect of Nom on the verb like 3ms.s is to ensure it is pronounced for pro (he). Dabela (2006) described that pro is a pro nominal element with out a phonetic shape. The empty pronoun is assumed to acquire meaning from the inflection in the predicate or the subject of the higher clause or from context.

3.2.2. The derivation of nominal clauses

The other question relates to the level where nominalization takes place in nominal clauses like (31b,c) above. Chomsky (1995b:20) states that ‘a distinction between inflectional and derivational⁵ processes of morphology is that the latter internal to the lexicon, the former involving computational operations of a broader syntactic scope’. According to Hazout (1995) and Borer (1995), cited in Siloni (1997:74) argued that Hebrew event nominals contains a verbal projection and they are not represented in the lexicon as nouns but inserted in syntax as verbs that are nominalized in the course of derivation via V-raising to N.

Contrary to this, Siloni (1997) argued the incorporation of V in to N in such derivation involves a semantically “empty” noun, which inherits the semantic content of the incorporated verb. However, the nominalizing functional affixes labeled N serves to convert the verb into a noun to modify its categorical specifications. Siloni further argued that nominal gerunds cannot be inserted as verbs, because noun cannot be derived from verbs in the course of syntactic derivation.

⁵ According to Hoekstra (1984:138) Chomsky’s (1970) Lexicalist Hypothesis that word formation should be handled in the lexicon followed by the lexical analysis of derivations. For instance, Fereidin (1975) argues that transformations are unable to change node labels and the rule to derive adjectives in his case must be lexical. Also Siloni (1997) argued that with the introduction of separate lexicon by Chomsky (1965) it is possible to express the relationship between verbs and deverbal nouns via lexical representations, without assuming a syntactic transformation of the source verb.

According to Hoekstra (1984:281) in syntax the head of the construction is the element that determines the categorical value of the head of a construction. Similarly we assign head statuses to the affixes, which we assume to have categorical features as well in derivational morphology. Moreover, the product of combining the affix and base receives its feature from the head, unless the head has no value for a particular feature. However, if the head has no value for the particular feature the feature is determined by the non-head or the base.

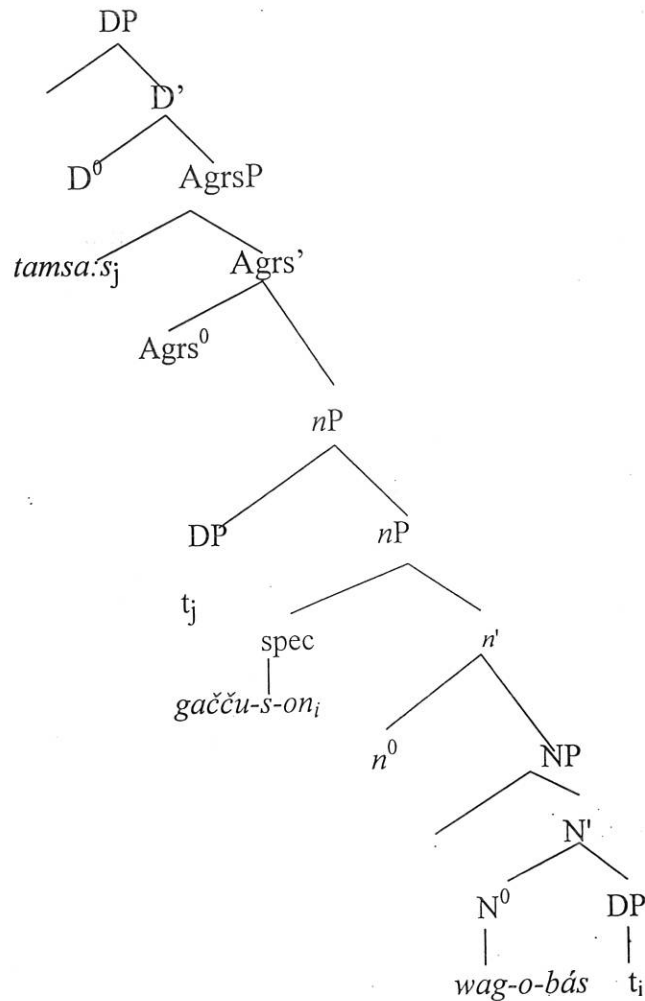
This means in the derivation of nominals from verbal stems the noun categorical feature is determined by the nominalizer affixes but the subcategorical theta role and structural case assignment will be provided from the verbal feature of the base, i.e. verbal stem. That is why the derived nominal, which head in nominal clause, can have similar structure with its verbal counterpart and it can be analyzed similar to verbal clause of its counterpart.

In this thesis, I follow the Lexicalist approach which says derivation takes place in lexicon (Chomsky 1970,1995a; Siloni, 1997) to show how nominal clauses are derived in this language. The verbal and nominal clauses in 31(a) and 31(b) are represented as 33(a) and 33(b) respectively.

- 33 (a) [IP ([TP[Ag_{rs}P[AspP] [vP[tamsa:s] [vP [gačču-s-on]][v' [VP wa:g-i-e]]]]]]]
 (b) [DP[Ag_{rs}P [nP [tamsa:s] [nP [gačču-s-on][n' [NP wa:g-o-bás]]]]]]]

The representation in (33b) shows that the derivation of the nominal clause takes place in lexicon and its accusative case is checked off at spec of nP similar to verbal clauses. I propose the following projection as in (34) for the nominal clause represented in (33b).

(34)



In the above structure, as in verbal clauses, the direct object moves to the spec of *nP*, and the subject overtly moves to the spec *AgrsP* for nominative case checking.

The other fact is that there is nominal causative similar to verbal causative in this language as described in chapter two. For instance, the following clauses show similarity between the causative infinitive and the underlying causative verbs.

- 35 (a) *jago tamsa:s-ni ma:ma:-s-on wag-s-i-e*
J. T.-Accu cloth-def-Accu buy-caus-perf-3s
 ‘Jago made Tamsas buy the clothes’
- (b) *jago tamsa:s-ni ma:ma:-s-on wag-s-o-bás*
T. T-Accu cloth-def-Accu buy-caus-Nom-3s
 ‘Jago’s making Tamsas to buy the clothes’

Since argument introducing heads like causatives are light verbs, the argument structures of verbal causative clause in (35a) and the nominal causative clause in (35b) can be represented as in (36a) and (36b) respectively.

- 36 (a) [IP[TP [AgrsP[jago] [AspP [vP [mama-s-on][vP [*tamsa:s-ni*] [v’[VP [V wa:g-s-i-e]]]]]]]]]]]
 (b) [DP[AgrsP[jago] [nP [mama-s-on] [nP [*tamsa:s-ni*] [n’ [NP [N wa:g-s-o-bás]]]]]]]]]

3.3. The similarities and differences between verbal and nominal clauses

The nominal clauses and their verbal counterparts verbal clauses share both similarities and differences in Yem. Their similarities are the following:

- a. they have similar arguments and there is theta role assignment as well as case checking in both clauses;
- b. they are headed by functional elements like tense, aspect, subject agreements in verbal clause, and determiner or Agr in nominal clause ;
- c. both follow the basic word order SOV;
- d. in both clauses the hierarchy of functional projection reflect their morphological linear order ;

- e. they can have Pro subject if there is subject agreement on the verb and infinitival;
 - f. in both clauses there is overt as well as covert movement triggered by features;
 - g. the nominative case is indicated by covert marker , whereas the accusative case is shown by overt marker in both clauses; and
 - h. both causative verbal clause and causative nominal clause has similar structure
- However, they have also the following basic differences.

- a. nominal clauses can serve as arguments like other nouns in matrix clauses indicated by overt or covert case marker;
- b. there is no temporal projection in nominal clauses , whereas verbal clauses have such projections; and
- c. Agrs on the verb and the infinitive considered as subject are different in form.

CHAPTER FOUR

Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, the highlights and some facts of the language described in this study are indicated. Moreover, some points that need further study are mentioned.

In chapter one, I showed the background of the study and theoretical framework. Under the background of the study, points about the people and the language as well as the research questions, objective, methodology, delimitation, previous works on the language, the present study and the significance of the study have been included. Regarding the language Yem is classified under the branch of the Kefa-Gimojan (Benoyem) group of West Omotic. The review of phonology indicates that vowel lengthening and consonant geminating is possible in Yem. Moreover, there are three registered tones, high, level and low. Yet the phoneme inventory and tone system of this language need detail descriptions in the future.

The objective of this study was to describe the derivation of simple verbal and nominal affirmative clause structures of Yem in the light of the Minimalist program. Thus, under this theoretical framework, the basic assumptions of the Minimalist approach in general and the derivation of clause structure in particular have been discussed. This includes levels of representations, the economy principle, the operations merge and move, checking theory, theta role assignment, layers of clauses, word order in clause and general points on nominal clause structures.

In chapter two, an attempt is made to describe some functional and derivational elements in simple verbal and nominal clauses of Yem. Functional categories like agreement, tense and aspect as well as case have been identified. Moreover, derivations like causativization and nominalization have been described. To mention some facts, verbs in a simple affirmative clause of Yem show an

agreement with their subjects. However, these subject agreement markers on verbs vary according to the type of clause. There is no object agreement in simple clauses of this language.

Perfective aspect is indicated by /-i/ whereas imperfective is shown by /-f/. On the other hand, there is no tense marker morpheme observed on verbs for simple present, simple past as well as future tense. However, the auxiliary /-wa/ is used to indicate past tense (remote past) in this language whereas the simple past progressive is indicated for instance by /di...-ér-wa/ and /di...àr-wa/ for third masculine and feminine singular subjects, respectively.

In Yem nominative case is indicated by covert marker whereas accusative cases are shown by overt marker like /-on/, /-in/, /-no/ and /-ni/. Overt accusative case marker is obligatory for pronouns and proper noun objects, but it is optional for other nouns. Moreover, the instrumental, benefactive, malefactive, dative and genitive cases are indicated by affixes /-sik/, /-k/, /-nista/, /-nik/ and /-ni/ respectively.

Under nominal clauses, infinitives are derived by elements like /-a/, /-o/ and /-u/ from simple and causative verbal stems. In the nominal clause the subject agreement marker like /-bás / and /-bàs/ are used for 3rd masculine and feminine singular subjects respectively. Additionally, the causativizer morpheme /-(i)s/ occurs in both verbal and nominal causatives.

Chapter three deals with the syntactic derivation of simple verbal and nominal declarative clauses. Under the derivation of the verbal clause, theta role assignment and feature-checking conditions of the verbal clauses have been described. A subject moves to the spec of AspP and AgrsP cyclically in overt movement for nominative case and phi-feature checking, respectively. There are multiple Agrs projections where an auxiliary verb occurs to show tense. There is

no Agro projection in this language. Thus, accusative case is checked at the spec of light verbs.

The basic word order in Yem is SOV. It is shown that SOV is derived from Kayne's universal word order (S-H-C) by object movement. Such movement is triggered by feature checking. There is also OSV word order in which the object moves to the spec of focus projection. The variation observed between DO and IO in the word order is also due to movement in a clause.

The hierarchical order of the functional projections is [TP[AgrsP[AspP[vP[VP]]]]] for simple past, present and future tense and [AgrsP[TP[AgrsP[AspP[vP[VP]]]]]] for remote past in simple affirmative verbal clauses.

Structural case is indicated in nominal clauses similarly as in verbal clause. There is also a relationship between nominative case and Agrs in infinitivals, but this Agrs element is different in its morphological shape from that of the verbal ones. In this thesis, the derivation of nominals or infinitivals is considered to be in the lexicon. Thus, in argument structure the projection is NP headed by N. Except the absence of the temporal elements other structures are similar to its verbal counterpart. The hierarchical order proposed for nominal clause in this thesis is [DP[AgrsP[nP[NP]]]]. Therefore, in nominal clauses accusative case is checked at the spec of nP whereas nominative case is checked at the spec of AgrsP.

In general, both verbal and nominal clauses are similar in terms of theta role assignment, feature checking, movement operation, functional headedness, basic word order, hierarchy of lexical and functional projection as well as argument introducing process. However, their difference is that verbal clause is interpreted as IP and it has temporal projection like TP and AspP whereas a nominal clause is interpreted as DP and it serves as argument like other nominals in verbal clause.

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Declaration

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

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Date of submission _____

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

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Signature 