ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
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# PRONOMINAL EMPTY CATEGORIES OF kɨstanɨññə: A MINIMALIST APPROACH

BY

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## ABSTRACT

This is a study describing pronominal empty categories of kɨstanɨññña in light of the Minimalist Approach. The study examines the nature of agreement with respect to head and argument relations and the licensing and recovery of pronominal empty categories. It intends to provide new facts which may help others to describe pronominal empty categories in related languages and to make comparative studies. The study is based on data collected from both primary and secondary sources.

It is shown that in the language, heads agree with their arguments in clauses and DPs. In declarative clauses, verbs agree with subjects, objects, and adjuncts. In jussive and imperative clauses verbs agree with subjects. In nominal clauses, DPs agree with subjects. Regarding the licensing and recovery of pro and PRO, it is shown that subject pros are licensed in the Spec of *v*P, AP, and *n*P. Subject pros are recovered in the Spec of ASPP, TP, and AGRSP. Object pros are licensed in the complement of VP in transitive verbs and Spec of VP in three-place predicates. Indirect object and adjunct pros are licensed in the complement of VP and in the *v'* position, respectively. And object, indirect object, and adjunct pros are recovered in the Spec of the appropriate AGRP. PRO is licensed in the Spec of *n*P and recovered in the Spec of AGRSP.

This study describes the licensing and recovery of pronominal empty categories in limited clauses and DPs only. Therefore, further investigation is needed to find out all the possible positions of the licensing and recovery of the categories within the view of the minimalist approach. Moreover, the distribution of the complementizer 'yä-' and main verb markers of the language need deeper investigation.

List of abbreviations :

| | |
|---|---|
| 1PL | First person plural |
| 1S | First person singular |
| 1st | First person |
| 2nd | Second person |
| 2PLF | Second person plural feminine |
| 2PLM | Second person plural masculine |
| 2SF | Second person singular feminine |
| 2SM | Second person singular masculine |
| 3PL | Third person plural |
| 3PLF | Third person plural feminine |
| 3PLM | Third person plural masculine |
| 3rd | Third person |
| 3SF | Third person singular feminine |
| 3SM | Third person singular masculine |
| ACC | Accusative |
| AGRAP | Adjunct agreement phrase |
| AGRDOP | Direct object agreement phrase |
| AGRIOP | Indirect object agreement phrase |
| AGROP | Object agreement phrase |
| AGRP | Agreement phrase |
| AGRSP | Subject agreement phrase |
| AP | Adjective phrase |
| ASP | Aspect |
| ASPP | Aspect phrase |
| BN | Benefactive |
| COMP | Complimentizer |
| DAT | Dative |
| DEFF | Definiteness |

| | |
|---|---|
| DO | Direct object |
| DP | Determiner phrase |
| F | Feminine |
| FP | Functional phrase |
| GB | Government and Binding |
| HON | Honorific |
| IMPERF | Imperfective |
| INFV | Infinitive |
| IO | Indirect object |
| M | Masculine |
| MA | Minimalist Approach |
| MVM | Main verb marker |
| NOM | Nominative |
| OBL | Oblique |
| PERF | Perfective |
| PRES | Present |
| T | Tense |
| TG | Transformational Grammar |
| TP | Tense Phrase |

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. The Language and the People

Ethiosemitic languages are classified into North Ethiopic and South Ethiopic. North Ethiopic includes Geez, Tigre and Tigriňňa, whereas South Ethiopic includes Amharic, Argoba, Harrari, Gafat, and the Gurage languages (Hetzron, 1977).

According to Bender (1976) the term Gurage refers to both the language and the people who live in the present administrative region of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNP), of Ethiopia. The people live in compact mountainous area, south-west of Addis Ababa, and are surrounded by the Cushitic languages speaking communities of Oromo and Sidama in the North and East and in the South and West, respectively.

Bender (1976) groups the Gurage languages into Northern Gurage, Eastern Gurage, and Western Gurage. Northern Gurage includes Soddo, Gogot, and Muhir. Zway (zay), Ulbarag, Innek'or, Silti and Welene belong to Eastern Gurage. Western Gurage has two branches, one of which is Mesk'an . The other branch is further devided as Central and Peripheral western Gurage languages. The Languages in these branches are Gyeto,

Inor (Ennemor), Endegeň and Enner in the Central; and Eza, Chaha, Gumer and Gura in the Peripheral.

Leslau (1969) takes the Gurage languages as dialect clusters. On the contrary, Hetzron (1972) and Bender (1976) group them differently. They see Northern Gurage and Mesk'an as languages falling in Central and Peripheral Western Gurage and those in Eastern Gurage as dialect clusters.

The language under investigation is kɨstanɨññа, also called Soddo or Aymelel. Nevertheless, according to Goldenberg (1968) the speakers of the language refer to themselves as kɨstane which is associated with the term "Christian", and to their language as kɨstanɨññа. He assumes that Soddo is where speakers of kɨstanɨññа live, and Aymälläl is the name of one of the kɨstane tribes. He uses the term kɨstanɨññа to refer to the language and kɨstane to the people. Accordingly, in this paper, kɨistane is used for the people and kɨstanɨññа for the language.

The economic base of kɨstane is the false banana plant (ɨnsät) which is used for food and other purposes. Almost all of the kɨistane peopel are Christian and most of them are bilingual. They speak other Semitic languages like Amharic and Cushitic languages like Oromo (Hetzron 1972).

## 1.2. Statement of the Problem

Few linguistic researches have been conducted on kɨstanɨññа. Among the works, those on the phonology and morphology are dominant.

However, very limited works have been done on the syntax. None of the researchers on syntax has applied recent theoretical frameworks such as the Minimalist Approach (henceforth, MA). They have not also tried to deal with covert categories. They focus on overt elements only. Only a few Ethiopian languages have been studied in connection with covert categories. Only Amharic, Oromo and Gamo have been considered. Hence, there are gaps on the study of covert categories of Ethiopian languages in general, and on the syntax of covert categories of kɨstanɨññа in particular. The present study is an attempt to describe the syntactic aspects of pronominal empty categories of kɨstanɨññа following the MA.

## 1.3. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the present study is to describe the nature of the pronominal empty categories of kɨstanɨññа in light of the MA. The study tries to address to the following three specific research questions:

1. What is the nature of agreement with respect to head and argument relations in kɨstanɨññа?
2. How are pronominal empty categories licensed in the derivation of clauses and DPs?
3. How are pronominal empty categories recovered in the derivation of clauses and DPs?

## 1.4. Significance of the Study

As it is the only work on the language about pronominal empty categories, it may provide new facts which may help others to describe pronominal empty categories in related language. In addition, the data may serve as resource for comparative studies.

## 1.5. Delimitation of the Study

The study is concerned with pronominal empty categories in kɨstanɨññа. The study does not consider anaphors, arbitrary pronominal empty categories and the empty expressions which have grammatical functions such as marking, gender, number, person etc. Moreover, the study describes the categories on main and complement clauses and DPs.

## 1.6. Research Methodology and Procedure

The data were collected from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are informants. The data were collected from native speakers who live in Damu kebele of Sodo discrit. The data were collected during two field trips. The secondary sources are books and research papers. The elicited data are recorded in the form of a text which is phonemically transcribed. The transcribed data are described and analyzed in light of the MA. The data have been analyzed and the findings are written with a summary at the end.

## 1.7. Review of the Related Literature

In this section, literatures on the language of study that is kɨstanɨññа and literatures on empty categories, specifically pronominal empty categories of Ethiopian languages, are reviewed.

### 1.7.1. Review of Related Literatures on kɨstanɨññа

As far as the knowledge of the researcher is concerned, only two researches on the syntax of kɨstanɨññа have been conducted. Since the researches are related to idea about the syntactic property of the language, they are presented below.

Alemayehu (1985) and Tesfaye (1990) have dealt with the structure of simple sentences and noun phrases of the language, respectively. Alemayehu (1985) has discussed the constituents of simple sentences and the way they are formed by means of PSR (phrase structure rules). He has also discussed the possible patterns of simple sentences in the language. Moreover, he has identified transformational rules which apply on such sentences. Tesfaye (1990), in his study of "the structure of NP in kɨstanɨññа in terms of X-bar theory", has identified three levels maximal projections, intermediate projections, and minimal projections. The complements in the minimal projections are functional arguments. Genitive NPs, adjectival phrases, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses are the complements at the intermediate projection, whereas the maximal projection includes appositives and some noun phrases which also serve as complements. Finally, he discussed about the specifiers of the language, which, he states have no maximal projections.

### 1.7.2. Review of Previous Works on Empty Categories of Ethiopian Languages

Haile Eyesus (1993) has studied the nature of Amharic pro in light of Government and Binding theory (henceforth, GB). He has dealt with the distribution and interpretation of pro with a view of revising the null parameter and recoverability conditions of pro. It has been shown that Amharic is a highly inflectional language with SOV word order. However, some times OSV is used for the purpose of emphasis or topicalization.

He has shown that Amharic pro can occur in subject, direct object, indirect object, and adjunct positions. In addition, Amharic has an expletive pro which occurs in non-thematic subject positions. It has been

shown that Amharic pro is identified in a position governed by INFL, verb or postposition. He has pointed out that the subject pro, as well as the direct and indirect objects pros are identified by agreement markers on the verb. The adjunct pros are also identified by adjunct agreement markers. It has also been shown that pro belongs to principle B of the Theory Binding. He has revised the notion of the "null subject parameter" which had been proposed by Jaeggli and Safir (1989). He has modified it as "Null-element parameters" because subject is not the only element which can be pro.

Haile Eyesus (1998) is a dissertation entitled "Empty categories in Amharic and the theory of grammars". It examines the system of Amharic agreement and the distributions and interpretations of the pronominal empty categories: pro and PRO and the nature of the non-pronominal empty categories: variables and traces following the GB theory. In addition, he has modified the pro theorem proposed by Rizzi (1986) regarding agreement. Haile Eyesus (1998) has described the presence of AGRP in DP, parallel to that in IP. He has postulated AGRSP and AGROP in DP.

In relation to the distribution and interpretation of empty categories, he has shown that in Amharic, pro occurs in IPs and DPs. It also occurs in argument and non-argument (applied argument) positions. Its semantic content is recovered from a corresponding agreement marker. PRO's semantic content depends on its controller.

In Amharic, according to the study, movement in passive constructions is an A-movement. The empty non-pronominal element resulting from

this movement is a trace. Whereas, movement in topicalization and subject-inversion requires movement to A' position and the resulting non-pronominal element is a variable. He has also discussed the notion of trace within the MA. The discussion shows that in passive constructions the theme DP is placed in the Spec of VP. However, it is not the case that the theme DP moves from the complement position to the subject position as in passive clauses.

He has also tried to look into pronominal empty categories within the Minimalist Approach (MA). Only he has tried to describe covert elements within the MA. Others have analyzed them in light of GB.

Amharic pro may be licensed in all DP positions and is recovered in appropriate AGRPs. He has described that the checking of agreement and case features of pronominal empty categories is related to the licensing and recovery of empty categories. It has been discussed that PRO may occur in subject position of DPs (infinitival) and is recovered in the spec position of AGRSP in the absence of an overt subject agreement.

Haile Eyesus has exhaustively analyzed Amharic empty categories within the framework of GB. He has used different types of clauses and DPs to describe the categories .However, within the MA he has used only main clauses to describe pro and DPs to describe PRO.

Debela (2003) has examined pronominal empty categories of Oromo within the view of GB. He has discussed the agreement and clitics systems as well as the licensing and interpretations of pronominal empty categories. In his discussion, he has pointed out that in Oromo, nominal

and verb heads agree with their arguments by showing overt affixes or clitics. He has also claimed that pro is governed by inflection, verb, and postposition. It occurs in subject positions of DPs as well as in argument and adjunct positions of IPs. Its semantic content is recovered from the agreement markers or clitics of the heads. Concerning PRO, he has pointed out that PRO occurs in subject positions of infinitival clauses. Its semantic content is recovered by the theory of control that assigns a controller to it. He has described that PRO may have a definite or an arbitrary controller.

Kassa (2004) has described pronominal empty categories of Gamo in light of the GB theory .He has shown the agreement system and the distribution and interpretation of the pronominal empty categories of Gamo. He has identified agreement elements on Gamo verbs. His description shows that both pronominal empty categories pro and PRO are found in the language. Pro is found only in the subject positions of simple clauses and it is identified by agreement elements on verbs. He has also shown that both controlled and arbitrary PROs are found in the language. PRO can occur in theta or non-theta position. He has discussed that the content of PRO is recovered from its controller. Concerning the sematic interpretation of PRO in Gamo, Kassa (2004) has argued that PRO may have either a specific or an arbitrary interpretation. It may be either overtly or covertly controlled.

This review provides an overview about the nature of pronominal empty categories and agreement systems of Ethiopian languages such as Amharic, Oromo and Gamo. Moreover, it gives a highlight about the difference in describing covert categories in light of GB and that of MA.

## 1.8. Theoretical Framework

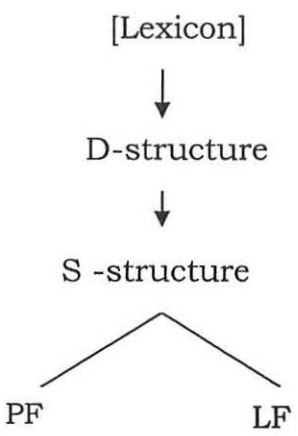
The framework which is followed for this study is the MA, which is briefly introduced. The general consensus among generative linguists is that a child is equipped with a mechanism that helps him or her to construct an I-language based on an E-language input. The mechanism is called universal grammar (Park 2004). The basic goal of generative linguistics is to identify and describe this linguistic capacity or mechanism. Autheir and Reed (1999) propose that the major approaches which have been developed in generative grammar are Transformational Grammar (TG), GB and MA. The first is the TG model, which is modified in to GB theory, and finally into MA. According to Authier and Reed (1999), the motivation for the modification of TG into GB is the assumption that rules should be few without this affecting the syntax and semantics of linguistic facts. That is, in the earliest generative grammar, it was assumed that there were specific rules which describe syntactic constructions (Marantz, 1995). Park (2004) states that the descendant of the earliest generative grammar, which is GB, aims at reducing descriptive statements and rules. GB assumes that there are no rules for forming grammatical constructions rather it assumes that there are a set of principles which is invariant with a finite set of parameters that allow typological variations. According to Authier and Reed (1999), the motivation for the development of GB in to MA is to handle cross-linguistic generalizations by means of a few rules. According to Radford (1997a, 2004), MA is an approach which focuses on explaining grammars in terms of a minimal set of descriptive apparatus. Its emphasis is on simplicity. It sets out to describe human languages by means of minimal operations (Cook and Newson, 1996).

GB and MA have common things. Both are generative grammar, and have PF and LF level of representations. However they are different in other aspects. Among the aspects are the number of levels of representations, the way the levels are constructed, grammaticality judgment system, etc... (Authier and Reed 1999)

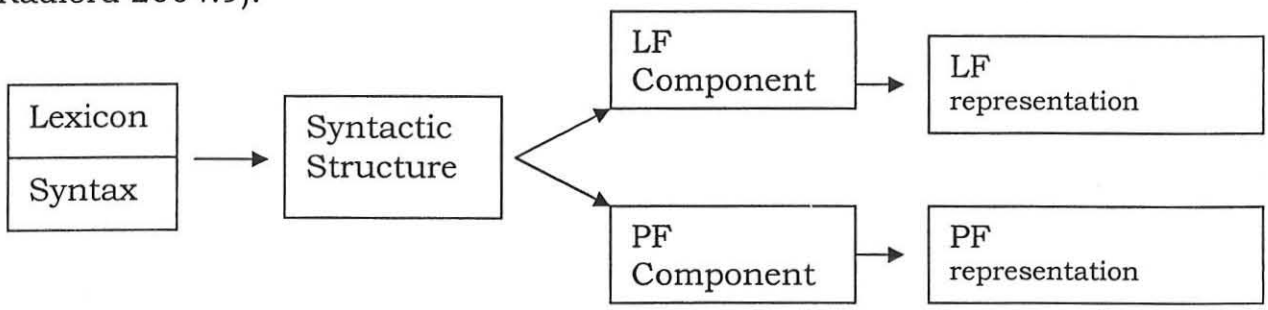
Authier and Reed (1999) and Butt (2006) say that unlike GB which has four levels: D(eep) structure, S(urface) structure, (PF) and (LF); MA recognizes only two interface levels PF and LF. There are no levels of DS and SS. It is assumed that each language consists of PF and LF as representations of sound and meaning, respectively. These double interfaces refer to the association of sound and meaning. Thus, in this theory, the various parameters of GB are limited to associations of sound and meaning (Chomsky 1995).

In the earlier approach, DS is mapped onto SS which is mapped onto PF and LF (Chomsky 1995). Authier and Reed (1999) point out that D-structure is formed with the lexicon and sub-theories; and it is converted into SS by other sub-theories and the SS is mapped onto PF and LF which are the interfaces of phonology and semantics, respectively. In LF the grammatical aspect of meaning is interpreted, whereas in PF the phonetic aspect is expressed as illustrated in the following diagram: Chomsky (1981) cited in Webelhuth (1995: 29)

(1)




According to the assumption of MA, the grammar of a language is constructed in the following manner. Every language consists of a lexicon and rules of organization. In the lexicon, lexical items with their linguistic properties are found. To form a sentence, lexical items are selected from the lexicon. In the syntax, by computational processes, the selected lexemes with their linguistic properties are converted into syntactic structures. These structures become input for the two components of grammar: PF and LF. The PF changes the structure into phonetic form, whereas the LF converts it into semantic form which is a representation of its linguistic meaning. These levels are called interface since they interact with the system of speech and that of thought (Radford 2004:9).



Marantz (1995) and Park (2004) assume that unlike in GB, in the MA grammaticality depends on the satisfaction of PF and LF requirements only. A derivation converges if it satisfies PF and LF requirements, and it crashes if it violates such requirements. In GB, the grammaticality of a sentence is judged on the basis of sub-theories which must apply at each level of representation. In the MA nevertheless, grammaticality is determined by features which are checked at only PF or LF levels. Strong features must be checked and eliminated at PF, and uninterpretable features must be checked and eliminated at LF for a structure to be well-formed. This principle is called full interpretation (FI) (see in 1.8.3.).

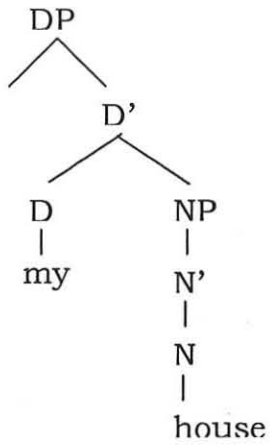
MA has eliminated most of the GB sub-theories and introduced new concepts. Among the concepts are merge, move, economy principle, spell out, feature checking and etc...

### 1.8.1. The operation of Merge and Move

Authier and Reed (1999) state that structure building processes include merge and move. Merge is a process in which a new complex constituent is formed by combing two independent syntactic categories. Radford (2004) also defines merge as a syntactic process which combines words to form phrases and sentences.

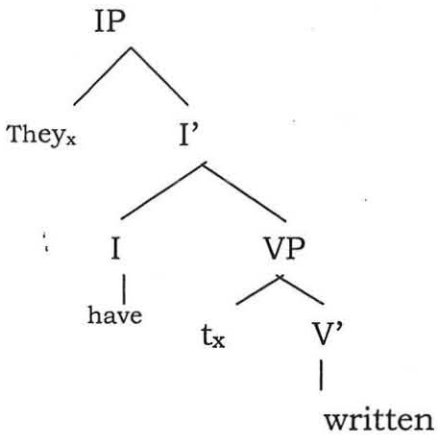
Radford (2004) states that a structure is headed. It is a projection of a head word. The grammatical property of a structure is determined by the head. For example, the phrase 'my house' is formed by merging the determiner 'my' and the noun 'house' and it is a determiner phrase because the head of the phrase is the determiner 'my' which is the focus of the process of merge. The structure is given below.

(3)




The other structure building process is move. According to Adger (2003) move is an operation which takes a new combined category and moves it to another position in a tree. In the sentence "They have written.", there is a movement of the pronoun 'they' to the specifier of IP as shown in (4) below:

(4)




According to Authier and Reed (1999) movement is triggered by feature checking. The concept and processes of feature checking are presented below.

### 1.8.2. Feature Checking

Epstein and Hornstein (1999) and Adger (2003) point out that there are two types of features called interpretable and uninterpretable. Interpretable features are those which contribute to the meaning of a form. Such features include person, gender and number .For example, consider the sentence in (5).

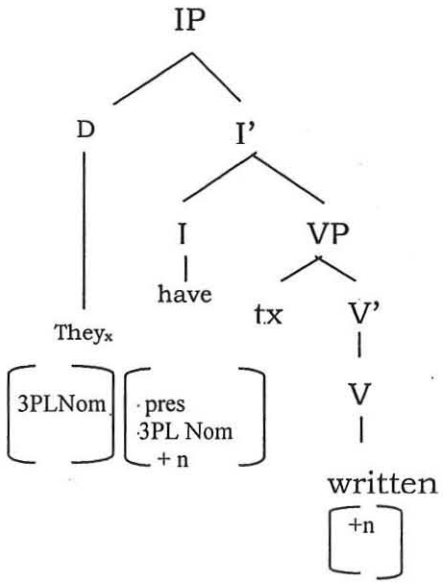
(5). They have written.

In this structure, the subject 'they' can be described in terms of the features third person, and plural number. These features do not specify the pronoun 'she' which has a different meaning. Hence, the features number and gender are interpretable at LF, that is, they have semantic content.

Uninterpretable features do not contribute to the meaning of a form. Rather, they contribute to the structure of a form (Adger 2003). The feature case is an example of uninterpretable feature. In the sentence 'They have written.', if 'they' is replaced by the form 'them' which is in accusative case form, the result is change in the form of the pronoun. It affects only the form. This implies that the feature case does not have any contribution to the meaning of the form. Therefore, case is uninterpretable feature at LF. And such uninterpretable features are eliminated from LF following a principle called full interpretation (FI) (see in 1.8.3.). A head of a structure has both interpretable and uninterpretable features which have to be checked against those of its speifiers and complements, and the uninterpretable ones must be checked and erased.

Checking theory also requires that complements and specifiers have appropriate head features. The feature checking process in the clause 'They have written.' is presented below:

(6)



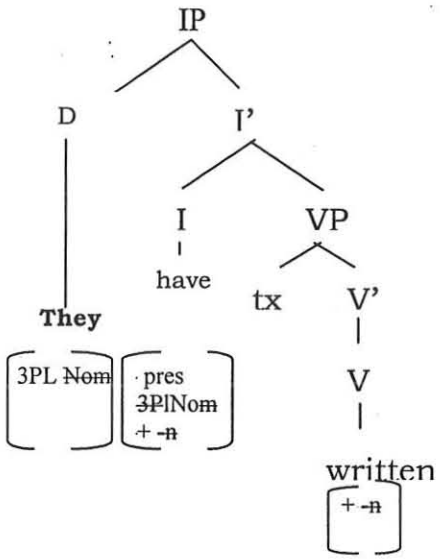

The head of the sentence is 'have' which has the head features of tense [press] and specifier features [3PlNom] and complement feature [+n]. The head features of the specifier are [3PlNom] and the head feature of the complement is n-participle. So the specifier and complement carry head features which match those of 'have', the head.

The specifier features of the head 'have' are checked against the head features of the specifier 'they' [3PlNom]. Likewise, the complement feature of 'have', i.e. [+n] is checked against the head feature of its complement, i.e., [+n]. After the categories have checked their features, the uninterpretable features are erased, whereas the interpretable ones

remain. For example, in the sentence above, the specifier feature of the head 'have' i.e., [3pl] is erased since it is not the inherent feature of 'have'. However, the 3pl is not erased from the specifier, they, because it has semantic content. But the uninterpretable nominative case feature of both the head and the specifier is erased. In the case of the head feature of the complement and the complement feature of the head, the [+n] feature of both is erased because it is uninterpretable at LF.

Since all uninterpretable features have been erased, the principle of full interpretation (see in 1.8.3.) is satisfied, and the derivation converges. The converging derivation is shown below

(7)




Through checking processes as shown above, the uninterpretable features are eliminated. Moreover, it is possible to check whether complement(s) and specifier(s) contain the appropriate feature of head(s)

or not. It has also been illustrated that movement takes place for the purpose of feature checking. For example in (6), the pronoun 'they' moves from the specifier of VP to the specifier of IP to check its nominative case feature.

### 1.8.3. The Economy principle

Authier and Reed (1999) point out that movement is constrained by economy principles. Radford (2004) defines economy principles as, principles which require syntactic representations and syntactic derivations to be constrained. As much as possible, syntactic representations should contain few constituents and syntactic derivations should have few grammatical operations. Marantz (1995) assumes that economy principles include procrastinate, shortest move, and greed. They are presented below.

Procrastinate: according to Marantz (1995) this constraint states that movement should wait until it is absolutely necessary. For example, English verbs satisfy the principle of procrastinate since main verbs do not move to T before spell-out. They are delayed until spell out.[1] Then they check their tense feature at LF. The reason for the delay is that in the language, tense features are weak which means they are invisible at PF. Hence, they can wait until LF where they check their weak features. In general, procrastinate requires that movement should be delayed as far as possible.

[1] "The point in a derivation at which part of a syntactic structure is sent to the PF component to be mapped onto a PF-representation ,i.e., a representation of its phonetic form)" (Radford,2004:477)

Greed: Marantz (1995) defines greed as one of the principles of economy which requires constituents to move only for the purpose of satisfying their own needs rather than others. Movement results from the selfish need of constituents.

Shortest move: It is a constraint on movement .It requires that movement should be to the shortest position or the first potential position in the derivation (Martantz 1995). In addition to the above principles of economy, there are also others called last resort and full interpretation (FI) (Chomsky 1995).

Last resort: it is an economy principle which requires grammatical operations to apply if and only if they must, and not otherwise (Chomsky 1995).

Full interpretation: According to Chomsky (1995) a PF representation must have phonetically interpretable features, and LF representation must also contain semantically interpretable features. This means that semantic features have to be processed at LF and phonetic features have to be processed at PF. In a derivation, if a PF constitutes all and only phonetically interpretable features, and the LF constitutes all and only semantically interpretable features, the derivation converges at PF and LF, respectively. If this is not satisfied, the derivation crashes.

# CHAPTER 2

## An Overview of Pronominal Empty Categories

As it has been mentioned earlier, this study is about the pronominal empty categories of kɨstanɨññа. This chapter deals with an overview of pronominal empty categories in general. An empty category is a constituent which does not have any phonetic content. It includes NP-trace, Wh-trace, PRO and pro (Radford 2004). Poole (2002) proposes that not all empty categories enter the derivation of a sentence at the same point. Both NP-trace and wh-trace are generated as a result of movement operations. On the contrary, pro and PRO are independent elements which are defined in the lexicon. In other words, pro and PRO are base-generated. Both PRO and pro are the focus of this study.

### 2.1. The Concept and Distribution of pro

According to Poole (2002), in null-subject languages like Spanish and Italian, the subject of a finite clause can be unpronounced.

*(1) Voy a Madrid (Spanish)*
*go-1S to Madrid*
*'I am going to Madrid'*

In (1) the first person singular subject *yo,* is null. This means that there is no DP in the spec of IP; however, an agent θ-role should be assigned to the position by the verb. The problem is that there is no DP subject that can be assigned this role. An obvious way out of this problem is to say that (1) does have a subject, but it is not pronounced.

Poole (2002) argues that in non-null subject languages like English and French, the subject pronoun must always be pronounced.

*(2) * am going Madrid*

*(3) * Vais a Madrid (French)*

*go-LS to Madrid*

*'I am going to Madrid.'*

(2) and (3) are ungrammatical since the subjects are null.

Radford (1997a) says that EME (Early Modern English) was a null-subject language, whereas MSE (Modern Standard English) is a non-null-subject language. He states that finite verbs can have a null subject in a language like EME where verbs carry strong agreement features, but not in the MSE where verbs carry weak agreement features.

*(4) (a) In EME : Hast_any more of this?*

*(b) In MSE : Have you anymore of this?*

In EME the subject is null. In a language with rich agreement inflections, the agreement inflections on the verb serve to identify the content of the null subject. In 4(a) the inflection on *'hast'* refers to a second person singular subject. However, this is not possible in MSE since agreement features are weak.

In null-subject languages like Spanish, the null-subject in finite clauses is pro Radford (1997a). Poole (2002) argues that pro is not restricted to only subject. It can also refer to null objects. Rizzi (1986) states that pro can occur as object of certain verbs in Italian.

(5)

a. *Questo condurre la gente$_i$ a [PRO$_i$ concludere quanto segue]*
*This leads people INFV to conclude what follows.*
*'This leads people to conclude what follows.'*

b. *Questo condurre pro$_i$ a [PRO$_i$ concludere quanto segue]*
*This leads INFV to conclude what follows. ]*

The verb condurre 'lead' has to assign a theme θ-role to its object. Since no DP is present in (5b) to receive this role, a phonetically null DP is required to satisfy the θ- criterion. Poole (2002) points out that in Italian the theme θ- role is assigned to pro, which is phonetically null.

According to Rizzi (1986) and Poole (2002), pro is the understood null subject or object of a finite clause. However, Haile Eyesus (1998) argues that pro can occur not only in argument positions but also in applied argument positions in languages like Amharic. When it occurs in argument positions, it can be either subject or object pro. When it occurs in applied positions, it serves as an adjunct Pro. The difference between adjunct Pro and argument Pro is that in a clause in which adjunct pro occurs, there is an adpositional element (bb) or( ll) which is found on the verb. Following Rizzi (1986), Haile Eyesus (1998) proposes a pro theorem which reads as follows.

> *Pro occurs in a language in all positions which lexical DPs can occupy provided a transparent Agr is available for its interpretation.*

Haileyesus (1998) also proposes that the occurrence of pros is sensitive to the presence of overt agreement markers on verbs. Amharic allows Pro

since it has transparent agreement markers. The following example illustrates this.

(6) $pro_i$ $pro_j$ säbbär -$ku_i$ -$t_j$
break.PERF -1S -3MS
'(I) broke (him).'

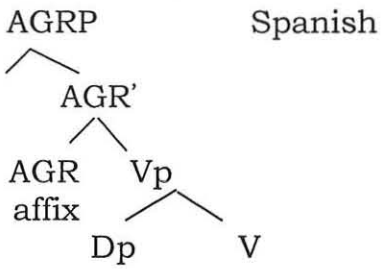
In the example, the verb contains both AGRS and AGRO which are transparent. In Amharic, maximally, only two Pros can be found in a derivation because the number of agreement marker is limited to two at most.

In this section, the concept and distribution of pro have been explained. pro can be null subject, object and adjunct in finite clauses. It can occur in argument and applied argument positions. In the next section, I deal with how pro is licensed and recovered.

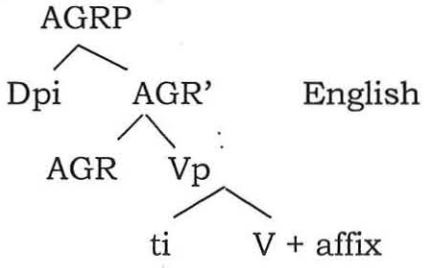
## 2.2. How does the Minimalist Approach Handle Pro?

Speas (1994) cited in Park (2004:16) proposes a new theory relying on the principle of economy which says project XP only if XP has content. Concerning the licensing of pro, he suggests that strong agreement features of languages like Spanish and Italian are base generated in the head positions of AGRP whereas, in English and French agreement features are lexically base- generated in the verb since such languages have weak agreement features. Therefore, in Spanish and Italian there is a projection of AGRP with a head but with no specifier position filled. However, in English and French AGRP cannot be projected unless its specifier position is filled with DP since the AGRP head is not strong as in (7b):

7. a (Park's 13)




b (Park's 13)



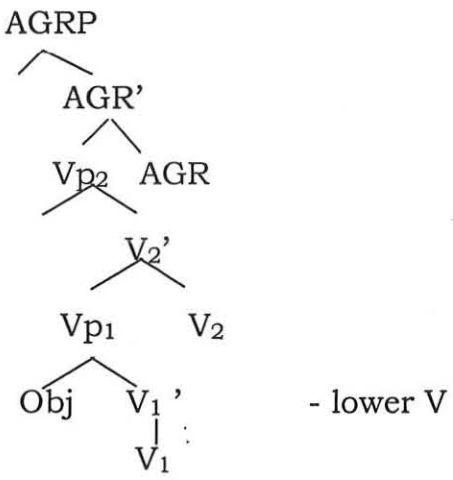

Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) cited in Park (2004:17) revised Speas's theory by proposing that features are checked. They propose that the licensing of null-subject is correlated with EPP[2] feature checking. The nominal features of D in AGR are checked against the nominal feature of the subject which can be null. They assume that all languages do have strong EPP feature. What is language specific is the way the EPP feature is checked. In English, the EPP feature is checked by moving a subject in the Spec of AGRP, whereas in Spanish the feature is checked by movement of X, the head. In Spanish which has strong AGR features, there is a nominal D feature which has to be checked with the nominal D features of the verb and the verb moves head-to-head to AGR. Nevertheless, in English, where there is weak AGR, the D feature of AGR

[2] An abbreviation which designates Extended Projection Principle which requires that a constituent tense which has a specifier must be projected into TP(Radford 2004)

is checked by moving a subject in the specifier position of AGR. They assume that the licensing of null-subjects depends on EPP features which have to be checked.

When we come to the licensing of null objects, according to Speas (1994) cited in park (2004), null objects can be licensed within the concept of VP –shell. He suggests that in some languages, the verb generated in $V_2$ *(v)* position it controls the $V_1$(V) position, whereas in other languages the verb generated in the $V_1$(V) position. In the former case, the specifier of the lower VP has to be filled for the projection of the lower VP. However, in the latter case the specifier position can be null since $V_1$(V) is filled. Park assumes that Korean has the following structure where the verb is generated in $V_1$(V):

8. (Park's 25)




Therefore, according to Speas, the object position in Korean can be empty since the lower VP head is filled with $V_1$. However, Park (2004) argues that this assumption cannot account for the inconsistency in the occurrence of null-objects in English. That is, in English there are verbs

which can allow null-objects as well as verbs which inhibit the presence of null-objects as shown in the following examples:

9. (Park's 26)
   a. John already ate.
   b. *John devoured.
   c. They ran away and we followed (them)
   d. They ran away and we chased* (them)

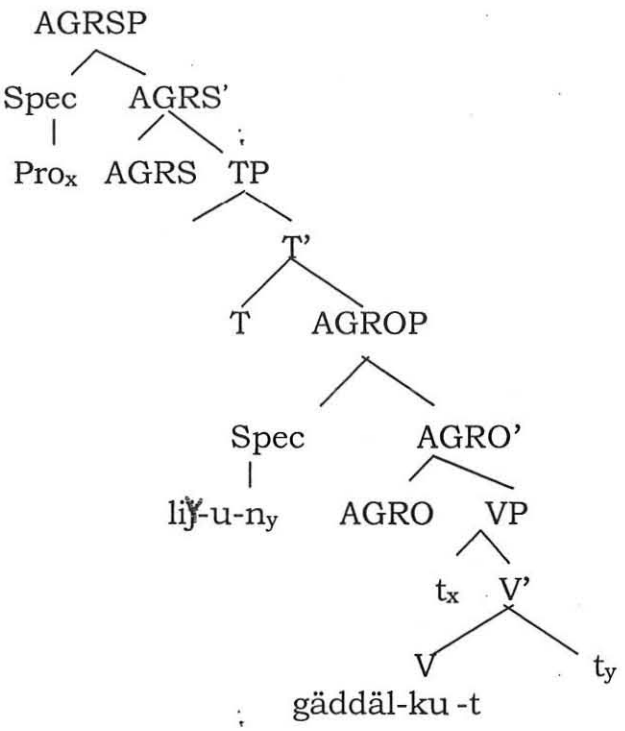
In the examples, 'eat' and 'follow' are base-generated in lower verb position, but 'devour' and 'chase' are base-generated in the upper verb position. Therefore, he suggests that licensing of null-objects in English is related to lexical processes rather than to syntactic once. This is to say that null-objects in English can be licensed in respect of the list of null-objects in the lexicon as a sub-categorization specification of verbs. However, Adger(2003) argues that universally verbs are generated in $V_1(v)$.

In Haile Eyesus's (1998) description of Amharic empty categories, it is proposed that the important features which pro checks with the appropriate AGRP are case and agreement. He assumes that pro has case and agreement features which are phonetically null. He also states that the licensing and recovering of pro in the derivation are correlated with the checking of agreement and case features.

Haile Eyesus discusses that the subject and object agreement features trigger the projection of AGRSP and AGROP, respectively. If there is a

double object construction[3], there will be projection of AGRDOP and AGRIOP. Moreover, the AGRA (adjunct agreement) triggers AGRAP to be projected. These projections result in DPs which are pros to be selected in order to check their features in the Spec position of the AGRP. He suggests that pro can be licensed in the Spec as well as in the complement position of VP, the position of trace. And it is recovered in the Spec position of the appropriate AGRP. He shows the possible licensing and recovering of pro as shown in (10).

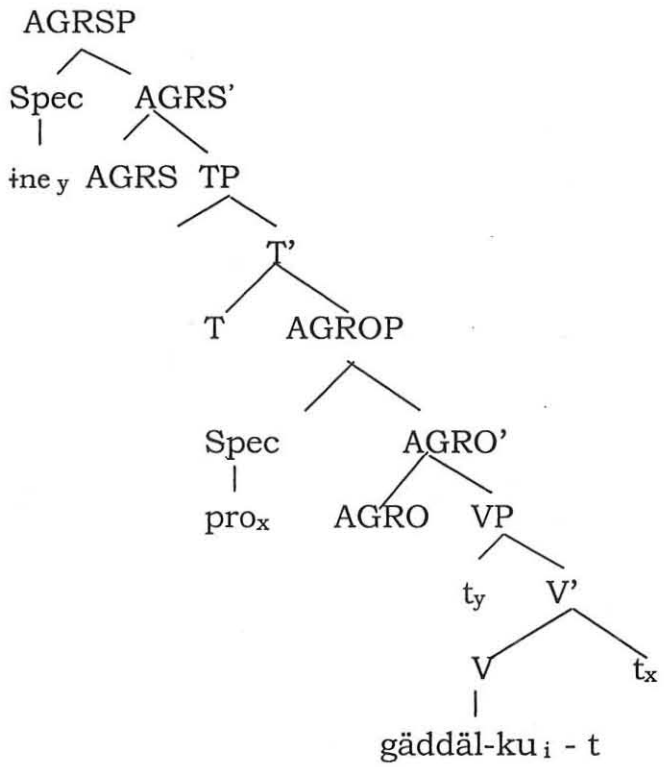
10. pro$_i$ lij- u- n gäddäl- ku$_i$ - t
boy- DEFF. ACC. kill.PERF- 1S 3MS
'(I) killed the boy.'




[3] a construction in which a sentence has both direct object and indirect object (Radford 2004)

In the above derivation, pro is licensed in the Spec position of VP and recovered in the Spec position of AGRSP. However, in the derivation, the movement of the subject pro from the spec VP to AGRSP violates the principle of shortest move.

11. ɬne $pro_i$ gäddäl- $ku_i$ - t
I - kill.PERF- 1S 3MS
'I killed (him).'

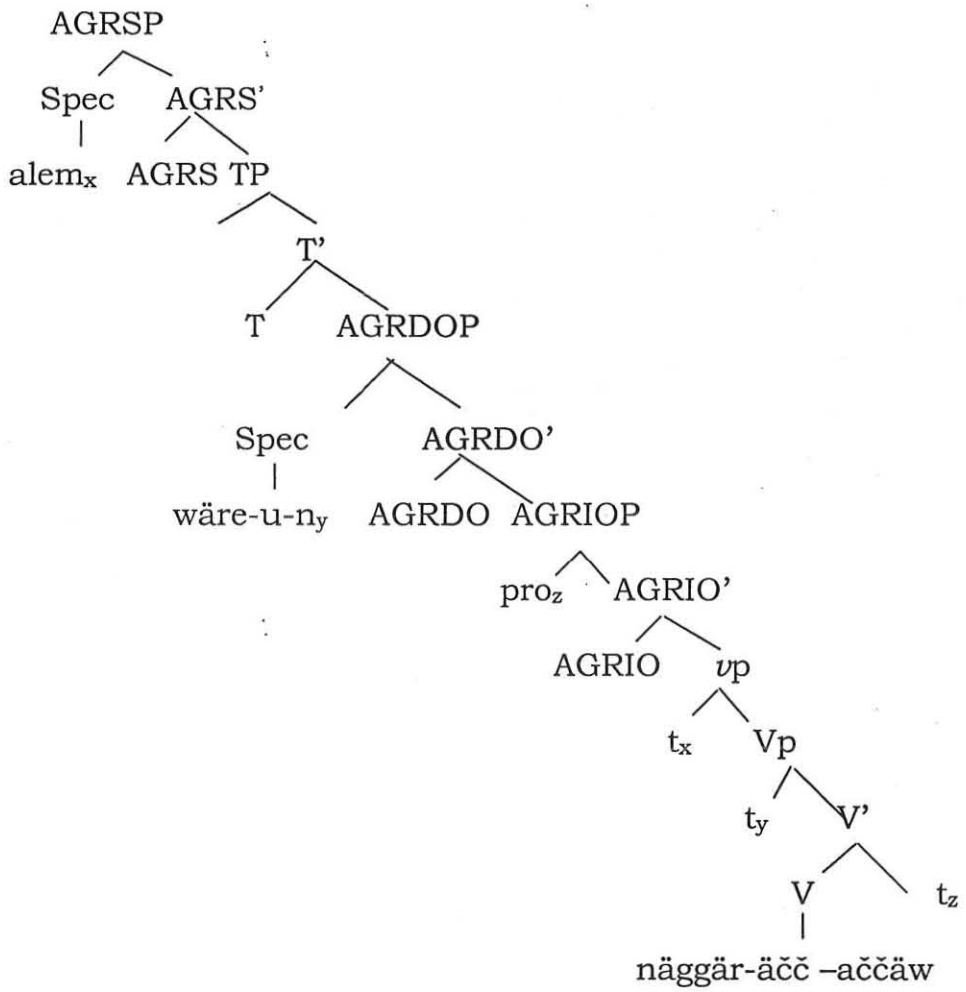



As shown in the above derivation, pro can be licensed thematically and grammatically in the complement position of VP and recovered in the Spec position of AGROP. But the derivation is not shortest since the subject, ɬne, skips TP.

In double object constructions, the IO pro is licensed in the complement position of VP2 and recovered in the Spec position of AGRIOP whereas,

the direct object pro is recovered in the Spec position of AGROP as seen in (12):

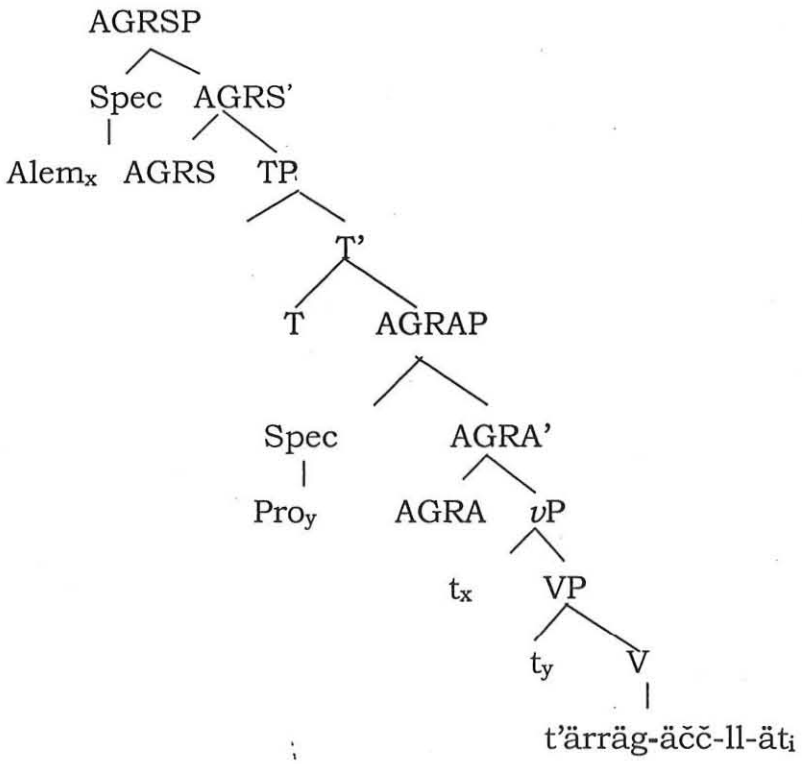
12. alem wäre- u- n pro$_i$ näggär - äčč – aččäw$_i$.
alem news- DEFF-ACC tell.PERF- 3FS - 3PL
'Alem told (them) the news.'




Haile Eyesus (1998) states that the applied argument pro which is an adjunct is licensed in the Spec position of VP, and it can also be recovered in the Spec position of AGRAP as shown in the derivation below:

13. alem $pro_i$ t'ärräg- äčč- ll- $ät_i$
alem clean.PERF -3MS -BN- 3MS
'She cleaned (for him).'

Haileyesus(1998) derives the above clause as follows:




Therefore, Haile Eyesus (1998) suggests that in Amharic pros can be licensed in the Spec as well as in the complement position of VP. It can also be recovered in the Spec position of a corresponding AGRP.

This section has shown how pro is treated in MA. The licensing and recovering of pro depends on the economy principle, feature-checking, VP-shell projection, sub-categorization specification of verbs in the lexicon, and movement. In the next section, the concept and distribution of PRO is presented.

## 2.3. The Concept and Distribution of PRO

Radford (2004) says that infinitive clauses in English have null subject. But this does not mean that English is a null subject language since null-subject languages drop their subject in finite clauses.

He illustrates null subjects in infinitive clauses with the following examples.

14. *We would like [you to stay]*
15. *We would like [to stay*

The null subject in (15) has the same grammatical and referential properties of pronouns. Hence, conventionally it is called PRO, or big PRO for it is written in capital letters.

The sentence (15) can be written like in (16)

16. *We would like [PRO to stay]*

Sentences (14) and (15) have the same structure. Their difference is only in respect of the presence or absence of overt pronoun. Bűring (2005) defines PRO as an actual empty NP serving as subject of an embedded infinitive clause.

According to Radford (2004) verbs which take infinitive complements with PRO subject are said to be controlled verbs, and the complement clauses are called controlled clauses.

Chomsky and Lasnik (1995) point out that PRO occurs in the subject position of non-finite clauses. However, Martin (2001) argues that PRO may not be the subject of all infinitives. He suggests that Chomsky and Lasnik do not consider structures of exceptional case marking (ECM)

infinitives[4] and raising infinitives[5] which do not allow PRO. Following Stowell (1982) cited in Martin (2001), Martin classifies infinitivals into control infinitivals and raising and ECM infinitivals. Martin suggests that since exceptional case marking (ECM) and raising infinitives cannot allow their subjects to have null case, PRO occurs only in controled infinitivals.

However, Baltin (2002) argues that the distribution of PRO is not only in infinitivals (control infinitivals) but also in gerunds and nominals. This is illustrated with the following examples.

17. a. (Baltin's 16) He continued PRO bringing the wine.

18.[PRO the knowledge that John might fail] bothered him.

Based on the idea of Chomsky (1986) cited in Baltin (2001), Baltin states that in (18) 'him' can't be the antecedent for John and there is PRO controlled by him. He says that binding facts show PRO can occur in nominals.

## 2.4. The Case of PRO

According to Baltin (2002), initially, in generative grammar case is introduced for the sake of making explanations about the distributions of lexical DPs versus non-lexical DPs. It was assumed that lexical DPs occur in case positions, whereas non-lexical DPs occur in non- case

[4] Objective subjects of infinitivals check exceptional objective case (Radford 1997b).For example, in the sentence,I belive Abebe to pass the exam, Abebe checks exceptional objective case against the verb, belive.
[5] In raising infinitivals subjects raise to case positions. Example, she seems to like cake. (Martin2001).

environments. As time goes on, it came to be assumed that PRO was required to be specified for case.

Chomsky and Lasnik ( 1995) propose that PRO has case, but the case which it has is not a standard case like nominative, accusative, and oblique case. It is null case, and it is only PRO that has such a case. Hayleyesus (1998) proposes that Amhric PRO has also null case. Furthermore, Martin (2001) develops Chomsky's and Lasnik's assumption about the case of PRO by arguing that PRO has a null case unlike other cases such as nominative, accusative, etc... which are reserved for nominals which have lexical content. However, according to Baltin (2002), the view that PRO has a null-case is problematic. Following the argument by Sigurðsson (1991) he suggests that the null-case of PRO is nominative. Likewise, Radford (2004) points out that there is evidence that PRO has a case type which other pronouns or nouns have.

The following structure with a floating quantifier which is separated from the subject that it modifies is an example.

19.(Radford's 97)
They have all gone home.

Floating quantifiers agree in case with the subject they modify in Icelandic which is rich in morphology as in the following example (20):

20.(Radford's 98)

Stràkarnir leiðist öllum skóla
the.boy.DAT 'bored all.DAT.in school.
'The boys all got bored in school.'

Radford argues that in (20), the verb 'leiðist' 'got bored' needs a subject with a dative case. And the floating quantifier has a dative case in agreement with its antecedent subject. Based on such examples, it may be possible to suggest that in some languages PRO may have case like dative as in the above example.

## 2.5. How does the Minimalist Approach Handle PRO?

Baltin (2002) states that identifying null-subjects of infinitivals has become the main focus of modern syntactic theories. Linguists have different assumptions concerning the licensing of PRO in the MA.

According to Chomsky and Lasnik (1995) the condition for licensing PRO is case. They assume that PRO has a null case which is checked by non-finite T in a spec-head relation.

Chomsky and Lasnik (1995) also propose that PRO has null-case as well as agreement feature. Martin (2001) argues that unlike lexical DP, PRO lacks agreement features. It does not need to enter into agreement checking relations. However, Baltin (2002) strongly argues that it is impossible for PRO not to have agreement, and provides evidence in support of his claim. The evidence is that there is agreement between antecedents and reflexives. He states that if PRO lacks agreement, it is not possible to separate the following pair of sentences.

21. (Baltin's 46.a)

    To shave myself would be difficult for me.

22. (Baltin's 46.b.)

    *To shave himself would be difficult for me.

He suggests that sentence (21) is different from (22) which is ungrammatical since person agreement is not matching. From this, he concludes that PRO has agreement features.

Haile Eyesus (1998) proposes that PRO in Amharic checks its null case and agreement features in the spec position of an AGRSP.

Chomsky and Lasnik (1995) point out that in English PRO minimally lacks tense and agreement features. Nevertheless, Haile Eyesus argues that the minimal feature that Amharic PRO lacks is agreement because in the language PRO occurs in DPs which do not involve the [tense] feature.

Based on online article,' PRO, the EPP and Nominative case: Evidence from Irish Infinitivals' [6] case is not a licensing and recovery factor for PRO since case is not dependant on tense. But EPP licenses and recover PRO. It is stated that the null-case of PRO is checked by subject agreement feature, whereas EPP is checked by T. In Irish, there are two major classes of semantically unaccusative verbs[7]. These are called salient unacusative and putative unaccusative verbs. Salient unacusatives are those whose single internal argument occurs in a

[6] http://dingo.sbs.arisona.edu/~carnie/publication/PDF/upennwplpaper.pdf

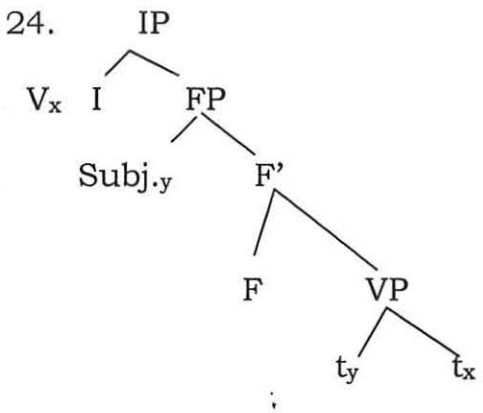
[7]" A word whose subject originates at its complement"(Radford 2004)

prepositional phrases, whereas, putative unaccusatives have single internal argument which is simple DP. The argument of salient unaccusatives remains verb-internal. However, in putative unaccusative verbs, the argument moves out from the verb-internal position to the Spec position of AGRSP. The following construction ( Irish) show salient unaccusative verbs

23. Neartaigh ar a ghlór
strengthened on his voice
'His voice strengthened.'

This sentence has a prepositional phrase complement but has no subject noun phrase. This indicates that in Irish it is not a must for an argument to occur in a subject position. In this language, the EPP feature of T is weak. However, in this language verbs move out of their verb internal position since the word order of Irish is VSO. The verb and the subject move to the head of a higher functional projection and the specifier of the lower functional projection outside of VP, respectively as seen in (24).

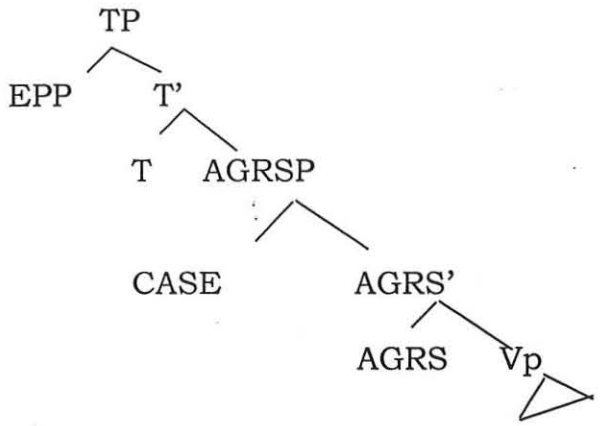
24.




In putative unaccusatives, subjects move to a position which is lower than the highest inflectional head [T] to which the verb moves since the word order is VSO. Movement of Irish subjects from the VP-internal

position to the specifier position of an AGRSP is for the purpose of checking case as shown in(25):

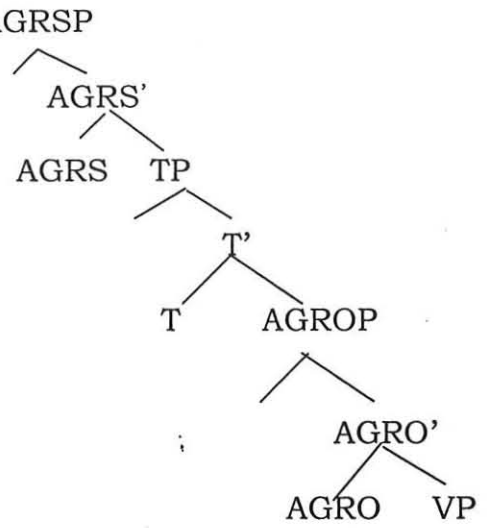
25.




Following the same source, it is possible to conclude that the case feature in Irish is checked against AGRSP without the involvement of T which has an EPP feature only. This means that only finiteness does not license and recover PRO in terms case .It is AGRS feature which is crucial.

Nevertheless, Chomsky (1995) claims that based on the order of functional projections, TP can never be higher than AGRSP. It is rather AGRSP that dominates TP. The following functional projection illustrates the point.

26.




As shown in the projection, TP is lower than AGRSP.

On the other hand, according to Haile Eyesus's (1998) discussion in Amharic, tense is not found in the environment in which PRO occurs. Hence, in the ordering of projections, tense is not included. This implies that the language is neutral with respect to the above controversy concerning infinitivals which allow PRO.

# CHAPTER THREE

# AGREEMENTS IN Kɨstanɨññа

## 3.1 Agreement system in kɨstanɨññа

In this chapter, the agreements of kɨstanɨññа are described. The nature of the agreement markers that relate heads and arguments as well as heads and applied arguments are discussed.

In Kɨstanɨññа, both argument and applied argument agreement markers are attested. That means the language has subject, object and adjunct agreements. The subject agreements are attached to verbs or nouns. In other words, it is not only verbs that show subject agreement, but nouns also show such elements. For example, in the verbal noun wä- lgɨd-ki (INFV- touch- 3FS) 'her touching', there is an agreement marker which is -ki '3SF'.

Haile Eyesus (1998) designates agreement markers which are attached to verbs as clausal agreements, whereas agreement markers which occur in nouns (Dps) as nominal agreements. Accordingly, in this study, the same designation is used.

### 3.1.1. Clausal Agreements

In this section, clausal agreements in declarative, jussive, and imperative clauses are presented.

### 3.1.1.1. Subject, Object, and Adjunct Agreements in Declaratives

In this part, subject, object, and adjunct agreements of declarative clauses are examined.

#### 3.1.1.1.1. Subject Agreements in Declarative Clauses

In this language, verbs in main clauses agree with subjects. The subject agreement markers in main clauses have different realizations for perfective and imperfective aspects. The following data show the distribution of the agreement elements in main perfective and imperfective clauses.

**1. Subject Agreements in Main Clauses**

1.1. Perfective

1.1.1. ädi sin säbbär- k- i
I cup break:PERF- 1S -MVM
'I broke a cup.'

1.1.2. dähä sin säbbär - kä - u[8]
You cup break:PERF – 2nd - MVM
'You broke a cup.'

1.1.3. däŠ sin säbbär - š - in
you cup break:PERF - F- MVM
'You broke a cup.'

1.1.4. kʷa sin säbbär - ä- u
he cup build :PERF- 3rd- MVM
'He broke a cup.'

[8] The surface forms for kä –u, ä –u and nä –u are ko, o, no, respectively. According to Hetzron (1977) in kɨstanɨññа , when the subject agreements, –kä, -ä and nä merge with the MVM, -u, they give ko, o and no, respectively.

1.1.5. kʸa sin säbbär - ä- tt - i
she cup break:PERF - 3rd- F - MVM
'She broke a cup.'

1.1.6. ɨñña sin säbbär - nä - u
we cup break:PERF - 1PL - MVM
'We broke a cup.'

1.1.7. dähɨm sin säbbär - k- m-u -n
you cup break:PERF – 2nd -PL-M- MVM
'You broke a cup.'

1.1.8. dähma sin säbbär - k- m-a -n
you cup break:PERF – 2nd -PL-F- MVM
'You broke a cup.'

1.1.9. kɨnnäm sin säbbär - m- u -n
they cup break:PERF - PL-M- MVM
'They broke a cup.'

1.1.10. kɨnnäma sin säbbär - m-a -n
they cup break:PERF - PL-F- MVM
'They broke a cup.'

1.2. Imperfective

1.2. 1. ädi sin ä- säbr - u
I cup 1S break.IMPERF- MVM
'I (will) break a cup.'

1.2. 2. dähä sin tɨ- säbr - u
you cup 2nd break.IMPERF - MVM
'You (will) break a cup.'

1.2. 3. däŠ sin tɨ- sebr - in
you cup 2nd break.IMPERF - MVM
'You (will) break a cup.'

1.2. 4. Kʷa sin yɨ- säbr - u
he cup 3rd break.IMPERF - MVM
'He (will) breaks (break) a cup.'

1.2. 5. Kʸa sịn tɨ- säbr - i
she cup 3rd break.IMPERF - MVM
'She (will) breaks (break) a cup.'

1.2. 6. ɨňňa sin nɨ- säbr - u
we cup 1PL break.IMPERF - MVM
'We (will) break a cup.'

1.2. 7. dähɨm sin tɨ- säbr - h- m-u -n
You cup 2nd break.IMPERF – 2nd -PL-M- MVM
'You (will) break a cup.'

1.2. 8. dähma sin tɨ- säbr - h- m-a -n
you cup 2nd break.IMPERF - 2nd -PL-F- MVM
'You (will) break a cup.'

1.2. 9. kɨnnäm sin yɨ- säbr - m-u -n
they cup 3rd break.IMPERF - PL-M- MVM
'They (will) break a cup.'

1.2. 10. kɨnnäma sin yɨ- säbr - m-a- n
they cup 3rd break.IMPERF - PL-F- MVM
'They (will) break a cup.'

As shown in the paradigms above, unlike in the perfective form, in the imperfective form prefix subject agreement categories are attested except second and third person plural subject agreements which are both prefixes and suffixes. The prefixes express person. The MVMs are the same in both perfective and imperfective clauses except for 1S.

**2. Subject Agreements in Embedded Clauses**

Like in main clauses, in embedded clauses, verbs show subject agreements. In imperfective forms, prefix subject agreements are manifested except second and third person plural subject agreements.

However, in perfective forms suffixes occur. The data that show the agreement system in embedded clauses are given below:

2.1. Perfective

2.1.1. ädi sin yä- säbbär - ku- hom
I cup Comp - break.PERF - 1S - Comp
'That I broke a cup'

2.1.2. dähä sin yä- säbbär - kä- hom
you cup Comp - break.PERF - 2nd - Comp
'That you broke a cup'

2.1.3. däŠ sin yä- säbbär - š - hom
you cup Comp - break.PERF - F - Comp
'That you broke a cup'

2.1.4. kʷa sin yä - säbbär -ä - hom
he cup Comp - break.PERF- 3rd - Comp
'That he broke a cup'

2.1.5. kʸa sin yä- säbbär ä- tt- hom
she cup Comp - break.PERF - 3rd- F - Comp
'That she broke a cup'

2.1.6. ɨññа sin yä- säbbär - nä - hom
we cup Comp - break.PERF - 1PL- Comp
'That we broke a cup'

2.1.7. dähɨm sin yä- säbbär - k-m - kom
you cup Comp - break.PERF - 2nd -PL - Comp
'That you broke a cup'

2.1.8. dähma sin yä- säbbär - k-m-a- hom
you cup Comp - break.PERF - 2nd -PL-F - Comp
'That you broke a cup'

2.1.9. kɨnnäm sin yä- säbbär - m- kom
they cup Comp - break.PERF - PL- Comp
'That they broke a cup'

2.1.10. kɨnnäma sin yä- säbbär - m-a- hom
they cup Comp - break.PERF - PL-F - Comp
'That they broke a cup'

2.2. Imperfective

2.2.1. ädi sin ä- säbr - kom
I cup 1S break -IMPERF - Comp
'That I (will) break a cup'

2.2.2. dähä sin tɨ- säbr - -kom
You cup 2nd break -IMPERF - Comp
'That you (will) break a cup'

2.2.3. däŠ sin tɨ- sebr - kom
you cup 2nd break -IMPERF -Comp
'That you (will) build a cup'

2.2.4. kʷa sin yɨ- säbr - - kom
he cup 3rd break -IMPERF - Comp
'That he (will) break s (break) a cup'

2.2.5. kʸa sin tɨ- säbr - kom
she cup 3rd break -IMPERF - Comp
'That she (will) break s (break) a cup'

2.2.6. ɨññа sin nɨ- säbr - kom
we cup 1PL break -IMPERF - Comp
'That we (will) break a cup'

2.2.7. dähɨm sin tɨ- säbr - h- m - kom
You cup 2nd break -IMPERF - 2nd -PL - Comp
'That you (will) break a cup'

2.2.8. dähma sin tɨ- säbr - h- m-a- hom
You cup 2nd break -IMPERF – 2nd -PL-F- Comp
'That you (will) break a cup'

2.2. 9. kɨnnäm sin yɨ- säbr - m - kom
they cup 3rd break -IMPERF - PL- Comp
'That they (will) break a cup'

2.2.10. kɨnnäma sin yɨ- säbr - m-a- hom
they cup 3rd break - PL-F- Comp
'That they (will) break a cup'

As it is seen in the above data, in the imperfective verb, the prefixes show person. The complementizer yä- in the perfective complement clauses is not attested in imperfective complement clauses. It seems that the complementizer may be related to the perfective aspect, or it could be that both main and complement clauses have different complementizers. Here, I leave this issue open for other researchers.

Moreover, in both main and complement clauses, aspect is expressed by the form of the verb. The perfective has CVCCVC pattern, and the imperfective has CVCC pattern.

**3.1.1.1.2. Object Agreements in Declarative Clauses**

In this part, object agreement markers in main clauses of perfective and imperfective forms are described. The following data show the nature of the agreement markers in main clauses:

**3. Object Agreements in Main Clauses**

3.1. Perfective

3.1.1. kʸa yä - äddi addisa wässäd- ä- tt- e
she ACC- I Addis Ababa take.PERF - 3rd- F - 1S
'She took me to Addis Ababa.'

3.1.2. kʸa yä- dähä addisa wässäd- ä- tt- hä

she ACC- you Addis Ababa take.PERF - 3rd- F – 2nd

'She took you to Addis Ababa.'

3.1.3. kya yä- däŠ addisa wässäd - ä- tt - š

she ACC- you Addis Ababa take.PERF – 3rd- F - F

'She took you to Addis Ababa.'

3.1.4. kʸa yä- kʷa addisa wässäd- ä- tt - ut

she ACC- he Addis Ababa take.PERF - 3rd- F - 3M

'She took him to Addis Ababa.'

3.1.5. kʸa yä- kʸa addisa wässäd- ä- tt - wat

she ACC- she Addis Ababa take.PERF - 3rd- F - 3F

'She took her to Addis Ababa.'

3.1.6. kʸa yä- ɨññа addisa wässäd - ä- tt - nä

she ACC- we Addis Ababa take.PERF - 3rd- F - 1PL

'She took us to Addis Ababa.'

3.1.7. kʸa yä- dähɨm addisa wässäd- ä- tt – h- m-u -n

she ACC- you Addis Ababa take.PERF - 3rd- F - 2nd -PL-M- MVM

'She took you to Addis Ababa.'

3.1.8. kʸa yä- dähma addisa wässäd- ä- tt – h- m- a -n

she ACC- you Addis Ababa take.PERF - 3rd- F - 2nd -PL-F - MVM

'She took you to Addis Ababa.'

3.1.9. kʸa yä- kɨnnäm addisa wässäd- ä- tt – m-u -n

she ACC- they Addis Ababa take.PERF - 3rd- F - PL-M- MVM

'She took them to Addis Ababa.

3.1.10. kʸa yä- kɨnnäma addisa wässäd- ä- tt – m-a -n

she ACC- they Addis Ababa take.PERF - 3rd- F - PL-F- MVM

'She took them to Addis Ababa.

3.2. Imperfective

3.2. 1. kʸa yä - äddi addisa tɨ - wäsd- e

she ACC- I Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF -1S

'She will take\takes me to Addis Ababa.'

3.2. 2. kʸa yä- dähä addisa tɨ- wäsd- hä

she ACC- you Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF -2nd

'She will take\takes you to Addis Ababa.'

3.2. 3. kʸa yä- däŠ addisa tɨ- wäsd - Š

she ACC- you Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF - F

'She will take\takes you to Addis Ababa.'

3.2. 4. kʸa yä- kʷa addisa tɨ- wäsd - ɨt

she ACC- he Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF – 3M

'She will take\takes him to Addis Ababa.'

3.2. 5. kʸa yä- kʸa addisa tɨ- wäsd - at

she ACC- she Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF - 3F

'She will take\takes her to Addis Ababa.'

3.2. 6. kʸa yä- ɨññ̆a addisa tɨ- wäsd - nä

she ACC- we Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF – 1PL

'She will take\takes us to Addis Ababa.'

3.2. 7. kʸa yä- dähɨm addisa tɨ- wäsd – h- m-u -n

she ACC-you Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF -2nd -PL-M- MVM

'She will take\takes you to Addis Ababa.'

3.2. 8. kʸa yä- dähma addisa tɨ- wäsd -h- m-a -n

she ACC- you Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF – 2nd -PL-F- MVM

'She will take\takes you to Addis Ababa.'

3.2. 9. kʸa yä- kɨnnäm addisa tɨ- wäsd – ä- m-u -n

she ACC- they Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF - 3rd -PL-M- MVM

'She will take\takes them to Addis Ababa.'

3.2. 10. kʸa yä- kɨnnäma addisa tɨ- wäsd- ä- m-a -n

she ACC- they Addis Ababa 3rd take.IMPERF - 3rd-PL-F- MVM

'She will take\takes them to Addis Ababa.'

As can be seen in the above data, there are object agreements. Some of them have the same forms as those in perfective and imperfective clauses and some have different forms. The agreements for 3SM and 3SF have different forms in perfective and imperfective expressions. In the perfective, -ut and-wat are the markers for 3SM and 3SF, respectively. In the imperfective, the markers are -ɨt and -at. The agreements for 3PLM and 3PLF also have different realizations in the perfective and imperfective forms. All the rest have the same forms in both perfective and imperfective clauses. The morpheme -hä is the 2SM object marker in the perfective and the imperfective clauses. And 1S, 1PL, 2SF, 2PLM and 2PLF object markers in the perfective and imperfective forms are -e, nä, -š –h-m-u and –h-m-a, respectively. Aspect is expressed on the verbs. The

verbs have CVCCVC pattern for perfective aspect, whereas they have CVCC pattern for imperfective aspect.

### 3.1.1.1.3. Adjunct Agreements in Declarative Clauses

In Kɨstanɨňňa, adjunct agreement markers are manifested in main perfective and imperfective clauses. The following data show the distribution of adjunct agreements in main clauses.

**4. Adjunct Agreements in Main Clauses:**

4.1. Perfective

4.1.1. kʸa yä- ädi ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- ll - i
she ACC- I house clean.PERF - 3rd- F- BN - 1S
'She cleaned a house for me.'

4.1.2. kʸa yä- dähä ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- l - kä
she ACC- you house clean.PERF - 3rd- F- BN - 2nd
'She cleaned a house for you.'

4.1.3. kʸa yä- däš ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- l - š
she ACC- you house clean.PERF - 3rd- F- BN - F
'She cleaned a house for you.'

4.1.4. kʸa yä- kʷa ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- l -ät
she ACC- he house clean.PERF - 3rd- F- BN - 3M
'She cleaned a house for him.'

4.1.5. kʸa yä- kʸa ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- l -at
she ACC- she house clean.PERF - 3rd- F- BN - 3F
'She cleaned a house for her.'

4.1.6. kʸa yä- ɨññа ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- l -nä

she ACC- we house clean.PERF - 3rd- F- BN - 1PL

'She cleaned a house for us.'

4.1.7. kʸa yä- dähɨm ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- l -k- m- u -n

she ACC- you house clean.PERF- 3rd- F- BN -2nd –PL-M- MVM

'She cleaned a house for you.'

4.1.8. kʸa yä- dähɨma ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- l - k- m- a -n

she ACC- you house clean.PERF- 3rd- F- BN - 2nd –PL-F - MVM

'She cleaned a house for you.'

4.1.9. kʸa yä- kɨnnäm ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- l -ä- m-u -n

she ACC-they house clean.PERF - 3rd- F- BN -3rd -PL-M - MVM

'She cleaned a house for them.'

4.1.10. kʸa yä- kɨnnäma ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- l -ä- m- a -n

she ACC- they house clean.PERF -3rd- F- BN -3rd –PL-F- MVM

'She cleaned a house for them.'

4.2. Imperfective

4.2.1. kʸa yä- ädi ge tɨ- t'ärg - ll - i

she ACC- I house 3rd- clean.IMPERF - BN - 1S

'She will clean / cleans a house for me.'

4.2.2. kʸa yä- dähä ge tɨ- t'ärg - l - kä

she ACC- you house 3rd- clean.IMPERF - BN– 2nd

'She will clean / cleans a house for you.'

4.2.3. kʸa yä- däš ge tɨ- t'ärg - l - š

she ACC- you house 3rd- clean.IMPERF - BN – F

'She will clean / cleans a house for you.'

4.2.4. kʸa yä- kʷa ge tɨ- t'ärg - l - ät

she ACC- he house 3rd- clean.IMPERF - BN – 3M

'She will clean / cleans a house for him.'

4.2.5. kʸa yä- kʸa ge tɨ- t'ärg - l - at

she ACC- she house 3rd- clean.IMPERF - BN – 3F

'She will clean / cleans a house for her.'

4.2.6. kʸa yä- ɨññа ge tɨ- t'ärg - l - nä

she ACC- we house 3rd- clean.IMPERF - BN – 1PL

'She will clean / cleans a house for us.'

4.2.7. kʸa yä- dähɨm ge tɨ- t'ärg - l - k- m- u -n

she ACC- you house 3rd- clean.IMPERF - BN –2nd –PL-M- MVM

'She will clean / cleans a house for you.'

4.2.8. kʸa yä- dähɨma ge tɨ- t'ärg - l - k- m-a -n

she ACC- you house 3rd- clean.IMPERF -BN –2nd –PL-M- MVM

'She will clean / cleans a house for you.'

4.2.9. kʸa yä- kɨnnäm ge tɨ- t'ärg - l - ä- m- u - n

she ACC- they house- 3rd clean.IMPERF - BN –3rd-PL-M- MVM

'She will clean / cleans a house for them.'

4.2.10. kʸa yä- kɨnnäma ge tɨ- t'ärg - l - ä- m- a -n

she ACC-they house 3rd- clean.IMPERF -BN –3rd –PL-F- MVM

'She will clean / cleans a house for them.'

As demonstrated in the above paradigms, in both perfective and imperfective aspects, the verbs show agreement elements for adjuncts. The adjunct agreement markers have the same forms in both perfective

and imperfective clauses. Furthermore, in the perfective paradigm three consecutive consonants are shown, such as., ...tt-l,.[9]

Note that, when object and adjunct agreements are affixed on verbs, MVMs are manifested only in second and third person plural. However the present study can not show the reason since its objective is not describing MVMs. Thus, further study is needed concerning the distribution of MVMs.

### 3.1.1.2. Subject Agreements in Imperative, and Jussive Clauses

I have described the nature of subject, object, and adjunct agreements in declarative forms. Next, I show subject agreements in imperative and jussive forms. Consider the following table.

**5. Subject agreements in jussive and imperative Clauses**

| | **Jussive** | **Imperative** |
|---|---|---|
| 1S | (ädi) nä- sbɨr<br>I 1S- break.IMPERF<br>'Let me break.' | |
| 2SM | | (dähä) dak'<br>you laugh.IMPERF<br>'(You) laugh!' |
| | | |

[9] This consonant sequence is not allowed in the language. Tesfaye (1986) suggests that kɨstanɨññа does not allow two consonant clusters in word initial position except in words with stops immediately followed by liquids and three consonant clusters or sequences in other positions. He states that these clusters are disallowed by the insertion of the epenthetic vowel -ɨ- .Thus, the epenthetic -ɨ- is inserted between ...tt and l, and l and km.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2SF | | (däš) dayɬk'<br>you laugh.IMPERF -<br>'(You) laugh!' |
| 3SM | (kʷa) yɬ- sbär<br>he 3rd- break.IMPERF<br>'Let him break.' | |
| 3SF | (kʸa) tɬ- sbär<br>she 3rd- break.IMPERF<br>'Let her break.' | |
| 1PL | (ɬňňa) nɬ- sbär<br>we 1PL- break.IMPERF<br>'Let us break.' | |
| 2PLM | | (dähɬm) dak'- m<br>you laugh.IMPERF - PL<br>'(You) laugh!' |
| 2PLF | | (dähɬma) dak'- m-a<br>you laugh.IMPERF - PL-F<br>'(You) laugh!' |
| 3PLM | (kɬnnäm) yɬ- sbär - m<br>they 3rd -break.IMPERF-PL<br>'Let them break.' | |
| 3PLF | (kɬnnäma) yɬ- sbär - m-a<br>they 3rd -break.IMPERF- PL-F<br>'Let them break.' | |

As shown in the above table, the verb agrees with the subjects. Except 3PLM and 3PLF, the subject agreements in jussive forms are prefixes. In imperative forms, all the agreements are suffixes except 2SM and 2SF which do not have subject agreement affixes.

### 3.1.2. Nominal agreements: Subject Agreements

As mentioned in section 3.1., in Kɬstanɬňňa, subject agreement markers can be manifested in simple and derived DPs. In the next part, I examine subject agreement elements that are found in DPs. The distribution of subject agreement elements in DP is shown in the data below:

**6. Subject agreements in simple DPs:**

6. 1. [[ädi [ätit - ddi]] dängäňňa –n -a]
I sister 1S rich - be- 3SF
' My sister is rich.'

6. 2. [[dähä [ätit - dä]] dängäňňa –n - a]
you sister 2SM rich - be- 3SF
'Your sister is rich.'

6. 3. [[däŠ [ätit - däŠ]] dängäňňa –n -a]
you sister 2SF rich - be- 3SF
'Your sister is rich.'

6. 4. [[kua [ätit - hʷan]] dängäňňa –n -a]
he sister 3SM rich - be- 3SF
'His sister is rich.'

6. 5. [[kia [ätit - ki]] dängäňňa –n -a]
she sister 3SF rich - be- 3SF
'Her sister is rich.'

6. 6. [[ɬňňa [ätit - ɬňňa]] dängäňňa –n -a]
we sister 1PL rich - be- 3SF
'Our sister is rich.'

6. 7. [[dähɨm [ätit - dähɨm]] dängäňňa –n -a]
you sister - 2PLM rich -be- 3SF
'Your sister is rich.'

6. 8. [[dähɨma [ätit - dahɨma]] dängäňňa –n -a
you sister 2PLF rich - be- 3SF
'Your sister is rich.'

6. 9. [[kɨnnäm [ätit - kɨnnäm]] dängäňňa –n -a]
they sister- 3PLM rich - be- 3SF
'Their sister is rich.'

6. 10. [[kɨnnäma [ätit - kɨnnäma]] dängäňňa –n - a]
they) sister 3PLF rich - be- 3SF
'Their sister is rich.

In the above structures, each underlined head has a subject agreement element in reference to the specifier.

**7. Subject agreement in derived DPs:**

7.1. ädi wä- bš - ddi
I INF- cry - 1S
'My crying'

7.2. dähä wä- bš - dä
you INF - cry - 2SM
'Your crying'

7.3. däŠ wä- bš - däŠ
you INF- cry- 2SF
'Your crying'

'Your crying'

7.4. kua wä- bš - hʷan

he INF- cry - 3SM

'His crying'

7.5. kia wä- bš - hi

she INF- cry - 3SF

'Her crying'

7.6. ɨñña wä- bš - ɨñña

we INF- cry - 1PL

'Our crying'

7.7. dähɨm wä- bš - dähɨm

You INF- cry - 2PLM

'Your crying'

7.8. dähma wä- bš - dähma

You INF- cry - 2PLF

'Your crying'

7.9. kɨnnäm wä- bš - hɨnnäm

They INF- cry - 3PLM

'Their crying'

7.10. kɨnnäma wä- bš - hɨnnäma

They INF- cry - 3PLF

'Their crying'

As shown in the above nominal clauses, the infinitival head shows subject agreement.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## Pros and PROs of Kɨstanɨňňa

In this chapter, the pronominal empty categories of Pro and PRO are described in light of MA.

### 4.1 pros of Kɨstanɨňňa

In this language, Pro occurs in argument and applied argument positions. Null-subjects and null-objects are treated as null-arguments, whereas null-adjuncts are treated as applied arguments. Consider the following clauses.

1. a) $pro_j$ yä- ädi läggäd- ä- $tt_j$ - e
   ACC-I touch.PERF- 3rd - F - 1S
   '(She) touched. me'
   b) däš $Pro_j$ gäddäl- š- $wat_j$
   I kill.PERF - F- 3F
   'You killed (her).'
   c) kʸa waga $pro_j$ taššal - ä- tt -e
   she money request.PERF- 3rd - F - 1S
   'She requested (me) for money. '
   d) kʸa $pro_j$ ɨnč'ä säbbär - ä- tt -ll $-i_j$
   she wood break.PERF (literal meaning)-3rd -F - BN - 1S
   'She collected wood (for my benefit).'

The above clauses show that in kɨstanɨňňa subject, object, direct object, and adjunct positions can be null.

#### 4.1.1. How does the Minimalist Approach Handle Kɨstantɨňňa pros?

In this section, the nature of Kɨstanɨňňa pros will be examined in light of MA. This includes stating the licensing and recovery conditions of pros.

#### 4.1.1.1. The Licensing and Recovery of Kɨstantɨññа Pros

Rizzi (1986) points out that the licensing and recovery conditions of null-elements are essential descriptions.I assume along with Haile Eyesus (1998) that features checking and movement are the conditions for recovery. What features do Kɨstantɨññа pros check? According to Chomsky (1995) pro shares all the properties of ordinary pronominals. For example, like that of pronouns, pro has a case and agreement feature.

As discussed in chapter one, feature checking is one of the important processes in MA and in chapter two, case and agreements are features which pros should check. In the following sections, the licensing and recovery of each pro is described and the functional categories which are responsible for this are identified.

##### 4.1.1.1.1. The Licensing and Recovery of Kɨstantɨññа Subject Pros

In some languages, NOM case is expressed covertly; whereas in others it is expressed overtly. That means the expression of case is language specific. In Kɨstantɨññа, this case is expresed covertly. Consider the following examples.

2. a) kʸa - Ø t'abeta gaggär - ä- tt
she - NOM injera bake.PERF - 3rd - F
'She baked injera.'

As shown in (2), NOM case is indicated by -Ø morphem.

Before dealing with the licensing and recovery of subject Pro, it is necessary to identify the categories that check case. According to

Chomsky (1995) DP checks nominative case against AGRS. Following Chomsky, Haile Eyesus (1998) assumes that in Amharic, NOM case of subject pro is checked in the spec position of AGRSP. The language under study has overt AGRS markers .Observe the clause below.

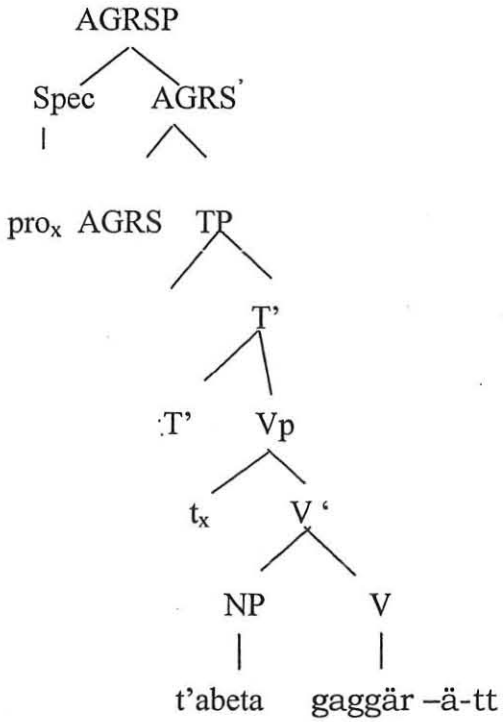
1. $pro_j$ t'abeta gaggär - ä -$tt_j$

injera bake.PERF - 3rd - F

'She baked injera.'

According to Haile Eyesus (1998), structures like this is derived as follows.

2.

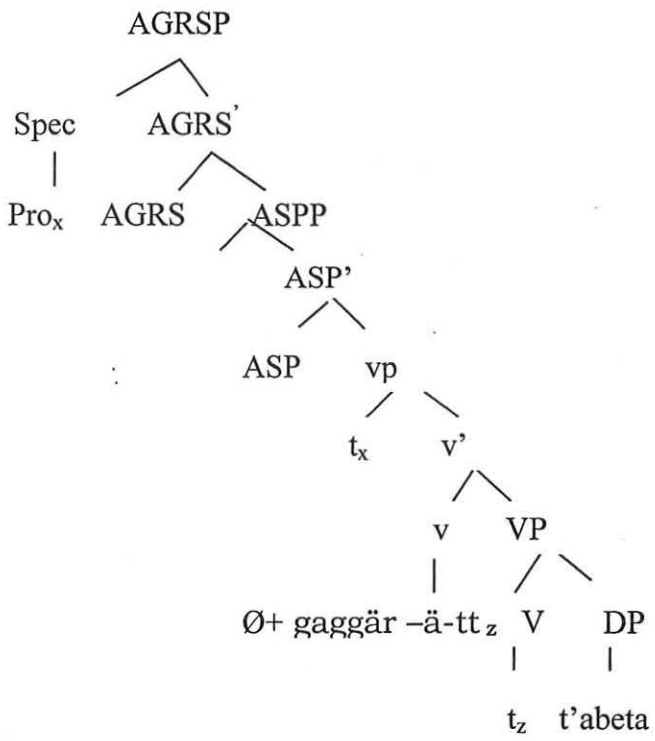



As it is seen above, pro raises to the spec of AGRSP to check its case and AGRS features. So in the language, subject pro checks its NOM and AGRS features against AGRS.

However, in the above derivation, the sentential functional category, ASP is not included which means the IP layer in the structure should

constitute AGRS and ASP. How are they ordered in the projections? I assume that AGRSP dominates ASPP. This is because AGRS is more related to subjects than is ASPP. In K‡stant‡ňňa, in such clauses, tense does not occur. Therefore, I assume that there is no TP in the derivation of such clauses. Moreover, little *v* which is a part of the VP layer is not included in the above projection. Adger (2003) points out that agent DP appears at the specifier of little *v*, whereas the theme occurs at the specifier or complement of VP[10]. Moreover, since the light *v* is an affixal element, it needs the verb to be attached to it. The structure in (2) is modified as in (3).

3.

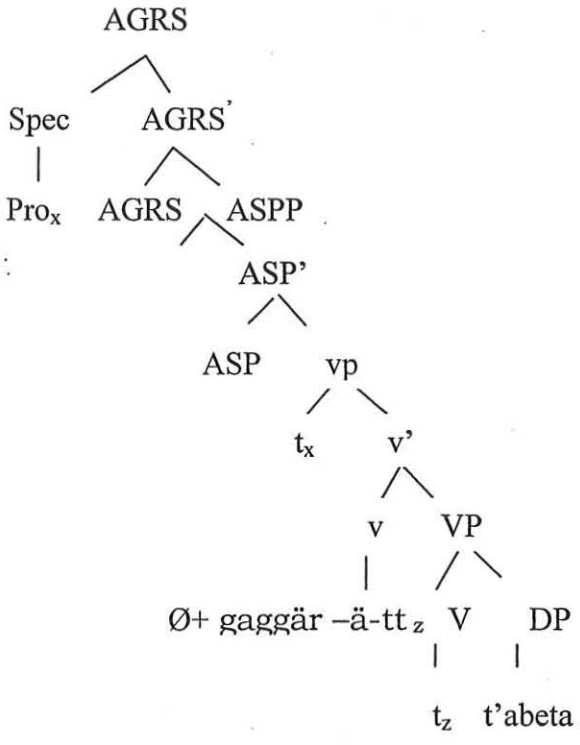



[10] In transitive verbs a theme appears at the complement of VP, and in three-place predicates the theme appears at the specifier of VP (Adger 2003).

However, in the above derivation, there is a violation of the economy principle. That is the movement of pro to the spec position of AGRSP crosses ASPP in violations of constraint of shortest move. Therefore, the above hypothesis which states that a subject pro checks its case and AGRS features against AGRS needs to be reviewed.

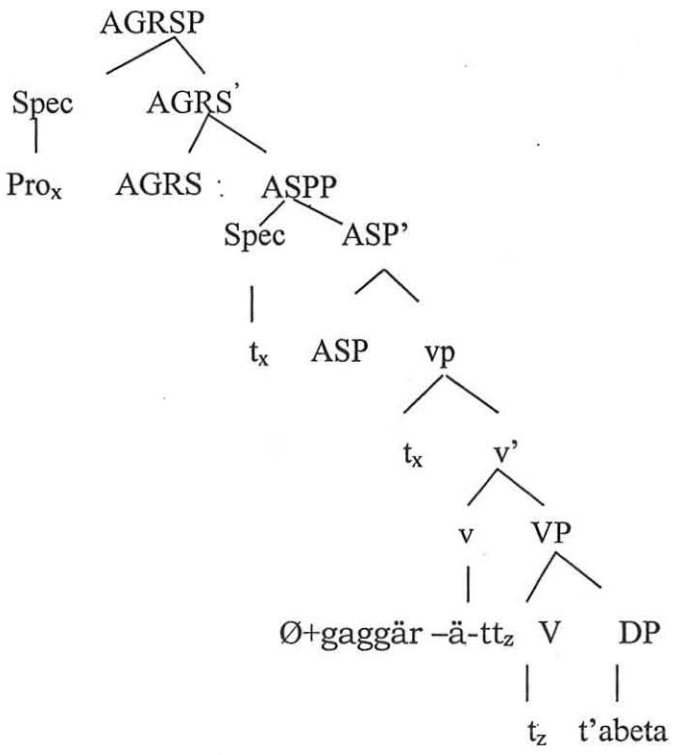
Girma (2003) argues that nominative case is checked against ASP or T. Hawine (2007) also argues that ASP is the focus of nominative case checking. Therefore, I assume that K**ɨ**stant**ɨ**ññ**a** subject pros check their case against ASP. Consider the structure in (3) which is repeated in (4)

4.



As it is pointed out above, this derivation has a problem. It violates the principle of shortest move again. Hence, I assume that to overcome this problem, the subject pro must move to the spec of ASP to check its case. It must also move to the spec of AGRSP to check its agreement feature as in (5).

5.




As it is shown in the above structure, only ASP can check the case of the subject pro. However, this is not always true because it does not work in clauses where there is no aspect, like copula constructions.

The other functional category which is expected to check NOM case feature of subject pro is T (Chomsky 1995, Girma 2003). I assume that in Kɨstanɨññа, T checks NOM case feature of a subject pro. Girma (2003)

proposes that in Ethio-Semitic including Kɬstanɬññа, in copula constructions, there is a projection of T. Consider the following structure.

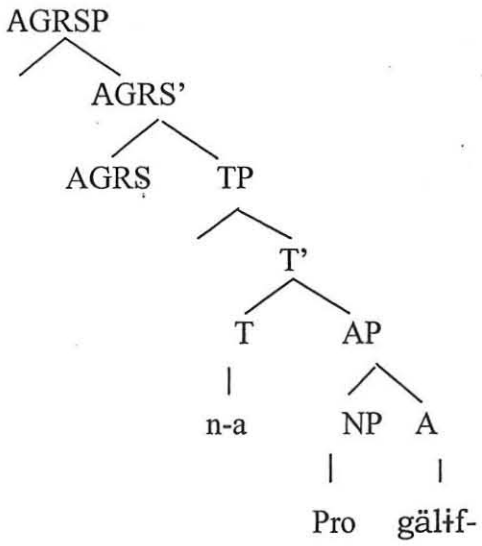
6. $Pro_i$ gälɬf - n -$a_i$

tall - be - 3FS

'(she) is tall.'

The above clause has tense which projects in to TP. In such clause, there is no aspect to project.

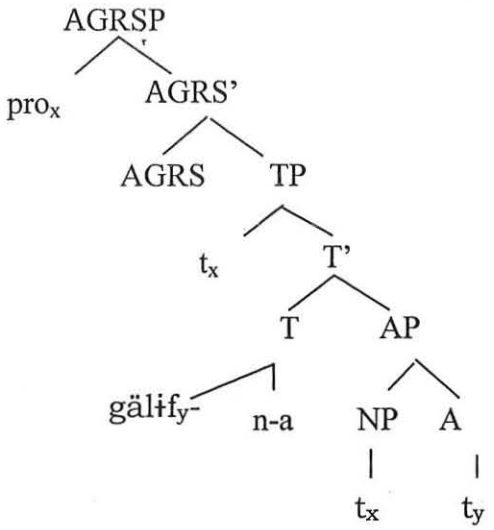
7.




However, the subject pro in (7) is not in checking domain. Therefore, to check its case and AGRS features, it must move to the spec of TP and then to the spec of AGRSP, respectively. In addition, the adjective gälɬf- 'tall' moves to the head T to support the copula element and to converge[11] as shown in. (8).

[11] Marantz( 1995) argues that principles, like procrastinate, may be violated in order for a derivation to converge.

8.




The above structure shows that, pro moves from the spec of AP to the spec of TP to check its NOM case. And it moves from the spec of TP to the spec of AGRSP to check its AGRS feature.

I assume that the NOM case of subject pro in main clauses of the language is checked against:

a. T, in a clauses where tense projects

b. ASP where any aspect projects

In the above presentation, I have shown the checking of NOM case and AGRS features of subject pro in main clauses.

Now I show the checking of case and agreement features of subject pro in nominal clause. Girma (2003) assumes that in Ethio-Semitic, including the language under study, infinitivals show no features of agreement. However, the data in the present study show that infinitivals exhibit such features. Infinitivals are indicated by the morpheme wä- in the language.

9. a. [ kʸa wä- bš- hi]

she INFV- cry-3FS

'Her crying'

This is a nominal where the head wä-bš-hi shows the suffix -hi which refers to the subject. The subject can be null as in (9b).

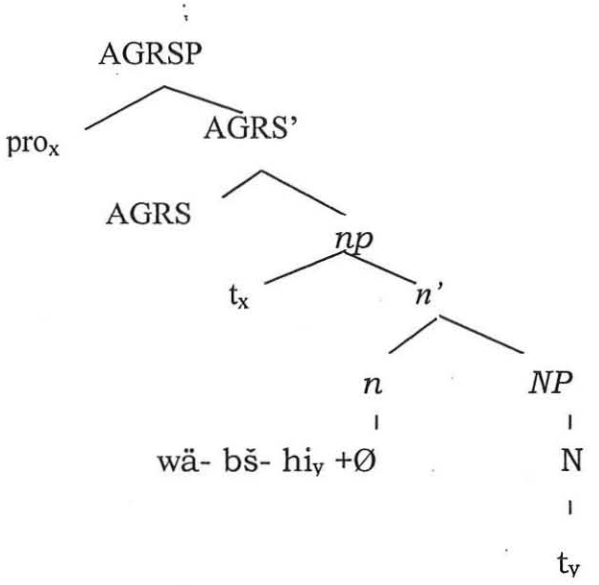
b. [ $pro_i$ wä- bš- $hi_i$]

INFV-cry-3FS

'(Her) crying'

pro is co-referenced with the agreement marker –hi. Such clauses do not have ASP and/or T. So, the case and nominal features of pro are checked against the category AGRS only. Observe the following structure.

10.




In the above derivation, wä- bš- hi merges with the light *n*[12] and the resulting *n'* merges with the subject pro to form *n*p. The N wä- bš- hi raises and adjoins to the light *n*. The *n*p then merges with AGRS which

[12] Adger (2003) assumes that there are noun phrases with in little n as there are vp with in with in little v. Similarly, just as agents in verb phrases are posited at the specifier of little *vp*, agents in noun phrases are posited at the specifier of little n*p*. According to Radford (2004) light *n* is causative in the sense and projects an agent external argument. Light *n* triggers raising of N to it since it is affixal.

checks the NOM case and AGRS features of the pro. Pro raises to the spec of AGRS. To sum up, in nominal clauses, a subject pro checks its case and agreement features against AGRS.

The subject pro of complement clauses can be treated in the same manner. Consider the following pair of clauses.

11. a. däš ambɨl- tɨ- metr- kom

You cabbage – 2nd - chop- Comp

'That you will chop/chop cabbage'

b. $pro_i$ ambɨl- $tɨ_i$- metr- kom

cabbage 2nd - chop- Comp

'That (you) will chop/chop cabbage'

In (11a), the subject is expressed overtly, but in (11b) it is not. (11b) shows that pro occurs in complement clause where the complimentizer is -kom. ti- refers to person.

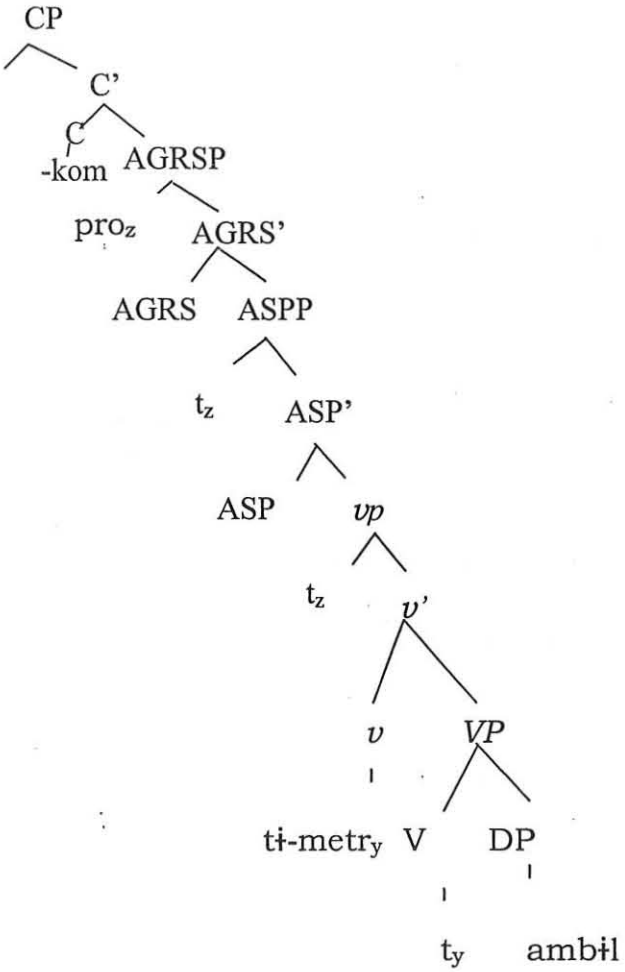
In such cases, pro checks its NOM case against ASP, and its AGRS feature against AGRS as shown in (12).

$pro_i$ ambɨl- $tɨ_i$- metr- kom

cabbage 2nd - chop- Comp

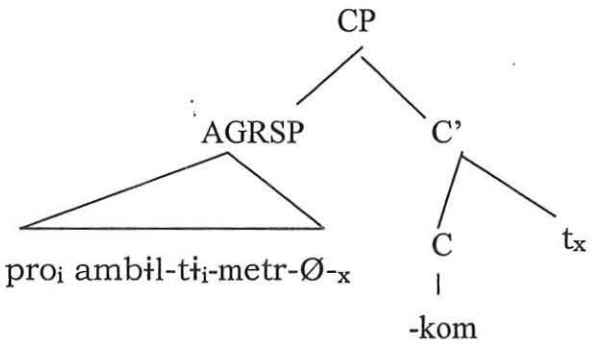
'That (you) will chop/chop cabbage'

12.




In the above structure, pro moves from *vp* to ASPP to check its NOM case. Then it moves to AGRSP to check its agreement feature.
The language shows -kom in final position. This suggests that AGRSP must raise to the Spec of CP as shown in (13).

13.



In the above derivation, the movement of AGRSP to the Spec of CP is only for the purpose of converging the derivation.

In the above presentation, I have shown the categories which check NOM case and AGRS features of subject pro, in main and complement clauses and in DPs that is in nominal. T, ASP, or AGRS checks the NOM case of pro, and AGRS checks its agreement features.

Next, I show the licensing and recovery process of subject pro. In structures like (5) and (12), subject pro is licensed in the Spec of *vp* where it occurs as agent. In structures like (8), it is licensed in the Spec of AP. In structures like (10), it is licensed in the Spec of *np* where it occurs as agent. Concerning the recovery of pro, in section (*4.1.1.1.*), I have shown that case and agreement feature checking processes are the basis for the recovery of pro. Accordingly, in structures like (10) subject pro is recovered in the Spec of AGRSP where case and agreement features are checked. However, in structures such as (5), (8) and (12) subject pros are recovered through case checking. In (5) and (12) they are recovered in the Spec of ASPP, and in (8) it is recovered in the Spec of TP.

#### 4.1.1.1.2 The Licensing and Recovery of Kɨstanɨññа Object pros

In this section, I describe the licensing and recovery processes of object pro. To do this, I show how object pro checks ACC case and AGRO features. In connection with ACC case and AGRO features checking, I adopt Radford's (1997a) assumption which states that objects check their accusative case and AGRO features in the Spec of AGROP. The checking process is shown below.

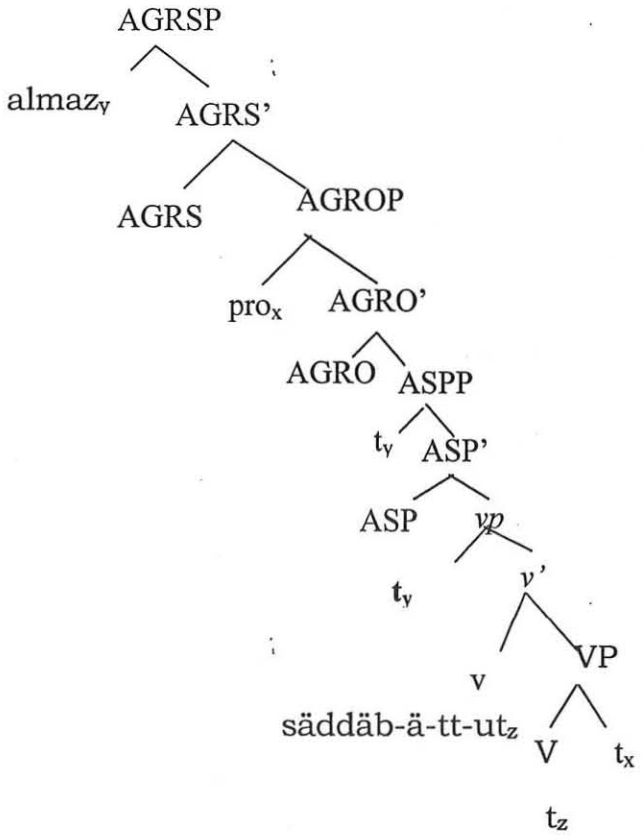
14. almaz $pro_i$ säddäb- ä- tt- $ut_i$

almaz insult.PERF- 3rd - F - 3M

'Almaz insulted (him).'

The structure in (14) is derived as follows:

15.




As shown in the above structure, the object pro raises from the complement of VP to the spec of AGROP to check its ACC case and agreement features. The object pro is licensed in the complement position of VP, and it is recovered in the Spec of *AGROP.*

#### 4.1.1.1.3 The Licensing and Recovery of Kɨstanɨññа Indirect Object pros

Before dealing with the licensing and recovery of indirect object pro, I consider the category of AGRIO pro. According to Haile Eyesus (1998) indirect object pro in Amharic has oblique case. Similarly, I claim that the pro of the language under study has oblique case which is indicated by lä-/yä- as the following structure shows.

16. kassäč waga lä-/yä- hailuj täššal - ä- tt -utj

Kassech money OBL- Hailu request.PERF- 3rd - F - 3M
'Kasech requested Hailu for money. '

The clause shows that oblique case is expressed by yä-/lä-. There are only two agreement elements in the verb. One is for the subject and the other is for the object. Here object refers to indirect object which is associated with Hailu which is co-indexed with the affix-ut.

Radford (1997a) suggests that the oblique case and AGRIO features of indirect object are checked against AGRIO under Spec-head relation. Haile Eyesus (1998) also assumes that in Amharic, indirect object pro checks its case and agreement features against AGRIO. I suppose that this proposal works for kɨstanɨññа as well. Consider the structure in (17).

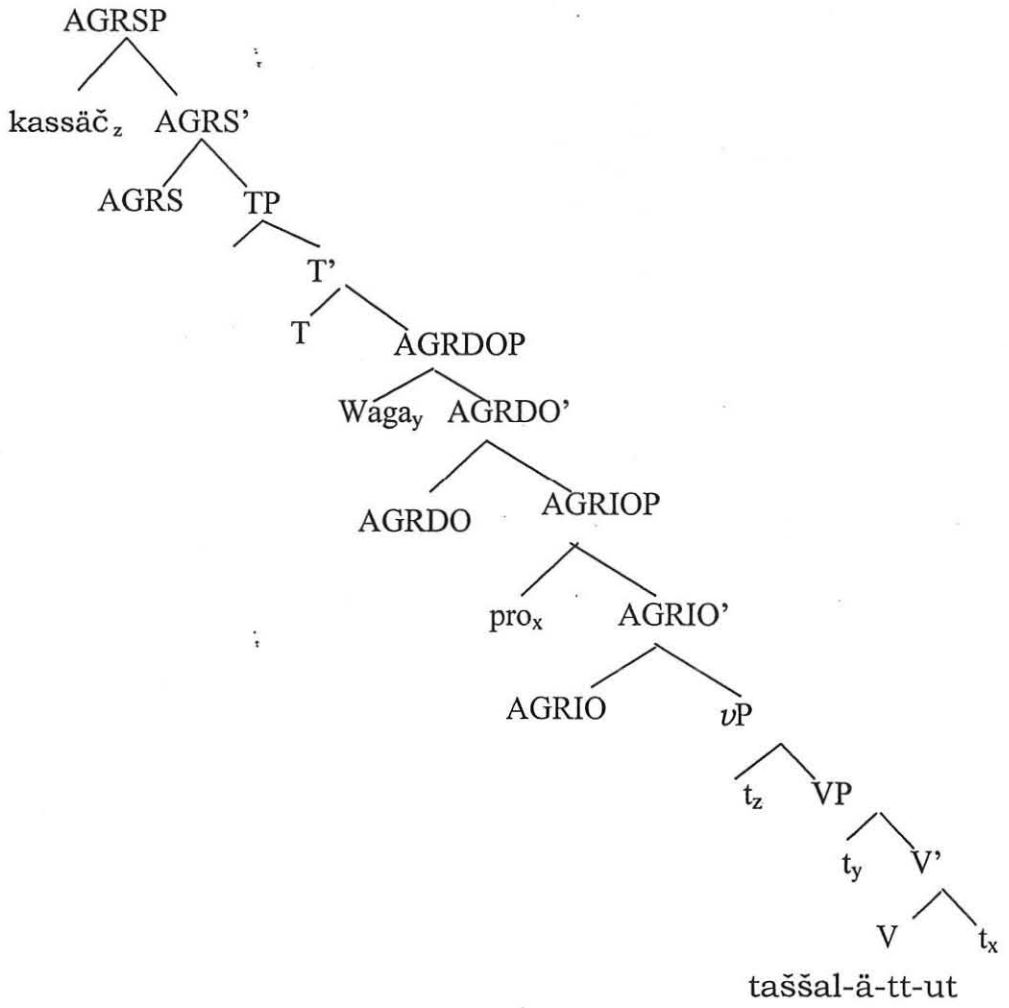
17. kassäč waga proj taššal - ä- tt -utj

Kassech money request.PERF- 3rd - F - 3M
'Kasech requested (him) for money. '

As it can be observed, the indirect object which is overt in (16) is null in (17).
Haile Eyesus (1998) derives the structure as follows. As shown in the derivation in (18), the verb taššal-ätt-ut merges with the indirect object

pro and forms V' taššal-ä-tt-ut pro. V' combines with the direct object ,waga, 'money, and projects to VP. VP then merges with the subject Kassäč to form *v*P. The *v*P merges with AGRIO which checks the case and agreement features of the indirect object. The AGRIO projects to AGRIOP which merges with AGRDO that checks the ACC and AGRO features of the direct object. Then AGROP merges with T which projects to TP. Finally TP merges with AGRS. The structure is shown below.

18.

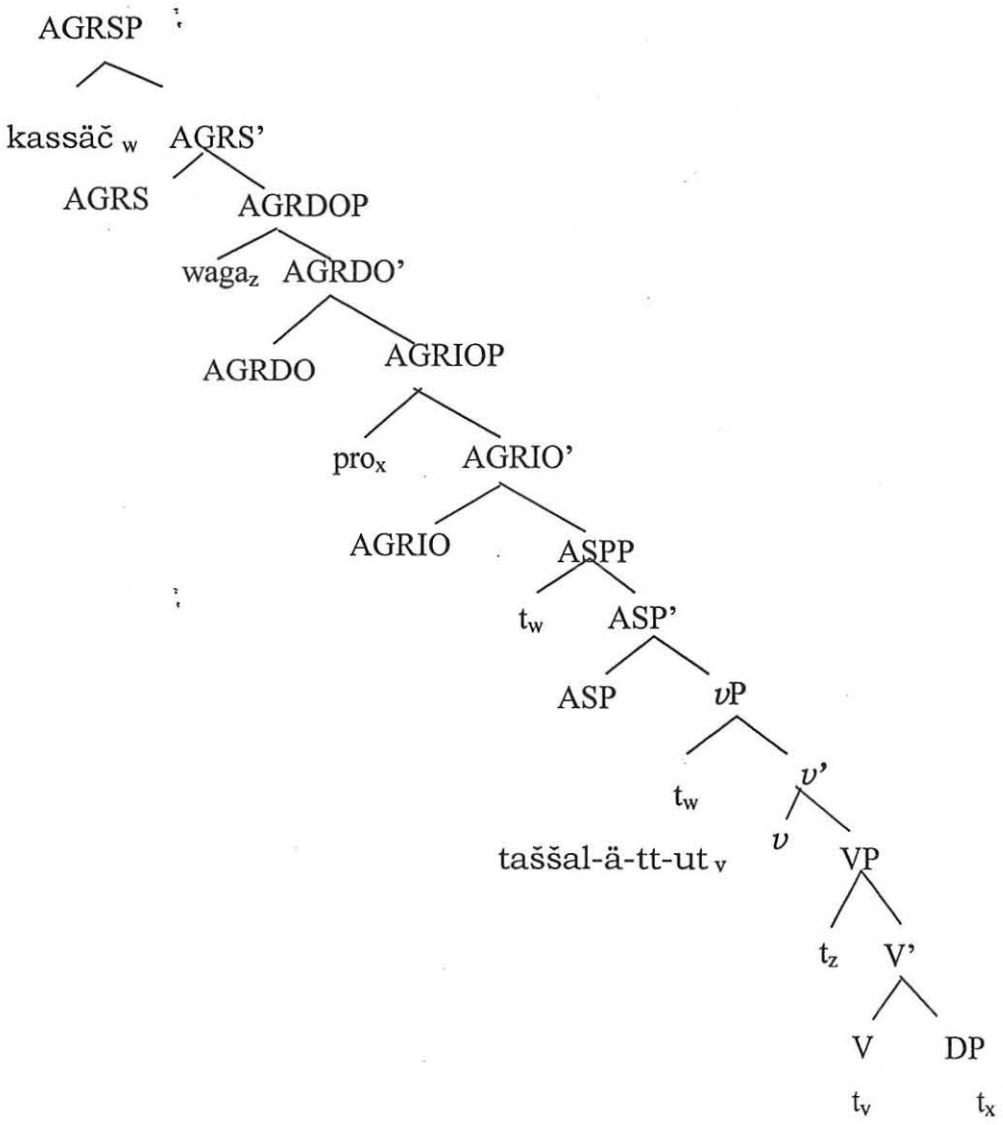



As it is observed in the above structure, the IO pro checks its OBL case and AGRIO features in the spec of AGRIOP. The DO ,waga, 'money'

checks its ACC and AGRO features with AGRDO and the subject checks its NOM case and AGRS features against AGRS.

However, the above analysis by Haile Eyesus doesn't go with my previous discussions about case and agreement features checking conditions of subject pro. I have shown that structures like (18), subject pro checks its NOM case in the spec of ASPP, and its agreement feature in the Spec of AGRSP. In the above derivation, neither light verb nor the projection of ASP is found. Furthermore, in such clauses, there is no TP. So I assume that the structure must be like (19).

19.



To sum up the OBL case and AGRIO features of IO pro are checked against AGRIO. Therefore, from the above discussion it is possible to infer that IO pro is licensed in the complement of VP and recovered in the spec of AGRIO.

In the above three sub-sections, I have described the licensing and recovery of null-arguments. In the next section, I examine the licensing and recovery of null-applied arguments which are adjunct pros (Haile Eyesus 1998).

### 4.1.1.1.4 The Licensing and Recovery of Kɨstanɨññа Adjunct Pros

In kɨstanɨññа, adjunct pros have oblique case and AGRA features. This can be observed from the following examples.

20.

a. aster l ä- rahel ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- [l- at]
aster OBL- rahel house clean.PERF- 3rd - F - BN- 3F
'Aster cleaned a room to the advantage of Rahel.'

b. almaz bä- s'ɨge- k'älläd- ä- tt- [b- at]
almaz OBL - tsige- joke.PERF- 3rd - F - BN - 3F
'Almaz joked at Tsige (against Tsige).'

In the clauses, all the overt adjunct elements which are associated with oblique case markers can be null as shown below.

21. a. aster $pro_i$ ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- [l- $at_i$]
aster house clean.PERF- 3rd - F - BN - 3F
'Aster cleaned a room (for the advantage of her).'

b. almaz $pro_i$ - k'älläd- ä- tt - [b- $at_i$]
almaz - joke.PERF- 3rd - F - BN - 3F
'Almaz joked at Tsige (against her).'

As it is discussed in the previous sections, the key for determining the recovery of pro is identifying the elements which check its features. Similarly, in this section, I shall identify the checker of adjunct pro features then I describe the licensing and recovery of adjunct pro.

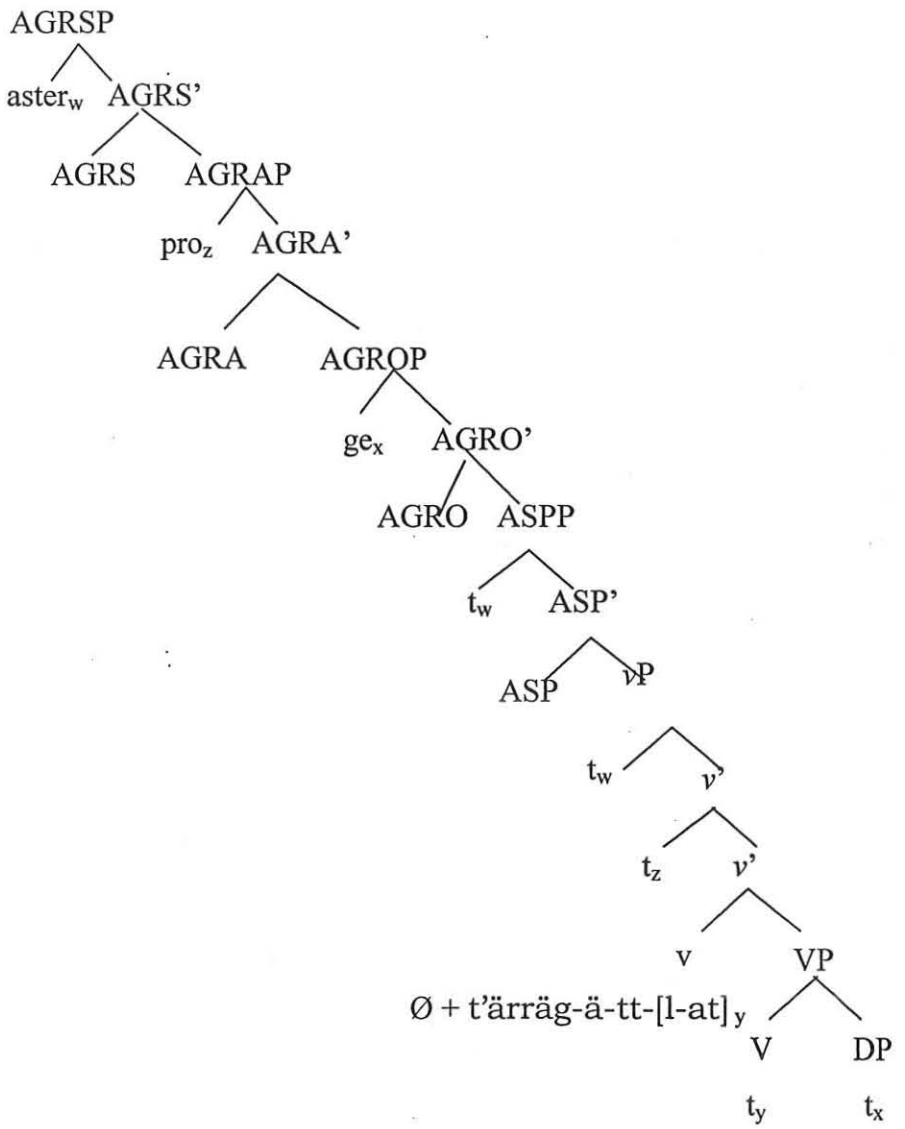
Following Haile Eyesus (1998) I claim that adjunct pro in the language checks its oblique case and agreement features in the Spec of AGRAP. This is because the agreement element determines the occurrence of the adjunct pro. Let me show the derivation of the sentence in (21a) which is written in (22).

22. aster $pro_i$ ge t'ärräg- ä- tt- [l- $at_i$]
aster house clean.PERF- 3rd-F - BN- 3F
'Aster cleaned a room (for the advantage of her).'

To derive, the verb t'ärräg-ä-tt-[l-at] merges with the complement ge and gives the structure VP. And VP combines with *v* and forms *v'*. By the operation of adjunction[13] the adjunct pro merges with the *v'* and forms another *v'*. This *v'* merges with the subject Aster and forms *v*P. The *v*P combines with ASP which triggers the subject to raise to the spec of ASPP for NOM case checking. ASPP then combines with AGRO that checks the case and AGRO features of the object ge 'house'. AGRO projects to AGROP which merges with AGRA that checks OBL case and AGRA features of the adjunct pro. AGRA projects to AGRAP that combines with AGRS which checks the AGRS features of the subject, Aster. The structure is shown below.

[13] Adjunction is an operation which extends a constituent into a large projection of the same type. Eg. merging an adjunct with an intermediate projection like T' extends T' in to another T' constituent (Radford 2004).

23.




Therefore, in kɨstanɨňňa, adjunct pro checks its case and agreement features in the spec position of AGRAP. Furthermore, adjunct pro is licensed in the *v'* position and recovered in the spec of AGRAP.

## 4.2 PRO of Kɨstantɨññа: The Licensing and Recovery of Kɨstanɨññа PRO

So far, I have shown Kɨstanɨññа pros. In this part, I describe PRO. As Rizzi (1986) points out, examining the licensing and recovery of null-elements (PRO) is a good way of describing the elements (PRO).

In this language, as pros are recovered in relation to feature checking which triggers movement, PRO is also recovered in relation to feature checking and movement. What are the features of PRO? Chomsky and Lasnik (1995) point out that like any other DPs, PRO has case and agreement features. It has null case and null agreement features. Note that as it has been discussed in the second chapter of this paper, PRO has standard case such as NOM case, ACC case, DAT case, etc... rather than null case. The Icelandic language is taken as evidence that shows the fact that PRO has case which is not null. In the language, floating quantifiers which are separated from subjects which the quantifiers modify agree with subjects. However, this fact may not be observed in the language under study. This is because the language does not have such kind of quantifiers movement. So in the language, PRO has null case and null agreement features. I further raise the question of what categories check the case and agreement features of PRO.

After the above questions are answered, it may not be difficult to analyze the recovery of PRO. This is because Haile Eyesus (1998) suggests that recovery of Amharic PRO is related to checking null case and null agreement features. Assuming that the suggestion works for Kɨstanɨññа, let me now turn to the questions raised above.

According to Chomsky and Lasnik (1995), like other arguments, PRO is triggered to move for the purpose of checking its case and agreement features. Along with Chomsky and Lasnik (1995), Haile Eyesus (1998) states that in Amaharic PRO checks its null case and subject agreement features against AGRS. The same is true for Kɨstanɨññа. The reason is that in this language, the environment in which PRO appears, i.e., DP, does not have tense and aspect elements which are expected to check NOM case. That means there is no projection of TP and ASPP in the derivation of DPs.

Following the presentation so far, I assume that in the language, null case and agreement features of PRO are checked in the spec of AGRSP. However, in chapter two, it was argued that the licensing and recovery of PRO is related to the EPP feature in the spec of TP. As I have shown above, since tense is not available in Kɨstanɨññа DPs, this proposition does not work for the language. Observe the following examples.

24. [ almaz [PRO yä astämari wä- admɨt'] tɨ- wädd- i]
IP Almaz DP ACC teacher INFV- listen -3rd- like. IMPERF- MVM
'Almaz (will like) likes [PRO to listen a teacher].'

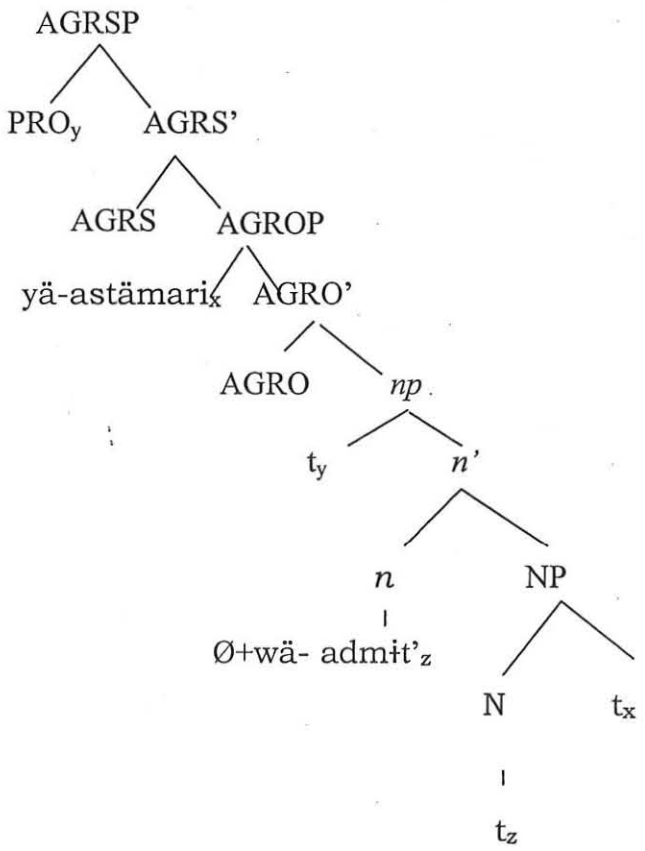
25. [ aster [PRO mäkina wä- nda] tɨ- wädd- i]
IP Aster DP car INFV- drive 3rd- like. IMPERF- MVM
'Aster (will like) likes [PRO to drive a car]'

In (24) PRO is controlled by Almaz, where as in (25) it is controlled by Aster. Consider how PRO is licensed and recovered in the DP in controlled clause in (24).

[ PRO yä- astämari wä- admɨt']
DP ACC teacher INFV- listen
'PRO to listen a teacher"

Observe the structure of (24) below.

26.




In the above structure, the object checks its ACC case and AGROP features in the Spec of AGROP. Moreover, PRO raises to the spec of AGRSP to check its null case and subject agreement features. Therefore, in this language, PRO is licensed in the Spec of *np* and recovered in the spec of AGRSP.

# CHAPTER 5

# SUMMARY and CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the main points of each chapter of the study are summarized. The study has four chapters. In the first chapter, the introduction briefly introduces the language and the people, the objectives, significance, delimitation, and methodology of the study. Furthermore, earlier works which are related this study have been reviewed. Finally, the theoretical background followed to describe the pronominal empty categories of kɨstanɨññа has been presented. The frame work is Minimalist Approach.

In the second chapter, an over view of pronominal empty categories has been presented. The chapter examines the concept and distribution of pro. Pro occurs in both argument and applied argument positions. Pro occurs as null subject, object, and adjunct in finite clause. The chapter has also shown that the licensing and recovery of pro depends on economy principle, feature checking, VP-shell triggers, sub-categorization specification of verbs in the lexicon, and movement. The concept and distribution of PRO has also been discussed. PRO is a null-subject of control infinitival clauses. It cannot occur in ECM and raising infinitivals. Moreover, the case of PRO has been examined. It has been shown that in addition to null case, PRO has the same case as other nouns or pronouns. Finally, it has been shown how the minimalist approach handles PRO. The licensing and recovery of PRO is feature checking such as for case and EPP.

In the third chapter, the agreements in kɨstanɨññna have been described. Clausal agreements in declarative, jussive and imperative have been described. The distribution of subject, object, and adjunct agreements in declarative have been shown. Verbs in declarative clauses agree with subjects, objects, and adjuncts of clauses through their agreement elements. Furthermore, subject agreements in jussive and imperative clauses have been shown to have agreement of subject. Finally, the distributions of nominal agreements in DPs have been considered. In derived and simple DPs, subject agreements are manifested. The subject agreements relate the subjects with the DPs.

In the fourth chapter, pronominal empty categories of kɨstanɨññna have been described in light of MA. It has been observed that subject, object, and adjunct pros are licensed in thematic positions and recovered in specifier positions of functional categories. According to the analysis:

a. subject pros are licensed in the Spec of *v*P, AP and *n*P and recovered in the Spec of ASPP, TP and AGRSP.
b. object pros are licensed in the complement of VP in transitive verbs and in the Spec of VP in three-place predicates, and recovered in the Spec of *AGROP*.
c. indirect object pros are licensed in the complement of VP and recovered in the Spec of AGRIOP.
d. adjunct pros are licensed in the *v'* position and recovered in the Spec of AGRAP.

It has also been examined that in this language, PRO is manifested in DPs . It has also been found out that PRO has null case, and it is licensed in the Spec of *n*P and recovered in the Spec of AGRSP.

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# DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work, and that it has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources are duly acknowledged.

Name: Tigist Berhe Alemu
Signature: _____
Date: 20 Oct. 2008

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

Confirmed by the Advisor:
Professor: Baye Yimam
Signature: _____
Date: 20 Oct. 2008