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STUDIES**

**RELATIVIZATION IN SILTI**

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## DECLARATION

I, the under signed, declare that this thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Advisor.

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# **RELATIVIZATION IN SILT'I**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the structure of relative clause in Silt'i. The work is more of descriptive than theoretical; however, some aspects of the properties of relative clause of Silt'i have been analyzed in terms of the theoretical assumptions of the Principles and Parameters theory (Government and Binding Theory).

The relative clauses that are found in Silt'i are of two types: restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses of which their difference depends on their referential relation to the head nouns. Moreover, Silt'i relative clauses may be classified into lexically headed and empty-headed relatives, depending on the phonetically presence and absence of the head noun.

The various relativized NP positions and the strategy that is employed in relativization have also been examined. Thus, Silt'i relativizes subject, object (direct and indirect), and adjunct positions, and the specifier position of genitive of possession. Consequently, the accessibility hierarchy of relative clause formation proposed by Keenan and Comire (1977) has been justified. The Strategy employed to form relative clause has been found to be *pro* in situ, as is the case in other Ethiopian languages such as Oromo (Baye1986), Gumuz (Asfaw 1993), Chaha (Alemayehu 1990).

Moreover, the study examines the properties of relative verbs that are the major constituents of relative clause. In Silt' there are two forms of relative verb: the perfective relative verb and the imperfective one. Both the perfective and imperfective verbs get inflected for agreement markers of the relativized NPs. The element *ya-*, which is prefixed only to perfective relative verb, but not to imperfective verb, functions as a linking element between a relative clause and its head noun. In other words, this element introduces the relative clause to the head noun.

**Key words:** relative clause, Silt'i, descriptive, principles and parameters theory, restrictive relative clause, lexically headed empty-head relatives, subject relativization, object relativization, adjunct relativization, genitive possession relativization, pro insitu, perfective imperfective relative verb, element yä

## LIST OF ABBRIVATION

<b>A</b>	argument
<b>Acc</b>	accusative marker
<b>Agr</b>	agreement marker
<b>C</b>	complementizer
<b>CP</b>	complemental phrase
<b>Def</b>	definiteness
<b>Do</b>	direct object
<b>D-Str</b>	deep structure
<b>[e]</b>	empty element
<b><u>ERG</u></b>	<b>ergative</b>
<b>f</b>	feminine
<b>Gen</b>	genitive marker
<b>I</b>	inflection
<b>IP</b>	inflectional phrase
<b>LF</b>	logical form
<b>LF'</b>	logical form bar
<b>m</b>	masculine
<b>nom</b>	nominative
<b>NP</b>	noun phrase
<b>NRRC</b>	non-restrictive relative clause
<b>(o)</b>	object
<b>ocl</b>	object clitic
<b>P</b>	prepositional
<b>pass</b>	passive
<b>past</b>	past tense
<b>pf</b>	perfective
<b>Pl</b>	plural

<b>(Poss)</b>	possessive marker
<b>PP</b>	prepositional phrase
<b>pres</b>	present tense
<b>Rm</b>	relative marker
<b>RRC</b>	restrictive relative marker
<b>(s)</b>	subject
<b>sg</b>	singular
<b>Spec</b>	specifier
<b>SVO</b>	subject verb object
<b>SOV</b>	subject object verb
<b>t</b>	trace
<b>Vd</b>	voiced
<b>Vl</b>	voice less

## Symbol

?	to indicate doubt
super script	to indicate agreement relation
subscript	to indicate coreferential

# Chapter One

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 The Language and the People

Silt'i is a language, which belongs to the East Gurage language group in the Ethio-Semitic language family. According to Gutt (1997: ix), there are three dialects of Silt'i: (a) the northern dialect (spoken in the area of eight traditional Silt'i districts), (b) Uriro the southern dialect (spoken in Ulbarag), and (c) Azarnat (spoken in the area of Azarnat- mugo). This study is based on dialect of Azarnat, which is the dialect of my family.

The people who speak Silt'i language are found in the Silt'i Zone in the Southern Nation, Nationalities, and peoples regional state. According to Gutt (1997) some of the Silt'i people live on the high mountains edge of the rift valley, other live in the low lands of the valley it self. The high landers, grow 'enset', the false banana, and use it as a staple food, where as the low Landers grow maize and raise cattle. A significant number of Silt'i are traders, spread around the towns of Ethiopia, with sizeable community in Addis Ababa. The great majority of Silt'i are Muslims by religion. However, there are a small number of Ethiopian Orthodox believers. The total number of Silt'i speakers in Silt'i zone is about 321,157 (1994 census).

### 1.2 Objective of the Study

Some scholars have studied different aspects of Silt'i language. Most of the works however, dealt with aspects of the morphology; the syntax part has not been studied thoroughly yet. Thus the main objective of this study is to examine and describe the internal structure of relative clause in Silt'i. Under this general objective, the thesis

attempts to identify the types of relative clause, describes the strategies used to form relative clause, and examines the relativized position and the nature of the relative verb.

The study is hoped to contribute in filling the gap that is found in the syntax of the language; and it may also highlight some problem areas for further study on this language.

The data that this study is based on is elicited from native speakers of the language: Awel Jemal, and Jemal Ibrahim who are farmers in Werabe, and my father Siraj Ibrahim who is a retired civil servant.

### **1.3 Review of Literature**

As we mentioned earlier there are some works on the phonology and morphology of Silt'i. Most of the studies are conducted by Gutt. For instance, in his 'A net-work description of Silt'i verb roots' (1979), he describes the structure of the underived Silt'i verb roots. He has also described the phonology of Silt'i in his study entitled 'Studies in the phonology of Silt'i' (1983). He identifies in the work 24 consonants which can be geminated except /h/ and /ʔ /, and 5 vowels which can all be lengthened. However, according to Gutt in the case of mid central vowel /ə/ when it lengthening it becomes low central vowel /a:/. Gutt also presents allophonic variation for short vowels. For instance, the high front vowel /i/ has the allophone /i̠/. The following charts of the consonant and vowel phonemes are adopted from Gutt (1983).

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Post-palatal
Stops	VI.		t	č	k
	Vd	b	d	ǰ	g
	Ej.		t'	č'	k'
Fricatives	VI.	f	s	š	
	Vd		z	ž	
Nasal		m	n	ň	
Liquids			l r		
Glides <sup>1</sup>		w		y	h ?

**Table I: The Consonant Phonemes of Silt'i**

	front	central	back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ǝ	o

**Table II: The Vowel Phonemes of Silt'i**

Gutt (1985) in his work 'A multi tiered approach to Silt'i verb morphology' describes aspectual inflection of Silt'i verb roots in their underived forms and he examines the root internal changes that take place in the formation of Silt'i verb stem by using the multi-tiered representation. In his 'On the conjugation of Silt'i verb' (1986),

<sup>1</sup>As is shown in the above consonants chart, the glottal stops /h/ and /ʔ/ are considered as glides. Gutt (1983) considers them as glides because of common morphophonemic processes that they undergo; i.e. they all get elided in intervocalic position, they all are barred from second position of a word final consonant cluster, and there are several words in which /ʔ/ /h/ and /w/ occur interchangeably after pause.

Gutt shows the different aspects of verbs by classifying them into three major types: those ending in consonant only (C-verbs), those ending in palatal consonant followed -*e*: (palatal verbs), and those ending in -*a* (Ca-verbs). The work also describes the affixes and the morphophonemic processes that involved in the conjugation of Silt'i verbs. Another work produced by Gutt (1994) 'Aspects of number in Silt'i' presents the category of number that distinguishes them in three-ways: singular, paucal, and plural /collective. The work also examines that Silti has two basic morphological types of paucal formation for adjective and nouns: suffixation of -*ča* and reduplication of consonant. Reduplication of the last consonant may be combined with the suffixation. For example, *č'uulo* 'boy' becomes *č'uulalča* 'boys' when it is plural.

Another attempt which was done by Rawda Siraj (1983) 'Silt'i verb conjugation' deals with the conjugation of Silt'i verbs, which classifies the verbs according to the number of radicals that a verb may have. It also examines the morphophonemic processes that take place in the verb conjugation.

Apart from the above works which mainly focus on morphology of Silt'i, there have been some attempts made to examine the syntax of Silt'i. Gutt (1997) presents a concise grammar of Silt'i, in the tri lingual dictionary of "Silt'i – Amharic - English". In this work he briefly states some point about Silt'i relativization. He states that Silt'i has no independent relative pronoun, but an element *yä-* prefixed to a perfective relative verb which introduces a relative clause. Gutt (1986) in 'Verb complement suffixes in Silt'i' describes the syntactic properties of verb complement suffixes based on the theory of government and binding theory. Another attempt on Silt'i syntax was made by Tahsas kebabaw (1986) who discusses the structural constituents of simple sentence.

She attempts to show the derivation of simple sentences from underlying structures by the application of transformational rules.

#### **1.4 Theoretical Framework**

This study is based on the principles of Government and Binding theory (GB) (Chomsky 1981,1982 1986). GB was first laid out in Chomsky (1981). It develops the modular style of Extended Standard Theory, which divides the theory of grammar into a set of sub theories, each with its own set of universal principles. GB framework consists of interacting subsystems. These are the various sub components of the rule system of grammar, on the one hand, and the subsystems of principles on the other. The sub components of the rule system contains the following:

1. (i) lexicon
- (ii) Syntax
  - (a) Categorical component
  - (b) Transformational component
- (iii) PF-component
- (iv) LF-component

The subsystems of principles include the following:

2. (i) bounding theory
- (ii) Government theory
- (iii) Theta theory
- (iv) Binding theory
- (v) Case theory
- (vi) Control theory

Of these subsystems of principle X-bar theory,  $\theta$ -theory, Case theory, Binding theory, and Government theory are significant to the present study.

X-bar theory provides principles for the projection of phrasal categories from lexical categories and imposes conditions on the hierarchical organization of categories. According to X-bar theory, all phrases are headed by one head (Haegeman, 1997).

Theta theory is concerned with the assignment of thematic roles to arguments. It is assumed that thematic roles are assigned to arguments of lexical items. The argument positions that are assigned  $\theta$ - roles are lexically filled at D-structure with the element that has theta roles. (Chomsky, 1982: 5). The main principle of theta theory is the theta criterion. Theta criterion requires each thematic role to be uniquely assigned; i.e. each constituent denoting an argument is assigned just one theta-role and each theta -role is assigned to just one argument -denoting constituent (Horrocks 1987: 102).

Case theory deals with the principles of Case assignment to constituents. The basic idea is that Case is assigned under government, the choice of Case being determined by the governor in any given structure. In the context of GB theory the essential point is that there can be no Case- marking with out government; ungoverned positions cannot receive Case (Horrocks1987: 103). The most important principle of Case theory is the Case filter, which states that any S-structure that contains an NP must have Case.

Government theory interacts with most of the theories; for instance, Case and theta role assignment takes place under government. The notion of government define as

Government

A governs B if and only if

- (i) A is a governor

(ii) A C-commands B and B C-commands A

Binding theory is concerned primarily with the conditions under which NPs are interpreted as co-referential with other NPs in the same sentence (Horrocks 1987:108). The binding theory consists of three principles, which deal with three types of NP: anaphors, pronominals and referential expressions.

Projection Principle is one of the general principles, which states that lexical structure must be represented categorially at every syntactic level, i.e. D-structure, S-structure and LF (Chomsky, 1986:84). It guarantees, for instance, that the  $\theta$ -criterion applies at all levels of syntactic representation, though it properly applies to LF, the level at which all the syntactic and lexical information relevant to semantic interpretation, including  $\theta$ -role assignment, is brought together.

GB identifies four types of empty category: NP trace, variable (=wh-trace), PRO and pro. They are characterized in terms of [+/- pronominal] and [+/- anaphoric] features. Thus, NP trace is anaphoric but not pronominal; wh-trace is neither anaphoric nor pronominal; PRO is anaphoric and pronominal; and the fourth one, pro, is pronominal but not anaphoric. The distribution of each of these empty categories is a consequence of the interaction of various principles of universal grammar.

The above theories and principles are useful in the discussion of relative clause.

Another syntactic notion that is introduced in this thesis is the two levels analysis of relative clause proposed by Safir (1986). Safir treats the difference that arises between restrictive relative clause (RRC) and non restrictive relative clause (NRRC) in terms of their referential relation to the head noun. According to Safir in RRC the head noun is dependent of its modifying clause, while the NRRC head is independent from its modifying clause. Therefore, in RRC, the head is coindexed with

an element that refers to it at LF while in NRRC coindexation takes place at LF'.

Consider the following examples.

At LF

- i. NP[ the lion<sub>i</sub> CP[ who<sub>i</sub> the man killed t<sub>i</sub> ] ]
- ii. NP[ Mary<sub>j</sub> CP[ who<sub>i</sub> John loves t<sub>i</sub> ] ]

In (i), the head noun *the lion*, and the wh-pronoun *who* in the RRC share the same index at LF. But in the NRRC in (ii), the proper noun *Mary* and the wh-pronoun *who* have different indices at LF. Because, the NRRC simply carries an extra information to the already restricted noun *Mary*. Safir, therefore, suggests that reindexation of the head noun and the wh-phrase takes place at LF' in NRRC as in (iii).

At LF'

- iii. NP[ Mary<sub>i</sub> CP[ who<sub>i</sub> John loves t<sub>i</sub> ] ]

The study is organized as the follows: chapter one discusses the theoretical framework on which the study is based, and gives some information about the people and the language. Chapter two deals with types relative clauses and examines their difference. Chapter three attempts to describe the different relativised positions and the strategy used in relative clause formation. In chapter four, we analyze the morphological properties of the relative verb and the nature of the element *yä-* that gets prefixed to relative verbs. Chapter five summarizes the discussions in the preceding chapters and presents the findings of the study.

## Chapter Two

### 2.Types of Relative Clauses in Silt'i

Relative clauses can be examined at least from two dimensions: (i) restrictive and non- restrictive relative clause, and (ii) headed and headless relative clause. In the following sections we will consider each of them separately.

#### 2.1 Restrictive and Non- restrictive Relative Clauses

According to Downing (1978:378) relative clause is universally characterized in terms of semantic properties. He distinguishes three properties that are universally valid, of which we shall focus in this section only on one of the properties, which is the functional one, i.e. the property of modification<sup>2</sup>.

The functional property of relative clause is referring to its function as a modifier to a noun. This property distinguishes a relative clause that is restrictive from a non-restrictive. Comrie (1981:132) explains restrictive relative clause (RRC) as a clause that uses presupposed information to identify the referent of noun phrase, and non-restrictive relative clause (NRRC) as a clause in which new information is presented on the bases of the assumption that the referent can already be identified. Thus, we can say that a RRC serves to delimit the referential properties of the head noun, where as, NRRC serves to add more information to an already identified entity.

Bache and Jakobson (1980: 378) propose that intonation, punctuation, and choices of pronouns are formal difference between RRC and NRRC. In NRRC there is an intonation break while in RRC there is none, and this difference is realized

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<sup>2</sup>The other two properties of relative clause are: a) relative clause never stands alone as a complete sentence; it is always linked, semantically at least, to a noun phrase that is part of another clause; and b) it must be a statement about the relativized NP and thus about its antecedent.

phonetically in spoken language, and by a comma, in written language (in English), which separate NRRC from its antecedent. Let us consider the following English examples.

1. a) The soldiers *who were brave* ran forward.
- b) The soldiers, *who were brave*, ran forward.

In the writing representation in (1), the example (1a) is RRC, while (1b) is NRRC because the relative clause *who were brave* is separated by a comma. Moreover, RRC may be introduced by a *wh*-pronoun, (*who*, *whom*, and *which*) and the complementizer *that*, as in (2a,b), where as, NRRC is introduced only by a *wh*-pronoun as in (2c). A NRRC cannot be headed by a *that* complementizer as in (2d).

2. a) The man *that I saw yesterday* went this morning.
- b) The man *who I saw yesterday* went this morning.
- c) The man, *who arrived here yesterday*, went this morning.
- d) \*The man, *that arrived here yesterday*, went this morning.

Jackendoff (1977) further identified additional differences of RRC and NRRC in terms of their distribution and modifying property of a proper noun. In English, a NRRC occurs always at the right of RRC. Consider the following examples.

3. The man *that came to dinner*, *who was drunk*, got fainted.

In (3) the clause *who was drunk* is a NRRC, and it structurally follows the RRC, *that came to dinner*. A NRRC modifies proper noun, but a RRC does not. Consider the following example.

4. John, *who came to dinner*, got fainted.

In (4), *John*, the head noun, is already restricted in the sense that its referential identity cannot be changed. So the relative clause that modifies it can only be a NRRC.

Regarding the difference between RRC and NRRC, Safir (1986) suggests two levels of representation, (i.e. LF and LF' read as "LF bar") to make syntactic distinction between them, which are defined in terms of referential relation between the relative clause and the head noun. Safir considers the LF' representation to capture what he calls the "extra" argument of NRRC, as is quoted in the following paragraph.

*"LF' is a level in which "extra" arguments or constituents may be attached to independently grammatical sentences. Elements attached at this level would then have to be introduced into the theta structure of the sentence in some way, a way more over that captures the perceptions that such elements are "extra." At this level, then, parenthetical expressions might be attached, and perhaps many other items typically marked by strong intonation break." (Safir 1986:672).*

According to Safir there is referential relation between a head noun and a restrictive relative clause, and it is determined at LF representation, while a NRRC referential relation is determined at LF'.

Following Safir, Fabb (1990:58) also pointed out that RRC, as it is a predicate of a head noun, is co-indexed with the head noun while NRRC is not, because NRRC is not predicate. Thus RRC is distinguished from NRRC at LF representation. In RRC the relative pronoun and the antecedent are co-indexed at LF, while in a NRRC the relative pronoun and the antecedent may bear distinct indices at LF and are co indexed only at LF' (Fabb 1990). Consider the following representation of RRC and NRRC at LF and LF', cited from Safir (1986: 668).

5. a) **Restrictive Relative Clause**

LF: [[ a man]<sub>i</sub> [who<sub>i</sub> Bill saw e<sub>i</sub>]]

LF': [[ a man]<sub>i</sub> [who<sub>i</sub> Bill saw e<sub>i</sub>]]

b) **Nonrestrictive Relative Clause**

LF: [John<sub>j</sub> [who<sub>i</sub> Bill saw e<sub>i</sub>]]

LF': [John<sub>j</sub> [who<sub>j</sub> Bill saw e<sub>j</sub>]]

In (5a) the relative head *a man* is co indexed with the relative pronoun *who* and the empty category [e] at LF and LF'. In (5b) the relative pronoun *who* and the empty category [e] have the same indexing, which is different from *John* at LF. But at LF' the relative pronoun *who*, the empty category [e] and *John* have the same index.

The reason why they differ in levels of representation is that the RRC has dependent reference of the modifying clause, whereas the NRRC has independent reference (Safir: 1986). Thus, RRC is determined at LF whereas NRRC at LF'.

Now on the basis of the above notion, we will try to differentiate the RRC and NRRC in Silt'i. Let us see the following relative clause construction of Silt'i.

6. a) NP[ CP1[ gaar yä-mäñ-ä-i ] CP2[ [ lam yä-wäkäb-ä-i ] N[ miiš ] ]

house Rm-built-3sgm(s)-Def(f) cow Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-Def(m) man

'the man who bought a cow, who built a house'

b) NP[ CP1[adee-kä yä-mot-t-b-iy ] CP2[ gaar-ä-y yä-gäfar-ä-i ] N[ č'ullo ] ]

mother-3sgm(P) Rm-died-3sgf(s)-P-3sgm(o) house-Acc-Def Rm-left-3sgm(s)-Def boy

'the boy who left the house, whose mother died'

c) NP[ CP1[tačen yä-gor-u-i ] CP2[m]št-te yä-wäkäb-t-iy ] N[ t'ay ]  
 yesterdayRm-slaughtered-3sgm(s)-Def(m)woman-Def(f)Rm-bought-3sgf(s)-3sgf(o)  
 sheep

'a sheep which the woman bought , which slaughtered yesterday'

As can be observed in the above examples, Silt'i does not have relative pronoun as English does. We may recall how English has a choice of relative pronouns, *who*, *that*, etc. in our discussion on page (12). The element *yä*<sup>3</sup> is the only relative marker that appears in every relative clause construction in Silti. In (6a), for instance, *yä* - gets attached to the verbal constituents of both types of relative clauses. There is, however, certain degree of loudness or intonation that distinguishes the RRC from the NRRC in Silt'i. Thus we may say that RRC is accompanied with loudness, while NRRC is not. For example, in (6a) the restrictive relative clause *lam yä-wäkäb-ä-y* is louder than the non-restrictive relative clause *gaar yä-mäñ-ä-y*.

The major syntactic difference between RRC and NRRC in Silt'i is reflected in their syntactic positions in relation to the head noun. In English Thomson and Martinet (1980) points it out as quoted in Mahalingam (1981: 93) 'Non-defining relative clauses are placed after nouns which are definite already. They do not therefore define the noun, but merely add something to it by giving some more information about it'.

Jackendoff (1977:172) also notes that a NRRC follows a RRC, and it occurs at the right of RRC. Thus in the light of the above discussion, we also assume that the NRRC in Silt'i occurs at the left of the RRC in which the nearest clause to the head noun is always a RRC. For instance, *lam yä-wäkäb-ä-y* in (6a), *gaar-ä-y yä-gäfär-ä-y* in (6b), and *m]št-te yä-wäkäb-t-ä-y* in (6c) are RRCs which are syntactically close to their

<sup>3</sup> We will discuss about the function and nature of the linguistic element *yä* - in chapter 4.

head nouns, while *gaar yä-mäñ-ä-y* in (6a), *adee-k yä-mot-t-b-iy* in (6b) and *tačen yä-gor-u-y* in (6c) are NRRCs.

In addition, a proper noun is modified by NRRC not by RRC. Consider the following examples.

7. a) NP[ CP[ gäbäyä yä-heed-t-te ] N[ amina ] ]  
 market Rm-went-3sgf(s)-Def(f) Amina  
 'Amina, who went to market'
- b) NP[ CP[ t'ay yä-wäkäb-ä-i ] N[ abrar ] ]  
 sheep Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-Def(m) Abrar  
 'Abrar, who bought a sheep'

Since proper nouns are already restricted the relative clauses that occur before *Amina* in (7a) and *Abrar* in (7b) are NRRCs.

As was mentioned earlier, if we consider relative clauses in terms of their function, we find that RRC restricts its head, whereas NRRC does not, because NRRC gives only supplementary information about the head noun. Hence, their difference depends on referential relation to head noun. It is this difference between RRC and NRRC that Safir attempts to clearly show at the two levels of representation. Consider the following representations of Silt'i relative clause.

8. At LF: NP[ CP1[ [e]<sub>j</sub> gaar yä-mäñ-ä-i ] CP2[ [e]<sub>i</sub> laam yä-wäkäb-ä-i ] miiš<sub>i</sub> ]  
 house Rm-built-3sgm(s)-Def(i) cow Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-Def(i) man  
 'the man who built a house, who bought a cow'.

At LF': NP[ CP1[ [e]<sub>i</sub> gaar yä-mäñ-ä-i ] CP2[ [e]<sub>i</sub> laam yä-wäkäb-ä-i ] miiš<sub>i</sub> ]  
house Rm-built-3sgm(s)-Def(m) cow Rm-bought- 3sgm(s)-Def(m) man  
'the man who built a house, who bought a cow'

As can be observed in (8), the RRC has the same indexing between [e] and the head noun *miiš* 'man' at LF, which is different from the NRRC in which the empty element [e] and *miiš* 'man' are not coindexed each other. Thus, the syntactic difference between RRC and NRRC can be captured at LF. However, the relative head noun *miiš* 'man' and the empty category [e] are made to have the same indexing at LF' in the NRRC. This is done to show the “loose” relationship that NRRC has with its head noun, i.e. the extra information that is given by NRRC refers to the head noun.

In the following section we will discuss types of relative clause in terms of the phonetic content of the heads.

## 2.2 Lexically and Empty Headed Relatives

According to Keenan (1985) relative clause can be distinguished into headed and headless relatives, which we identify them in this study as lexically headed and empty headed relatives, respectively.

### 2.2.1 Lexically Headed Relatives

Lexically headed relatives are those relative clauses in which their heads are phonetically realized. They can be classified into external and internal headed relatives.

### 2.2.1.1 External Headed Relatives

If a head occurs outside of a relative clause, it is called external headed relative clause. There are many languages, which have external headed relatives. Let us consider the following English relative clauses.

9. a) *The man* [who bought the book]  
b) *The boy* [whom the woman bought the cloth]

The head nouns *the man* in (9a) and *the boy* in (9b) are found at the left side outside the relative clause. In Silt'i, there are externally headed relative clauses. The following examples illustrate the case.

10. a) NP[ CP[ bučo yä-näkäs-ä-i ] N[ č'uulo ] ]  
dog Rm-bite-3sgm(s)-Def(m) boy  
'the boy whom the dog bite'  
b) NP[ CP[ gaar-kä yä- färäs-ä-b-i ] N[ miiš ] ]  
house-3sgm(Poss) Rm-fell-down-3sgm(o)-P-Def(f) man  
'The man whose house fell down.'  
c) NP[ CP[ miiš-i yä-wäkäb-et ] N[ feek' ] ]  
man-Def(m) Rm- bought-3sgf(s) goat  
'The goat which the man bought.'

In the examples (10) above, the head nouns *č'uulo* 'boy' in (a), *miiš* 'man' in (b), *feek'* 'goat' in (c) are positioned outside at the right of the relative clause. The difference between the English examples in (9) and the Silt'i ones in (10) is that in Silt'i the head nouns occur right after the relative clause, while in English they occur before the relative clause.

In connection to this Keenan (1986:143) classifies external headed relatives into postnominal and prenominal relatives. In postnominal relatives a head noun precedes the relative clause. On the other hand, in prenominal relatives the head noun follows a relative clause. Postnominal and prenominal relatives have correlation with the word-order type (Downing: 1978) or the head parameter that a language is set in to. Thus, a language with a postnominal relative has an SVO word order<sup>4</sup>, or in other words it is a head initial language, as English, and Gumuz (Asfaw 1993). The following examples illustrate the structure of Gumuz relative clause (Asfaw 1993: 20).

11. a) <sub>IP</sub> [ dua- (we) <sub>VP</sub> [ d-a- suk      gumbba - (ya) ] ]

boy-nom      PAST- 3S-kill      lion- acc

'The boy killed a lion.'

b) <sub>NP</sub>[ dua- (we)    <sub>CP</sub>[ int-a-suk      gumbba- ( ya) ] ]

boy-nom      comp-3S-killed      lion -acc

'the boy who killed a lion'.

(11a) shows that the basic word order of Gumuz is SVO. More over, the example (11b) shows that the relative clause occurs to the right of the head noun *dua-* (*we*) 'the boy'. Thus, Gumuz is said to have postnominal relatives.

A language with a prenominal relative has an SOV word order, and is a head final language as Amharic, Navajo, Basque, Japanese and Turkish (Downing 1978: 391). Let us consider the following Amharic examples.

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<sup>4</sup>According to Downing (1978:383) there is implicational tendency, in which languages (with a few exceptions) have postnominal restrictive relative clause if and only if the basic word order is SVO. For example, Mandarin (a Chinese language) is basically an SVO language in which RRCs are preposed.

12. a)  $IP[ NP[ l\check{g}\text{-}u ] \quad VP[ \backslash bab\text{-}u\text{-}n \quad g\ddot{a}dd\ddot{a}l\text{-}\ddot{a}\text{-}w ] ]$   
 boy-Def      snake- Def-Acc    killed-3sgm(s)-3sgm(o)  
 'The boy killed the snake.'
- b)  $NP[ CP[ \backslash babu\text{-}n \quad y\ddot{a}\text{-}g\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}l\text{-}\ddot{a}\text{-}w ] \quad N[ l\check{g} ] ]$   
 snake-Acc    Rm-killed-3sgm(s)-3sgm(o)    boy  
 'the boy who killed the snake'

As can be observed in the example (12a), the word order of Amharic is SOV. The relative clause is a prenominal relative, which occurs at the left of the head noun *liḡ* 'boy' as in (12b). In the light of this discussion, let us consider the following Silt'i examples.

13. a)  $IP[ NP[ mii\check{s}\text{-}i ] \quad VP[ urba \quad k'\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}l\text{-}\ddot{a} ] ]$   
 man-Def(m)    lion    killed-3sgm(s)  
 'The man killed a lion.'
- b)  $NP[ CP[ mii\check{s}\text{-}i \quad y\ddot{a}\text{-}k\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}l\text{-}\ddot{a}\text{-}y ] \quad N[ urba ] ]$   
 man-Def(m)    Rm-killed-3sgm(s)-3sgm((o))    lion  
 'a lion which the man killed.'
14. a)  $IP[ NP[ mii\check{s}\text{-}i \quad VP[ k\backslash tab \quad w\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}b\text{-}\ddot{a} ] ]$   
 man-Def(m)    book    bought-3sgm (s)  
 'The man bought a book '
- b)  $NP[ CP[ k\backslash tab \quad y\ddot{a}\text{-}w\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}b\text{-}\ddot{a}\text{-}i ] \quad N[ mii\check{s} ] ]$   
 book    Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-Def(m)    man  
 'the man who bought a book '.

The sentences in (13a) and (14a) are simple declaratives, and the word order is SOV. Since a language with an SOV word order is correlated with prenominal relatives, Silt'i relatives are prenominals as expected, as is shown in (13b) and (14b). The relative clauses occur at the left of their heads.

### 2.2.1.2 Internal Headed Relatives

When a head noun occurs inside a relative clause it is called internal relative. The following example is a case of internal relative, cited from Navajo language (Keenan1985: 143).

15. a)  $_{NP}$   $_{CP}$  [ Tl'eedaa' [ *hastiin*] yaʁti'-ee ] aʁhosh ]  
           last night man spoke-rel sleep  
           'the man who spoke last night is sleeping '

In (15a) the head noun *hastiin* 'man ' occurs inside the relative clause *tl'eedaa'* ... *ya ti'-ee* 'who spoke last night'. In Silt'i there is no such kind of relative clause structure.

### 2.2.2 Empty Headed Relatives

A relative clause can be empty headed in contrast to lexically head relatives. Consider the following examples from English, Amharic, and Gumuz, in (16a), (16b) and (16c), respectively. The Gumuz example is taken from Asfaw (1993:48).

16. a)  $_{IP}$  [ He knew  $_{NP}$  [  $_{CP}$  [ what we ate ] ] ]
- b)  $_{IP}$  [  $_{ISSU}$  ]  $_{NP}$   $_{CP}$  [ ስኩሳ ሃልጺኦ-ን-ወ-ን ] [  $_{e}$  ]  $_{VP}$  [  $_{y-awk'-all}$  ] ]

he we Rm-ate-1Pl-3sgm(s)-Acc 3sgm(s)-know-be(pres)

'He knew what we ate'.

c)  $IP [ NP [ CP [ [e] \text{int-i-s-al} ] ] VP [ ah \text{d-a-gim} ] ]$

comp- 1Pl-ate-1Pl he past-3sgm-know

'He knew what we ate'.

In (16), the relative clauses have no head nouns as the positions are indicated by an empty element [e]. Thus, they are empty headed relatives. Silt'i also has empty headed relatives similar to English, Amharic and Gumuz. Consider the following examples.

17. a)  $IP [ uha ]_{NP} [ CP [ \emptyset_{\text{head}} \text{yä-bäla-nä-i} ] [e] ] VP [ y-\text{č}l\text{-aan} ] ]$

he we Rm-ate-1Pl(s)-Def (m) 3sgm((s)-knew-be(pres)

'He knew what we ate'.

b)  $IP [ \text{he} ]_{NP} [ CP [ \text{yä-anže-hu-y} ] [e] ] VP [ fäya-an ] ]$

I Rm-saw-1sg-3sgm(o) good-be(pres)

'What I saw is good.'

In (17), there is no phonetically realized head noun. But, one can understand what the restrictive relative referring to. For instance, in (17a) the empty head can be inferred from the fact that the object noun of the verb *bäla* 'ate', which is the relativized NP, can only be a [+edible] noun. Thus the empty head noun is understood as any kind of food items. In (17b), the verb *anže* 'see' requires an object NP to satisfy the demand of Projection Principle. It is this object noun that is relativized and phonetically empty in the structure. We assume that the identity of this empty object is determined from the discourse environment.

So far we have discussed the following aspects of relative clause in Silt'i: the two types of relative clauses, i.e. RRC and NRRC, and the lexically headed and empty headed relative clauses. As can be noted, the discussion has mainly focused only on lexically headed RRC rather than NRRC, since NRRC is not used commonly in Silt'i.

## **Chapter Three**

### **3. Relativised Position in Silt'i**

Languages employ different strategies with respect to the formation of relative clause. Some languages use a single strategy to all relativised positions, while others may use more than one. For example, Oromo (Baye 1986) and Gumuz (Asfaw 1993)

languages use two kinds of strategy: the movement and *pro* in situ strategies, while Amharic employs one strategy, a *pro* in situ strategy.

In generative grammar, marking a relativised NP position in a relative clause is a major concern. Keenan (1985:146) presents the following four strategies to mark a relativised NP.

(i) In some languages a relativised NP can be presented by personal pronoun that is common in postnominal relatives. For example, Persian uses this strategy as the following example taken from (Comrie 1981:140) illustrates it.

18.  $_{IP}$ [ hasan  $_{NP}$ [ mard-i-ra $_i$   $_{CP}$ [ ke zan  $_{u-ra_i}$  zad ] ] ]  $_{VP}$ [ mišenasad ] ]  
Hasan man -Acc that woman he-Acc hit knows  
'Hasan knows the man that the woman hit'

In (18) *u-ra* 'him' identifies the relativised NP *mard-i-ra* 'the man' which is in the direct object position of the verb *zad* 'hit'. According to Haegeman (1994: 409) this kind of strategy is called resumptive pronoun<sup>5</sup> strategy. She illustrates the point with a French example in (19) taken from Zribi-Hertz (1984).

19. Voici l'homme $_i$  que Marie lui $_i$  a parlé  
here-is the man that Marie to-him has talked  
'Here is the man that Marie talked to'.

According to Haegeman the relative clause in (19) is headed by the complementizer *que* 'that' and it contains a pronoun *lui* 'him' which is co indexed with

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<sup>5</sup>Resumptive refers to an element or structure that repeats or in some way recapitulates the meaning of a prior element

the relativized NP *l'homme* 'the man'. The pronoun, *lui* 'him' which is related to the relativised NP is called a resumptive pronoun.

(ii) The second strategy refers to a relativized NP, which is presented by a relative pronoun. It is used only in languages that have postnominal relatives, not prenominal relatives (Keenan 1985: 149). In this strategy a relativised NP is indicated by relative pronouns. According to Keenan (1985) relative pronouns have syntactic properties, such as case marking and forming agreement relations in number and gender with the head noun. For instance, the German language exhibits such properties (Keenan, 1985:149).

20. a) NP[ der Mann CP[den Marie liebt] ]  
the man who (sg m. acc) Mary loves  
'the man who Mary loves'
- b) NP[ die Frau CP[ die er liebt] ]  
the woman who(sgf Acc) he loves  
'the woman who he loves'

As can be observed in (20), the relative pronoun *den* 'who' in (a) agrees with the NP *der Mann* 'the man' in gender, number and case, and *die* 'who' in (b) agrees with *die Frau* 'the woman' in gender, number and case.

Concerning this strategy, Comrie (1981) argues that a relative pronoun is not found in its base position in relative clause. He claims that it moves to clause initial position. For example, English is one of the languages that uses such a strategy, and argued to have the structures in (21-23).

21. NP[ the girl CP[who John hit] ]

In (21), *who* is in comp position. But, its underlying position is assumed to be the object position after the verb *hit* as in (22). As well known, *hit* is a transitive verb that requires an internal argument. The syntactic requirement can be satisfied by the wh-phrase *who* which later at S-structure moves to comp position. The D- and S-structures of (21) are given as in (22) and (23), respectively.

22. NP[The girl CP[comp [John hit who] ] ]

23. NP[the girl CP[who<sub>i</sub> [John hit t<sub>i</sub> ] ] ]

The relative pronoun *who* moves from its internal argument to the comp position, which is an  $\bar{A}$  -position leaving a trace behind to which it is co-indexed.

(iii) The third strategy to form a relativised NP is known as a full NP strategy. In this strategy, a head noun is phonetically present in its syntactic position in the relative clause. In other words, the relativized NP position is not phonetically empty and filled by a “full NP” (Comrie 1981: 139, Keenan 1985: 152). Hindi uses this strategy as is illustrated in (24) with example taken from Comrie (1981:139).

24.  $\bar{A}$ dmī ne jis cākū se murgī ko mārā thā,

man ERG which knife with chicken Acc killed

us cākū ko Ram ne dekhā

that knife Acc Ram ERG saw

'Ram saw the knife with which the man killed the chicken.'

In (24) the relative clause *Ādmī ne jis cākū se murgī ko mārā thā* ‘with which the man killed the chicken’ contains the full noun phrase *cākū* ‘kinfe’ which is coreferential with the head noun *cākū* ‘kinfe’.

(iv) The fourth type of strategy to form a relativised NP is indicated by the absent of a marker, which is known as gapping strategy. For example, English uses this strategy to form a relative clause. The following example illustrates the point (Keenan, 1985:153).

25. a) *two students* I saw  
 b) *the man* I gave the money

As can be noted in the examples above there are no relative pronouns in the relative clauses that refer to the head nouns. Thus, the relatives NPs are "gapped". According to Keenan (1985:154) both postnominal and prenominal relatives use gapping strategy, but it is commonly used in prenominal relatives. For instance, Awngi an Ethiopian language uses this strategy. Consider the following examples from Awngi (Molaligne: 1989).

26. IP[ NP[ CP[ ay\Na yantu-ku ] aq\)-ka ] VP[kundast\)-ka ]  
 yesterday came-rel man-pl sick- comp.  
 'the men who came yesterday are sick '

In (26) the head noun is *aq }ka* 'men' is the subject of the clause. However there is no element that refers to it in the relative clause *ay }Na yantu-ku* 'who came yesterday'. Therefore, gapping strategy is involved in relativizing the subject NP.

In addition relativization in some languages involves *pro* in situ. Oromo (Baye 1987), and Chaha (Alemayehu 1990), for example, use this kind of strategy for all relativized position. Let us consider the following Chaha examples that taken from Alemayehu (1990). In (27), Alemayehu does not specify the status of *yä*, and *ocl* stands for 'object clitic'.

27. NP[ CP[ ärc-xut yä- sly- ä-ni ]                    }rsas ]  
           boy -Def    ?- buy- 3sgm- ocl-pf    pencil  
           'the pencil (which) the boy bought'

In (27), the relativized NP is the direct object. However, the object position is not occupied by a phonetically realized NP. Hence, *pro* is posited in the empty position that is recovered from the object marker *-ni* '3sgm', as in (28). The structure in (28) represents the underlying form of (27), and it also shows that the empty element *pro* is coindexed with the object marker *-ni*.

28. NP[ CP[ ärc-xut [ *pro*<sub>i</sub> ] yä-sly-ä-ni<sub>i</sub> ]                    }rsas ]  
           boy-Def            ?- buy-3sgm-ocl-pf    pencil  
           'the pencil (which) the boy bought '

Thus, Chaha uses *pro* in situ strategy in relative clause formation.

So far we have discussed different types of strategies that are used in the formation of relative clause. The strategies differ with regard to the NP position that they relativise (Keenan and Comrie 1977). Thus, Some positions could be relativized

using a particular strategy while other positions use a different strategy in a language. For example, Persian uses gapping strategy with subject NP position, while it uses pronoun-retention (personal pronoun) to relativize other NP positions than subject and direct object NPs (Comrie, 1981:141).

It is also observed that languages have restriction on relativized NP position; for instance, Malagasy relativizes only the subject NP while Kinyarwanda (a Bantu languages) relativizes subject and direct object NPs (Comrie 1981:150). Thus languages varies with respect to the strategy they employ and the position of NP that they relativize. Keenan and Comrie (1977: 66) further present the following accessibility hierarchy for relativized NP position.

#### **Accessibility Hierarchy**

Subject > Object > Indirect object > Object of preposition > Genitive > Object of Comparison.

However this accessibility hierarchy is not absolute universal; it has universal tendency in the sense that it follows the order that is set by the accessibility hierarchy. All languages start at the left of the hierarchy, and they have a subject relative clause; some go one step along the line and may have their direct object be relativized as well; others go further along and can relativize their indirect object; some languages go all the way in the hierarchy and may have all the NPs be relativized (Cook 1996:29).

In the following section, we will discuss the different relativised NP positions of Silt'i, and the strategy that is used to form a relative clause in the language. We also show how far the hierarchy for relative clause works in Silt'i.

### 3.1 Subject Relativization

According to Comrie (1981:151) every language relativizes its subject. The same is true for Silt'i. Let us consider the following examples.

29. a)  $NP[ CP[ [e]k\text{tab } y\ddot{a}\text{-w}\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}b\text{-}\ddot{a}\text{-}i ] \quad N[ mii\ddot{s} ] ]$   
           book Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-Def(m) man  
           'the man who bought a book '
- b)  $NP[ CP[ [e]f\text{na}\ddot{c}o \quad y\ddot{a}\text{-gaag}\ddot{a}r\text{-}t\text{-}te ] \quad N[ m\text{)}\ddot{s}t ] ]$   
           inset-bread Rm-baked-3sgf(s)-Def(f) woman  
           'the woman who baked inset bread'
- c)  $NP[ CP[ [e]gaar \quad y\ddot{a}\text{-m}\ddot{a}n\text{-}u\text{-}y ] \quad N[ s\ddot{a}b\text{-}\ddot{c}a ] ]$   
           house Rm-built-3Pl(s)-Def(m) person-Pl  
           'the persons who built a house'

In (29), the relativized NP is the subject of the clause. As in the case of Amharic (Hailu Fullas: 1972), Chaha (Alemayehu: 1990) and Oromo (Baye 1987), Silt'i has no relative pronoun to represent a relativized NP. The element *yä*, which is affixed to the relative verb, is not a relative pronoun (we will discuss about *yä* in chapter 4). So, one may raise a question: how does a relativized subject position be marked in Silt'i?

In (29a, b, c) there is no relativised NP that is phonetically realized in subject position. According to Extended Projection Principle every clause requires a subject (Chomsky 1982:10). In order to satisfy the requirement of EPP the subject position of the relative clause in (29 a, b, c) should be occupied by an empty category. The best candidate to fill the position would be *pro*<sup>6</sup>, since it can be recovered from the subject

<sup>6</sup>Chomsky (1986: 164) distinguished four types of empty categories: NP-trace, variables (wh-trace) *PRO*, and *pro*. One would naturally raise a question as to which one of the four ECs occurs in Silt'i's relativised NP position. I argue that it cannot be an NP trace because there is no NP in a non-theta position, which

agreement affixes <sup>7</sup> -ä '3sgm(s)', -t- '3sgf(o)', and -u-'3Pl(s)' in (29a), (b), and (c), respectively, that are attached to the relative verb.

The empty category *pro*, on the one hand, and the subject agreement affixes -ä-'3sgm(s)', -t-'3sgf(s)', and -u-'3Pl(s)', on the other, are coindexed. *pro* is also coreferential with the head noun. The D-structure of (29) is presented below as in (30).

30. a)  $_{NP}[_{CP}[_{pro}^i \text{ k} \backslash \text{tab} \text{ yä-wäkäb-ä}^i \text{-i} ] \quad \text{N}[_{\text{miiš}} \text{ j} ] ]$   
           book    Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-Def(m)    man  
           'the man who bought a book'
- b)  $_{NP}[_{CP}[_{pro}^i \text{ f} \backslash \text{načo} \text{ yä-gaagär-t}^i \text{-te} ] \quad \text{N}[_{\text{m} \backslash \text{št}} \text{ j} ] ]$   
           inset-bread Rm-baked-3sgf(s)-Def(f)    woman  
           'the woman who baked inset bread'
- c)  $_{NP}[_{CP}[_{pro}^i \text{ gaar} \text{ yä-män-u}^i \text{ y} ] \quad \text{N}[_{\text{säb-ča}} \text{ j} ] ]$   
           house    Rm-built-3Pl(s)-Def(Pl)    person-Pl  
           'the persons who built a house'

Following Chomsky (1981:162) the subject positions in the relative clause of (30) are governed by the Infl (Tense and Agr) and theta marked by the relative verbs. *pro* in (30a, b, c) is, therefore, governed. Thus, it is possible to claim that relativization of subject NP in Silt'i involves *pro* in situ strategy.

### 3.2. Object Relativization

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could be its antecedent. It cannot be a variable either because the sentence is not a *wh*-word interrogative. It cannot also be *PRO* since the position is governed. Therefore, the best candidate would be *pro* which can be recovered from the subject agreement marker.

<sup>7</sup>In Silt'i the subject agreement suffixes are the following 1sg: -ku /-hu, 2sgm: -ka /-ha, 2sgf: š, 3sm: -ä, 3sgf: -t, 1Pl: -nä, 2Pl: -kum / -ammu, 3Pl: -u.

In Silt'i, the direct and indirect objects can be relativized. In the following sections we will look at how direct and indirect object are relativized separately.

### 3.2.1. Direct Object Relativization

When the head noun of a relative clause is a direct object, it is called a direct object relativization. Let us consider the following examples.

31. a) NP[ CP[ ]he [e] yä-k'ätäl-ku-y ] N[adän ]  
           I       Rm-killed-1sg(s)-3sgm(o)   cat  
           'the cat which I killed '
- b) NP[ CP[ m]št-te [e] yä-wäk'a-t-et ] N[ lam ] ]  
           woman-Def(f) Rm-hit-3sgf(s)-3sgf(o)   cow  
           'the cow which the woman hit'
- c) NP[ CP[ miiš-i [e] yä-wäkäb-ä-y mu ] N[ kărab-ča ] ]  
           man-Def     Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-3Pl(o)     ox-Pl  
           'the oxen which the man bought'

In (31), the relativized NP positions are that of direct objects. The lexical properties of the verb *kätäl*- 'killed' in (a), *wäk'*- 'hit' in (b) and *wäkäb*-'bought' in (c) require two arguments. The external argument is filled by *he* 'I' in (a), *m]št* 'woman' in (b) and *miiš* 'man' in (c). But, there is no phonetically realized NP in any of the object positions of these clauses. As Silt'i is an SOV language the direct object should precede the verb. It is, therefore, assumed that these positions are occupied by *pro* in similar way as in the case of subject relativization. The object *pro* is recovered from the object

markers<sup>8</sup> *-y*, '3sgm(o)', *-et* '3sgf(o)' and *-ymu* '3Pl(o)' in (31 a), (b), and (c), respectively, and are co referential with the head noun as is shown below in (32).

32. a) NP[ CP[<sup>i</sup>he *pro*<sub>j</sub> *yä-k'ätäl-ku-y<sup>i</sup>* ] N[ *adän<sub>j</sub>* ] ]  
 I Rm-killed-1sg(s)-3sgm(o) cat  
 'the cat that I killed'
- b) NP[ CP[m<sup>i</sup>št-te *pro*<sub>j</sub> *yä-wäk'a-t-et<sup>i</sup>* ] N[ *lam<sub>j</sub>* ] ]  
 woman-Def(f) Rm-hit-3sgf(s)-3sgf(o) cow  
 'the cow which the woman hit'
- c) NP[ CP[miiš-i *pro*<sub>j</sub> *yä-wäkäb-ä-ymu<sup>i</sup>* ] N[ *kärab-ča<sub>j</sub>* ] ]  
 man-Def(m) Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-3Pl (o) ox-Pl  
 'the oxen which the man bought'

As can be noted *pro*, in (32a-c), is governed by the verbs and is in A-position. It is  $\theta$ -marked and Case assigned by the verb. The strategy that operates in direct object relativization is, therefore, *pro* in situ strategy.

### 3.2.2 Indirect Object Relativization

Now, we consider how indirect object can be relativized. Observe the following examples.

33. a) NP[ CP[ *aman* [e] *dinät yä-wab-ä-et* ] N[ m<sup>i</sup>št ] ]  
 aman money Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-3sgf(o) woman

<sup>8</sup> In Silt'i the object markers are the following

1sg	-ññ	1Pl	-nä
2sgm	-h	2Pl	-mmu
2sgf	-š	3Pl	-ymu
3sgm	-y		
3sgf	-et		

'The woman whom Aman gave a money'

b)  $NP[CP[aman [e] k\grave{a}b y\grave{a}-w\grave{a}k\grave{a}b-\grave{a}-y ] \quad N[ mii\check{s} ] ]$

Aman book Rm-bought -3sgm(s)-3sgm(o) man

'The man whom Aman bought a book from.'

The head nouns are *m\grave{a}t* 'woman' in (33a), and *mii\check{s}* 'man' in (33b). But they do not appear phonetically in their syntactic positions in their respective clauses. As is well known the verb *wab-* 'gave' is a di-transitive verb, which require two internal arguments. The verb *w\grave{a}k\grave{a}b-* 'bought' is a transitive verb, however it also appears to have properties of a di-transitive verb to some degree. In the structure of the verb phrase headed by the verb *w\grave{a}k\grave{a}b-* 'bought', we find the direct object *k\grave{a}b* 'book' and the indirect object *mii\check{s}* 'man'. It is true that the indirect object is optional. However a closer examination of the agreement relation between the verb *w\grave{a}k\grave{a}b-* 'bought' and the indirect object *mii\check{s}* 'man' reveals that the syntactic relationship they have between them is similar to that of a di transitive verb such as 'give' and its indirect object. It therefore possible to claim that the verb *w\grave{a}k\grave{a}b-* 'bought' shares some properties of di transitive. The NPs *din\grave{a}t* 'money' in (33a) and *k\grave{a}b* 'book' in (33b) occupy the direct object positions. However, the position of the indirect object is empty.

The object markers *-et-* '3sgf(o)' in (33a) and *-y* '3sgm(o)' in (33b) do not refer to the direct object NPs *din\grave{a}t* 'money' and *k\grave{a}b* 'book', respectively. They rather refer to the relativized indirect object NPs *m\grave{a}t* 'woman' and *mii\check{s}* 'man', in (33a) and (33b), respectively. Hence, the empty element should be *pro* as its content is recovered from the object marker *-et* '3sgf(o)' and *-y* '3sgm(o)' in (33a) and (33b), respectively. *pro*, in the indirect object position, and the object markers are coindexed and it is also coreferential with the head NPs. The following structures are D-structures of (33).

34. a)  $NP[CP[aman\ dinät\ pro^i_j\ yä-wab-ä-et^i_j] \quad N[m\ \check{s}t_j]]$   
aman money Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-3sgf(o) woman  
'the woman whom Aman gave a money'
- b)  $NP[CP[aman\ k\ tab\ pro^i_j\ yä-wäkäb-ä-y^i_j] \quad N[mii\ \check{s}_j]]$   
Aman book Rm-bought -3sgm(s)-3sgm(o) man  
'the man whom Aman bought a book from'

Thus *pro* is governed by the object marker *-et* '3sgf(o)' and *-y* '3sgm(o)' in (34a) and (34b), respectively. As it is in governed position, *pro* is assigned a goal role by the verb *wab*- 'gave' in (34a) and a source role by the verb *wäkäb*- 'bought' in (34b). The strategy that involves in the relativization of indirect object is *pro* in situ, as in the other argument positions.

### 3.3 Adjunct Relativization

In this section we will examine the relativised object of preposition in adjunct position. In Silt'i, the prepositions are *bä*, *lä* and *tä*. The preposition *bä* has the properties of assigning thematic roles such as location, instrument and also used in the sense of malefactive; *lä* refers to goal, location, source and also used in the sense of benefactive; and *tä* refers to the role of association (Gutt, 1997: 937). The prepositions *bä* and *lä*, however, may occur with object markers in the verb morphology that refer to an adjunct, while the preposition *tä* does not. Therefore, in the present discussion we



man-Pl-Def(Pl) by- horse-Pl-Def(Pl) came-3Pl(s)

'The men came by the horses'

b) PF säb-ča-y bä-färüz-ča-y mät't'-u-b-uyumu

D-Str. (i)  $_{IP}[_{NP}[säb-ča-y] \text{ } _{VP}[_{PP}[bä-färüz-ča-y]^i] \text{ } mät't'-u-b-iyumu^i ] ]$

men-Pl-Def(Pl) by- horse-Pl-Def(Pl) came-3Pl-P-3Pl

'The men came by the horses'

D-Str. (ii)  $_{IP}[_{NP}[säb-ča-y] \text{ } _{VP}[_{PP}[bä-färüz-ča-y [e]^i] \text{ } mät't'-u-b-iyumu^i ] ]$

men-Pl-Def(Pl) by- horse-Pl-Def(Pl) came-3Pl-P-3Pl

'the men reached by the horses at them'

c) PF. säb-ča-y yä-mät't'-u-b-uyumu färüz-ča

D-Str.  $_{NP}[_{CP}[säb-ča-y [e]^i \text{ } yä-mät't'-u-b-iyumu^i ] \text{ } _{N}[färüz-ča ] ]$

men-Pl-Def(Pl) Rm-came-3Pl(s)-P-3Pl(o) horse-Pl

'the horses by which the men came'

d) \*säbča-y [e] yä-mät't'-u färüz-ča

men-Def Rm-came-3Pl horse-Pl

In the above examples the verbs *heed-* 'went' and *mät't'-* 'came' are intransitive. It is obvious that intransitives do not require internal arguments. However, the structures above have object NPs, that is *mäkina* 'car' in (35) and *färüzča* 'horses' in (36). Thus, the status of these object NPs are adjuncts. As can be observed from the examples (35a and b) and (36a and b) the adjuncts are expressed as PPs headed the preposition *bä*.

Here one can note that the verbs may either be inflected for object agreement along with P-element as in (35b,c) and (36b,c) or may not be inflected, as in (35a, 36a). For example, the verb *heed-* 'went' in (35a) consists of the subject agreement marker *t* '3sgf' that refers to the subject NP *Amina* and the verb *mät't'ä* 'came' in (36a) consists of

the subject marker *-u* '3Pl' that refers to the subject NP *säbča* 'men'. However, in (35b) the verb *heed-* 'went' consists of the object marker *-y* '3sgm(o)', in addition to the subject marker *-t-* '3sgf(s)', that is adjoined to the P-element *-b-* referring to the adjunct *mäkina* 'car' as is shown in the D-structure representation (35bi). The same PF in (35b) could also be interpreted as in the D-structure representation (ii), in which the object marker along the P-element *b-iy* refers to an empty adjunct. In (36b) the verb *mät't-* 'came' consists of the subject marker *-u* '3Pl' that refers to the *säbča* 'men', and the object agreement marker *-ymu* '3Pl(o)', which is adjoined to the P-element *-b-* referring to the adjunct *färüzča* 'horses' as indicated in D-structure of (36bi). The same PF in (36b) may have the reading as in the D-structure (36ii) in which the object marker along the P-element- *b-iy* refers to an empty adjunct.

One may note here that the interpretations of (35a) and (36a) as represented underlyingly in D-str have the same reading as in (35bi) and (36bi), respectively. Thus the object marker along the P-element is optional in Silt'i. Moreover, the structures in (35b) and (36b) are ambiguous as the underlying representations in (i) and (ii) clearly show.

When relativization of the adjunct takes place, the object marker along the P-element occurs with the verb. For example, in (35c) the object marker *-y* '3sgm(o)' with P-element *-b-*, and in (36c) the object marker *-ymu* '3Pl(o)' with the P-element *-b-*, identify the relativized adjunct NPs *mäkina* 'car' and *färüzča* 'horses', respectively. Note that the ill formed expressions in (35d) and (36d) are the result of the absence of the object marker and P-element. Considering these facts we may claim that object marker and P-element are obligatory in the presence of an empty adjunct constituent. Therefore, we can make the following observations in view of our discussion.

- i) P-element always occurs in the context of the presence of an adjunct, and

ii) P-element always gets attached to an object marker that refers to an adjunct.

Gutt also made a claim (1986:4) in which an object agreement<sup>10</sup> with a prepositional marker can only be co referential with a constituent for which the verb is not subcategorize. Haile Eyesus (1998:66) also claims that presence of P-element in the verb morphology of Amharic indicates agreement relation between AgrP and an adjunct DP.

Let us further examine how the syntactic representations of relativization of adjuncts hold in transitive structures.

37. a) PF            miiš-i    int't'i-ča-y    bä-kältä    fälät'-ä-(ymu)

D-Str.     $_{IP} [_{NP} [miiš-i \ int't'i-ča^i -y] \ ]_{VP} [_{PP} [bä-kältä \ ] \ fälät'-ä-(ymu)^i \ ]]$

          man-Def(m) tree-Pl-Def (Pl) with-axe cut-3sgm(s)-(3Pl)

          `The man cut the trees with an axe'

b) PF            miiš -i    int't'i-ča-y    bä-kälta    fälät'-ä-b-iy / \*b-ymu

D-Str. (i)  $_{IP} [_{NP} [miiš-i \ int't'i-ča-y^j \ ]_{VP} [_{PP} [bä-kälta^i \ ] \ fälät'-ä-b-iy^i \ / *b-ymu^j \ ] \ ]]$

          man-Def(m) tree-Pl-Def(Pl) with-axe cut-3sgm(s)-P-3sgm(o)/ P-3Pl(o)

          'The man cut the trees with an axe '

D-Str. (ii)  $_{IP} [_{NP} [miiš-i \ int't'i-ča-y^j \ ]_{VP} [_{PP} [bä-kälta[e]^i \ ] \ fälät'-ä-b-iy^j \ / *b-ymu^j \ ]]$

          man-Def(m) tree-Pl-Def(Pl) with-axe cut-3sgm(s)-P-3sgm(o)/ P-3Pl(o)

          'The man cut the trees with an axe for some one disadvantage'

c) PF            miiš -i    int't'i-ča-y    yä-fälät'-ä-b-iy    kältä

D-Str.     $_{NP} [_{CP} [miiš -i \ int't'i-ča-y \ [e]^i \ yä-fälät't'-ä-b-iy^i \ ] \ ]_{N} [kältä \ ]]$

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He used the term complement person suffixes (CPS) for object agreement marker.

man-Def (m) tree-Pl-Def(Pl) Rm- cut-3sgm(s)-P-3sgm(o) axe

'the axe with which the man cut the trees'

- d) \*miiš -i int't'i-ča-y yä-fälät'-ä kältä  
man tree-pl Rm-cut-3sgm(s) axe

38. a) PF ranġ-i bä-m)\št-te dinät säräk'k'-e(-et)

D-Str.  $_{IP} [ \text{NP} [ \text{ranġ-i} ] \text{VP} [ \text{PP} [ \text{bä-m}\text{)\št-te}^i ] \text{dinät säräk'k'-ä (-et)}^i ] ]$

thief-Def(m) from-woman-Def(f) money stole -3sgm(s)-(3sgf(o))

'The thief stole money from the woman'

- b) PF ranġ-i bä-m)\št-te dinät säräk'k'-ä -b-et

D-Str.  $_{IP} [ \text{NP} [ \text{ranġ-i} ] \text{VP} [ \text{PP} [ \text{bä-m}\text{)\št-te} [e]^i ] \text{dinät säräk'k'-ä -b-et}^i ] ]$

thief-Def(m) from-woman-Def(f) money stole -3sgm(s)-(P-3sgf(o))

'The thief stole money from the woman to her disadvantage'

- c) PF ranġ-i dinät yä - säräk'k'-ä -b-et m)\št

D-Str  $_{NP} [ \text{CP} [ \text{ranġ-i dinät} [e]^i \text{yä -säräk'k'-ä-b-et}^i ] \text{N} [ \text{m}\text{)\št} ] ]$

thief-Def(m) money Rm-stole-3sgm(s)-P-3sgf(o) woman

'the woman from whom the thief stole money'

- d) [\*[ ranġ-i dinät yä - säräk'k'-ä ] m)\št]

thief-Def money Rm-stole-3sgf woman

The verb *fälät-* 'cut' in (37) is a transitive verb. As well known, transitive verbs require object NPs. The subcategorization demands of the verb *fälätä* 'cut' is satisfied by the object NP *int't'icay* 'trees' in (37).

The verb *fälät'*- 'cut' in (37a) is inflected for subject agreement by the marker -*ä*-'3sgm(s)' which refers to the subject NP *miiš* 'man', and for object agreement by the optional marker -*ymu* '3Pl(o)' that refers to the object argument *int't'iča* 'trees'. The underlying representation is given in the D-Str, (37a). The meaning of the (37a), with or without the object marker -*ymu* '3Pl(o)' is the same. The NP, *kältä* 'axe' is not an object argument of the verb *fälät'*- 'cut' in (37). The status of this NP is adjunct. As was discussed previously, adjuncts are expressed as PPs. If a sentence consists of an adjunct, the verb may form agreement relation with an adjunct, which is expressed by object marker attached to P-element, as in (37b,c), or it may not, as in (37a) where the P-element is absent.

In (38b), the verb *fälät'*- 'cut' consists of the object marker -*ymu* '3Pl(o)' attached with the P-element -*b*- which refers to the adjunct *kältä* 'axe' with instrumental value, as is shown in the D-structure (i) representation of (37b). (37b) may also be interpreted as in D-structure (ii) in which the object marker -*ymu* '3Pl(o)' along with the P-element -*b*- refers to an empty adjunct denoting the sense of malefactive.

Similarly, the verb *säräk'k'*- 'stole', in (38), is a transitive verb. The verb *säräk'k'*- 'stole' is inflected for subject agreement<sup>11</sup> by the marker -*ä*-'3sgm(s)' which refers to *ranğ* 'thief', and for object agreement by the marker -*et* '3sgf(o)' that refers to the object *m kst* 'woman'. The underlying representation is given in the D-str, (38b). The structure in (38b) also justifies the claim above in which the P-element and the agreement marker refer to the empty adjunct [e] with a malefactive sense.

With Regard to adjunct relativization, the relativized adjunct NP is recovered from the object marker that occurs with the P-element -*b*-, as in (37c) and (38c). In (37c) the object marker -*ymu* '3Pl(o)' along the P-element -*b*- identifies the relativized

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<sup>11</sup> the subject marker of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masculine is -*ä*-: but ,due to the following front vowel-e of the object marker -*et* it changes to -*e*- at surface level.





in (39b,c) and (40b,c), a sentence carries benefactive reading; however, in the absence of P-element in the verb morphology, such a reading is not possible.

In the adjunct relativized structure of (39c), the verb *wäkäb-* 'bought' is inflected for adjunct agreement, i.e. *-et* '3sgf(o)' with P-element *-n*, to identify the relativized adjunct NP, which is *gärägä* 'girl'. In (40c) the relativized adjunct NP is also identified by object marker *-et* '3sgf(s)' with P-element *-n*. If the P-element is absent in the relative verb of an adjunct relativization, the sentence will be ill formed, as is shown in (39d) and (40d).

In this section, we have seen that the relativised NPs are adjuncts. However, these NPs are not realized phonetically in relative clause structure. Thus, an empty element [e] is posited in adjunct position, which is recovered from the object agreement marker that is adjoined to the P-element in the relative verb. Co indexation is used in order to show the relationship between the empty element and object agreement markers. Let us repeat the examples in (35c) and (39c) as in (41a) and (41b), respectively, as representative examples, and examine what strategy is being used in adjunct relativization.

41. a) NP[ CP[ amina [e]<sup>i</sup> ye-et-t-b-y<sup>i</sup> ] mäkina ]  
           amina           Rm-went-3sgf(s)-P-3sgm(o) car  
           'the car by which Amina went '
- b) NP[ CP[ aman l̥bas [e]<sup>i</sup> yä- wäkäb-ä-n-et<sup>i</sup> ] gärägä ]  
           aman cloth Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-p-3sgf(o) girl  
           'the girl for whom Aman bought cloth'

The empty element [e] in the structures of (41a) and (41b) is arguably *pro*, since its content is recovered from the agreement marker *-y* '3sgm(o)', and *et* '3sgf(o)',

respectively. As one may also note *pro* is co referential with the relativized head NPs, i.e. *mākina* ‘car’ in (41a) and *gäräḡä* ‘girl’ in (41b). The underlying structures of (41a) and (41b) would be as in (42a) and (42b).

- 42) a) NP[ CP[amina *pro*<sup>i</sup><sub>j</sub> yä-heed-t-b-y<sup>i</sup> ] mākina<sub>j</sub> ]  
           amina           Rm-went-3sgf(s)-P-3sgm(o) car  
           'the car by which Aman went '
- b) NP[ CP[ aman *pro*<sup>i</sup><sub>j</sub> ]\bas yä- wākāb-ä-n-et<sup>i</sup> ] gāräḡä<sub>j</sub> ]  
           aman           cloth Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-p-3sgf(o) girl  
           'the girl for whom Aman bought cloth'

### 3.4 Relativized Genitive NPs

In Silti, genitive phrase includes genitives of source (it shows the material that the head noun is made), genitives of purpose (it shows the function of the head noun), genitives of location (it indicates the place where the head noun is found), genitives of instrument (it indicates the type of service that the head noun provides) and genitives of possession (it shows ownership relation to whom the head noun belongs). The examples in (43) illustrate the different kinds of genitive phrases in Silt'i.

43. a) yo-obano    gaar  
           Gen-grass   house  
           'house of grass' (house whose roof is made of grass) (genitive of source)
- b) yä-ayb    lam  
           Gen-milk   cow  
           'a cow for milk' (a cow which used for milk) (genitive of purpose)

c) yä-ǧimma k'awa

Gen-Jimma coffee

'coffee of Jimma' (coffee that grew in Jimma) (genitive of location)

d) yä-t'afi ḡunya

Gen--t'eff sack

'sack of Teff' (a sack used to keep Teff) (genitive of Instrument)

e) yä-ade k'āmbisa

Gen- my mother skirt

'my mother's skirt' (a skirt that belongs to my mother) (genitive of possession)

As can be observed from the above examples, the "possessor" NPs precede the head of the genitive phrase. Thus, a simple genitive phrase has an internal structure as [ yä + NP<sub>1</sub> NP<sub>2</sub> ], in which NP<sub>1</sub> refers to the "possessor" NP, i.e. the specifier, and NP<sub>2</sub> refers to the head noun.

Genitive NPs in Sil'ti can be relativized without any constraint since they behave as an NP in a sentence. Let us consider the following examples.

44. a) yä-obano-y gaar nädäd-ä

Gen -grass-Def(m) house burn out-3sgm(s)

'The house of grass was burnt down'.

b) NP[ CP[ *pro* yä-nädädä-ä-i ] yä-obano gaar ]

Rm-burnt out-3sgm(s)-Def(m) Gen-grass house

'the house of grass which was burnt down'

45. a) yä-ayb-te I am tä-säbär-t

Gen-milk-Def(f) cow pass-broken-3sgf(s)

'The milk cow was broken'.

b) NP[ CP[ *pro* yä-t-säbär-t-te ] yä-ayb lam ]

Rm-pass-broken-3sgf(s)-Def(f) Gen-milk cow

'the milk cow which was broken'

46. a) yä-ğimma-y k'awa tä-wäkäb-ä

Gen-Jimma-Def(m) coffee pass-sold-3sgm(s)

'The coffee of Jimma was sold'.

b) NP[ CP[ *pro* yä-t-wäkäb-ä-y ] yä-ğimma k'awa ]

Rm- pass-sold-3sgm(s)-Def(m) Gen-Jimma coffee

'the coffee of Jimma which was sold'

47. a) yä-t'af-i ġunya t'äfa

Gen-t'eff-Def sack lost

'The sack of Teff was lost'.

b) NP[ CP[ *pro* yä- t'äfa-ä-y ] yä-t'afi ġunya ]

Rm-lost-3sgm(s)-Def(m) Gen--t'eff sack

'the sack of teff which was lost'

48. a) yä-ade k'ämbisa tä-meč'-ä

Gen-my mother skirt pass-wash-3sgm(s)

'My mother's skirt was washed'.

b) NP[ CP[*pro* yä-t-meč'-ä-y ] yä-ade k'ämbisa ]

Rm-pass-wash-3sgm(s)-Def Gen-my mother skirt

'my mother's skirt which was washed'

As can be observed in the underlying structure representation of the relativised NP in (44b-48b), the whole genitive NP, i.e. both the specifier and the head, is relativized. The relativized NP position in the clause is occupied by an empty element *pro*. This *pro* is recovered from the agreement markers that are attached to the relative verbs. For instance, in (44b), the agreement marker-ä-'3sgm(s)' identifies *pro* which is coreferential to the genitive NP *yä-obano gaar* 'house of grass'.

However if the specifier element of a genitive phrase has to be relativized Silt'i allows such kind of relativization only with genitive of possession. The other types of genitive phrases, i.e. genitive of source, genitive of purpose, genitive of location, and genitive of instrumental do not allow relativization of their specifier elements. Consider the following examples in (49-50).

49. a) \*[ [ [e] gaar yä-nädäd-ä ] obano ]  
house Rm-burnt down-3sgm(s) grass
- b) \*[ [ [e] lam yä-t-säbär-t-te ] ayb ]  
cow Rm- pass-break-3sgm(s)-Def(f) milk
- c) \*[ [ [e] k'awa yä-t-wäkäb-ä ] ġimma-y ]  
coffee Rm-pass-sold-3sgm(s) Jimma
- d) \*[ [ [e] ġunya yä-t'äf-ä ] t'afi ]  
sack Rm-lost-3sgm(s) Teff

In (49), one can note that the specifier elements of the genitive phrase cannot be relativized. Note that the genitive phrases in (49) are genitive of source in (49a), genitive of purpose in (49b), genitive of location in (49c), and genitive of instrumental

in (49d). However, if the genitive phrase is that of possessive, as in (50), the specifier alone can be relativized with out having the head noun.

50. a) [ [ *pro*<sub>j</sub> k'āmbisa-šā<sup>i</sup> yā-t-meč'-ā-n-et ]      \ndät<sub>j</sub> ]  
           skirt-3sgf(Poss)    Rm-pass-wash-3sgm(s)-P-3sgf(o)    mother  
           '(a) mother whose skirt was washed'
- b) [ [ *pro*<sub>j</sub> \bas-kā<sup>i</sup>    yā- t'āf-ā-b-iy ]    aman ]  
           clothe-3sgm(Poss)    Rm-lost-3sgm(s)-P-3sgm(o)    aman  
           'Aman whose clothe was lost'
- c) [ [ *pro*<sub>j</sub>    \sn-ičā- kā<sup>i</sup>      yā-wälāk- ä ]      č'uulo ]  
           tooth-Pl-3sgm(Poss)    Rm-pulled out-3sgm(s)      boy  
           'the boy whose teeth was pulled out'

In (50), the specifier elements of the genitives of possession are relativized. In (50a), the specifier element, i.e. the possessor NP, is \ndät 'mother'. In (50b), it is *Aman*, and in (50c), the possessor NP is č'uulo 'boy'. The relativised specifier positions

of (50) are occupied by *pro* that is recovered from the possessive markers<sup>12</sup> that are attached to the head nouns. For instance, in (50a), *pro* is recovered from the possessive marker -šā '3sgf(Poss)' that is found with the head noun k'āmbisa-šā<sup>i</sup> 'her skirt'. More over, *pro* is coreferential to the specifier element that is relativized.

A question that one might raise in connection with relativization of the specifier element of a genitive phrase would be whether a head noun of a genitive phrase can be

<sup>12</sup> Sllt'i possessive markers are presents as below:

1sg	-e	1Pl	-nā
2sgm	-ah	2Pl	-ammu
2sgf	-aš	3Pl	-nimu
3sgm	-kā		
3sgf	-šā		

relativized or not. As the following examples illustrate, relativization of head noun in genitive phrase is impossible except with regard to genitive of possession with some degree of doubt.

51. a) \*[ [obano [e] yä- nädäd-ä ] gaar ]  
house Rm-burn down-3sgm(s) grass
- b) \*[ [ayb [e] yä -t-säbär-t ] lam ]  
milk Rm- pass-break-3sgf(s) cow
- c) \*[ [ǧimma [e] yä- t-wäkäb-ä ] k'awa ]  
Jimma Rm-pass-sold-3sgm(s) coffee
- d) \*[ t'afi [ [e] yä-t'äf-ä ] ǧunya ]  
Teff sack Rm-lost-3sgm(s) sack
- e) ?[ [yä -ade [e] yä-t-meč'-ä-y ] k'ämbisa ]  
Gen-my mother Rm-pass-wash-3sgm(s)-Def(m) skirt  
'the cloth whose my mother was washed'

Relativization of head noun of genitive of source as in (51a), genitive of purpose as in (51b), genitive of location as in (51c), and genitive of instrumental as in (51d) is clearly produce ungrammatical structures. However, relativization of the head noun of genitive of possession is not as bad as other types of genitive phrases.

The above discussion points out that the genitive NPs of Silt'i can be relativized. However, genitive phrase behaves as an island with regard to genitive of source, genitive of purpose, genitive of location, and genitive of instrumental; neither the specifier nor the head can be relativized. It is only with regard to genitive of possession that relativization as an island syntactic operation does not impose its properties; the case of specifier relativization in (50) and head relativization (with some degree of

unacceptability) in (51e) prove that the island constraint does not impose its demand or not strong enough in genitive of possession.

One of the issues this chapter discusses is identifying the various syntactic positions that relativization is possible. In relation to this we can raise the following question: how far the accessibility hierarchy for relativized NP position works for Silt'i? We have seen that Silt'i relativizes its NPs in subject, Direct object, Indirect object, Adjunct NP (object of preposition) and Genitive NP. In the light of these linguistic facts of Silt'i, we may say that, the claim that there is accessibility hierarchy in language regarding relativization of NP relativized NP proves to be right in Silt'i.

## **Chapter Four**

### **4. Relative Verb and the Element *yä***

One of the major constituents of relative clause is the verb. Of those syntactic properties of relative clause that Downing (1972:372) points out, the presence of finite verb and a distinctive relative marker are the most significant ones. Accordingly, in Silt'i, a restrictive relative clause consists of a finite relative verb and a distinctive relative marker *yä*-, which is attached to the verb. In the following sections we will discuss these properties of Silt'i relative clause.

#### **4.1 Relative Verb**

There are two kinds of relative verbs in Silt'i that differ in terms of their aspect: perfective and imperfective.

### 4.1.1 Perfective Relative Verb

The perfective relative verb always contains a prefixing element *yä-*. It is also inflected for subject, object (direct and indirect), and object of preposition. The inflectional suffixes specify person, number, and gender features, which are in agreement with the head noun. Let us consider the following examples.

52. a) NP[ CP[ *pro*<sup>i</sup> *yä- iñ-ä*<sup>i</sup> -i ] N[ *miiš* ] ]

Rm-slept-3sgm(s)-Def(m) man

'the man who slept'

b) NP[ CP[ *m*ḥst-te *pro*<sup>i</sup> *yä- wäk'a-t-et*<sup>i</sup> ] N[ *gärägä* ] ]

woman- Def(f) Rm- hit-3sgf(s)-3sgf(o) girl

'the girl whom the woman hit'

c) NP[ CP[ *aman pro*<sup>i</sup> ḥbas *yä-wakab-ä -n-iy*<sup>i</sup> ] N[ *č'uulo* ] ]

Aman cloth Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-P-3sgm(o) boy

'The boy for whom Aman bought a cloth'

d) NP[ CP[ *miiš-i pro*<sup>i</sup> *midano yä -säbär -ä-b -et*<sup>i</sup> ] N[ *m*ḥst] ]

man-Def(m) pot Rm-broken-3sgm(s)-P-3sgf(o) woman

'the woman to whom the man broken the pot' (to the woman's disadvantage)

Comment [CU1]:

In the examples (52) the entire relative verb is introduced by the element *yä*. In (52a) the relative verb is inflected for the subject *miiš* 'man'. The subject marker *-ä-* '3sgm(s)' refers to the head noun *miiš* 'man', and it also identifies the empty element [e], which is coreferential to the head noun. In (52b) there are two agreement markers: the subject marker *-t-* '3sgf(s)' which refers to the subject *m*ḥst 'woman' and the object

marker *-et-* '3sgf(o)' which refers to the relativised object NP *gärägä* 'girl'. The object marker also identifies the features of the empty element [e] in the object position of the relative clause, which is coreferential to the head noun. In (52c), there are two agreement markers: the subject marker *-ä-* '3sgm(s)' which refers to the subject *Aman* and the object marker *-y-* '3sgm(o)' along with P-element *-n-* that refers to the relativised NP *č'uulo* 'boy'. The object marker *-y-* '3sgm(o)' along with P-element *-n-* also identifies the features of the empty element [e] in the adjunct position of the relative clause, which is coreferential to the head noun. In (52d) the relative verb contains the subject marker *-ä-* '3sgm(s)' that refers to the subject *miiš* 'man' and the object marker *-et-* '3sgf(o)' along with the P-element *-b-* that refers to the adjunct NP *m k̄t* 'woman'. The object marker also identifies the empty NP [e], which is in the position of the adjunct NP. Thus in all the cases above one can note that a perfective relative verb is introduced by the prefix *yä-* and inflected for agreement with the nominal features of relativized NP.

#### 4.1.1.1 Perfective Relative Verb with Auxiliary Verb

A perfective relative verb may occur with the auxiliary verb<sup>13</sup> *naar* 'be' (past). However, in such context the element *yä-* gets prefixed to the auxiliary verb *naar* 'be' (past) instead of the main verb. Consider the following examples.

<sup>13</sup> In Silt'i there are two auxiliaries forms: one is for present tense, and the other for past (Gutt1997). The auxiliary for present tense is *-aan* 'be' (pres). It is inflected for person, number and gender as is shown below.

1sg	-aahu	1Pl	-aan
2sgm	-aaha	2Pl	-oom
2sgf	-aaš	3Pl	-oon
3sgm	-aan		
3sgf	-aat		

The auxiliary form for past tense is *naar* 'be' (past). This auxiliary is not inflected for person, number, and gender, except in 1sg.

In simple sentence the present and the past auxiliaries can occur with perfective verb. However, the auxiliary verb *-aan* 'be' (pres) gets dropped in relative clause, as in (1b); while the auxiliary *naar* 'be' (past) remains with perfective relative verb, as in (2b).

1. a) *miiš-i tačen mät't'aan*  
man-Def yesterday came-be(pres)

53. a)  $NP[CP[pro\ gaar\ mäñe-t\ yä-naar-t-te ]\ N[m\ \text{št}]]$   
house built-3sgf(s) Rm- be(past)-3sgf(s)-Def(f) woman  
'the woman who had built the house'
- b)  $NP[CP[m\ \text{št}-te\ pro\ säbär-t-äymu\ yä-naar-u-y ]\ N[midan-ča]]$   
woman-Def(f) broken-3sgf(s)-3Pl(o) Rm-be(past)-3Pl(s)-Def(Pl) pot-Pl  
'the pots which the woman had broken'.
- c)  $NP[CP[aman\ pro\ \text{š}bas\ wäkäb-ä-n-iy\ yä-naar-ä-y ]\ N[č'uulo]]$   
Aman cloth bought-3sgm(s)-P-3sgm(o) Rm-be(past)-3sgm(s)-Def(m) boy  
'the boy for whom Aman had bought clothes'
- d)  $*[ [aman\ pro\ \text{š}bas\ yä-wäkäb-ä-n-iy\ naar-ä-y ]\ N[č'uulo]]$   
Aman cloth Rm-bought-3sgm-P-3sgm be (past)-3Pl-Def boy

In (53), the element *yä-* is prefixed to the auxiliary verb *naar* 'be' (past). One may also note that the inflectional suffixes are attached to both the relative and auxiliary verbs. However, the auxiliary verb *naar* 'be' (past) carries only the agreement marker of the relativised NP, while the main verb contains both the subject and object agreement markers of the clause. For instance, if we consider (53b), the main verb *säbär-t-äymu* 'broken-3sgf(s)-3Pl(o)' contains the subject marker *-t-* '3sgf(s)' which refers to the subject noun *m\št* 'woman', and the object marker *-ymu* '3Pl(o)' that refers to the relativized object noun *midan-ča* 'pots'. However, the auxiliary verb *-naar* 'be' (past), in

- 
- 'the man has come yesterday'
- b) [ [ tačen yä-mät't'ä-y ] miiš ]  
yesterday Rm-came-3sgm-Def man  
'the man who has come yesterday'
2. a) miiš-i tačen mät't'-ä naar  
man-Def yesterday came-3sgm be(past)  
'the man had come yesterday'
- b) [ [ tačen m ä t't'-ä yä-naaray ] miiš ]  
yesterday came-3sgm Rm-be(past) man  
'the man who had come yesterday'

(53b), is inflected only for agreement of the relativized NP, i.e. *-u*-3Pl(s)' which refers to *midan-ča* 'pots'. One may notice here that the relativized NPs in (53a-c) are subject, object and adjunct NPs, respectively; but the auxiliary *naar* 'be' (past) is inflected only for NP that is relativized, regardless of the syntactic function an NP may have in the relative clause.

#### 4.1.1.2. Definiteness in Relative Verb

In a relative clause in which the relativized subject noun is definite, one of the definite markers <sup>14</sup> is attached to the relative verb. Consider the following examples.

54. a)  $_{IP} [ \text{NP} [ \text{m}\text{̀}\text{š}\text{t}\text{-te} ] \quad \text{VP} [ \text{k}'\text{ämbisa} \quad \text{wäkäb-t} ] ]$   
 woman-Def(f) skirt bought -3sgf(s)

'The woman bought a skirt'.

- b)  $_{NP} [ \text{CP} [ \text{pro k}'\text{ämbisa} \quad \text{yä-wäkäb-t-te} ] \quad \text{m}\text{̀}\text{š}\text{t} ]$   
 skirt Rm- bought-3sgf(s)-Def(f) woman

'the woman who bought a skirt'

- c) \* $[ [ \text{pro k}'\text{ämbis} \quad \text{yä-wäkäb-t} ] \quad \text{m}\text{̀}\text{š}\text{t}\text{-te} ]$   
 skirt Rm- bought-3sgf(s) woman-Def(f)

55. a)  $_{IP} [ \text{NP} [ \text{säb-ča-y} ] \quad \text{VP} [ \text{gaar} \quad \text{män-u} ] ]$   
 person-Pl-Def(Pl) house built-3Pl(s)

'The persons built a house'.

- b)  $_{NP} [ \text{CP} [ \text{pro gaar} \quad \text{yä-män-u-y} ] \quad \text{säb-ča} ]$   
 house Rm-man-3Pl(s)-Def(Pl) person-Pl

'the persons who built a house'

<sup>14</sup> In Silt'i definite markers vary in terms of gender and number. They are mentioned as below.

3sgm	-i/ c- , -y/v-
3sgf	-te 3Pl -y

- c) \*[ *pro* gaar yä-män-u ] säb-ča-y ]  
 'house Rm-man-3Pl(s) person-Pl-Def(Pl)

The subject nouns *m* *št-te* 'the woman' in (54a) and *säbča-y* 'the persons' in (55a) are definite. The definiteness is indicated by the suffixes *-te* 'Def(f)' and *-y* 'Def(Pl)' that are affixed to the nouns. In (54b) and (55b), in which the definite subject NPs are relativized, the definite markers *-te* and *-y* are attached to the relative verbs *yä-wäkäb-t-te* 'Rm- bought-3sgf-Def (f)' and *yä-män-u-y* 'Rm-man-3Pl-Def (Pl)', leaving the head nouns. As one may note in (54c) and (55c), if definite markers remain with the head nouns of a relative clause, in the expressions become ill formed.

However, when a definite object noun is relativised, the definite marker does not get attached to the relative verb as it does in case of definite subject relativization. Thus, in the context of the definite direct and indirect objects being relativised, the definite suffix is omitted both from the head noun and relative verb. Consider the following examples that refer to direct object relativization.

56. a)  $IP[ NP[ \text{\textbackslash}he ]_{VP[ tačen t'ay-ä-y } gore-hu-y^{15} ] ]$   
 I yesterday sheep-Acc-Def (m) slaughtered-1sg(s)-3sgm(o)  
 'Yesterday I slaughtered the sheep'
- b)  $NP[ CP[ \text{\textbackslash}he tačen pro yä -gore-hu-y ] ] N[ t'ay ]$   
 I yesterday Rm-slaughtered-1sg(s)-3sgm(o). sheep  
 'The sheep which I slaughtered yesterday'
- c) \*[ [ tačen *pro* yä -gore-hu-y ] ]  $N[ t'ay- y ]$

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<sup>15</sup>It is mentioned in section (3.2.1), that the 3rd person singular masculine object marker in Silt'i is *-y*. This morpheme is homophonous with the definite marker *-y* that refers to 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural.

yesterday Rm-slaughtered-1sg(s)-3sgm(o) sheep-Def(m)

d) \*[ [ tačen *pro* yä-gor-hu-y-y ] N[ t'ay ] ]

yesterday Rm-slaughtered-1sg(s)-3sgm(o)-Def(m) sheep

In (56a) the direct object *t'ay-ä-y* 'the sheep' is definite which is indicated by the suffix *-y* 'Def.(m)'; but in the relativized structure of (56b), a definite marker is neither on the head noun *t'ay* 'sheep', nor on the relative verb *yä-gore-hu-y* 'Rm-slaughtered-1sg-3sgm.'. The head noun is in simple citation form. The object marker *-y* '3sgm' in the relative verb refers to the relativized direct object *t'ay* 'sheep'. You may notice the ill-formed structures, in (56c) and (56d), resulted from the presence of the definite article *-y*, on the head noun and the relative verb, respectively.

If a relative verb is accompanied with the auxiliary *naar* 'be' (past), and the head noun is definite, the definite marker is attached to the auxiliary verb. The following examples illustrate the point.

57. a)  $IP[ NP[miiš-i \quad k\backslash tab-ä-y ] \quad VP[ wäkäb-ä \quad naar ] ]$

man-Def(m) book-Acc-Def(m) bought-3sgm be(past)

'The man had bought the book'.

b)  $NP[ CP[ k\backslash tab-ä-y \quad wäkäb-ä \quad yä-naar-ä-y ] \quad N[ miiš ] ]$

book-Acc-Def(m) bought-3sgm(s) Rm-be(past)-3sgm(s)-Def(m) man

'the man who had bought the book'

c)  $NP[ CP[ miiš-i \quad pro \quad wäkäb-ä-y \quad yä-naar-ä-y ] \quad N[ k\backslash tab ] ]$

man-Def(m)bought-3sgm(s)-3sgm(o)Rm-be(past)-3sgm(s)-Def(m) book

'the book which the man had bought'

58. a)  $IP[ NP[ aman ] \quad VP[ PP[ lä-gärägä -te ] \quad k\backslash arab-ä-y \quad wab-e-et \quad naar ] ]$

Aman to-girl-Def(f) ox-Acc-Def(m) gave-3sgm-3sgf be(past)

'Aman had given the ox to the girl'.

b)  $_{NP}$  [ $_{CP}$  aman *pro* k̄arab-ä-y wab-ä-et yä-naar-t-te]  $_N$  [ ḡäräḡä ]  
 Aman ox-Acc-Def(m) gave-3sgm(s)-3sgf(o) Rm-be(past)-3sgf(s)-Def(f) girl  
 'the girl whom Aman had given the ox'

c)  $_{NP^*}$  [ $_{CP}$  aman *pro* k̄arab-ä-y wab-ä-et-te yä-naar-t ] ḡäräḡä ]  
 Aman ox-Acc-Def(m) gave-3sgm(s)-3sgf-Def(f) Rm-be(past)-3sgf(s) girl

In the examples (57b,) (57c) and (58b), the head nouns *miiš* 'man', *k̄tab* 'book', and *ḡäräḡä* 'girl' are definite subject, direct object and indirect object nouns, respectively. The definite markers -y Def (m) as in (57b,c), and -te Def (f) as in (58b), are not found on the main relative verb in the presence of the auxiliary verb *naar* 'be (past)'; they are rather get attached to the auxiliary verb. If a definite marker is attached to a relative main verb in the environment of the auxiliary verb *naar* 'be' (past), as in (58c), the structure becomes ill formed.

#### 4.1.2 Imperfective Relative Verb

In Silt'i the imperfective relative verb does not take the element *yä-* as the perfective verb does. Consider the following examples.

59. a)  $_{IP}$  [ $_{NP}$  m̄)št-te  $_{VP}$  f̄)načo t̄)-gaar-aat ]  
 man-Def(f) inset-bread 3sgf(s)-bake- be(pres)  
 'The woman bakes/will bake inset-bread'.
- b)  $_{NP}$  [ $_{CP}$  *pro* f̄)načo t̄)-gaagr-aat-te ]  $_N$  [ m̄)št ]  
 inset-bread 3sgf(s)-bake- be(pres)-Def(f) woman  
 'the woman who bakes/ will bake inset-bread'
- c)  $_{NP^*}$  [ $_{CP}$  *prof*)načo yä-t̄)-gaagr-aat-te ]  $_N$  [m̄)št ]

inset-bread Rm-3sgf(s)-bake- be(pres)-Def(f) woman

60. a)  $_{NP}$  [ $_{NP}$  aman k̄arab-ä-y ]  $_{VP}$  [ $_{PP}$  lä-gärägä-te ] y-wab-et-aan ] ]  
aman ox-Acc-Def(m) to-girl-Def(f) 3sgm(s)-gave-3sgf(o)- be(pres)  
'Aman gives/will give the ox to the girl'.

- b)  $_{NP}$  [ $_{CP}$  aman lä-gärägä-te *pro* y-wab-et-aan-ä-y ]  $_{N}$  [ k̄arab ] ]  
aman to-girl-Def (f) 3sgm(s)-gave-3sgf(o)- be(pres)-3sgm(s)-Def (m) ox  
'the ox which Aman gives/will give to the girl'

- c)  $_{NP}$  [ $_{CP}$  aman k̄arab-ä-y *pro* y-wab-et-aan-ä-te ]  $_{N}$  [ gärägä ] ]  
Aman ox-Acc-Def(m) 3sgm(s)-gave-3sgf(o)-be(pres)-3sgm(s)-Def (f) girl  
'the girl whom Aman gives the ox'

- d)  $_{NP}^*$  [ $_{CP}$  aman *pro* k̄arab-ä-y yä-y-wab-et-aan-ä-te ]  $_{N}$  [ gärägä ] ]  
Aman ox-Acc-Def (m) Rm-3sgm(s)-gave-3sgf(o)-be(pres)-3sgm(s)-Def (f) girl

In the examples (59-60) in which the structures have imperfective aspect, the relative verbs do not take the relative marker *yä-*. The sentences in (59b), in which the subject noun is relativized, and (60b,c) in which the direct and indirect objects are relativized, indicate the appropriate form of the relative verbs where the element *yä-* is absent. Regarding the agreement markers, in subject relativization *pro* is recovered from the agreement markers that are prefixed to the relative verbs and suffixed to the auxiliary verb *-aan* 'be (pres)'. For instance, *t*  $\rightarrow$  *-t* '3sgf(s)' as in (59b), which is different from the agreement markers of perfective relative verb where as in object relativization the agreement markers which found in imperfective relative verb is the same as

perfective relative verb. On the other hand, the sentences in (59c-60d) are ill formed because of the presence of the element *yä-* with the relative verb.

Regarding the behavior of the definite marker in imperfective relative verb it is found to be similar to that of the perfective verb in that definiteness of the head noun is marked on the relative verb. Let us consider the following examples.

61. a) IP[ NP[ miiš-i      kărab-ä-y ]    VP[ y- wăkb-aan]]  
           man-Def(m) ox-Acc-Def(m) 3sgm(s)-buy-be(pres)  
           'The man buys/will buy the ox'.
- b) NP[ CP[ *pro* kărab-ä-y    y-wăkb-aan-ä-i ]    N[ miiš]]  
           ox-Acc-Def(m) 3sgm(s)-buy- be(pres)-Def(m) man  
           'the man who buys/will buy the ox'
- c) \*NP[ CP[ *pro* kărab-ä-y    y-wăkb-aan ]    N[ miiš-i ]]  
           ox-Acc-Def(m) 3sgf(s)-buy- be(pres) man-Def(m)
62. a) IP[ NP[ aman    gărăgă-te ]    VP[ y-wăk'-et-aan] ]  
           aman    girl-Def(f) 3sgm(s)-hit-3sgf(o)-be(pres)  
           'Aman hits/will hit the girl'.
- b) NP[ CP[aman    *pro* y-wăk'-et-aan-ä-te]                    N[gărăgă ]]  
           Aman 3sgm(s)-hit-3sgf(o)-be(pres)-3sgm(s)-Def(f) girl  
           'the girl whom Aman hits/will hit'
- c) NP\*[ CP[ aman    *pro* y-wăk'-et-aan-ä]                    N[ gărăgă-te ]]  
           Aman 3sgm(s)-hit-3sgf(o)-be(pres)-3sgm(s) girl-Def (f)

In (61a), the subject noun *miiš-i* 'the man' is definite, which is indicated by the definite marker *-i*. In (62a) the object noun *gärägä-te* 'the girl' is definite as indicated by the marker *-te*. In the relativized structures in (61b) and (62b), the definite markers *-i* and *-te* are attached to the imperfective relative verbs *y-wäkb-aan-ä-y* '3sgf(s)-buy-be(pres)-Def(f)' and *y-wäk'-et-aan-ä-te* '3sgm(s)-hit-3sgf(s)-be(pres)-3sgm(o)-Def(f)' respectively. Note that the structures in (61c) and (62c) are ungrammatical because of the incorrect affixation of the definite marker on the head nouns *miiš-i* 'the man' and *gärägä-te* 'the girl'. Therefore, we may claim that the definite marker moves from the relativized NP to the relative verb during relativization process.

Another issue that is worth mentioning finally is: what could be the position of *yä-* in the context of imperfective relative verb which occurs with the auxiliary *-naar* 'be'(past). Let us examine the following examples.

63. a) NP[ CP[ *pro* gaar y-mäñ-aan- ä-i ] ] N[ *miiš* ]]  
house 3sgm(s)-build-be (pres)-3sgm(s)-Def man  
'the man who builds/will build a house'
- b) NP[ CP[ *pro* gaar y-mäñ naar-ä-i] ] N[*miiš* ]]  
house 3sgm(s)-build be(past)-3sgm(s) –Def(m) man  
'the man who was building a house'
- c) NP\*[ CP[*pro* gaar y-mäñ yä-naar-ä-i] ] N[*miiš* ]]  
house 3sgm(s)-build Rm-be(past)-3sgm(s) –Def(m) man
64. a) NP[ CP[ [e] k'ämbisa t)-wäkb-aat-te ] ] N[*m}št* ]]  
skirt 3sgf(s)-buy-be(pres)-Def(f) woman  
'the woman who buys/ will buy a skirt'
- b) NP[ CP[ [e] k'ämbisa t)-wäkb naar-t-te ] ] N[*m}št* ]]  
skirt 3sgf(s)-buy be(past)-3sgf(s)-Def(f) woman

'the woman who was buying a skirt'

- c)  $_{NP^*}[ \text{CP}[ \text{k'ämbisa } t\text{-wäkb } yä\text{-naar-t-te } ] \text{ } _N[ \text{m}\text{̀}št ] ]$   
skirt      3sgf(s)-buy Rm- be(past)-3sgf(s)-Def(f) woman ]

In (63b) and (64b), the auxiliary verb *naar* 'be' (past) occurs with the imperfective relative verbs, *y-mäñ* '3sgm(s)-build', and *t\wäkb* '3sgf(s)-buy', respectively. In these structures the relative marker *yä-* do not attached to the past auxiliary verb in similar manner to that of the perfective verb. If it attached with the past auxiliary *naar* as in (63c) and (64c) the structure becomes ill formed.

#### 4.1.3 The Element *yä*

In the previous discussion we mentioned that Silt'i relative clause is introduced by prefixing an element *yä-* to a perfective relative verb. In the following we attempt to examine the function of the element *yä-* and its base position in a relative clause.

In English relative clauses are introduced by *wh*-relative pronouns. These relative pronouns have nominal features, like gender, number, person, or case. For example, relative pronouns have cases such as nominative, accusative, and genitive (Radford, 1988:483). Let us consider the following English examples taken from Comrie (1981:148).

65. a) [ the man [ *who* bought the book for the girl ] ]  
b) [ the book [ *which* the man bought for the girl ] ]  
c) [ the girl [ for *whom* the man bought the book ] ]  
e) [ the boy [ *whose* book the man bought for the girl ] ]

In (65a) the relative pronoun *who* has nominative case, in (65b) the relative pronoun *which* has accusative case, in (65c) and (65d) the relative pronoun *whom* and *whose* have oblique and genitive cases, respectively. In Silt'i, however the element *yä-* does not show such kind of variation in relative clause construction. Let us consider the following examples.

66. a) NP[ CP[ *pro* lä-gärägä-te k\`tab    *yä-wäkäb-ä-i* ]    N[ *miiš* ] ]  
           for-girl-Def(f) book    Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-Def(m)    man  
           'the man who bought a book for the girl'
- b) NP[ CP[ *miiš-i pro* lä-gärägä-te    *yä-wäkäb-ä-i* ]    N[ k\`tab ] ]  
           man-Def(m) for-girl-Def(f)    Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-Def(m)    book  
           'the book which the man boughtfor the girl'
- c) NP[ CP[*miiš-i pro* k\`tab *yä-wäkäb-ä-n-et* ]    N[ *gärägä* ] ]  
           man-Def(m) book    Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-P-3sgf(o)    girl  
           'the girl for whom the man bought a book'
- d) NP[ CP[*miiš-i lä-gärägä-te pro* k\`tab-ä-kä *yä-wäkäb-ä-n-iy* ]    N [č'uulo ] ]  
           man-Def(m)for-girl-Def(f)book-Acc-3sgm(Poss)Rm-bought-3sgm(s)-P-3sgm(o)  
           boy  
           'the boy whose the man boughta book for the girl'

As can be observed in (66), there is no formal distinction in *yä-*, which goes in parallel to the change that happens regarding case (Nom., Acc., Gen. etc.) and the NP that is relativized (Subject, Object, etc.). The element *yä-* always assumes the same form in different cases.

Furthermore, relative pronouns are said to have semantic properties (Radford 1988:483). For example, the *wh*-pronoun *who* implies [+human], while the *wh*-pronoun *which* implies [-human]. But in Silt'i the element *yä-* has no such kind of semantic value

associated to it, which corresponds to the English relative pronoun<sup>16</sup>. Thus, we may say that the function of *yä-* is simply to relating a relative clause to its head NP. In other Semitic languages like Tigre, the element *zi-* (Palmer :1962), and in Amharic (Hailu :1972) and in Chaha (Alemayehu :1990), the element *yä-* are also used to connect a relative clause to the head noun. It has also been claimed to be a complementizer. In similar manner we also consider the element *yä-* in Silt'i as a complementizer, since it functions the same way as *zi-* in Tigre, and *yä-* in Amharic and Chaha.

If our assumption is correct, then the base position of *yä-* should be within CP. As noted earlier, Silt'i is a head final language. The position of *yä-* is, therefore, expected to be final in complementizer phrase. However, the surface representation of a relative clause shows that *yä-* is prefixed to a verb. The derivation of a relative clause in Silt'i is suggested to be, as in (67b), in which the base position of *yä-* is in the head of CP. (67b) represents a simplified version of the structure of the derivation the relative clause in (67a).

67. a) <sub>NP</sub>[ [*pro* *mäkinä* *yä-säräk'k'-'ä* ] <sub>NP</sub>[*ranğ* ]

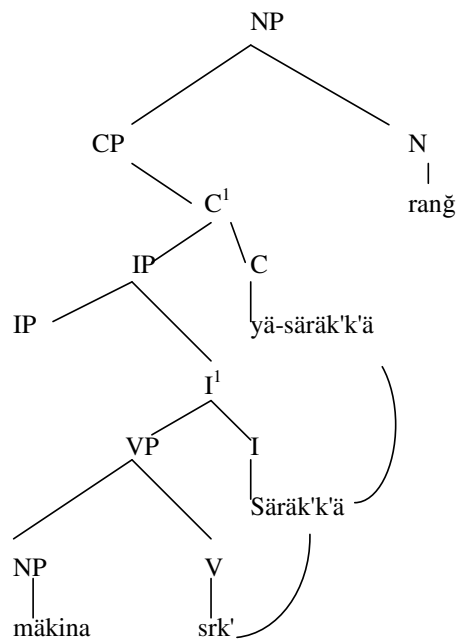
<sup>16</sup> In Silt'i the following interrogative pronouns are equivalent to English relative pronouns.

<i>maa</i>	who	<i>ayne</i>	where
<i>min</i>	what	<i>aytay</i>	which ( m )
<i>mäče</i>	when	<i>aytate</i>	which ( f )
<i>yäma</i>	whose		
<i>läma</i>	to whom		
<i>bäma</i>	from whom		

car Rm-stole-3sgm(s) thief

'a thief who stole a car'

67. b)



In (67b), one may observe the movement operation of the verb *srk'* 'steal' from the terminal node V to the inflectional head I such as Agr, tense and aspect. After the verb *srk'* 'steal' collects its inflectional features in I, the whole bundle of segment, *säräk'k'-ä* 'steal (past 3sgm(s))' moves to the head of CP to be attached to the relative marker *yä-* in order to form syntactic link between the relative clause (IP) *pro mäkinä säräk'k'-ä* and the head noun *ranġ* 'thief'. The detailed structure of the functional

categories of Agr, tense and aspect has not been presented in the tree diagram because, a) the issue is not directly related to the topic of the thesis, and b) it makes it more complex.

## Chapter five

### Conclusion

In this chapter we will try to sum up the discussion of Silt'i relative clauses. It may be noted that the discussion is more descriptive than theoretical. The GB theory, however, was used to handle some aspects of the relative clause of Silt'i.

In the first chapter we have discussed about the language and the people in general. We have also reviewed previous studies undertaken on the language. More over the theoretical framework that has been used to analyze aspects of the relative clause of Silt'i has been presented.

In Silt'i, relative clauses are classified into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses; even though non-restrictive relative clauses are not as common and widely used as restrictive relative clauses. The difference between RRC and NRRC has been treated syntactically in terms levels at which referential relations are formed, as proposed by Safir (1986). Since RRC has dependent relation to its head noun, the relationship is determined at LF; however, since the relation between a head noun and a NRRC is independent, its referential relationship is determined at the LF'.

More over, Silt'i relative clauses are distinguished into lexically and empty headed relatives. Lexically headed relatives are those relative clauses in which their heads are phonetically realized, as in [ [ *pro k* ] *tab yä-wäkäbay* ] *müš* ] 'the man who

bought a book'; while empty headed relatives are those relatives in which head nouns do not exist phonetically, as in [ [ *pro* *tay* *yä-säräk'ä-y* ] [*e*] ] '(the one) who stole a sheep'.

Silt'i relative clauses are prenominal in which a head noun follows the relative clause, as the examples above illustrate. This is in agreement with the head final structure of Silt'i phrases.

The thesis has also examined the various relativized NP positions and the strategies that are used in relative clause formation. Thus, it has been found out that Silt'i relativizes its subject, object (direct and indirect), adjunct and genitive NP positions. More over the relativized NP positions have been found always empty. Since the empty position is governed by a relevant governor and recovered from the agreement marker that is found in the closer domain, we claim that it is *pro*. The subject agreement markers that occur with imperfective verbs differ from those, which occur with perfective verbs.

Regarding relativization of an adjunct NP, the strategy employed is the same as for subject and object relativization, i.e., *pro* in situ. However, *pro* is recovered from the agreement markers that go along with the P-element *-b-* and *-n-*. Thus, the occurrence of P-element is obligatory in the presence an agreement marker that refers to an adjunct NP in a structure.

Genitive NPs can be relativized in Silt'i as they syntactically function as any other NP. However, if any of the constituent part of a genitive phrase has to be relativized, there are some constraints observed in the language. In other words, the whole genitive phrases i.e. both the specifier and the head can be relativized. The relativized position is empty which is assumed to be *pro*. This *pro* is recovered from the

agreement marker, which is attached to the relative verb. *pro* and the relativized NP are coreferential.

If, however, the specifier element of a genitive phrase is relativized, the genitive phrase has to be only that of genitive of possession. The other types of genitive phrase, that is, genitive of source, genitive of purpose, and genitive of instrumental, do not allow their specifier to be relativized. More over, the head of genitive of possession may be relativized with certain doubt or degree of unacceptability. Head relativization of other types of genitive NP is completely impossible.

Finally the thesis discussed the properties of the relative verbs of Silt'i. The discussion has highlighted that there are two kinds of relative verbs: perfective and imperfective relative verbs. The perfective relative verb contains a prefixing element *yä-*, while the imperfective relative verb does not. If a perfective relative verb occurs with the auxiliary verb *naar* 'be' (past), the element *yä-* is attached to the auxiliary *naar* 'be' (past) instead of the perfective verb. More over, when a relativized NP is definite both the perfective and imperfective relative verbs consist of definite marker. The function of *yä-* is found to be linking a relative clause with its head noun.

As one may understand, the thesis limits itself to some aspects of relativization processes in Silt'i. There are certain issues of relativization that call for further analyses and explanation. For, instance, questions such as, why genitive phrases, except the genitive of possession, are island for relativization?; what is the principle that govern the operation?; why the element *yä-* is phonetically absent in imperfective relative verb while it is present in perfective relative verb?; etc. need closer investigation. We believe that a principled account and explanation of these and other similar questions would provide us with some insights into how the human mind or Universal Grammar operates regarding the formation of relative clause in language.

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