ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

RELATIVE CLAUSE IN AFAAN OROMOO: A MINIMALIST APPROACH

BY

ABDO SISAY

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ABSTRACT

This study is about the structure of relative clause in Afaan Oromoo within the framework of Chomsky's (1993, 1995) Minimalist Program and other recent developments.

In Afaan Oromoo relative clauses are classified into two: These are restrictive relative clauses and non restrictive relative clauses. A restrictive relative clause restricts/delimits the reference of the head NP and non restrictive relative clause give only additional information about the previously identified head NP. Furthermore, Afaan Oromoo restrictive relative clause is preceded by a pause in speech or a comma in writing, whereas a restrictive relative clause is not. Moreover, Afaan Oromoo relative clauses are divided into prenominal and postnominal relative clauses depending on whether the relative clause precede or follow the head noun.

Among the relativization strategies the language employs relative pronoun strategy and gapping strategy except in prenominal relative clauses and some aspects of genitive relativization. In light of Keenan and Comrie's (1977: 67) accessibility hierarchy, Afaan Oromoo relativizes its subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique, genitive and object of comparison.

In addition, the study deals with Afaan Oromoo relative verbs which indicate the head noun and relative pronoun. Afaan Oromoo relative verb divided into perfective relative verb and imperfective relative verb. Perfective relative verb describe completed action whereas imperfective relative verb expresses incomplete or progressive action.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

*	Ungrammatical phrase (sentence)
2PL	Second person plural
3FS	Third person feminine singular
3MS	Third person masculine singular
3PL	Third person plural
3S	Third person singular
ABS	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative
Adv	Adverb
Advp	Adverbial phrase
AFF	Affix
AgrOp	Patient agreement
AH	Accessibility hierarchy
AO1	Afaan Oromoo grade 1 student text book
AO10	Afaan Oromoo grade 10 student text book
AO5	Afaan Oromoo grade 5 student text book
AO7	Afaan Oromoo grade 7 student text book
APs	Adjective phrase
ART	Article
C	Complementizer
CH_L	Computational system
CP	Complementizer phrase
DEF	Definite
DO	Direct object
DP	Determiner phrase
DS	Deep structure
e/ø	Empty
EPP	Extended projection principle
ER	Ethiopia radio
ERG	Ergative
F	Feminine
FR	Fana radio
FUT	Future

GEN	Genitive
IMPF	Imperfective
IMPFV	Imperfective verb
IO	Indirect object
IP	Inflectional phrase
LF	Logical form
M	Masculine
MP	Minimalist program
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun phrase
NP mat	Noun phrase matrix
NPrel	Relativized noun
NRRC	Non- restrictive relative clause
NRRCs	Non restrictive relative clauses
OBJ	Objective
OBL	Oblique case
OCOMP	Object of comparison
OFMR	Oromia frequency modulation radio
OR	Oromia radio
OTV	Oromia television
PERF	Perfective
PF	Phonetic form
PFV	Perfective verb
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PPs	Prepositional phrase
PRES	Present
PST	Past
RC(Srel)	Relative clause
RCCs	Relative clause constructions
RCs	Relative clauses
REL	Relativizer
RELPF	Relative pronoun for feminine
RELPI	Relative pronoun for inanimate
RELPM	Relative pronoun for masculine

RELPPL	Relative pronoun for plural
RM	Relative marker
RRC	Restrictive relative clause
RRCs	Restrictive relative clauses
RV	Relative verb
SG	Singular
SOV	Subject object verb
Spec	Specifier
SS	Surface structure
ST	Standard theory
SU	Subject
t	Trace
TP	Tense phrase
V	Verb
VP	Verbal phrase

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

1.1. 1. The people

The Oromo people are one of the major ethnic groups in Ethiopia inhabiting in a region called Oromia. They also live in Kenya and Somalia. The Oromo belong to the Cushitic group of people. The Ethiopian Oromo occupy an area stretching from the Western end of the country to the Eastern end and from Southern end up to in the Northern part (Gragg 1982: xii and Baye 1986:8). As information form the free encyclopedia shows; its current capital is Adama. Prior to 2000, the regional capital of Oromia was Addis Ababa, also known as Finfinne.

Many Oromo are followers of Christianity or Islam; and some are followers of their indigenous religion called *waaqeffannaa*, means the belief in *Waaqaa* (the supreme God). Depending on their geographical location, the Oromo are engaged in different economic activities like crop cultivation and animal husbandry. The basic economic activity of the people is agriculture. The method of agriculture most widely practiced is oxen- drawn plows. Domestic animals include cattle, goats, sheep, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, and chickens. The main cereal crops are wheat, teff, barely, corn etc and fruits include banana, orange, lemon, mango, avocado etc. The major cash crops are coffee and khat.

Concerning the population size of Ethiopian Oromo, the 2007 population and housing census of Ethiopia has reported that the total population size of Oromo is 25, 488,344 out of 73,918,505 total population of Ethiopia and it covers an area of 367,000 square kilometers. Thus, Oromiya is the largest state in Ethiopia both in terms of population and land size.

1.1.2. The language

The Oromo people have their own language called Afaan Oromoo which literally means 'mouth of Oromo'. This language is also referred to be the name Oromiffa by none Oromo and some Oromo, which is a direct translation of Amharic language 'Oromigna' and English 'Oromic'. Afaan Oromoo belongs to the East Cushitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family (Bender 1976:166, Gragg 1982: xiii and Griefenow-Mewis 2001:9). Afaan Oromoo is presently written with a modified latin alphabet called *qubee*, which was formally adopted since 1991 (http://en. wikipedia.org/wiki/Oromo language). It is spoken as a mother tongue and as a second language mainly in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

The majority of Afaan Oromoo speakers live in Ethiopia, mainly Oromia region and the rest in Kenya and Somalia. Afaan Oromoo is spoken in Ethiopia with several dialects (Gragg 1976: 176 and 1982: xiii-xiii, Baye 1986:8 Mekonnen 2002:10 and Kebede 2005:149). The number of dialects identified by different scholars varies. Fore example, according to Kebede (2005:149), Afaan Oromoo has five major dialects:

1. Rayya (Northern)
2. Boorana (Sourthern)
3. Tulema (Central)
4. Harar (Eastern)
5. Mecha(Western)

According to Heine (1981:13) and Stroomer (1987:1-3) the dialects spoken outside Ethiopia are:

1. Gabara (Gabbra)
2. Borana (Borna)
3. Sakuye

4. Garreh (Garre, Gurreh)
5. Orma (Warda, Wordey)
6. Ajuran
7. Munyo (Korokoro)
8. Waata

As mentioned in Geda (1988:9) and Mahdi (1995: xi), Afaan Oromoo is the third most widely spoken language in Africa after Arabic and Hausa. According to the U.S Government and its Education department (1985), Afaan Oromoo has been considered as one of the 169 critical languages of the world (Crystal 1987:342).

The transitional government of Ethiopia adopted Afaan Oromoo as regional official language within the Oromia region in 1991. It became the language of administration, education, court and is used as a medium of instruction. As a language of education Afaan Oromoo is serving as a medium of instruction in primary, secondary, colleges (10+3) and it its given as first degree program in Adama University, Jimma University, Haramaya University, Madawalabu University, Wallaga University and in both first and second degree program in the Addis Ababa University.

There are three regional newspapers printed in Afaan Oromoo. They are *Bariisaa* 'dawn', *Kallacha* 'for head' and *Oromiyaa*. *Bariisa* is a weekly news paper, whereas the rest come out once in two weeks. There are also radios and TV broad casts services in Afaan Oromoo. Radio broad casting includes Ethiopia Radio (ER), Fana Radio (FR), and Oromia Radio (OR). The weekly coverage in these programs is 16, 47, and 114 (72 OR and 42 OFMR) hours respectively. The weekly coverage of OTV program is 44 hours which has begun its regular transmission in February 7, 2009 from the main station Adama.

1.2. Statements of the problem

Although it is believed that Afaan Oromoo is spoken across a wide area by numerous speakers and serving for different functions, scientific studies made on the language does not seem to be satisfactory. Particularly, the works done on the structure of relative clause in the language are very scanty. Therefore, this thesis attempts to describe the structure of Afaan Oromoo relative clauses and show in light of MP of Chomsky and other recent developments. More specifically, the paper will try to address the following questions:

- What are the features of relative clauses in Afaan Oromoo?
- What types of relative clauses identified in the language?
- What are the possible syntactic position and functions of relative clauses in the language?
- How minimalist program of Chomsky and other recent development handles certain aspects of relativization in this language?

1.3. Objectives of the study

Since Afaan Oromoo is one of the languages spoken in the world, it shares some linguistic properties with other languages. Some properties of its relative clauses are part of the Universal Grammar (UG), while others may be particular to it. The general objective of this study is to examine the general and particular properties of Afaan Oromoo relative clause in light of the minimalist approach. In addition, this study has the following specific objectives:

1. Distinguish the types of relative clause in the language
2. Identify the strategies of relativization in the language
3. Describe the central role of relative clause in the language
4. Distinguish different types of relative pronouns

1.4. Significance of the study

The researcher believes that the results of this study will have the following contributions:

1. It is hoped that the findings of the study can give some insight about the characteristics of Afaan Oromoo relative clause constructions for students, teachers, linguists and typologists.
2. It will serve as the basis for the syntactic analysis of the language.
3. Establish a complete and systematic typology of relative clauses construction in the language.
4. Serve as a source material for the study of other Cushitic or Ethiopian languages in general.
5. Finally, the results of the study can serve as a springboard for further research endeavors on the same topic or related aspects of the language.

1.5. Scope of the study

This thesis is restricted in two ways:

1. Among different clause of Afaan Oromoo it is based on relative clause.
2. From different dialects of Afaan Oromoo it is limited to the Tulema dialect which is the dialect of the researcher.

Eventhough the thesis is based on the Tulema dialect it is hoped that the findings might be applicable to other dialects.

1.6. Research Methods

The data used in this research include the following: First, the corpus data is collected through fieldwork from the native speaker of the Tulema dialect.

Secondly, the researcher himself is a native speaker of the Tulema dialect of the language; he himself is a source for the data. Thirdly, different literature such as published and unpublished documents, magazines, journals, related research materials and other related documents that are relevant to the study have been consulted. Finally, the facts were described, analyzed and written up in the light of the minimalist program of Chomsky (1993; 1995) and other recent developments.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of literature

2.1 Previous studies

In this section an attempt will be made to review previous studies on relative clauses. They will be reviewed according to their chronological order of publication.

Nordfeldt (1947) describes the phonology, the eight parts of speech and the relative clause of Afaan Oromoo. According to Nordfeldt (1947:87) Afaan Oromo has two proclitic relative pronouns to be noticed: these are ከን and ዋን. He also mentioned the uses of ከን and ዋን. ከን refers to persons as well as animals and things and ዋን refers to inanimate things only.

Example (1) a. ከንበርባደኑ፡ ሁንዱኑ፡ ከታ።።

'All you who wish may come'

b. ከሌሳ፤ ዋንደገኤ፡ ዱቢ፡ ጋሪ ፡ቱሬ።።

'What he heard yesterday was good'

As the above example (1) indicates that Nordfeldt describes Afaan Oromoo relative clauses in Amharic alphabet. He shows as such clause exist in the language. In addition he tried to explain the difference between ከን and ዋን.

The other person that identifies some structure of Afaan Oromoo relative clause is Gragg (1976). According to Gragg (1976: 191) Afaan Oromoo has two relative pronouns. The usual relative pronoun is *kan.*

Example (2) NP [nam-ičč-a CP [kan kale:ssa gal-e]]

man-DEF-NOM RELPM yesterday arrive-3MS.PFV.PST

'The man who arrived yesterday'

Another relative pronoun in Afaan Oromoo he points out is *wa:n* and it is used for in animate antecedent as shown in the following example.

Example (3) [wa:n nuji ʔargi-ne]

RELPI we see-2PL.PFV.PST

'What we saw'

He did not illustrate this point. He simply made some observational generalizations. In other words no adequate description about its status has been made.

Baye (1987) describes the Afaan Oromoo relative clauses based on the theory of government and binding (GB) of Chomsky's (1981; 1982) theory. According to Baye (1987:60) Afaan Oromoo has a relative pronoun *kan* consider the following example.

Example (4) NP [nam-ičč-i kale:ssa ho:la: CP [kan bit–e

man-DEF-NOM yesterday sheep RELPM buy-3MS.PFV.PST

ɖuf-e]]

come-3MS.PST

'The man who bought a sheep yesterday came'

Furthermore, Baye raise some questions concerning the degrees of adequacy of Afaan Oromoo relative pronoun and states that as *wa:n* cannot be a relative

pronoun. Nordfeldt and Gragg point out as *wa:n* is used with inanimate antecedents. However, according to Baye, structures like the following are unacceptable.

Example (5) NP * [ʔule:-n Tullu:-n harre: CP [wa:n ittiin rukkut-e

stick- NOM Tullu-NOM donkey RELPI with hit-3MS.PFV.PST

gudda: ɖa]]

big is

'The stick with which Tullu hit the donkey is big'

He concludes by saying what is considered to be the relative pronoun (*wa:n*) is an NP heading the clause.

Recently, Griefenow-Mewis (2001) has treated the relative clause of Afaan Oromoo. According to Griefenow-Mewis (2001:63) the Oromo language has two relative particles. These are *kan* and *wa:n*. She further stated that the relative particle *kan* may refer to persons, animals and things and the relative particle *wa:n* refers to inanimate things only. In addition she mentioned the following examples:

6) a. NP [saɲi: hantu:ta: CP [kan fiʔ-e saɲi: ma:li: ti:?]] (A01.140)

race mice RELPM finish-3MS.PFV.PST race which

Which race is it that has finished the race of mice?

b. NP [ʔamma immo CP [wa:n wal qiʔʔ-e: ɖa ʤettu lama

now RELPI equal-3MS.PFV.PST say two

wal dorgomsisi]] (A05.47)

compare-3MS.PST

'And now compare two things that you consider being equal'

c. NP [biʃa:n haro: CP[kan k'ulk'ullu: ture heddu: bora?-e: NP'[k'ur't'ummi:

lake water RELPM pure was very dirty-3MS.PFV.PST fish

biʃa:n ke:ssa galtu gala:fat-e]]] (AO7.10)

water in living kill-3MS.PST

'The lake water that was pure became very dirty and killed all the fish living in the water'

To summarize the points raised thus far, we have seen that different scholars have attempted to account for the syntax of Afaan Oromoo in general and relative clauses in particular. However, their work lack detailed analysis of relative clauses constructions. The present study takes this work as a point of departure for a more detailed description of the structure of the relative clauses and the result will be written up in light of the minimalist program and other recent developments.

2.2 The Theoretical framework

The dominant theory of syntax is due to Noam Chomsky and his colleagues, starting in the mid 1950s and continuing to this day. This theory, which has had many different names through its development such as Transformational Grammar (TG), Transformational Generative Grammar, Standard Theory (ST), Extended Standard Theory (EST), Government and Binding Theory (GB), Principles and Parameters Approach (P&P) and Minimalism Program (MP), is

often given the blanket name Generative Grammar. A number of alternate theories of syntax have also been branched out of this research program; these include Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) and Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) and others (Carnie 2002:5).

Among the above versions of generative grammar this thesis roughly look at the minimalist program that was first introduced by Chomsky in his famous article (1993) and then developed in his book (1995a & b)[1] entitled "Category and transformation in the minimalist program" and "the minimalist program" respectively. Since then it showed several developments and changes.

According to Cook and Newson (2007: 3) the minimalist program (MP) has three phases. In the first phase, until about 1996, the MP concentrated on the general features of the model, simplifying knowledge of language to invariant principles common to all languages, and by attaching parameters to the vocabulary, making everything that people have to acquire in order to know a particular language part of the lexicon. From about 1996 the second phase embarked on a programme of radically rethinking syntax, eliminating much of the apparatus of GB theory in favor of a minimal set of operations and ideas and exploring whether the central 'computational system' of language interface perfectly with phonology and cognition. Since 2000 a new model has been emerging, known as the phases model.

2.2.1. Aim of minimalist program (MP)

The major concern of the minimalist program is to minimize the acquisition burden placed on the child, and thereby maximize the learnability of natural

[1] Chomsky (1993, 1995a and b) for a detailed discussion of minimalist program

language grammars, i.e. to minimize the theoretical and descriptive apparatus used to describe language (Radford 1999:6-7).

As Carnie (2002:315) describes the minimalist program is motivated not only by the search for explanatory adequacy but also for a certain level of formal simplicity and elegance. What is outlined here is by no means a complete picture, but is meant to give you a taste of what current work is striving towards.

According to Tayo (2006: 92) the minimalist program is a relatively recent model of the transformational grammar. At its core is the concept of minimizing the syntactic process of generating well-formed structures through the computational systems, CH_L. Within the minimalist program, Chomsky assumes the existence of a component of the human mind /brain which is dedicated to language. Language then, is a generative system that provides instructions to be interpreted in the construction of syntactic structures.

To sum up, the general aim of the minimalist program (MP) is to understand human language as simple and general as possible, i.e. grammars should be described in terms of the minimal set of the theoretical and descriptive apparatus necessary.

2.2.2 Grammatical operations in MP

The main grammatical operations of MP are merge and move. Merge refers to the operations that combine syntactic elements into larger structures in a bottom-up way. It is a general syntactic procedure whereby two independent syntactic categories combine (or merge) to form a new complex one. Thus, a constituent is formed through such merging and such structures can be further expanded with the reapplication of the operation merge. In this sense, nodes merge to form phrases, phrases merge and form clauses, and clauses

merge to form sentences. The head of the category that projects (known as the target of merge) becomes the label of the complex form (Authier and Reed 1999:56).

According to Chomsky (1995b: 243) two objects α and β merge forms the new objects k, eliminating α & β. In this case k must be constituted some how from the two items α & β; the only other possibilities are that k is fixed for all pairs (α & β) or that it is randomly selected, neither worth considering. After the relevant items have been merged, the resulting constituent is moved (through operation move) to the LF or PF component for interpretation.

Movement provides the configuration in which the checking can take place (Lasnik 2001:75). This means that movement is feature-driven, that is, movements occur because constituents have unchecked morphological features that must be checked. Thus, constituents which have unchecked features will move to the position where such features can be checked. Therefore, move is the second type of structure-building process recognized in MP. Movements in MP are regarded as copying rather than copying and deletion which obtain in ST.

The items moved to the LF or PF component cross spellout. The spell-out is the point at which the structures that have been built up through the different operations diverge along two paths: the PF and LF. It determines which movements will affect the pronunciation of a structure (those that occur before spell-out) and which movements will not (those that occur after spellout on the way to LF). The PF is interpreted as the articulatory –perceptual while the LF is the conceptual-intentional. The first deals with the pronunciation of the structure while the second deals with the semantic realization of the constituent (Tayo 2006:92-93).

2.2.3. Levels of representation in MP

The desire to minimize a linguistic theory in terms of the fewest possible number of rules, was the primary motivating force behind the move from GB to MP, but as Authier and Reed (1999:51) state, it was not the only one. Results in the field of psycholinguistics, computer science and semantics also made a move in this direction a highly desirable one. GB theories identify four significant levels of grammatical representation. Deep structure (DS), Surface structure (SS), Logical form (LF) and Phonetic form (PF).

MP questions whether all these representations are necessary. It reduces the four levels of representations into two main basic levels PF and LF. The PF (Articulatory-perceptual) is the input level for phonological rules while the LF (Conceptual-Intentional) is the input level for semantic rules. Both are interface levels where a component of grammar feeds into or interacts with another (Napoli 1996:390). Let us consider the following MP model represented in Cook and Newson (2007:255):

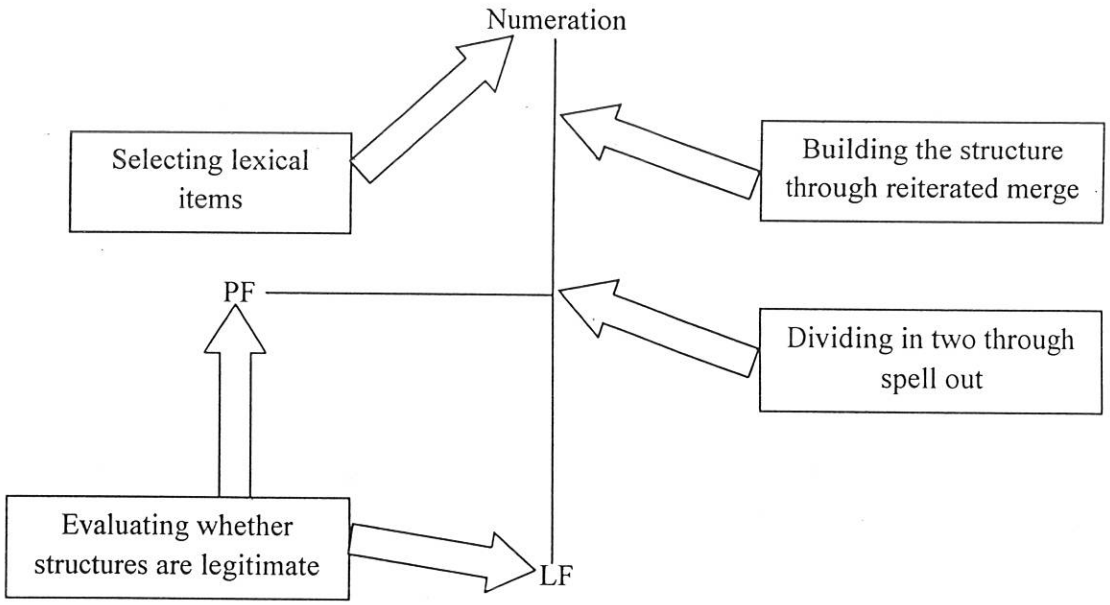


Figure 1: Basic model of the MP

Having observed the sketch of the MP model, I shall come back to the way how it works. According to this model, lexical resources feed syntactic derivation. The process of structure building starts from the lexicon. The lexicon is the key starting point for a sentence; the principals combine with the properties of the lexical items chosen to yield a representation. Computation processes begin when lexical items from the lexicon are spilled into the working area. It starts with certain operations in the working area. The operations are particularly in respect of utilizing the lexical items for the purpose of generating structures. These are operation select, operation merge and operation move.

The computational system provides the link between sounds (the physical production of language or sensorimator system) and meanings (the mental representation of meaning or conceptual-intentional system) via phonetic form (PF) (how the abstract phonological representation gets a pronunciation) and logical form (LF) (how the abstract syntactic representation gets a meaning) relying on the lexicon which stores all the properties of words and principles which dictate what structures can be used (Cook and Newson1996:10).

Let's us then assume (with Chomsky 1993) that at some point in the derivation, the computational system employs the rule of spell-out, which separates the structure that relevant for phonetic interpretation from the structure that pertains to semantic interpretation and ships each off to the appropriate interface. If spell-out does not apply in a given computation, we simply do not have a derivation, for no pair (α & β) is formed; hence spell out must apply at least once.

Feature checking is necessary in determining the grammaticality of structures through the computational system. A structure whose features check appropriately converges at PF and LF whereas those whose features fall to check at these interface levels crashes (Tayo 2006:93). Features of functional

categories are either strong or weak. Strong features are visible at PF before spell-out, while weak features are not after spell-out. Strong features must be checked off at the PF level while weak feature and morphological features can be checked at LF.

2.2. 4. The Economy conditions

The minimalist program aims at the further development of the economy of derivation and economy of representation. Economy of derivation is a principle stating that movements only occur in order to match interpretable features with uninterpretable features and economy of representation is the principle that grammatical structure must exist for a purpose, i.e. the structure of a sentence should be no larger or more complex than required to satisfy constraints on grammaticality. The major economy principles are shortest move, procrastinate, greed, full interpretation, last resort and least effort. These are discussed below.

One of the economy conditions in the minimalist program is shortest move. According to Carnie (2002: 319), if you have two possible derivations for the same surface sentence, the two derivations are compared with each other, and the one with the least movement or later movements is chosen over the one with more and earlier movements. In this sense if a category must move, it must move shortest possible distance.

Another economy condition, procrastinate, prefers derivations that hold off movements until after spell-out. This means that movements that do not affect PF are preferred over movements that do (Napoli, 1996: 394-5). The principle thus favors derivations which halt movement until after spell-out. The import of this is that a constituent must wait if it can (Marantz, 1995).

Chomsky (1995) proposed the principle of greed, which specifies that constituents move only in order to satisfy their own morphological requirements. It is a self serving principle. Principle which keeps an element 'A' from entering a syntactic operation unless it satisfies a need of 'A' itself.

According to Chomsky (1993) the principle of full interpretation (FI) requires that every element receive an appropriate interpretation at the interface levels. It is a principle that relates representation to full interpretation.

In last resort principle, operations are driven by necessity, and a shorter derivation is preferred to a longer one. For instance in English, a yes/No question may not be derived from a declarative sentence which has no auxiliary item without the application of do- support. This process, then, is the last resort for the derivation of this question type. The implication of this is that there must be no superfluity in rule applications (Tayo 2006: 95).

The final principle is least effort. Chomsky (1995a) interprets least effort in terms of cost, which is determined by length. In this sense, shorter/simpler derivations are preferred over longer and/or complex ones. He notes that "UG principles are less costly than language-specific rules that are contingent upon parameter choices" (p/45). Therefore, if there are two derivations that converge, grammaticality will depend on comparing these derivations and choosing that which is minimal. Grammaticality, then, depends on the form of derivation.

2.3. Some general points about relative clauses

2.3.1. Definition of relative clauses

Since relative clauses are an important manifestation of recursion, which is generally thought to be an essential property of human language, all languages have relative clauses Keenan and Comrie (1977:68) and Downing (1978:381),

Givon (1984:651). Different authors defined relative clauses; some of them are as follows:

As Comrie (1989:143-144) a relative clause is a clause which describes the referent of a head noun or pronoun. It often restricts the reference of the head noun or pronoun. A relative clause is not necessarily a constituent of the noun phrase containing the head noun it modifies.

Example 1) The plumber arrived who we had called earlier. (Who we had called earlier has been extraposed from its normal position after plumber and is not a member of the noun phrase containing plumber).

According to Grosu (2002:145) and Vries (2002:14) a relative clause is a dependent clause that includes, at some level of semantic representation, a variable that ultimately gets bound in some way by an element of matrix. By dependent I mean being constituent of, so not necessarily embedded, if embedded is understood as being inside the structure of a sentence.

Example 2) The man who I saw in the park yesterday

Here the is the 'external determiner', man is the 'head NP', I saw in the park yesterday a restrictive relative clause, and who a relative pronoun.

As Andrews (2007:206) describes a relative clause is a subordinate clause which delimits the situation of an NP by specifying the task of the referent of that NP in the condition described by the RC. the NP whose reference is being enclosed is in the matrix clause, we will call it NP mat, and we will call the relative clause itself (which may be reduced or nominalized) Srel. In the subsequent examples NP mat is in italics, and Srel, which may or may not be element of NP mat, is bracketed:

Example 3) a. *The book* (I bought yesterday) was a trade paper back

b. *Some body* lives nearby (who has a CD- burner)

In (a), Srel is enclosed inside NP mat, and constraints the referent of this NP to be some thing which I bought, where as in (b), Srel occurs at the end of the sentence and constrains the referent of NP mat (the subject of the whole sentence) to owner of a CD burner.

Marco (2008) also pointed out that a relative clause is a part of a sentence that modifies a noun (person/place/ thing) in sentence, i.e. relative clause gives information about the noun (person/place/thing) it modifies. Without this clause, the sentence would not make much sense as the reader would not be able to identify the noun in the sentence that the writer is describing.

Example 4) The woman that has just left the shop didn't buy anything.

In the above example (4) 'That has just left the shop' is the relative clause that modifies the noun 'woman' by telling us which woman the speaker is referring to. In this example the reference of the head noun restricted by the relative clause that has just left the shop.

In conclusion, a relative clause is one of the most familiar types of subordinate clause that modifies head noun or pronoun in a sentence. It is a clause narrowing the potential reference of a referring expression by restricting the reference to those referents of which a particular proposition is true i.e it delimits the reference of noun phrase most commonly noun or pronoun.

2.3.2. Major classifications of relative clauses

2.3.2.1. Syntactic classifications

According to Change and Wu (2006:2) relative clauses can be classified into two broad types: restrictive versus non-restrictive RCs with respect to whether

RCs are in apposition to the head noun. Restrictive RCs can be divided into two classes, embedded RCs versus adjoined RCs, with respect to whether the RC is subordinate to the HN. Embedded RCs can in turn be classified into three subtypes with regard to the distribution of the HN: head-external, head internal, and head-incorporated free RC, while adjoined RCs can be further divided into two subtypes: left adjoined RCs (correlatives) versus right adjoined RCs (extraposed RCs). The classification can be diagrammatically shown as follows:

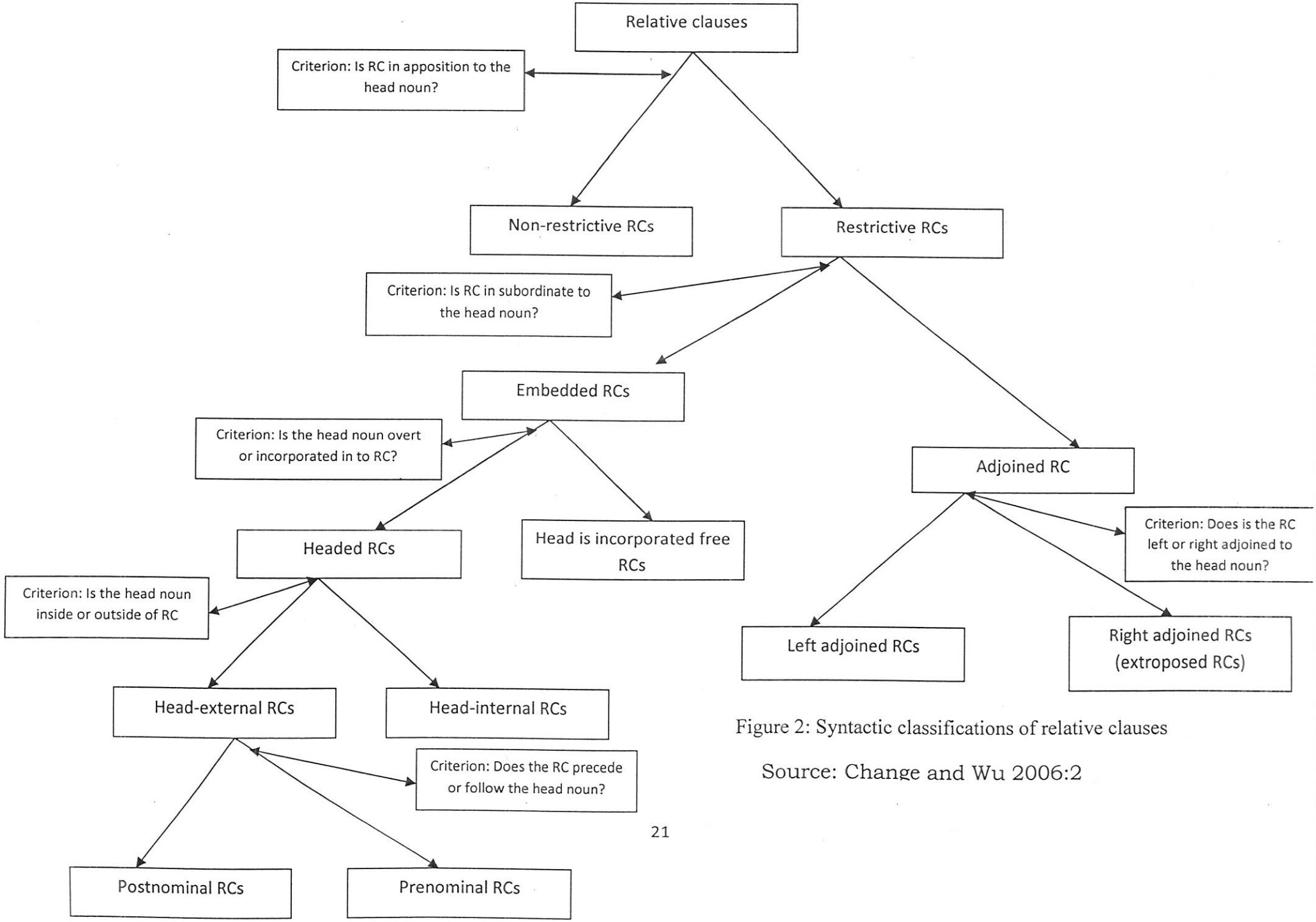


Figure 2: Syntactic classifications of relative clauses

Source: Change and Wu 2006:2

2.3.2.2. Semantic classification and their pragmatic functions

I. **Restrictive relatives**: relatives delimiting the meaning of the head noun. According to Downing (1978:381) all languages make use of restrictive relative clauses. As Partee (1973), cited in Grosu and Landman (1998: 125-126) restrictive relative clauses denote sets which semantically combine with their head noun through set intersection. Since more than one set can intersect with the same head noun, restrictive relative clauses can stack.

Example 5) John read the book that Mary loaned him

In the above example (5) the underlined words are a restrictive relative clause because it modifies the noun 'book' by telling us which book John is reading. This type of clause specifies which person or things we are talking about. The example cited above is such a clause. If the underlined clause were omitted, we would not know which book John read.

II. **Non-restrictive/appositive RCs**: do not function as restricting modifiers of the head noun. They are more additional or parenthetical comments about a previously identified class or part of a class (Downing 1978). Unlike the case of restrictive RCs, not all languages make use of non restrictive RCs. According to Sells (1985), cited in Grosu and Landman (1998:126) appositive relative clauses contain an element that stands in a discourse anaphora relation to the NP they modify. Since more than one relative can stand in a discourse anaphora relation to the same NP, appositive relative can stack too.

Example 6) Mary spent all afternoon in her office, which is not air conditioned.

In this case, the underlined clause simply tells us more information about Mary's office. It doesn't tell us in which office she spent the afternoon. That has been defined already by the word "her". Therefore it is a type of relative clause where the relative clause does not seem to restrict the referentiality of the head noun phrase furthermore; in non-restrictive relative clauses commas can be used.

III. **Amount/degree/maximizing relatives**: relatives specifying the amount of the entities denoted by the head noun. They get their name from their property of being interpreted as a degree or amount (Fults 2003:1). Traditionally there are two semantic types of RCs: non-restrictive RC and restrictive RC. However, there is a third type: Amount/degree RCs (Carlson (1977), Srivastav (1991), Jacobson (1995), Grosu and Landman (1998:1), Vries (2002) and Fults (2003)).

Example 7) I looked at the mice that there were in the cage (Vries 2002:24).

(Meaning 'all the mice')

Notice that the meaning of the above example (7) is not restrictive in the usual sense: there is no implied group of mice that is not in the cage: rather, the whole amount of mice in the domain of discourse is in the cage. There are two diagnostics for maximalizing semantics: first, there are certain restrictions on the external determiner (e.g. the, every, the few, some, few, no); second, stacking is impossible (e.g . . . the mice that there were in the cage (that there had been freely walking in the house yesterday)).

2.3.2.3 Classification by strategies of relativization

Across languages, strategies of relativization are different from one another. Some languages use one strategy of relativization, while others use versatile strategies of relativization. Typologists find the following four strategies of relativization in languages around the world (Comrie 1989, 2003 and Vries 2001, 2002).

A) A full NP Strategy

The first strategy has come to be called a full NP strategy. The relativized NP remains as a full NP; this is also called non-reduction type. In this strategy the head noun appears as a full-fledged noun phrase within the relative clause Comrie (1989) and Comrie (1998) distinguish two sub types of this strategy. The first sub type involves correlative clauses, where the head noun appears as a full-fledged noun phrase in the relative clause and is taken up again by a prenominal or a non-prenominal element in the main clause; this sub type is exemplified by the Piraha (Mura; Brazil) sentence in (8).

8) Pirahã (Everett 1986:276)

NP [boitóhoi CP [bog – ái – hiab – i – s – aoaxăi

boat come – ATELIC – NEG – EPENTH - ? – INTER

boitó báosa xig – i – sai (hix)]]

boat barge bring – EPENTH – NMLZ (COMP/INTER)

'Might it be that the boat (which) tows barges is not coming?'

The second subtype of the non-reduction strategy, internally headed relative clauses, covers cases where the head is represented by a full noun phrase

inside the relative clause, and has no explicit representation in the main clause, as exemplified by the Maricpa (Yuman; African) sentence in (9).

9) Maricopa (Gordon 1986:255)

NP [aany = lyvii = m CP [iipaa ny – kw – tshqam – sh shmaa –m]]

Yesterday man 1 – REL – Slap. DIST – SUBJ Sleep – REAL

'The man who beat me yesterday is asleep'

B) A Resumptive Pronoun Strategy

The second major relativizing strategy is called a resumptive pronoun strategy. In this strategy, the relativized NP is represented by a resumptive pronoun; this is also called pronoun retention type. In languages employing this strategy, the position relativized is explicitly indicated by means of a resumptive personal pronoun, as in the case of the Babungo (Bantu; Cameroon) example in (3) which is equivalent to saying "the chair that I bought it" in English (where the last "it" is ungrammatical).

10) Babungo (Schaub 1985:34)

NP [Mə ye wə ntə CP [fə́ŋ ŋwə́ sɨ sə́ŋ ghɔ]]

I see PFV person that who he PST2 beat.PFV you

'I have seen the man who has beaten you'

Another group of languages where resumptive pronouns are used is Amharic language. In Amharic, resumptive pronouns or rather resumptive cross-referencing affixes are used from accusative to oblique (Leslau 1995:102, 105, 99,104, Hudson 1997:482). Consider the following examples.

11) a. CP [yä – mättah – ut] [VP [N säwye] [NP wändomme näw]]

comp-hit-PST.3MS.ART man my-brother is

'The man whom I hit is my brother'

b. NP [wänd∂mmoccu ∂zzih CP [yä -nä –bbrä–ut VP [lə́g tamari näw]]]

his brothers here comp be -PST.3MS-ART boy student is

'The boy whose brothers were here is a student'

C) Relative pronoun strategy

In this strategy the relativized NP is represented by a relative pronoun. This type of relative clause is introduced by a pronoun that marks the antecedent for its role in the relative clause. This marking distinguishes it from the other type where the role of the antecedent is not evident. The relativized position is indicated inside the relative clause by means of a clause-initial pronominal element, and this pronominal element is case-marked (by case or by an ad position) to indicate the role of the head noun within the relative clause. The German example in (12) illustrates the relative pronoun strategy with subjects (Keenan 1985:149).

12) NP [der (MS) Mann, *die (FS) CP [der mich begrtüβ hat, war

Man-NOM REL-NOM me greet-PST has be-3S.PST

ein N [Deutscher]]]

one German

'The man who greeted me was a German'

As can be observed in above example (12), the relative pronoun *der* 'who' agrees with the NP for *der Mann* 'the man' in gender, number and case, i.e. German relative words agree in gender, number and case with their antecedents.

D) Gapping strategy

Finally, the fourth major relativizing strategy identifiable across language is the gapping strategy. In this type of relative clause, there is simply a gap between the NP realtivised and the relative clause modifying it, without any marker, or in some cases with a marker that can be best described as a complementizer. This strategy involves cases where there is no overt case-marked reference to the head noun within the relative clause. Consider the following examples.

13) Turkish (Comrie 1998:82)

CP [kitab-i al-an] NP [ogrenci]]

book-ACC buy-PST student

'The student who bought the book'

There are a number of languages with a gapping strategy to form a relative clause Change and Wu (2006:10). For instance, English uses this strategy; consider the following example.

14) a. The representative [I met ø] was polite

b. The people [we spoke with ø] were sympathetic

As can be illustrated in the above examples (10) there are no relative pronouns in the relative clauses that refer to the head nouns. Therefore, gapping strategy is involved. In a number of cases, however, there is a gapping strategy specific to relativization, as in Maale language exemplified in (15).

15) Maale (Azeb, 2001:160)

?iini [[zigino mukk-e] ?atsi] zag-e-ne

3MS-NOM yesterday come-PFV.REL person.M.ABS see-PFV-AFF-DECL

'He saw the man who came yesterday'

Here the relative clause precedes the head noun and it contains no prenominal element co-referential to the relativized noun. The relative clause in Maale can be regarded as a specifically relative construction because it differs from other subordinate clauses in having no affix indicating the dependent status of clause. And it also differs from independent sentences whereas, independent sentence are characterized by clause final illocutionary force morphemes which classify the utterance as an assertion, interrogation, manipulative, etc.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Relative clauses in Afaan Oromoo

Afaan Oromoo relative clauses is one of the most familiar types of subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause or add information about the modified head noun, which cannot be conveyed with a single adjective. Relative clauses use an entire clause to capture the quality to be imparted to the head noun. This clause contains a relativized noun phrase, NPrel, which is co-referential with the head noun. According to Payne (1997:326) relative clauses are marked by some sort of relativizer, whether a verb suffix, particle or pronoun. Afaan Oromoo constructs its relative clauses using the relative pronoun Nordfeldt (1947:87), Gragg (1976:191), Baye (1987:60) and Catherine (2001:63)

3.1. Relative pronouns in Afaan Oromoo

Afaan Oromoo relative pronouns are pronouns that mark a relative clause within a larger sentence and form relative sentences. They are called relative pronouns because they relate to the word that they modify. Thus, relative clauses in Afaan Oromoo are introduced by a special class of pronouns called relative pronouns. In Afaan Oromoo, different relative pronouns are used, some of which are in free variation and others with special distribution.

According to Nordfeldt (1947:87), Gragg (1976:191) and Griefenow Mwis (2001:63) Afaan Oromoo has two relative pronouns: *kan* and *wa:n.* Baye (1987:60) also mentioned as Afaan Oromoo has relative pronoun *kan.* In addition to the above relative pronouns Afaan (Oromoo has relative pronoun *tan, warra,* and the third personal pronoun *inni/isa* and *ʃe:n/ ʃe:.* Choosing

correctly between *kan, tan, warra, waan, inni/isa and ʃe:n/ ʃe* leads to what are probably the most frequently asked questions about Afaan Oromoo grammar. Let us explain our discussion of the relative pronouns with some examples.

The most commonly used relative pronoun in Afaan Oromoo, Tulema dialect is *kan* and it is used when the NP to be modified by the relative clause is masculine. Let us consider the following examples.

1) a. NP [nam-ičč-i CP [kan farda si: kenn-e NP' [ʔolla:

man (DEF)-NOM RELPM horse you give-3MS.PFV.PST neighbor

ko:-ti]]]

my is

'The man who gave you a horse is my neighbor'

b. NP [ho:ggant-ičč-i CP [farda kan gammaču: bit-e]]

manager- DEF-NOM horse RELPM Gemmechu buy-3MS.PFV.PST

'The manager who bought Gemmechu's horse'

c. NP [kita:ba CP [kan hunde:-n barre:ss-e NP' [mana kita:ba: ʤira]]]

book RELPM Hunde-NOM write-3MS.PFV.PST library exist

'The book which Hunde wrote is in the library'

As illustrated in the above example (1) the relative pronoun *kan* modify the head noun *nam-ičč-i* 'the man' in (1a), *farda* 'the horse' in (1b) and *kita:ba* 'the book' in (1c). Thus, the relative pronoun *kan* refers to persons, animals and things respectively and agree with the head noun.

The second relative pronoun in Afaan Oromoo is *wa:n*. It is used when the relativized NP refers to an inanimate being. The following example illustrates the point.

2) a. NP [ʔan-i hoʤi: CP [wa:n dabala:-n barba:d-u be:ka]]

I-NOM job RELPI Dabela-NOM looking for-3MS.IMPFV.PRES know

'I know the job which Dabela looking for'

b. NP [ʔan-i hoʤi: CP [wa:n ʤama:l ʔargat-e be:ka]]

I-NOM job RELPI Jemal get 3MS.PFV.PST know

'I know the job which Jemal got'

Another relative pronoun which can be used in Afaan Oromoo is *tan* .It is used when the relativized NP has a feminine gender. Consider the following examples.

3) a. NP [ʔintal-li CP [tan kale:ssa marga: ɖungat-t-e ɖuf-t-e]]

girl-NOM-DEF RELPF yesterday Marge kiss 3FS-PFV.PST come-3FS-PST

'The girl who kissed Marge yesterday came'

b. NP [saʔa-ttii CP [tan ganame:-n bit-t-e du:-t-e]]

the cow-ACC RELPF Ganame-NOM buy-3FS-PFV.PST die-3FS-PST

'The cow which Ganame bought has died'

c. NP [konko:la:ta-n CP [tan ho:la: fe:tu ɖuf-t-e]]

car-NOM RELPF sheep transport come-3FS-PFV.PST

'The car which transport sheep came'

As the examples in (3) indicate the relative pronoun *tan* modify the head noun *ʔintal-li* 'the girl' in (a), *saʔa-ttii* 'the cow' in (b) and *konko:la:ta-n* 'the car' in (c). Therefore, the relative pronoun *tan* refers to person, animals and things. The main difference between the relative pronoun *kan* and *tan* is that *kan* refers to a masculine whereas *tan* refers to a feminine gender.

Still another relative pronoun in Afaan Oromoo is *warra*. It is always used to introduce the relative clause which modifies the NP which is in its plural form. The relative pronoun *warra* refers to only a person as shown in the following examples.

4) a. NP [ʔan-i nam-o:ta CP [warra guddata: ɖungat-an be:ka]]

I –NOM people-pl RELPPL Gudata kiss-3PL.PFV.PST know

'I know the people who kissed Gudata'

b. NP [baratt-o:ta CP [warra tokko:ffa: bah-an NP' [manni barumsa: keːɲa

Student –3PL RELPPL first rank-3PL.PFV.PST school our

baɖa:s-e]]]

prize get-3MS.PST

'The students who stood first got a prize from our school'

c. NP [k'onna:n bult-ota: CP [warra lafa hin k'abne:f k'arʃi: kenn-an]]

farmer-3PL.NOM RELPPL no farming land money get-3PL.PFV.PST

'The farmers who have no farming land got money'

The last type of relative pronoun in Afaan Oromoo are the third person singular masculine and feminine prounouns *inni/isa* and *iʃe:n/iʃe:*. The former is used when the relativized NP is masculine and the latter is used when the relativized NP is feminine. Both of them refer to persons. Consider the following examples.

5) a. NP [ʔan-i kale:ssa kama:l, CP [ʔisa dare: ke:ɲa: tokkoffa: bah-e

I –NOM yesterday Kamal RELPM class our first won-3MS.PFV.PST

ʔarg-e]]

see-3MS.PST

'I saw yesterday Kemal, who stood first in our class'

b. NP [nam-iccˇ-i CP [ʔinni biʃa:n ʔambo: ɖug-e barsi:sa: ɖa]]

man-DEF-NOM RELPM ambo water drink-3MS.PFV.PST teacher is

'The man who drunk ambo water is a teacher'

c. NP [ʔintal-li CP [iʃe:n kale:ssa ɖuf-t-e ʔobbole:ti: ko: ti]]

girl-NOM RELPF yesterday come 3FS-PFV.PST sister my is

'The girl who came yesterday is my sister'

d. NP [mucˇ-iccˇ-i ʔintala CP [iʃe: kale:ssa rukut-e ɖuf-e]]

boy-DEF-NOM girl RELPF yesterday hit-3MS.PFV.PST come-3MS.PST

'The boy who hit the girl yesterday came'

To sum up, Afaan Oromoo pronouns like other sorts of pronouns bear features (person, number, gender and case features) and marks relative clauses. The

selection of one of the relative pronouns depends upon the head noun it modifies.

3.2. Syntactic and semantic classification of Afaan Oromoo relative clauses

Relative clauses can be classified into different types on the basis of different criteria. Syntactically and semantically, Afaan Oromoo along with many other languages distinguishes two kinds of relative clause with respect to whether RCs are in apposition to the head noun. These are restrictive or defining relative clauses and non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses.

The properties of NRRC's are different from RRC's across languages, some languages apparently have no NRRC's; in others they are syntactically quite distinct; in others restrestrictive and non restrictive RC's are syntactically in distinguishable Downing (1978: 380).

3.2.1 Restrictive vs. Non restrictive relative clauses

In terms of semantic properties Afaan Oromoo restrictive relative clauses restrict the set of entities referred to by the nominal head and help pick out its referent and non restrictive relative clauses give only additional information about the head whose reference is independently established.[2] Thus, we can say that a RRC serves to delimits or define the potential referent(s) of the head noun to only these referents of which the assertion in the relative clause may be deemed to be factually or logically true, whereas non-restrictive relative clauses serves to provide more information about previously identified entity; here the listeners or readers can already identify the person or thing referred to by this nominal. The syntactic difference between RRC and NRRC in Afaan

[2] I use the term nominal head to refer to the whole nominal constituent that is the antecedent of the relative clause

Oromoo is reflected in their syntactic positions in relation to the head noun. NRRC are placed after nouns which are explicit previously i.e. after RRC. Let us consider the following examples.

6) a. NP [dame: , CP [kan so:fti we:ri: ʔafa:n ʔoromo: ʔirratti hoʤʤet-e

Dame –NOM.3MS RELPM software Afaan Oromoo on do-3MS.PFV.PST

NP' [galme: ʤečo:ta ʔafa:n ʔoromo: barre:ss-e]]]

dictionary Afaan Oromoo write-3MS.PST

'Dame, who did Afaan Oromoo soft ware, wrote Afaan Oromoo dictionary'

b. NP [muč'-ičč-i CP [kan konko:la:ta k'abu ɖuf-e]]

boy-DEF-NOM RELPM car have come-3MS.PFV.PST

'The boy who have a car came'

c. NP [ʔe:ssum-ni kijja, CP [kan kale:ssa ɖuf-e, NP' [huč'u:

Uncle-NOM-3SM my RELPM yesterday come-3MS.PFV.PST cloth

na bit-e]]]

me buy- 3MS.PST

'My uncle, who came yesterday, bought cloth for me'

d. NP [ʔntal-li CP [tan kale:ssa boč- ø -e ɖuf-t-e]]

girl-DEF.NOM RELPF yesterday Cray-3FS-PFV.PST come 3SF-PST

'The girl who cray yesterday came'

As can be observed in the above examples Afaan Oromoo has relative pronoun as in English. English language has a choice of relative pronouns, *who, that* etc. Afaan Oromoo has also different relative pronoun such as *kan, tan,* etc. In the example 6 (b and d) is RRCs while 6 (a and c) is NRRCs. Notice that the difference between 6 (b and d) and 6 (a and c) reduces to a difference in head properties: the head of RC in 6(b and d) is realized as a quantified lexical noun phrase while the head of the RC in 6(a and c) is a proper name. The result of this difference is that a comprehended of 6(b and d) is usually treated as a definite description, which semantically describes a complex sense, which is then used to determine reference. The task for the hearer in this scenario is to identify the individual that uniquely matches the content of the description and for this task the information within the RC is necessary.

In contrast, 6 (a and c) does not use the information presented in the RC to identify the object that the speaker of 6 (a and c) intends to refer to. In most communicative contexts, the use of a proper name such as *dame:* 'Dame' and *e:ssumni kijja* 'my uncle' presupposes that the addressee has sufficient information about the intended referent, hence making additional property ascriptions in the form of a RC rather superfluous for the task of fixing reference.

Thus the difference between RRC and NRRC in Afaan Oromoo is reflected in their syntactic position in relation to the head noun. NRRCs are located after nouns which are definite already. For instance, 6 (a and c) is NRRCs because the head of relative clause in 6 (a) is a proper name *dame:* 'Dame' as a result a reader or listener not use the information presented in the relative clause to identify the object that the speaker intends to refer and the relative clause placed after head noun and in 6(c) the head of relative clause is *e:ssumni kijja* 'My uncle'. It also identified without the relative clauses and placed after head

noun. Therefore, NRRCs are placed after head nouns and gives extra information about it, but do not define it.

Furthermore, in 6 (a and c) the relative clause is separated by comma in writing and intonation in speaking where as 6 (b and d) cannot, as Bache and Jackobson (1980:378) point out the RRCs different from NRRCs in punctuation and intonation. Thus, we can say that Afaan Oromoo NRRCs is accompanied with comma in writing and intonation in speaking while RRC is not.

Still another difference identified between RRC and NRRC in Afaan Oromoo is in terms of their distribution. As Jackendoff (1977:172), Smits (1988) and Platzack (1997) point out NRRC must appear to the right of RRC. Thus in light of the above discussion, we also assume that Afaan Oromoo NRRC follows a RRC and appear at the right of RRC which implies that the nearest clause to the head noun is RRC; see (example 6 a and c).

3.2.2 Embedded relative clauses

Afaan Oromoo embedded relative clauses can be classified into two subtypes. They are namely: headed RCs and head incorporated free relative clauses.

3.2.2.1 Headed relative clauses

Headed relative clauses can be classified into head external RCs and Head internal RCs with regard to the head noun inside or outside of relative clauses.

I. Head external relative clauses

If a head occurs outside of relative clause, it is called head external relative clause. Keenan (1986:143), Change and Wu (2006:2) and Huang (2008:754) classified head external relative clauses into postnominal relatives (A head noun precedes the relative clause) and prenominal relatives (The head noun follows a relative clauses). Similarly in Afaan Oromoo head external relative

clauses can be classified into prehead relative clauses and posthead relative clauses in terms of the position of the relative clause. Prenominal and postnominal relatives have correlation with the word order. A language with a pronominal relative has an SOV word order and post nominal relative has SVO Downing (1973:383).[3]

A) Pre head relative clauses (prenominal relative clauses)

According to Downing (1978:382) prenominal occurring in the position of S in the configuration (... S... Np) Np, where S is the relative clauses and the included NP is the head or modified nominal. Furthermore Keenan (1986:143) and Vries (2005:16) point out that in prenominal relative clauses the head noun follows a relative clause. Similarly in Afaan Oromoo prenominal relative clauses usually occur before the head. Let us consider the following examples.

7) a. NP [CP [ʔiba:bu-n ja:-ga:da:l-a:-w) N [1ig]] (Amharic)

Snake –ACC RM killed-3MS boy-3MS

'The boy who killed the snake'

b. NP [CP [kitab yä-wäkäb-ä-i] N [miiš]] (Silti Rawda 2003:18)

book RM-bought-3MS-DEF(M) man

'The man who bought a book'

[3] According to Downing (1978:383) there is implicational tendency, in which languages (with a few exceptions) have post nominal restrictive relative clause if and only if the basic word order is SOV. For example, Mandarin (a Chinese language) is basically an SVO language in which RRCS are preposed.

c. CP [kale:ssa re?e: tan bit-t-e NP [?adde bo:ntu-n ɖuf -t-e]]

yesterday goat RELPF buy-3FS-PFV.PST W/ro. Bontu-NOM come 3FS-PST

'W/ro Bontu who bought a goat yesterday came'

d. CP [kan kop'e: hin k'abn-e NP [?obbole:ssa ko: ti]]

RELPM shoes NEG have-3SM.PFV.PST brother my is

'The one who did not have shoes is my brother'

As can be observed in the example (7) the relative clause is a prenominal relative, which occurs at the left of the head noun *lig* 'the boy' as in (7a) in Amharic, *miiš* 'the man' (7b) in Silti and *adde bo:ntu* 'W/ro Bontu' and *obbolessa ko:* 'My brother' (7c) and (7d) in Afaan Oromoo respectively. Since a language with an SOV word order is correlated with prenominal relatives Afaan Oromoo relative are prenominals as shown in (7c and d). The head noun follows a relative clause. If the relative clause precedes the head noun, it is called prenominal relative clause.

B) Post head relative clauses (postnominal relative clauses)

According to Downing (1978:382) postnominal occurring in the position of S in the configuration (NP...S...) NP, where S is the relative clauses and the included Np is the head or modified nominal.

In connection to this Vries (2005:14) mentioned as a postnominal relative follows the head noun. The same is true in the case of Afaan Oromoo posthead relative clauses. Consider the following examples.

8) a. NP [dua- (we) CP [iny-a –suk gumbba- [ya]]]

boy-NOM Comp-3S killed lion – ACC

'The boy who killed a lion' (Asfaw 1993:20 Gumuz RCs)

b. The papers (which you publish) are all insightful

(Chang and Wu 2006:3 English RCs)

c. NP [nam-ičč-i CP [kan kubba: mila: tap'at-u ɖuf-e]]

man-DEF-NOM RELPM foot ball play-3MS-IMPFV.PRES come –3MS–PST

'The man who play foot ball came'

d. NP [ʔintal-li CP [tan kale:ssa kop'e: bit-t-e ɖuf-t-e]]

girl-DEF-NOM RELPF yesterday shoes buy- 3FS-PFV.PST come 3SF-PST

'The girl who bought shoes yesterday came'

As the examples in (8) show that the relative clause occurs to the right of the head noun *dua*-(we) 'boy' in (8a) in Gumuz, papers in (8b) in English language, and *nam-ičč-i* 'the man' in (8c) and *intal-li* 'the girl' in (8d) in Afaan Oromo. Thus Afaan Oromoo has postnominal relatives like Gumuz, English and other languages.

3.2.2.2 Free relative clauses

Afaan Oromoo's free relatives are without overt nominal head. All syntactic main types of relatives can be constructed as a free relative. As Andrews (2004:7) a final type which at least superficially resembles internal RCs are the so called free relatives which arguably lack a domain nominal. Furthermore, according to Riemsdijk (2006:340) headless relatives or free relatives has neither an internal nor an external head to be found. Consider the following English examples (Andrews 2004:7).

10) a. The dog ate (What the cat left in its bow)

b. Let (whoever is without sin) cast the first stone

In (10a) the bracketed sequence a free RC with NP rel in object function in (10b) it is one with NP rel in subject function. In examples (10) there is uncertainty as to whether the wh- marked from is appearing inside S rel as NP rel, or outside of as head NP mat. Afaan Oromoo has also free relatives like English observe the following examples.

11) a. CP [e [kan kʼarʃi: kʼab-u NP [rakkina hin kʼab-u]]]

RELPM money have -3MS.IMPFV.PRES NEG have 3MS-PRES

'One who has money has no problem'

b. CP [e [kan niti: naj-e NP [ʔakaji: ɲa:t–a]]]

RELPM wife like 3MS.PFV.PST roasted grain eat -3MS.PRES

'One who like wife eat roasted grain'

c. CP [e [kan sirri:tti kʼoʔat-u NP [kʼorumsa ni darb-a]]]

RELPM hard study 3SM.IMPFV.PRES exam POS pass -3SM.PRES

'One who study hard can pass exam'

d. NP [barsi:sa: CP [e [ʔisa namni hundi ʤa:lat-u ɖuf –e]]]

teacher-NOM RELPM man all love-3MS.IMPFV.PST come 3MS. PST

'The teacher whom everybody loves came'

In (11) the relative clauses have no head noun.i.e the [e] in the IP is the subject of the relative clause which is not phonetically real. The positions are indicated by an empty element [e]. The position is empty because Afaan Oromoo can drop

its subject and object. The content may be filled from relative pronoun and verb. In examples (11a-c) the subject of the relative clause may not appear phonetically. Such examples show headless relative clauses in which objects are relativized whereas example (11d) shows relativized subjects and the object of relative clause is phonetically null. Thus Afaan Oromoo has empty headed relatives.

The main difference between headed and non-headed relative clauses in Afaan Oromoo is the absence or presence of a head noun. In addition, in headed relatives the relative pronoun appears together with the nominal head and the relative clause functions as a modifier of the head noun; see example (7 and 8 c-d). Headed relatives can sometimes lack relative pronouns. In free relatives, the relative pronoun always appears alone. Free relatives fulfill a range of grammatical functions, including subject, object and adverbs as can be observed from (11a-d).

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Relativization Strategies in Afaan Oromoo

As discussed in Chapter two, page 23, universally there are four strategies of relativization, namely: a full NP, a resumptive pronoun, a relative pronoun and gapping strategy. Now, the question is which of these strategies does Afaan Oromoo uses? Among the above, strategies of relativization Afaan Oromoo uses a relative pronoun strategy and the gapping strategy. In the following section we will discuss how relative pronoun strategy and the gapping strategy are used in the language.

4.1. A Relative Pronoun Strategy

The first strategy that Afaan Oromoo uses is called a relative pronoun strategy. In this strategy, the relativized NP is represented by a relative pronoun. These relative pronouns have syntactic properties, such as case marking and forming agreement relations in number and gender with the head noun. Consider the following examples (1).

1) a. NP [nam-ičč-i CP [kan k'otiy:o: bit-e ho:la: gat-e]]

man-DEF-NOM RELPM ox buy-3MS.PFV.PST sheep leave-3MS.PST

'The man who bought an ox lost a sheep'

b. CP [tan kale:s:a ɖuf-t-e NP [ha: ɖa ko: ti]]

RELPF yesterday come.3FS-PFV.PST mother my is

'The one who came yesterday is my mother'

c. NP [barsi:s-on:i CP [warri kita:ba se:r-luga ʔafa:n ʔoromo: bar:e:ss:a-an

Teacher-NOM-3PL RELPPL book linguistic Afaan Oromoo write-3PL.PFV.

ɖuf-an]]

PST come-3PL.PST

'The teachers who wrote Afaan Oromoo linguistic book came'

As can be observed in the above examples, the relative pronoun *kan* 'who' in (1a), *tan* 'who' in (1b) and *warri* 'who' in (1c) agrees with the NP *nam-ičč-i* 'the man', *ha:ɖa* 'mother' and *barsi:sonni* 'the teachers' in gender, number and case respectively.

4.2. Gapping Strategy

The second relativizing strategy identifiable in Afaan Oromoo is known as gapping strategy. In this type of strategy a relativised NP is indicated by the absence of a marker. Afaan Oromoo uses this strategy except in prehead relative clauses or prenominal relative clauses and some cases of genitive relativization. Notice the gapping marked by ø. The following examples illustrate the point.

2) a. NP [nami-čč-i CP [ø kale:ssa sare: ʔaʤʤe:s-e ɖuf-e]]

man-DEF-NOM yesterday dog kill-3MS.PFV.PST come-3MS.PST

'The man who killed a dog yesterday came'

b. NP [ʔintal-li CP [ø kale:ssa ɖuf-t-e hirija: ko: ti]]

girl-DEF-NOM yesterday come-3FS-PFV.PST friend my is

'The girl who came yesterday is my friend'

As can be noted from the examples in (2) there are no relative pronouns in the relative clauses that refer to the head nouns *nam-ičc-i* 'the man' in (2a) and *inta-li* 'the girl' in (2b). The gapping in example (2a) takes the place of relative pronoun *kan* or *inni* 'who' and example (2b) takes the place of relative pronoun *tan* or *ishe:n* ' who' .Therefore , there is no element that refers to the head nouns. Thus NP rel has been gapped i.e. there is a gap within the relative clause corresponding to the head of the relative clause.

4.3. Accessibility hierarchy

Languages do not have identical syntactic roles in relativization, and they do not have the same degrees of relativization as for as nominal clauses are concerned. Keenan and Comrie (1977:67-68) is the foundational study on the accessibility hierarchy of relative clauses.[4] The basic claim is that the grammatical functions of a language are arranged in a hierarchy such that if, in that language, NP rel can bear a given grammatical function, it can also bear all functions that are higher on the hierarchy. Keenan and Comrie (1977) established a universal hierarchy of accessibility to relativization, schematized as follows:

a) SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

Here ">" means 'is more accessible than'. It means that the nominal clause occupying the function of subject (SU) is more easily relativized than the direct object (DO), DO is more easily relativized than the indirect object (IO), IO is

[4] Keenan and Comrie (1977:67-67) hypothesis states that if a language can relativize any position on the AH with a primary strategy, then it can relativize all higher position with that strategy

strategies in a language must apply to subject extraction. Consider the following Afaan Oromoo subject relativization example (3).

3) a. NP [nam-ičč-i CP [kan le:nč'a ʔaʤʤe:s-e ɖuf-e]]

man-DEF-NOM RELPM lion kill-3MS.PFV.PST come-3MS.PST

'The man who killed lion came '

b. NP [nam-ičč-i CP [ø le:nč'a ʔaʤʤe:s-e ɖuf-e]]

man-DEF-NOM lion kill 3MS.PFV.PST come-3MS.PST

'The man who killed lion came'

c. NP [ʔintal-li CP [tan kale:ssa biʃa:n warabd-ø -e ɖuf-t-e]]

girl-DEF-NOM RELPF yesterday water fetch-3FS-PFV.PST come-3FS-PST

'The girl who fetched water yesterday came'

d. NP [ʔintal-li CP [ø kale:ssa biʃa:n warabd -ø -e ɖuf-t-e]]

girl-DEF-NOM yesterday water fetch-3FS-PFV.PST come-3FS-PST

'The girl who fetched water yesterday came'

As can be illustrated in the above examples (13) the realtivized position is subject. Since the head noun *nam-ičč-i* 'the man' in 13a and b and *intal-li* 'the girl' in 13c and d functions as the subject of the relative clause. Subject relativization is achieved through the relative pronoun strategy in (13a and c) and gapping strategy in (13 b and d).

4.3.2. Non-subject relativization

4.3.2.1. Direct object relativizaiton

Direct objects generally indicate the entity/entities affected by the action described by the main verb. As such, they are expressible only as obligatory complements, or in terms of our argument status hierarchy, as obligatory or integral complements. Direct objects are prototypically marked with accusative case. If a direct object NP is relativized it is called a direct object relativizaiton. The following structures are illustrative of this.

4) a. NP [ho:la: CP [kan nam-iĉĉ-i bit-e]]

Sheep RELPM man-DEF-NOM buy-3MS.PFV.PST

'The sheep which the man bought'

b. NP [ho:la: CP [ø nam-iĉĉ-i bit-e]]

Sheep man-DEF-NOM buy-3MS.PFV. PST

'The sheep which the man bought'

c. NP [kop̀e: CP [tan ʔintali bit-t-e]]

shoes RELPF girl buy-3FS-PFV.PST

'The shoes which the girl bought'

d. NP [kop̀e: CP [ø ʔintali bit-t-e]]

shoes girl buy-3FS-PFV.PST

'The shoes which the girl bought'

As can be seen from the examples (4) the direct object *ho:la:* 'the sheep' in 4(a and b) and *kopɛ̀* 'the shoes' in 4(c and d) relativized with relative pronoun strategy in 4(a and c) and gapping strategy in 4(b and d).

4.3.2.2. Indirect object relativization

Indirect objects represent the recipient or beneficiary in an action. Like subject and direct object relativization, indirect object is also relativizable in the language. When the head noun of a relative clause is indirect object, it is called indirect object relativization. Now we consider how indirect object can be relativized. Observe the following examples.

5) a .NP [kuta: CP [kan nam-iččˇ-i ʔintala itti čˇafakˇɛ̀:n rukut-e]]

room RELPM man-DEF-NOM girl with stick hit-3MS.PFV.PST

'The room in which the man hit the woman with the stick'

b. NP [kuta: CP [ø nam-iččˇ-i ʔintala čˇafakˇɛ̀:n itti rukut-e]]

room man-DEF-NOM girl stick with hit-3MS.PFV.PST

'The room in which the man hit the women with the stick'

c. NP [niti: CP [tan kadi:r lukku: itti gurgurr-e ɖuf-t-e]]

woman RELPF Kadir hen to sell-3MS.PFV.PST come 3FS-PST

'The woman to whom Kadir sold the hen came'

d. NP [niti: CP [ø kadi:r lukku: itti gurgurr-e ɖuf-t-e]]

woman Kadir hen to sell-3MS.PFV.PST come 3FS-PST

'The woman to whom Kadir sold the hen came'

As observed in examples (5) the head nouns are *kuta:* 'the room' in 5 (a and b) and *niti:* 'the woman' in 5 (c and d) relativized through relative pronoun strategy in 5 (a and c) and gapping strategy in 5(b and d).

4.3.2.3 Oblique relativization

The present section examines relative clauses in which the target of relativization is an oblique. Afaan Oromoo is one of the languages that can relativize oblique. The oblique functions of the head NP vary, but the majority of OBL RCs express something about location or time. Moreover, the restricting clause following the oblique head NP often not only describes the setting, but also implies why the head NP has been included within the text. Therefore, in Afaan Oromoo the OBL-RC may be used not only to distinguish or describe, but also to show why the entity it has identified is relevant, or why it has been mentioned in a RC that contains previous topic of discourse or those which will become topics. Like subjects, direct and indirect objects Afaan Oromoo relativize oblique by employing the pronoun strategy and the Gap strategy. This is illustrated in the following examples.

6) a. NP [ʔani farda CP [kan husse:n gaba: itti:n ɖuf-e hin

I horse RELPM Hussein market with come-3MS.PFV.PST neg

ʤa:laɖu]]

like

'I don't like the horse with which Hussien has came to the market'

b. NP [ʔani farda CP [ø husse:n gaba: itti:n ɖuf-e hin ʤa:laɖu]]

I horse Hussien market with come-3MS.PFV.PST neg like

'I don't like the horse with which Hussien has came to the market'

c. NP [nam-i-ččˇ-i CP [ʔinni ʔani ʔiʤo:lle: ko: kenn-e-f NP' [hirija: ko: ti]]]

man-DEF-NOM RELPM I child my give-3MS.PFV.PST-ACC friend my is

'The man whom I gave my child is my friend'

d. NP [nam-iččˇ-i CP [ø ʔani ʔiʤo:lle: ko: kenn-e-f NP' [hirija: ko: ti]]]

man-DEF-NOM I child my give-3MS.PFV.PST-ACC friend my is

'The man whom I gave my child is my friend'

e. NP [čˇafakˇe: CP [kan ʔiʤo:lle:-n sare: itti:n rukut-e NP' [te:so: irra ʤira]]]

stick RELPM child-NOM dog with hit-3MS.PFV.PST table on is

'The stick which the child hit the dog with on the table'

f. NP [čˇafakˇe: CP [ø ʔiʤo:lle:-n sare: itti:n rukut-e NP' [teso: irra ʤira]]]

stick child-NOM dog with hit-3SM-PFV-PST table on is

'The stick which the child hit the dog with is on the table'

g. NP [ʔintala CP [tan mučˇa:-n wali:n sirb-e]]

girl RELPF boy-ACC with dance-3MS.PFV.PST

'The girl with whom the boy danced'

h. NP [ʔintala CP [ø mučˇa:-n wali:n sirb-e]]

girl boy-ACC with dance-3MS.PFV.PST

'The girl with whom the boy danced'

The above examples (15) show the relativized noun having the function of oblique, in which two strategies can be used: the first one is the one using relative pronoun strategy as in (15 a, c, e and g) and the second one is the gapping strategy as in (15 b, d, f and h).

4.3.2.4 Genitive relativization

In Afaan Oromoo, other NP position on the accessibility hierarchy (AH) that is relativizable is a genitive or the possessor of a possessive phrase. The genitive is used for possession, it corresponds roughly to English *of* or-'s. In Afaan Oromoo the genitive is usually formed by lengthening a final short vowel, by adding-ii to a final consonant, and by leaving a final long vowel unchanged. The possessor noun follows the possessed noun in a genitive phrase as exemplified in the following examples.

7) a. /ʔobbole:tti /'sister' /mučìčča/ 'the boy'

/ ʔobbole:tti: mučìčča/ 'the boy's sister'

b. /hoʤi:/ 'job' /gammada:/ 'man's name'

/ hoʤi: gammada:/ 'Gameda's job'

c. /barumsa/ 'field of study', /ʔafa:n/ 'mouth' language

/barumsa ʔafa:ni:/ 'Linguistics'

As can be illustrated in the examples in (7), the possessed noun /obbole:ti:/ 'sister' /hoʤi:/ 'job' and /barumsa/ 'field of study' precede the possessor noun in a genitive phrase. Thus, in Afaan Oromoo the genitive phrase formed by

lengthening a final short vowel as in (7a), through leaving a final long vowel unchanged like (7b) and by adding-ii to final consonant as in (7c).

In Afaan Oromoo, in place of the genitive it is also possible to use the relative pronoun. Let us consider the following examples.

8) a. NP [ʔobbole:tti CP [kan mučiːčča]]

sister RELPM boy

'The boy's sister'

b. NP [ʔani ʔintala CP [tan firo:msa sare: ɲa: čis-t-e ʔarg-e]]

I girl RELPF Firomsa dog bit-3FS-PFV.PST see-3MS.PST

'I saw the girl whose dog bit Firomsa'

c. NP [ʔani ʔintala CP [ø firo:msa sare: ɲa:čis-t-e ʔarg-e]]

I girl Firomsa dog bit-3FS-PFV.PST see-3MS-PST

'I saw the girl whose dog bit Firomsa'

d. NP [nam-ičč-a CP [kan kuta:n hoʤi: hoʤʤat-o:t-an ʤala barba:daʔ-e

man-NOM-DEF RELPM workroom worker-3PL by destroy-3MS.PFV.PST

duʔe]]

die-3MS.PFV.PST

'The man whose workroom was destroyed by the workers died'

e. NP [nam-ičč-a CP [ø kuta:n hoʤi: hoʤʤat-o:t-an ʤala barba:daʔ-e

man-DEF-NOM workroom worker-3PL by destroy-3MS.PFV.PST

du?e]]

die-3SM.PST

'The man whose workroom was destroyed by the workers died'

The examples in (8) show a relativized noun in genitive function. In such examples with genitives functions, the relative pronoun in examples 8 (a, b and d) and the gapping strategy in examples 8 (c and e) are used. But in example (8a) only the relative pronoun strategy is employed. This indicates that as relative pronoun strategy used without preposition and with preposition in the case of genitive relativization where as gapping strategy used only with preposition.

4.3.2.5 Object of comparison (OCOMP) relativization

The lowest NP position on the accessibility hierarchy that is relativizable in Afaan Oromoo is an object of comparison. Consider the following examples.

9) a. NP [maḱa:n ?intala: CP [tan margitu: irra ɖe:rat- ø-u tali:le ɖa]]

name girl RELPF Mergitu than taller-3FS-IMPFV.PST Talile is

'The name of the girl who is taller than Mergitu is Talile'

b. NP [maḱa:n ?intala CP [ø mergitu irra ɖe:rat- ø-u tali:le ɖa]]

name girl Mergitu than taller-3FS-IMPFV.PST Talile is

'The name of the girl who is taller than Mergitu is Talile'

c. NP [muč́-ičč-i CP [?inni ɖe:rina-an si: č́a:lu: NP' [?obbo:lessa ko: ti]]]

boy-DEF-NOM RELPM taller than you higher brother my is

'The boy who is taller than you is my brother'

d. NP [muč'-ičč-i CP [ø ɖe:rinan si: ča:lu: NP' [ʔobbo:lessa ko: ti]

boy-DEF-NOM taller than you higher brother my is

'The boy who is taller than you is my brother'

As can be observed from the above examples the relativized nouns have the function of object of comparison, where two strategies can be used. The first one is the one using relative pronoun strategy as in examples 9(a and c) and the second one is the gapping strategy as in examples 9(b and d). Notice that the relative pronoun and the gapping strategy have been used to relativize object of comparison with the preposition.

To sum up, Afaan Oromoo is one of the languages which can relativize all grammatical relations on the AH. Thus, this languages serves as a good example by which the AH can be illustrated with respect to relativization.

4.4 Relative verbs in Afaan Oromoo

In Afaan Oromoo relative verb is a word (part of speech) that in syntax conveys an action or a state of being. An Oromo relative verb consists minimally of a stem, representing the lexical meanings of the verb, and a suffix, representing tense or aspect and subject agreement. For instance, in / ɲa:t-ne /'we ate' / ɲa:t/-is the stem ('eat') and –ne indicates that the tense is past and that the subject of the verb is first person plural.

4.4.1 Properties of relative verbs

Afaan Oromoo relative verbs have a number of grammatical properties with which you must be familiar:

a) **Person**-Expresses the relationship between the verb and the speaker. A relative verb can be in the first person (/ani/ 'I', /nuti/ 'we', second person /si:/ 'you', /ʔisin/ 'you' or third person /ʔisa/ 'He', /ʔiʃe:/, 'she' /ʔisa:n/, 'they').

b) **Number-** is the property that indicates whether one or more than one subject is referenced when using the relative verb. Relative verbs can be singular (referring to one subject e.g /ʔani rukut-e/ 'I hit') or plural (referring to more than one object e.g /nuti ruku-ne/ 'we hit').

c) **Gender-** is a property that indicates the sex of the referent (masculine, feminine or common). Afaan Oromoo relative verbs agree with their subjects not only in person and number-but also in gender. Thus, the Afaan Oromoo relative verb in the two sentences /muč'-i-ča kan kale:ssa ḍufe/ the boy who came yesterday and /ʔintala tan kale:ssa ḍufte/

'The girl who came yesterday' would look different because the genders of the two subjects are different.

d) **Tense**-English relative verbs indicate tense by means of spelling changes or through the use of "helping verbs" (e.g. I talk, I talked, I shall talk) whereas Afaan Oromoo relative verbs are marked for tense by means of spelling changes (e.g. /ʔani de:mu:f/ 'I will go', /ʔani de:me/ 'I went'.

e) **Voice**- the voice of a verb denotes the relationship of the verb to the subject of the verb. Afaan Oromoo includes two voices:

1. Active voice: the subject is agent of the verb e.g /ʔani rukute/ 'I hit'
2. Passive voice: the subject is acted upon by verb. The Oromo passive corresponds closely to the English passive in function. It is formed by adding –am to the verb root. The resulting stem is conjugated regularly. Consider the following examples.

10) a. /be:k/- 'know', /be:kam/ – 'be known', /be:kamani/ 'they were known'

b. /ʤeɖa/ – 'say', /ʤeɖam/ – 'be said', /ʤeɖama/ 'it is said'

In addition, to the above grammatical properties, Afaan Oromoo relative verbs indicate the type of relative pronouns that marks the head noun.

4.4.2 Forms of relative verbs

Afaan Oromoo has two main relative verb forms that are different in terms of their aspect. These are the perfect relative verb and the imperfect relative verb. The perfect relative verb is a grammatical aspect used to describe completed action whereas the imperfect relative verb is a grammatical aspect used to expresses uncompleted or progressive action i.e. the perfective aspects looks at an event as a complete action, while the imperfective aspects views an event as the process of unfolding or a repeated or habitual event (thus corresponding to the progressive/ continuous aspect for events of short-term duration and to habitual aspect for longer term). Let us consider the following examples.

11) a. NP [ʔintala CP [tan kita:ba bit-t-e]]

girl RELP book buy-3FS-PFV.PST

'The girl who bought a book'

b. /nam-ičč-a kan mana iʤa:r-u

man-DEF-NOM RELP house build-3MS.IMPFV.PST

'The man who builds a house'

In the above examples (11) the relative verb is inflected for the subject *intala* 'the girl' in (11a) and *nam-ičč-a* 'the man' in (11b). The subject marker-*t*-3SF as well as-*e*-PFV-PST refers to the head noun *intala* 'girl' and the subject marker-*u*-3SM-IMPFV-PRT is co referential to the head noun *nam-ičc-a* 'the man'. Thus, in all the above cases one can note that a perfective relative verb introduces a completed action and imperfective relative verb describes uncompleted or progressive action.

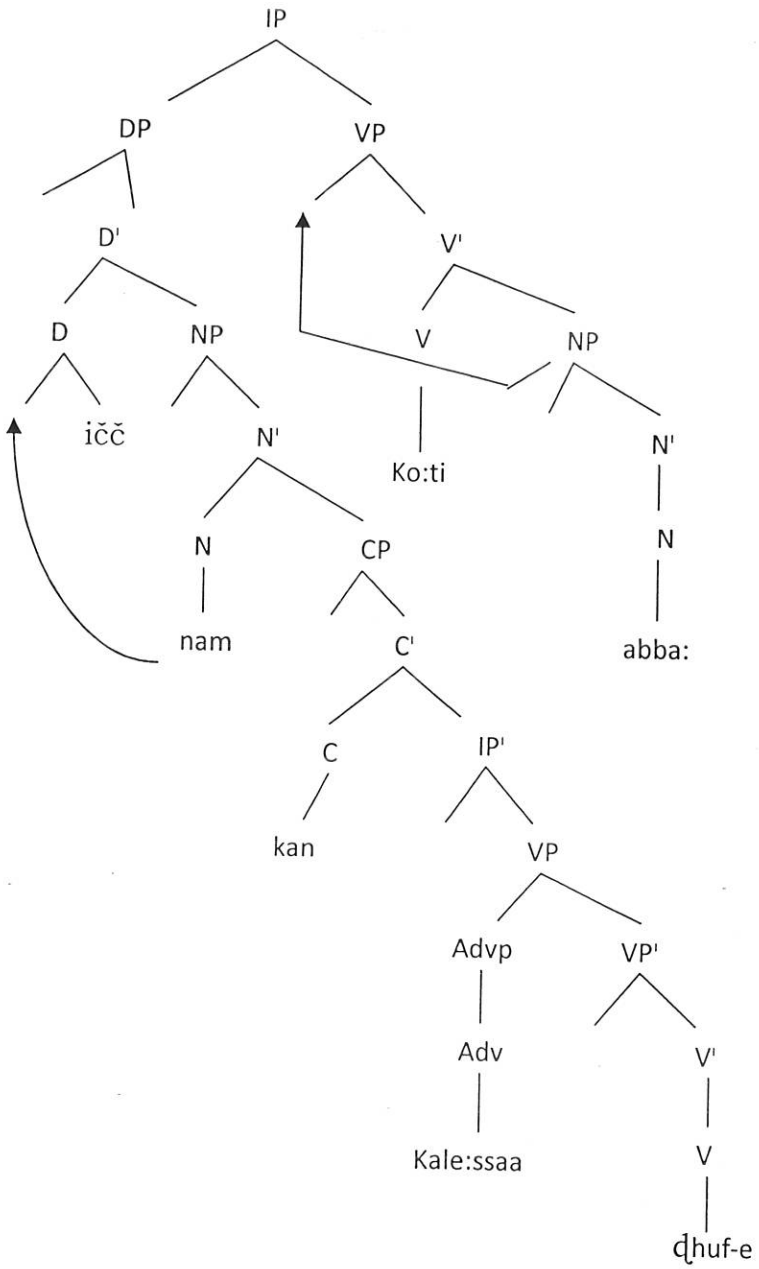
4.5 Afaan Oromoo relative clauses in a minimalist framework

In chapter three, I introduced many syntactic and semantic contrasts between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses of Afaan Oromoo. In this section, we will discuss relative clause constructions within the minimalist framework developed by Chomsky (1993). Within the minimalist framework, it is argued that the contrasts existing between restrictive and non-restrictive clause can be explained by positing that restrictive relative clauses are attached to the C head within CP, while non restrictive relatives raise to (Spec, CP). It is the case that relative clauses are generally argued to raise to [Spec, CP], the claim that those relative operators that introduce restrictive clauses move to C head instead of [Spec, CP], there by becoming derived complementizers, needs to be strongly supported, and it seems to me that the major differences between Afaan

Oromoo restrictive and non-restrictive relatives can be used as an argument in favor of such a claim.

There are two kinds of relative clauses in Afaan Oromoo: restrictive relatives and non-restrictive relatives or appositive relatives. They are distinguished from each other on both semantic and syntactic grounds. It is perhaps the prosodic properties of non-restrictive relatives that first help in differentiating the two and hence only non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses are pronounced with comma and intonation, which is also reflected in spelling. Consider the following examples.

12) a. NP [nam-iččˈ-i CP [kan kale:ssa ɖuf-e NP' [ʔabba: ko: ti]]]
man-DEF-NOM RELPM yesterday come-3MS.PFV.PST father me is
'The man who came yesterday is my father'



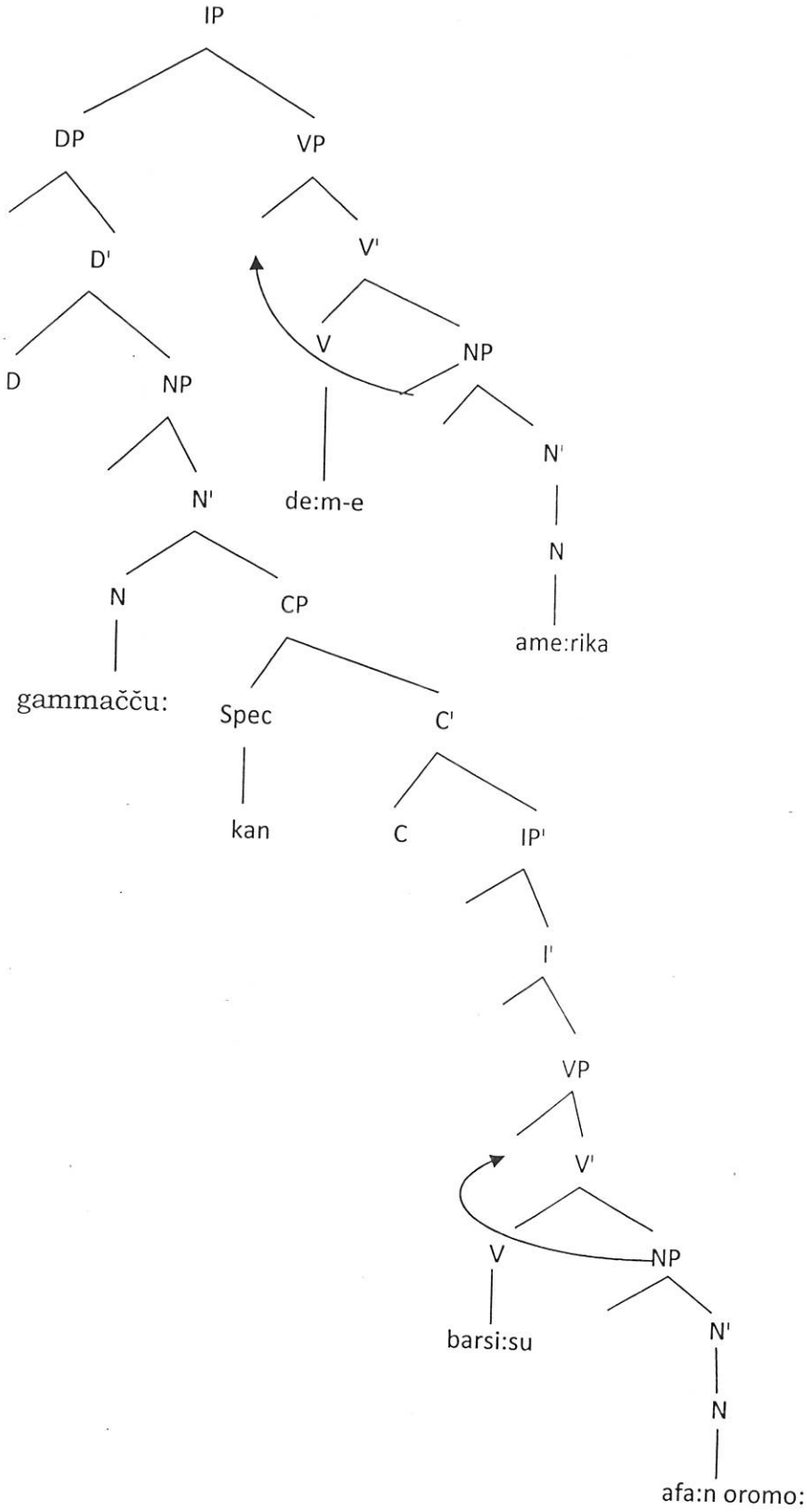
b) NP [gammačču: CP [kan ʔafa:n ʔoromo: barsi:s-u NP' [ʔame:rika

Gemmechu-NOM RELPM Afaan Oromoo teach-3MS.IMPFV America

de:m-e]]]

go- 3MS.PST

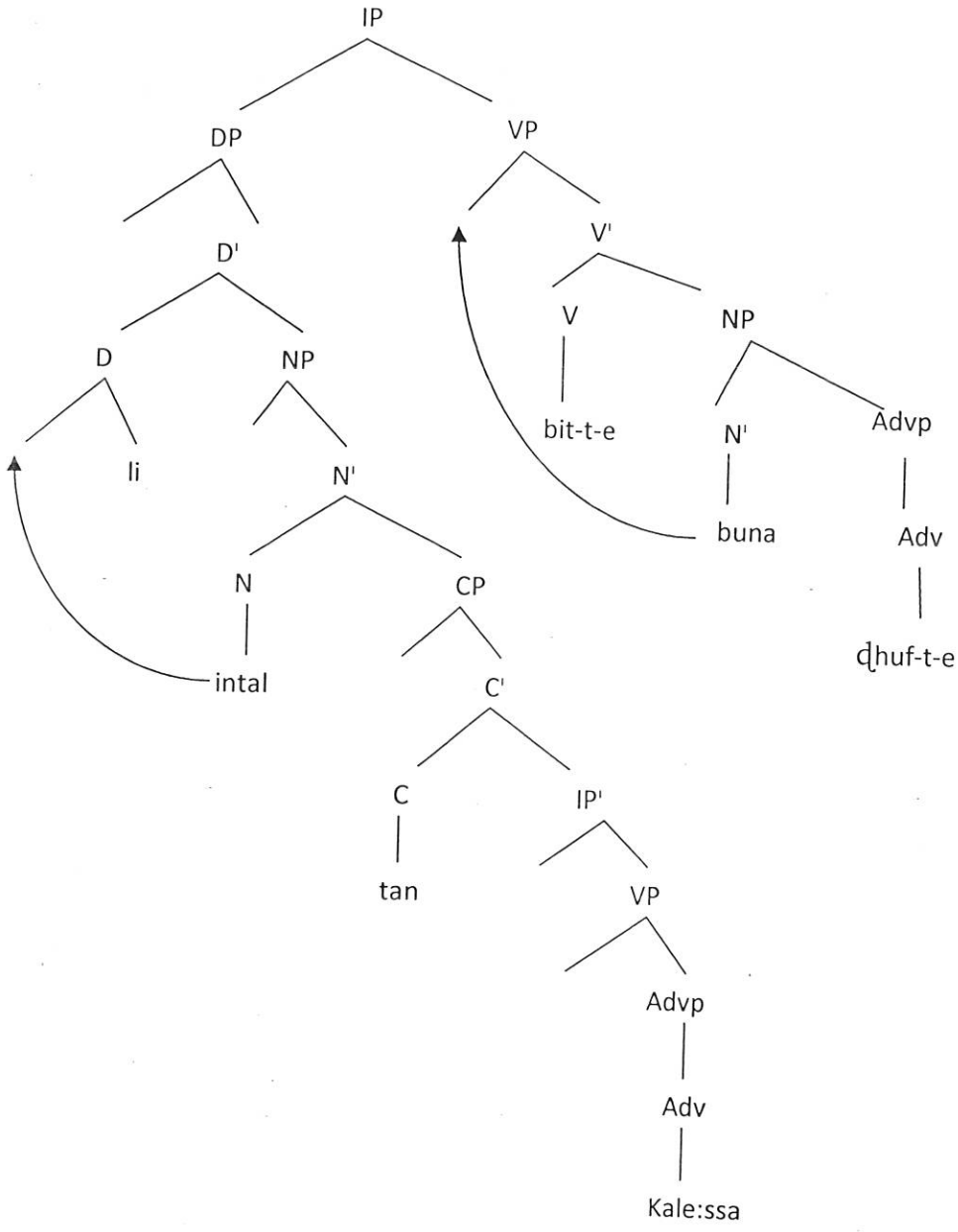
'Gemmechu, who teachs Afaan Oromoo, went to America'


IP
DP
VP
D'
V'
D
NP
V
NP
N'
de:m-e
N'
N
N
CP
ame:rika
gammaccu:
Spec
C'
kan
C
IP'
I'
VP
V'
V
NP
barsi:su
N'
N
afa:n oromo:

c) NP [ʔintal-li CP [tan kale:ssa buna bit-t-e ɖuf-t-e]]

girl –DEF-NOM RELPF yesterday coffee buy-3FS-PFV.PST come - 3FS. PST

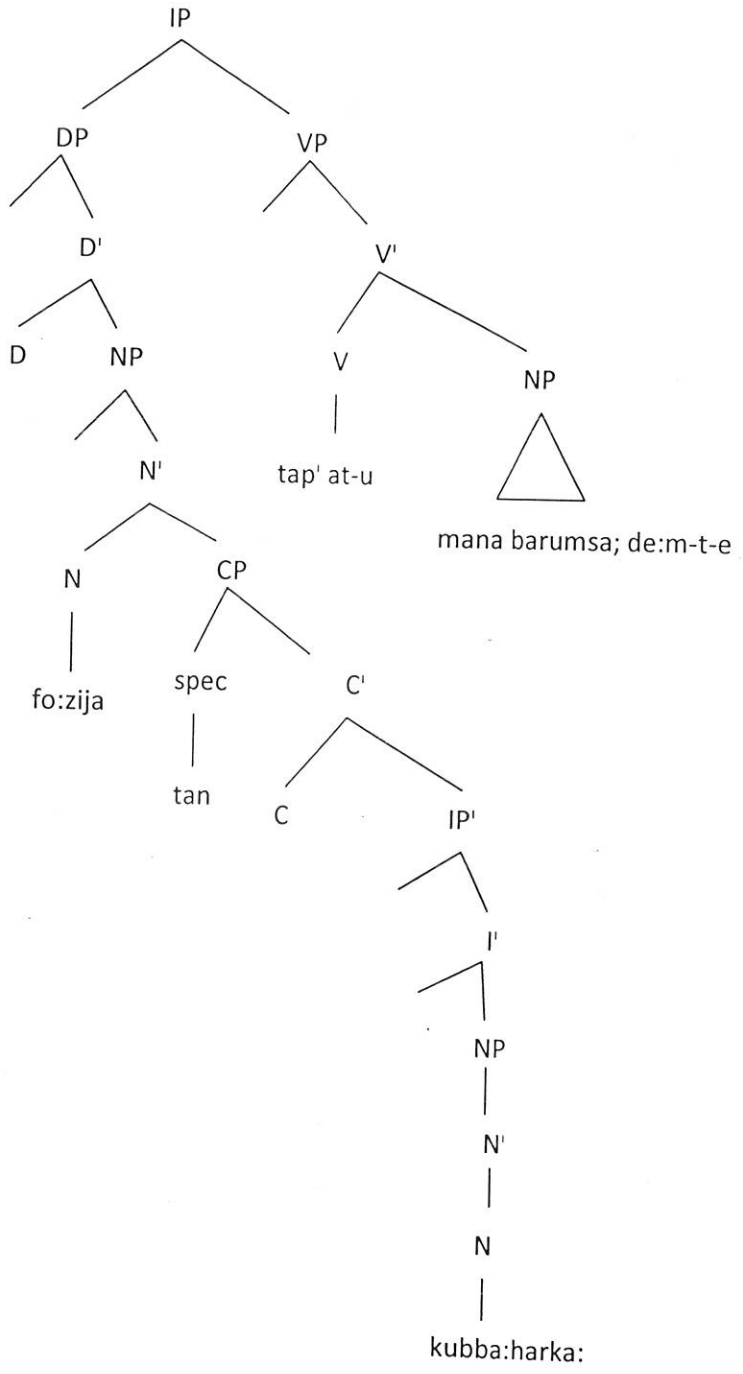
'The girl who bought coffee yesterday came'



d) NP [fo:zija CP [tan kubba: harka: tap'at-u NP' [mana barumsa: de:m-t-e]]]

Foziya-NOM RELPF hand ball play-3FS.IMPFV school go-3FS-PST

'Foziya, who play hand ball, go to school'



From a semantic or interpretive point of view, the information that the restrictive relative clause in (12a and c) supplies is necessary in order to identify the head or antecedent namely *nam-ičč-i* 'the man', whereas the non-restrictive relative in (12b and d) gives additional information about the head that is not necessary or essential in order to identify the latter. Restrictive relatives, as their name indicates, restrict the event or situation that they predicate to the class of objects specified in the relative clause, whereas non-restrictive or appositive relatives do not. An immediate consequence of this is the inability of restrictive relatives to take proper names as antecedents. Since proper names refer to unique or specific individuals, and consequently the subject of predication cannot be specified any further[5]

In the minimalist approach, such interpretive facts will be understood as meaning that non-restrictive or appositive relatives, but not restrictive ones, are complete units of predication, in spite of the fact that both kinds are anaphorically related to a head. The dissimilar positions that relative operators are argued to take up in restrictive relatives vs non-restrictive relatives can be shown to correlate with such a semantic differentiation. Along with facts of interpretation, both types of subordinate structures are distinguished from each other from a syntactic point of view

A part from the contrast DP-antecedent vs non-DP-antecedent, both kinds of relative clauses are further opposed as regards the type of DP that acts as head or antecedent. As mentioned above proper names cannot occur as antecedent of restrictive relatives.[6] Such restrictions or constraints would therefore be

[5] The constraint on proper name as head or antecedents of restrictive relative clause is cancelled out in case the individual in question is converted as it were into a common object belonging within class of objects and is therefore viewed as an entity liable to be specified.

[6] In a similar fashion, DPs that contain, a possessive cannot act as antecedents of restrictive relatives.

excluded from the pre-spell-out process and they would be exclusively allocated within the level of LF.

One of the differences existing between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses on the status of the head or antecedent is that restrictive relatives can only take a determiner antecedent, that is DPs whereas non-restrictive relatives can take as antecedents DPs, or PPs, APs, Advps, VPs or even clauses or IPs sentential relative structures. In the present framework, such a contrast is imputed to DPs being the only items occupying in a Spec position, whether as subject or as object. Let us note that DPs obligatorily have features to verify, and that they do so in the corresponding Spec-head agreement configurations instantiated in TP, or AgrOp.

The other properties of non-restrictive or appositive relatives that distinguish them from restrictive ones are the non-occurrence of the null or empty operator i.e. the recoverability condition. The recoverability condition states that the content of an empty category must be recoverable from an overt item which the former is co indexed. In the domain of relative clauses, the recoverability condition is in operative in the non-restrictive type. This constraint is due to non-restrictive relatives constituting themselves complete units of predication where the RC operator is the subject, and therefore checks off a RC feature containing an EPP property that is specified as [+ subjective].

Furthermore, both restrictive and non-restrictive operators have to check RC feature with an EPP property. However, such an EPP property is specified as [+ predicative] for restrictive operators, it bears the specification [+ subjective] for non-restrictive ones. This distinction relates to the different roles played by restrictive and non-restrictive items in the relation of predication that is instantiated in each case.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

This section summarizes the major issues raised in each chapter of the thesis. This study deals with relativization in Afaan Oromoo in a minimalist approach. The discussion is more descriptive than theoretical. To achieve its objective, the study is classified into five chapters.

In the first chapter we have discussed about the language and the people, statements of the problem, the objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study and methodology.

Chapter two described the review of literature such as previous studies undertaken on the relative clause of Afaan Oromoo to acquaint the reader with general background about the subject matter. Moreover, we have also described the theoretical framework that has been used to investigate aspects of the relative clause in Afaan Oromoo. In the theoretical framework, aim of minimalist program, grammatical operation in minimalist program, levels of representation in minimalist program, the economy condition, some universals of relative clauses structure, definition of relative clauses and major classification of relative clauses are discussed.

In chapter three, relative clauses in Afaan Oromoo, relative pronouns in Afaan Oromoo and classification of Afaan Oromoo relative clauses are analyzed. In classification of the relative clauses, restrictive and non restrictive relative clauses, embedded relative clauses, headed relative clauses and free relative clauses are analyzed.

Chapter four is about relativization strategies in Afaan Oromoo and focused on relative pronoun strategy and gapping strategy. Moreover, accessibility hierarchy, relative verbs in Afaan Oromoo and Afaan Oromoo relative clauses in a minimalist framework are analyzed. Under accessibility hierarchy subject relativization, direct object relativizaiton, indirect object relativization, oblique relativization, genitive relativization and object of comparison relativization are analyzed whereas; under relative verbs of Afaan Oromoo properties of relative verbs and forms of relative verb are discussed.

5.2 Conclusion

In this section, we shall highlight the major findings of the study. Afaan Oromoo relative clauses classified into restrictive relative clauses and non restrictive relative clauses. A restrictive relative clause has restrictive effects on the head NP and a non-restrictive relative clauses give only additional information about the head whose reference is independently established. Furthermore, Afaan Oromoo non restrictive relative clause is preceded by a pause in speech or a comma in writing, whereas a RRC normally is not. In addition, Afaan Oromoo relative clauses are distinguished in terms of their distribution, as proposed by Jackendoff (1977:172), Smits (1988) and Platzack (1997) NRRC must appear to the right of RRC.

According to Nordfeldt (1947:87), Gragg (1976:191) and Griefenow-Mewis (2001:63) Afaan Oromoo has *kan* and *wa:n* relative pronouns. Baye (1987:60) also mentioned as Afaan Oromoo has *Kan* relative pronoun. In addition to the above relative pronouns, Afaan Oromoo has relative pronouns such as *tan* which used when the relativized NP has a feminine gender, *warra* which used to refer the relativized NP in its plural form, the third personal pronoun *inni/isa* is used when the relativized NP is masculine and *ʃe:n/ ʃe:* is used when the relativized NP is feminine gender.

Afaan Oromoo head external relative clauses classified into prenominal or pre head relative clauses in which the relative clauses occur before the head and postnominal or posthead relative clauses in which the relative clauses follows the head noun. Afaan Oromoo has free relatives i.e. relatives without overt nominal head.

The thesis identified various relativizaiton strategies. The strategies postulated for Afaan Oromoo relative clause is known as the relative pronoun strategy in which the relativized NP is represented by a relative pronoun and gapping strategy except in prenominal relative clauses and some cases of genitive relativization. According to this strategy the relativized NP is indicated by absence of a marker. In light of accessibility hierarchy Afaan Oromoo relativizes all NP positions i.e. Afaan Oromoo relativizes its subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique, genitive and object of comparison.

The study examined Afaan Oromoo relative verbs which refer to the head noun and relative pronoun besides, describing a number of grammatical properties such as person, number, gender, tense and voice. It is divided into perfective relative verb which is used to describe completed action and imperfective relative verb which is used to expresses incomplete or progressive action.

In the minimalist framework the contrasts between Afaan Oromoo restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is that restrictive operators move to °C whereas non-restrictive operators and pied-piped elements in general move to [Spec, CP]. In addition, the recoverability condition is inoperative in the non-restrictive type. However, both restrictive and non-restrictive operators have to confirm a RC feature with an EPP. An EPP is specified as [+predicative] for restrictive operators and [+subjective] for non restrictive ones.

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and it has not been presented in any other University. Moreover, I declare that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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