

**PROBLEM OF
CAUSATIVIZATION IN AMHARIC**

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Problem of
Causativization in Amharic

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Abstract

The presence of an agent in the interpretation of 'a-stem' forms and its absence in the basic stems define the function of 'a-' as agentive or causative affix in Amharic. The formal analysis is also plain that 'a-' attaches to non-agentive basic stems. The common interpretation of 'as-stem' forms show double (that is, ultimate and immediate) agency in relation to the resulting event whether the stems have agent or not in their argument structure. This phenomenon has been frequently stated in the literature as *indirect causative* (Bender and Hailu, 1978), (*Appleyard, 1972*) *causative of the passive* (Leslau, 1967) and *factitive* (Bender and Hailu, 1978) function of the affix 'as-'.

This paper verifies the observed passive representation of the base of 'as-stem' causatives in terms of Prominence Theory of Argument Structure (Grimshaw, 1990). According to this theory, an external argument cannot be introduced to an a-structure in which there is one. Hence, passivization of agentive verbs is necessary in order to suppress the agent (external argument), that is, to give way for the integration of arguments in causativization. Accordingly, the so-called 'as-stem' causatives have been derivationally related to the basic stems by analysing the causative form into 'a-s-stem', representing passivization and causativization as separate affixational processes.

By providing morphophonological explanations that relate [s] to the passive morpheme /t-/ this approach offers a unified account of causativization in Amharic.

1. Introduction

1.1 Literature Review

The verbal system of Amharic has been the focus of most grammarians because of its complexity (Taddese, 1972). The morphological expression of causation is one aspect which adds to this complexity. In the grammatical description of the language, which is mainly morphological in nature, the expression of causation was accounted for in terms of affixes without a principled statement of the process of causativization.

With the exception of the basic stems in which the expression of causation is lexically encoded, (other) derived stems which as a result reveal causality relation bear the following prefixes in surface representation: 'a-', 'as-', 'an-', 'astə-', 'aš-' and 'at-' which surfaces with the /t/ assimilated to the initial radical of the base verb (Zavadskaya, 1988). Whereas causation can be associated with all these affixes (Zavadskaya, 1988), only two of them 'a-' and 'as-' are productive in their application. The rest have been analysed as combinations of one of these two prefixes and other forms such as 'n-', 't-' and 'š-', whose functions and application are not yet described.

The major descriptions of the two prefixes found in the literature are the following: 'a-' direct causative, and 'as-' indirect causative (Dawkins, 1960); 'a-' transitivizer and

causative of the intransitive, and 'as-' causative of the transitive and of the passive (Leslau, 1967, 1995); 'a-' transitivizer and simple causative, and 'as-' transitivizer, simple causative and double causative relative to the grammatical type of the base verb and the function of the base and the possible derivations (Appleyard, 1972).

The basis for the distinction of these affixes is primarily functional, that is, the affixation of 'a-' and 'as-' to stems introduce a direct and indirect causer arguments, respectively, in relation to a caused event. This analysis suggests that 'a-' can only be affixed to verbs without a causer argument, whereas 'as-' can apply to any verb as far as the newly introduced argument is identified as an indirect causer. However, since the occurrence of 'as-' is not limited to transitive verbs it will be difficult to interpret causation as 'indirect' in forms such as: *aslək'k'əsə* 'cause to cry', *ask'əyyəmə* 'disappoint', *asfərra* 'frighten', etc..

No useful inference can be made about the behaviour of the two affixes from the consideration of the syntactic transitivity properties of the bases. 'as-' can virtually be affixed to transitives and intransitives and there are a number of intransitive verbs which also do not take 'a-'. Having this observation, (Girmay, 1992) has given a description of the two affixes different from the traditional

account. According to him, 'a-' is agentive (that which adds agent to a verb which lexically lacks one) and 'as-' is causative.

In general what is in the literature about causativization in Amharic is: (1) that there are two distinct affixes 'a-' and 'as-' which express direct and indirect causation, respectively, and (2) that there is only one affix 'as-' which is affixed to express causation.

Implied in the second analysis is that causation is only indirect and the 'a-' affixation to agentless verbs creates agentive verbs similar to those which are lexically agentive. But this kind of distinction between causer and agent is untenable, because whether it is introduced by a derivational process or it is lexically encoded, an argument is agent or causer only by virtue of its function as an instigator of an action or a state.

There are two attempts which show the process of causative derivation from a syntactic (transformational) point of view: Hailu (1971) and Taddese (1972). Taddese (1972) assumes that sentences containing basic or derived transitive verbs are themselves derived from sentences containing intransitive verbs by means of a 'causative incorporation transformation'. According to him, a-stem verbs are results of such a transformation and as-stem verbs are results of one

more higher level of such transformation. Hailu's (1971) argument is exactly the same as Taddese's (1972) except that he calls the transformation 'verb movement' and that he did not make explicit claim to derive all transitive verbs (including basic transitives) by the same process.

One more alternative analysis of causative morphology is pointed out by Girmay (1992) towards the end of his account. He proposes the decomposition of 'as-' into 'a-' and 's-', in which 'a-' remains as agentive, and '-s-' "embed[s] [sic] one argument structure within another" (1992:67). The affixation of 's-' changing the Grammatical Functions (GFs) of the basic verb, specifically of the inner agent, creates a base for 'a-' affixation. Finally, 'a-' affixation to the 's-stem' derives what is known as 'as-stem' form. This proposal is not developed. However, if further supported by factual and theoretical evidence it will simplify the derivation of causatives. And with further elaboration the same position is argued for in the present paper.

1.2 Problem of Causativization

An expression is said to be causative when it represents a situation in which the occurrence of an event wholly depends on the occurrence of another event which precedes it in time (Shibatani, 1976). And in most cases 'a-' and 'as-'

derivatives represent this kind of situation¹. The affixes are called causative in the sense that the representation of causative situations is effected by such affixes. Beside their forms the basis for the distinction of the two affixes in their description is directness and indirectness of causation. The directness of causation with 'a-' emerges from the basically non-causative nature of the verbs it attaches to.

The basic non-causative verb represents an autonomous event, and the attachment of 'a-' to the verb results in identification of an object in some way causally involved in the event of the basic verb. It is obvious in such a situation that the causer object (itself involved in an event) causes an event which was autonomous while represented by the basic verb. But, the verbs to which 'as-' attaches may basically represent one or two events, and the attachment of 'as-' to basic causative verbs introduces a causer object whose caused event seems to be ambiguous between the two events of the basic verb. The ambiguity can be represented by the (a) and (b) interpretations of (1).

¹ Sometimes 'a-' and 'as-' derivatives may not represent two events in surface, however, even if such derivatives represent single events these single events parallel the cause event, not the causee event, in the event structure analysis. Hence, 'a-' and 'as-' derivatives are causatives as far as they have an argument which is identified as instigator.

(1) Aster Kasan asgəddələččiw

(a) Aster made Kasa kill (someone)

(b) Aster got Kasa (be) killed (by someone)

It is only the (b) interpretation which can be called indirect causation because the event of 'Kasa be killed' has a direct causer (someone who killed Kasa) other than Aster which leaves her with a role of indirect causer. On the other hand, Aster has a role of direct causer with respect to the event of 'Kasa kill someone' in (a).

The (b) interpretation is what is referred to by the designation of 'as-' for the essentially one but apparently different functions: '*indirect causative*', '*factitive*' and '*causative of the passive*'. First of all, as noted in Girmay (1992) the interpretation of causative constructions with as-stem in the manner of (a) above is controversial in terms of degree of acceptability among speakers of Amharic. On the contrary, if the process of as-stem derivation is a simple affixation of a causative morpheme to a base 'X', the resulting form should logically be represented as 'cause X' without altering the internal structure of 'X' whatsoever. In this case the (a) interpretation of (1) will be logical. Accordingly, the logical way of deriving forms for the (b) type of interpretation will be by having the basic causative verb represent the two events so that the causee can have

immediate syntactic relation with the higher causative verb. Such a representation is possible through the process of passivization. The (b) interpretation of 'as-' causatives also suggests the passive representation of the basic verb. However, no clear case of formal derivation of 'as- causatives from passives is attested as such in the language; i.e. there are no surface forms such as as-tə-gəddəl-, as-tə-səbbər-, as-tə-gərrəf- etc.¹

Moreover, among the transitives which can accommodate indirect causation, stems of the type 1a22ə3- and 1ə2a22ə3- seem to deviate in their causative derivation. The causatives of such stems surface as a11a22ə3- and a11ə2a22ə3-. Girmay (1992) derives the causatives of such stems from their respective passive forms with 'a-' affixation and assimilation of the passive morpheme /t/, whereas Baye (1986 E.C.) derives the causatives of 1a22ə3- stems by 'as-' affixation to the 1a22ə3- and to the passive of 1ə2a22ə3- stems Girmay's

¹ The /t/ of the so-called 'astə-stem' verbs such as astəwawwək'- 'introduce', astədaddər- 'administer', astamməm- 'nurse', astaggəs- 'relief', etc. cannot be taken as the passive marker. Because it doesn't behave the way the passive marker does in similar contexts. For example, it doesn't 'assimilate' to the initial radical of the base form in the imperfective aspect as in: tə-gəddəl- > yi-ggəddəl-, tə-gəddəl- > yi-ggadəl, tə-wawwək'- > *yi-wwawək'-, tə-daddər- > *yi-ddadər-, etc., rather the /t/ surfaces in geminate: tə-wawwək'- > yi-ttəwawwək'-, tə-daddər- > yi-ttədaddər- etc..The /t/ of such verbs which geminates in the imperfective aspect can be assumed to be a root consonant of the verb. Whereas, the other part of the geminate can be analysed as the passive marker /t-/ which assimilated to the root consonant /t/ to create the gemination.

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analysis suggest that 'a-' can derive the causative of agentives after passivization. However, this analysis is not explicitly extended to agentives of 1ə22ə3- type stems to derive the causative of the passive. Baye's (1986 E.C.) analysis, on the other hand, posits a single causative affix 'as-' for the derivation of causatives from different types of active and passive stems. However, it is not stated whether the causative derivations of 1ə2a22ə3- type stems are causatives of their passives. Moreover 'a-' is not at all considered as a causative affix in the description.

The first problem in the traditional descriptions of causativization in Amharic is that indirect (passive) causation is not well characterized in terms of the function of the affix 'as-' and the base.

Another problem in the description of causativization is determining the place of its derivation in the grammar. Hailu's (1971) and Taddese's (1972) transformational account of the derivation of causative verbs have two major shortcomings. First, the as-stem form which is considered to be the result of embedding of a transitive (causative) sentence to a higher causative verb gives the reading as (1a) above and will have no way of giving the reading of (1b); because the subject of the embedded sentence becomes the direct object of the higher verb. This is inevitable unless

the process of embedding a transitive sentence to a higher causative verb and thereby the whole process of deriving a (complex) causative verb is mediated by a passive transformation of the embedded sentence so that its newly promoted subject can be the direct object of the higher verb. This suggests that the derivation of causatives by 'as-', if at all it is transformational, should be the result of embedding passive and active sentences to a higher causative verb to get causatives of the passive and of the active, respectively.

The second shortcoming is that transformational account of causative derivation does not have room for the derivation of forms from non-actual bases, such as *gəññə, *wərra, etc., since these non-actual bases cannot be inserted into deep structures by lexical insertion rule. Hailu seems to have observed this problem, though he tried to patch it up by saying "whether the a-stem itself is derived from a basic stem, or whether the a-stem does not have a corresponding basic stem does not matter..." (1971:11)

As is pointed out in the previous section, in the traditional approaches, causativization was analysed morphologically but without a clear specification of the process in the lexical representation of forms.

Two recent works, Baye (1986 EC.) and Girmay (1992) have considered causativization as a lexical process of word formation. However, even these works are not detailed and complete to present causativization as a single Word Formation Rule with the details of all its operations.

1. 3. Theoretical Framework

In order to give a generalized account of causativization in Amharic, the discussion will be based on the assumptions of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) (Bresnan, 1982) about the lexical component and grammatical relations. The argument structure of verbs will be analysed according to prominence theory of argument structure (Grimshaw, 1990). And Aronoff's (1976) model of Word Formation as revised with subsequent modifications in Scalise (1984) will be followed in presenting the details of the process.

According to LFG, lexical entries specify grammatical relations by a direct mapping between semantic predicate arguments and configurations of surface grammatical functions. This direct mapping is governed by universal principles of function argument association such as the Biuniqueness Condition.

(2) Biuniqueness of Function-Argument Assignments:

$G = g_1, \dots, g_n$ is a possible grammatical function assignment to $P(1, \dots, m)$ if and only if mapping from $1, \dots, m$ to G defined by $i \rightarrow g_i$ is injective (one-to-one and into) (Bresnan, 1982:163).

This condition requires that the same grammatical function cannot be assigned to different predicate arguments and that different grammatical functions cannot be assigned to the same predicate argument.

LFG has as a guiding idea that only lexical rules can alter function-argument associations. This principle which is known as the principle of *direct syntactic encoding* deprives the syntactic component of such a power by positing that "syntactic rules must preserve function-argument correspondences" (Bresnan and Kaplan, 1982: xxviii).

According to Grimshaw's (1990) prominence theory of argument structure, the argument structure of a predicate, as a reflection of its lexical semantics,

does not consist of just a set of arguments but it is rather a structured representation over which relations of prominence are defined. The external argument is the most prominent, and the internal arguments also have prominence relative to each other (Grimshaw, 1990:7).

The organization of arguments into a certain argument structure (a-structure) is determined by two dimensions of

prominence: (1) the thematic dimension, which establishes a hierarchy of arguments according to their semantic properties; and (2) the aspectual dimension, which assigns arguments different status in the event structure of the semantic analysis of the lexical items.

In this theory, the configurational realization of arguments is determined by the aspectual dimension. The aspectually most prominent argument is always the grammatical subject. The concept of external argument is characterized by maximal prominence of an argument of a predicate along the two dimensions. The analysis in the aspectual dimension sets an event template which divides the event structure of predicates into *action* and *state* or *change of state* of sub-events. An argument identified as theme in thematic analysis will be associated with the less prominent second sub-event of the event template in the aspectual analysis. This argument, i.e. the theme, is notationally represented in two sets of parenthesis to indicate its absolute non external status even when it is found alone as in unaccusatives, because it is at the bottom of the hierarchy in both dimensions. The agent argument, on the other hand, is the maximally prominent argument in both dimensions, and it is represented in a single set of parenthesis. The proto-argument structure representation according to this theory is given as follows:

(3) (Agent (Experience (Goal/Source/Location (Theme))))

(Grimshaw, 1990:8)

According to the prominence theory of argument structure, the status of an argument cannot be changed by a lexical operation. Lexical processes such as passivization suppress the external argument of the base. This suppression simply leaves the argument position open. Suppressed positions of passives can license a special kind of adjuncts which are called *argument adjuncts*. Such adjuncts like arguments are licensed by a-structure, and unlike arguments they are not theta-marked and they occur optionally.

According to the model of word formation to be followed, the lexical component is composed of the dictionary and the morphological subcomponents. The dictionary contains words bracketed and labelled with a syntactic category and their boundness can be marked. The morphological subcomponent contains Word Formation Rules (WFRs), i.e. Derivational Rules (DRs) and Compounding Rules (CRs) together with formal constraints on them, and also Inflectional Rules (IRs).

WFRs specify: a set of words and/or stems on which they operate, i.e. their base; a unique phonological (in case of CRs concatenation) operation performed on the base; the syntactic label and subcategorization frame of the resulting

word along with a semantic reading which is a function of the semantic reading of the base. Among the formal constraints on WFRs are: Unitary Base Hypothesis, which stipulates for a WFR to involve bases that form a syntactic class specifiable in terms of a single syntactic category feature in \bar{X} -theory terms; and Binary Branching Hypothesis, which stipulates that the building of structure of words should be in the manner of one rule (affix) at a time.

Inflectional Rules, which obligatorily operate on derived or underived words (but not stems), complete the process of word formation.

What is very important in this model of morphology for the present purpose is the characterization of WFRs, especially those of DR's. The Readjustment Rules (RRs), which were originally formulated as morphological rules to take care of the final phonological details of a word before it is submitted to the syntactic component, can now be handled as lexical phonological rules as in Lexical Phonology.

According to the model of Lexical Phonology, phonological rules are identified as lexical as opposed to non-or post-lexical in the following conditions (summarized from Kenstowicz, 1994):

- A- If they involve features only within the phonemic inventory of the particular language according to Structure Preserving Principle;
- B- If they have direct access to the lexical properties of the constituent morphemes of a word;
- C- If they apply after each WFR (i.e. they are cyclic) and are bound by the Strict Cycle Condition.

(4) **Strict Cyclic Condition:**

- a- Cyclic rules apply only to derived representations.
- b- Definition: A representation Φ is derived with respect to rule R in cycle j iff Φ meets the structural analysis of R by virtue of a combination of morphemes introduced in cycle j or the application of a phonological rule in cycle j. (Kiparsky, 1982: 41, in Archangelli

1984:26)

Another condition within this model, which is significant in stating two rules involving one and the same focus in the same cycle as in our case, is the Elsewhere Condition. It determines the application of disjunctive rules.

(5) **The Elsewhere Condition:**

Rules A and B in the same component apply disjunctively to a form θ if and only if

- a- The structural description of A (the special rule) properly includes the structural description of B (the general rule)
- b- The result of applying A to θ is distinct from the result of applying B to θ .

In that case A is applied first, and if it takes effect then B is not applied (Kenstowicz, 1994:217) .

The statement and description of the rules will be according to the property of the component where the rules are claimed to belong.

The formal representation will be in accordance with the Autosegmental Theory as developed in McCarthy (1982) in conformity with Semitic Phonology and Morphology. McCarthy's development, retaining the essential aspect of the theory as

abstraction away from the notion of a segment to a more general idea of autosegments, bundles of distinctive features which, when joined together by rules of association or mapping, fully specify the surface phonological representation (1982:127),

introduces a morpheme tier. The organization of distinctive features into tiers was originally restricted to reference only to phonological 'information'. Having the assumption that particular languages have the option to select and autosegmentalize certain sets of features, McCarthy claims that "consonantal roots and vowel melodies in Semitic, although they involve some of the same distinctive features, can nevertheless be represented as separate autosegmental tiers" (1982:131). Consequently, the root consonants and vowels of a Semitic stem are recognized as separate morphemes.

The autosegmental representation of morphemes is given by μ -notation. According to this notation a morpheme is defined as "an ordered string of $1 \times n$ feature matrices associated autosegmentally with a root node μ " (1982:122). The significance of this formalism is that it distinctly represents the operation of phonological rules which are morphologically conditioned from those which are phonologically conditioned.

When dealing with representation of vowels Lowenstamm's (1991) organization and make-up of the vocalic system of Ethio-Semitic will be adopted, especially for its efficiency and elegance in describing the relationship between [a] and [ə]. He claims that in Ethio-Semitic, because all peripheral vowels are restricted to attach to branching nuclei, length no

more results in phonetic contrast between the vowels. Therefore, the central vowel [ə] is an innovation to maintain phonetic contrast with the long vowel [a] (Lowenstamm, 1991). [ə], being the default phonetic short form of [a], the association of [ə] to two uninterrupted skeletal slots represents a phonetic [a]. This move can further be supported by the fact that [a] is found where loss of radicals /ʔ/ and /h/ can be traced (Bender and Hailu, 1978), which can be explained as compensatory lengthening of the vowel [ə].

The characterization of 'i' as "nothing but the sort of pure noise that will provide phonetic interpretation for empty nuclei..." (Lowenstamm, 1991:963) allows other means within the bounds of the phonemic inventory to fill in the epenthetic nuclei. In this connection spreading will be assumed to fill in epenthetic slots in affixational derivations. Therefore, any affixation which initiates epenthetic nuclei may trigger the spreading of the theme vowel of the base to that epenthetic slot.

The organization and presentation of the remaining part of the paper is as follows: The second section focuses on the discussion of causativization as a lexical process by examining the a-structure and function of different verbal stems and their causative derivations. The third section

discusses the morphophonology of causativization by analysing the important lexical phonological rules which apply in deriving causatives from different stems. The conclusions drawn from the analyses are summarized in the fourth section.

2.Causativization

There are basic verb forms such as *səbbər-*, *gəddəl-*, *k'orrət'-*, etc. which lexically represent a situation of causation. These verbs predicate causal relationship between their respective pairs of arguments: that the state of one of the arguments is caused by the activity of the other argument. The 'a-stem' causatives are much the same as those lexical causatives: the state of the argument predicated of the basic stem gets a causer by 'a-' affixation. Also the 'as-stem' causatives have a causer argument in addition to the arguments of their basic forms. However, as has been shown in the previous chapter, the 'as-stem' derivations are open for ambiguity. In general causativization whether in 'a-stem' or 'as-stem' derivations introduces a causer argument.

Given that a WFR specifies, among other things, the semantic reading of the resulting word as a function of the semantic reading of the base, the important properties of the two affixes and the sources of ambiguity in the 'as-stem' causatives can be inferred from the syntacto-semantic analysis of the base. One such analysis is the analysis of the argument structure of the base.

2.1 Argument Structure of the Base

Potentially any event simple or complex can be causally related to other events. This makes it possible for causativization rule to apply to different verbs which predicate relationships between different numbers and types of participants licensed by their respective a-structures. The following a-structure types can be identified lexically represented by basic¹ verb forms:

- (a) ((Theme)) = unaccusatives,
- (b) (Agent)/(Exp) = unergatives,
- (c) (Agent(Theme)) = transitive agentives,
- (d) (Agent(Loc/Goal(Theme))) = ditransitives

Unaccusatives have only one obligatory argument the state of which is being predicated. This simple predication is represented in basic verb forms such as *danə* 'heal' (intr.), *fəlla* 'boil' (intr.), *galə* 'glow' (intr.), *səkkərə* 'be drunk', etc. Unergatives such as *hedə* 'go', *rot'ə* 'run', *waññə* 'swim', *zəffənə* 'sing', etc. predicate the activity or behaviour of an

¹In a system of derived stems a stem which serves the primary verbal expression function of that system is considered a basic stem. A stem with the theme vowel of /ə/ is normally the basic verbal expression of that system. And all basic forms including quadriradicals are symbolically represented by sequence of numerals for radicals and the theme vowel(s). Basic verbal expressions such as *awwək'-*, *sak'-*, *səmma-*, *k'om'*, *hed-*, *g'odda*, etc., are assumed to be the results of mutation of their prototypical 102203- forms.

argument. Transitive agentives predicate a relationship between two arguments X and Y such that X acts on Y or X acts or behaves in a way that effects the state of Y. It is this second sense of predication which relates basic transitives to simple morphological causatives. Verbs like k'ət't'a 'punish', lək'k'ək'ə 'release', nək'k'ələ 'uproot', bət'əbbət'ə 'shake', etc., are basic transitive agentives. Ditransitives predicate relationship between three arguments X,Y,Z such that X acts on Z to bring about Z's relation with Y. səkka 'poke', səddədə 'send', č'anə 'load', sət't'ə 'give', etc., are ditransitive basic forms.

In addition to the above basic forms, there are bound verbal stems which derive actual verbs by 'tə-' or 'a-' affixation. The 'tə-' derivations of such stems have a-structures compatible with their passive like morphology: they are all non-agentive. tək'əmmət'ə 'sit', təkəttələ 'follow', təgaffət'ə 'collide', tərəkkəbə 'receive', təkərayyə 'rent', etc., have (Goal/Loc(Theme)) a-structure. Habitatives such as təsaddəbə 'insult', tərəggət'ə 'stamp on', tənakkəsə 'bite', tənəddəfə 'sting', etc., have an argument that shows some habit. Reflexives such as tək'əmmət'ə 'seat oneself', tənəffət'ə 'blow one's nose', tənəssa 'raise oneself', etc. have an

argument which benefits from its own action. There are psyche-verbs which predicate the psychological state of an argument from unspecified instigator. These are: tədəssətə 'be happy', tək'ot't'a 'be angry', tək'əyyəmə 'be discontented', təsək'ayyə 'suffer'. The single argument of habituatives, reflexives and psyche-verbs is one which experiences a mental, emotional or physical state from an 'implicit' instigator: the habit in habituatives; the self in reflexives; and the object of emotion in psyche-verbs. The only Experiencer argument of such verbs can be represented as ((Exp)) in a-structure to show its non-external status.

There are other forms with similar derivation which predicate a state or change of state of an argument such as təzəgajjə 'be/get ready', təsərač'č'ə 'be/get distributed', tədərajjə 'be/get organized', təkəmač'č'ə 'be accumulated', etc. The a-structure of these verbs is like that of unaccusatives, i.e. ((Theme)).

The 'a-' affixation to bound verbal stems derive agentive verbs of a-structures similar to those of basic agentives. agəssa 'belch', afwač'č'ə 'whistle', anəkkəsə 'limp', anəbənnəbə 'murmur', etc. have a single agent argument, i.e. (Agent) in a-structure; awəggəzə 'condemn', anət't'əfə 'make bed', etc. have an a-structure of

(Agent(Theme)); ak'əbbələ 'deliver', abəddərə 'lend', abəssərə 'tell good news' amələkkətə 'demonstrate', etc. have an a-structure of (Agent (Goal/Loc (Theme))).

Generally, the agentive/non-agentive contrast in a-structure of the 'a-' and 'tə-' derivations of bound stems can be ascribed to the two affixes, respectively. In that 'a' introduces an agent¹ argument to the bound stem which was lacking one. This is causativization in a way. Similarly, 'tə-' affixation to the bound stems can be considered as medio-passive formation. (See section 2.4.) Nevertheless, all the basic and non-basic verb forms are possible bases for causativization.

2.2 'a-' as a Causative Affix

Girmay has clearly stated: "...the prefix a- is required only in ergative verbs which ...lexically lack an agent argument" (1992:66). As it has already been shown, 'a-' derives agentive verbs from bound verbal stems. The agent introduced by 'a-' is an external argument associated with the first (action) sub-event in the event structure of the derived verb.

¹Strictly speaking agent is a volitional entity, but arguments licensed by causative morphemes are often referred to as agent. In fact, any participant licensed by causative morphemes should be related to the sense of agency.

'a-' has been described as simple causative, because it derives verbs which represent the agent's action of causing the state of an argument or the relation of the two arguments in a single domain of prominence as in transitive agentives. The causer argument of 'a-' is the most prominent by itself and in relation to other arguments of the base. The prohibition of 'a-' affixation to agentives can be explained from the simple causative nature of the affix.

If 'a-' is to be affixed to agentives either the a-structure of the base should somehow be altered in order for the argument of the affix to maintain its prominence over all others in the derived a-structure, or the argument of the affix should define another domain of prominence outside of the internal a-structure, (in which the agent of the base is the most prominent). 'a-' fails to attach to agentives in any of these conditions, and this seems to be where 'as-' is needed for. 'a-' affixation introduces a most prominent argument to an a-structure which permits one.

Now that 'a-' is the exclusive causative affix for non-agentive bases, the causative counter parts of 'tə-' derived verbs should straightforwardly derive with 'a-' affixation, since these verbs are non-agentives. With the assumption that

the 'tə-' 'assimilates'¹ to the first radical of the bound stem it is plausible to argue that 'a-' derives the causatives of such verbs as in (6)

(6) tə-gaffət'-	→	a-ggaffət'-	'collide'
tə-kərayy-	→	a-kkərayy-	'rent'
tə-saddəb-	→	a-ssaddəb-	'insult'
tə-nakkəs-	→	a-nnakkəs-	'bite'
tə-naffət'-	→	a-nnaffət'-	'blow nose'
tə-naffəs-	→	a-nnaffəs-	'take fresh air'
tə-zəgajj-	→	a-zzəgajj-	'be ready'
(7) tə-dəssət-	→	a-sdəssət-	'be happy'
tə-k ^w ot't'a	→	a-sk'ot't'a	'be angry'
tə-wəggəd-	→	a-swggəd-	'be disposed'
tə-rəkkəb-	→	a-srəkkəb-	'receive'
tə-k'əmmət'-	→	a-sk'əmmət'-	'sit'
tə-nəssa	→	a-snəssa	'stand up'
tə-kəttəl-	→	a-skəttəl-	'follow'
tə-k'əyyəm-	→	a-sk'əyyəm-	'be disappointed'

¹ The term 'assimilate' is used here along the common descriptive assumption to mean that the absence of the 'tə-' can somehow be accounted for from the gemination of the initial radical of the stem. Further morphophonological explanation of the phenomenon is given in the next chapter.

However a subset of 'tə-' derived non-agentive verbs such as those in (7) seem to fail to take 'a-'. The causative counterpart of such verbs derive from the bound basic stems by 'as-' affixation. 'a-' also fails to derive the causatives of such verbs from the bound basic stems. The failure of 'a-' to attach to the bound basic stems may be explained by the potential agentivity of the basic stems. But the reason why 'a-' doesn't attach to 'tə'-derived stems will have nothing to do with the a-structure of the stems as far as these stems are non-agentive. Since the causatives of verbs such as (7) derive from their (potentially agentive) basic stems they can be treated in the same way as actual agentive verbs. And the issue of 'tə'-derived non-agentives will be clarified in subsequent sections with the examination of the a-structure of agentives under causativization and medio-passivization.

2.3 Is 'as-' a Distinct Causative Affix?

If 'as-' is a distinct causative affix, as it is frequently stated in the literature, what it could be is the causative of agentives. In fact, the causatives of such verbs are always found in 'as-stem' form.

		28	
(8) hed-	→	ashed-	'go'
waňň-	→	aswaňň-	'swim'
k'ət't'a	→	ask't't'a	'punish'
lək'k'ək'-	→	aslək'kə'k'-	'release'
č'an-	→	asč'an-	'load'
sət't'-	→	assət't'-	'give'
(9) agəssa	→	asgəssa	'belch'
anəkkəs-	→	asnəkkəs-	'limp'
anəssa	→	asnəssa	'pick'
agəňň-	→	asgəňň-	'find'

What is observed here in (8) and (9) is 'as-' performing what 'a-' fails to do.

Careful analysis of the a-structure of the causative derivation of the agentives in (8) and (9) reveals that the agent of the stem is not incorporated in the derived causative.

(10) (a) līj-očč-u waňň-u

child-Pl-the-swam-3pl.NOM

'The children swam.'

(b) Kasa lij-očč-u-n as-waňñ-ə-aččəw

Kasa child-pl-the-ACC CAUS-swam-3ms.NOM

'Kasa made the children swim.'

(11) (a) direktər-wa təmari-u-n k'ət't'a-čči-u

director-the(f) student-the-ACC punished-

3fs.NOM -3ms ACC

'The director punished the student.'

(b) ??məmhır-u direktər-wa-n təmari-u-n as-

k'ət't'a-at

teacher-the director-the(f)-ACC student-

the-OBL CAUS-punished-3fs OBJ

'The teacher made the director punish the student.'

(c) məmhır-u təmari-u-n (bə-direktər-wa)

as-k'ət't'a-u

teacher-the student-the-ACC(by-director-

the(f)) CAUS-punished-3ms OBJ

'The teacher got the student punished (by the director).'

(12) (a) təšəkkami-u g^waz-u-n awtobus-u lay č'an-ə

porter-the staff-the-ACC bus-the-on

loaded-3ms SUBJ

'The porter loaded the staff on the bus.'

(b) təšəkkami-u awtobus-u-n g^waz č'an-ə-u

porter-the bus-the-ACC staff loaded-3ms-

SUBJ-3ms OBJ

(c) məngədəňña-wa g^waz-u-n (bə-təšəkkami-u)

awtobus-u lay as-č'an-ə-čči-u

traveller-the staff-the-ACC (by-porter-

the) bus-the-on CAUS-loaded-3fs SUBJ-3ms

OBJ

'The traveller got the staff loaded on

the bus (by the porter).

(d) ??məngədəňña-wa təšəkkami-u-n awtobus-u-n

g^waz as-č'an-ə-čči-u

traveller-the(f) porter-the-ACC bus-the-

OBL staff CAUS-loaded-3fs SUBJ-3ms OBJ

'The traveller made the porter load the

bus with staff.'

(e) məŋgədəňña-wa awtobus-u-n (bə-təšəkami-u)

g^waz as-č'an-ə-čči-u

'The traveller got the bus loaded with
staff (by the porter).

In (10a) the unergative verb /waňňə/ predicates the volitional act of an argument /lįjočču/ the effect of which is understood to bear on itself. Since it sets itself into the activity of swimming this single argument has a role of agent. In contrast the derived causative verb aswaňňə of (10b) predicates the permissive or coercive act of an argument /Kasa/ affecting another argument /lįjočču/. /lįjočču/ in (10b) has no volition over the act of swimming; it has been set into that activity by the causer (argument). Therefore it can't be equated with that which represents the agent argument in (10a). It is an experiencer (patient) argument.

In (11a) the basic transitive verb k'ət't'a predicates the immediate act of the agent argument /direktərwa/ upon the patient (theme) argument /təmariw/. The causative derivative of the same verb k'ət't'a predicates a causer argument (məmhīru) instigating the suffering of a patient (theme) argument (təmariw) in (11c). The mediated agency of the causer argument may be explicitly represented by surfacing an optional

instrumental agent (argument adjunct) (bə-direktərwa). This suggests that causativization of agentives affects the a-structure of their base.

(11b) seems to have fully incorporated the structure of its base. However, the addition of an extra agent (causer) to the (agent (theme)) a-structure of the base verb has made the derived causative structure less acceptable. (11b) may be interpreted as a viable structure if the causative verb predicates the persuasive or coercive act of the causer argument (məmhīru) putting the experiencer patient argument (direktərwa) into the activity of punishing, the effect of which extends to a theme argument (təmarīw). It is the same with ditransitives that the causative of a ditransitive verb does not incorporate the agent of the base. (12d) can be acceptable only if the a-structure of the causative verb is presumed to have, beside the causer argument, experiencer, locative and theme arguments.

What is shared by the causativization of agentives is that the agent argument is suppressed and, instead, an experiencer¹ (10b, 11b and 12d) or instrumental agent (11c, 12c and 12e) may be licensed as an argument adjunct.

¹ The suppression of agent and the licensing of experiencer in agentives, which assures the non-agentive use of the base verbs under causativization within the framework of prominence theory of a-structure can also be related to Syeed's (1985) use of the concept of affectivity. According to Syeed a verb is said to be affective when it represents

What brought about the suppression of the agent of these verbs? Could it be the 's-' in 'as-', since 'a-' is the causative affix anyway? This is what Girmay suggested as an alternative analysis:

At a deeper level, we may try to relate the two morphemes, a- and as-, by proposing that as- is composed of a- + s-. We shall assume that a- always adds an agent theta role, but that the addition of an agent to a verb will only be allowed if that verb has no agent already present in its argument structure... Then the role of s- becomes clear: it is to embed [sic] one argument structure within another...the s- prefix creates a new verb, and as such it requires that the GFs of the verb root be changed. Since these changes are going to be based on percolation, we shall predict that the theme is not affected, only the inner Ag[ent]is (1992:67-8).

If 's-' is what brought about the suppression of the agent argument of agentive verbs, this means that agentive verbs are rendered non-agentive to take the simple causative affix 'a-'.

Considering the causativization of 'tə'-derived non-agentive verbs of (7) throws more light to what the nature of 's-' is. The base forms of such verbs are not actual; there are no verbs like *dəssətə, *kəttələ, *k'əyyəmə, etc. However one can assume that they are potentially agentives, because

action that affects the subject. Agency, being a role of instigation, does not reflect affectedness. Therefore, the sense in which transitives and unergatives undergo suppression of their agents before causativization can be understood as the affective use of such verbs, since their subject position will be taken over by a role which can bear affectedness.

they cannot derive their causatives by 'a-' affixation, whereas they derive passive-like actual forms by 'tə-' affixation suppressing the potential agent. The causatives of such bound stems could have been derived by affixing 'a-' to their 'tə-stem' derivations, since they are rendered non-agentive in the processes of derivation.

That the causatives of such forms surface in 'as-stem' conforms the potential agentivity of the base forms. Therefore, the previous observation can be maintained that 's-' is needed here to suppress the agent of verbs before they causativize. It should be noted here that the difference between 'tə-' and 's-' is formal rather than functional. And the functional overlap and the distributional complementation of 'tə-' and 's-' suggests the underlying unity of the two forms. It will not be surprising to assume that 's-' is a reflex of /t/ of the medio-passive formative. (See next section.) In this respect the dialectal variation, within Amharic, between [t] and [s] in the purpose introducing morpheme 'sɨl-' (13a) and time introducing morpheme 's-' (13b) provides empirical evidence that these two sounds constitute a natural class.

(13) (a) gənzəb tɨl-annəsə-ññ

(Northern Shewa

Southern Wello)

gənzəb sɪl-annəsə-ŋŋ (other dialects)

money because-less-1s SUB

'Because I was short of money,'

(b) wəndɪmm-e t-yi-mət'a (Northern Shewa Southern
Wello)

wəndɪmm-e s-yi-mət'a (other dialects)

brother-1s POSS when-he-comes

'When my brother comes,'

Analysing the 's-' of 'as-' as underlying medio-passive formative /t-/ strengthens Girmay's insight¹, because the 's-' can now be conceived as a realization of a designated affix distinct from the causative affix 'a-'. At this point a generalized hypothesis of causativization can be posited for Amharic that there is a single causative affix 'a-' which introduces a causer argument to an a-structure which allows one.

(14) **Simple Causativization In Amharic:**

Causativization in Amharic derives a simple argument structure in which the causer argument of the causative affix is the most prominent.

¹ In fact, it was only pointed out to him by V. Manfredi (P:C) as he acknowledges.

So far it has been shown that non-agentive verbs can add a causer argument into their a-structure by prefixing 'a-'. In the remaining sections the Simple Causativization Hypothesis will be proved by further examination of agentives or, generally, verbs with a most prominent argument in their a-structure.

The important proof for the hypothesis comes from the consideration that the 's-', which is found in causative derivations is a reflex of the affix 'tə-'. In the literature 'tə-' has been frequently described as reflexive, passive, habituative, reciprocative, etc. First it should be examined whether all instances of 'tə-' affixation lead to the same result in the process of causativization.

2.4 'tə-' as Medio-Passive Formative

Amharic derives 'canonical' passives from transitive bases by affixing 'tə-'. The agent of a passivized transitive realizes as an optional oblique phrase.

(15) (a) k'it'rəñña Kasa-n gəddəl-ə-u

mercenary killed - 3ms SUBJ-3ms OBJ

'(A) mercenary killed Kasa.'

(b) (bə-k'it'rəñña) tə-gəddəl-ə

by mercenary PASS-killed- 3ms SUBJ

'He was killed (by(a) mercenary).'

(16) (a) prezident-u lə-təmari-wočč-u šillimat sət'-u
 president- the to-student-Pl-the award gave-
 3ms SUBJ

'The president gave award to the students.'

(b) təmari-wočč-u (kə-prezident-u) šillimat tə-
 sət't'-u

student-Pl-the (from-president-the) award
 PASS-gave-3Pl SUBJ

'The students were given aware (from the
 president).'

Passivization has suppressed the external arguments of agentive predicates in (15b) and (16b). In these structures the less prominent arguments have been focused and assigned GF of subject in place of their respective suppressed agents.

Unergatives do not seem to lend themselves to this kind of passivization, since they have no other argument for which the agent is suppressed. Nevertheless, there are cases when passive-like forms are derived out of unergatives.

(17) (a) yə-mənədər-u set-očč č'oh-u

of- village- the women-Pl cried-3Pl SUBJ

'Women of the village cried.'

(b) tə-č'oh-ə

PASS-cried-3ms SUBJ

'It has been cried.'

(18) (a) bɪzu səw-očč ɪhud ɪhud ɪ-waňň-all-u

many people Sundays 3s-swim-AUX-3Pl SUBJ

'Many people swim on Sundays.'

(b) ɪhud ɪhud ɪ-wwaňň-all-ə

Sundays 3s-PASS-swim-AUX-3ms SUBJ

'It is swam on Sundays.'

The only agent arguments of unergatives are suppressed in (17b) and (18b) by 'tə-' affixation yielding in 'impersonal passive' structures with the subject positions filled by expletives, for there are no other arguments in the a-structures of the predicate

'a-' derived unergatives and transitives are expected to passivize in the same way as the basic unergatives, since they are agentives. However, the passive counterparts of these forms seem to derive directly from the bound stem.

(19) (a) hɪzb-u a-č'əbəč'č'əb-ə

crowd- the CAUS-clapped-3ms SUBJ

'The crowd clapped.'

(b) tə-č'əbəč'č'əb-ə

PASS-clapped-3ms SUBJ

'It was clapped'

(20) (a) Aster yə-Kasa-n k'ələbət a-gəññ-əčč

Aster of-Kasa-ACC ring CAUS-found-3fs SUBJ

'Aster found Kasa's ring.'

(b) yə-Kasa k'ələbət (bə-Aster) tə-gəññ-ə

of-Kasa ring (by-Aster) PASS-found-3ms

SUBJ

'Kasa's ring was found (by Aster).'

If the 'a-' of 'a-stem' verbs is the causative affix, the base form to which it attaches should not have an agent in its a-structure. And for the 'tə-stem' counterparts of 'a-stem' verbs to be passive, the stem to which 'tə-' attaches should have an external argument to be suppressed. These seem to be contradictory requirements. However, they can be reconciled if the affixation of 'a-' to the bound stem applies first to derive an agentive predicate, then follows the passivization to suppress the introduced agent of the 'a-stem' verb. It will not be ad hoc if one assumes that the passive of 'a-' derived unergatives (19b) and transitives (20b) actually derive from respective 'a-stem' forms of (19a) and (20a) dropping the 'a-' in the process. In the same way, if 'tə-' is

to derive forms from basic unaccusatives it should wait until the causative 'a-' introduces a causer argument, which will then be suppressed in passivization. The same for derived non-agentives; they cannot undergo suppression of external argument for they do not have any. That is why 'tə-' does not apply to 'tə-stem' verbs such as 'tə-k'əmmətə', 'tə-dəssətə', 'tə-k'əyyəmə', etc. But can the 'tə-' of such verbs be related to the one which suppresses external arguments?

As has been shown in the 'tə-'derived forms of habituatives, reflexives and psyche-verbs the instigator or effector is only understood and can never be realized in subject position. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (b) below reveal the same fact.

- (21) (a) ahīyya (bə-təfət'ro-u) y-r-raggət'-all-ə
 donkey(by-nature-Poss 3ms) 3s-PASS-stamp
 on-AUX-3ms SUBJ
 'Donkey is apt to stamp-on (by its nature)'

- (b) *təfət'ro-u ahīyya-n yī(r)raggət'-əw-all
 'It's nature makes donkey to stamp on.'

- (22) (a) Kasa (bə-fillagot-u) tə-k'əmmət'-ə
 Kasa(by-desire-POSS 3ms) PASS-sat -3ms SUBJ
 'Kasa sat down (because he wanted to).'

(b) *fillagot-u Kasa-n (tə-)k'əmmət'-ə-u

'His desire made Kasa sit'.

(23) (a) Aster(bə-wit't'et-wa) tə-dəssət-əčč

Aster (by-result-POSS 3fs) PASS-be happy

3fs SUBJ

'Aster was happy (by her result).'

(b) *wit't'et-wa Aster-in(tə-)dəssət-at

'Her result made Aster happy.'

Beside habitatives, 'tə-' derives other forms from 1a22ə3- and 1ə2a22ə3- stems. The 'tə-' derivatives of these two stems are very similar in meaning and hence can be used interchangeably. The derived forms are referred to as reciprocatives. təgaddəl-u and təgədaddəl-u can be used to mean 'they killed each other' except that the latter seem to have more participants because of the 'iterative' function of the base. Reciprocatives do not have external arguments, that is, the participants are focused as undergoers of the effect of each other's action, The structure which focuses the participants of reciprocatives as doers is ill-formed as in (24).

(24) (a) təč'awač-očč-u ɪrsbərs tə-səbabbər-/tə-sabbər-u

player-Pl-the each other PASS-broke-3p SUBJ.

'The players broke one another.'

(b) *təč'awač-očč-u ɪrasaččəw tə-səbabbəru

'The players themselves broke.

From this one can conclude that the 'tə-' in reciprocatives suppresses the participants as actors or instigators .

What has been observed throughout the 'tə-' derivations is the suppression of external arguments. Therefore, it is methodologically appropriate to unite all instances of 'tə-' affixation as long as they bring about essentially the same effect in the derived forms. In this respect, Spencer's distinction of a medio-passive voice vis-à-vis active voice, can be strengthened by morphological evidence from Amharic:

...the medio-passive voice ... as the set of forms in which the subject is acted upon in some way, whether by himself (reflexive.), by the object he himself is acting on (reciprocal), some possibly unspecified agent (passive), or in a more indirect way by benefiting specifically from his own action (middle) (Spencer, 1991:248)

is signalled by 'tə-' affixation. Then, accordingly, 'tə-' can be described as a medio-passive lexical formative of Amharic.

2.5 Causativization of Medio-Passives

Non-agentive bases satisfy the requirement of *simple causativization* (14) that is they don't have a maximally prominent argument; therefore, the derived causatives of these

verbs will have the argument of the causative affix as the most prominent one. Agentive verbs cannot undergo Simple Causativization by 'a-' affixation because there will be more external argument than the a-structure can accommodate. The 'as-stem' forms which have been frequently described as causatives of transitives actually have the property of simple causatives: that the causer argument is the most prominent argument realized as subject, whereas the agent of the base is realized as optional oblique object. This suggests that there is no sense in calling 'as-stem' derivations causatives of transitives or double causatives as the agents of the bases do not maintain their argument status in the derivation.

Causativization of transitives inflicts a change in the a-structure of a base. The change is like that of passivization, i.e., suppressing the agent. This condition of causativization of transitives has been observed cross-linguistically. Grahame-Bailey's generalization on Hindi is as follows:

[t]here is no causal of the active voice of a transitive verb. The so-called causal is the causal of its passive voice. It means 'to cause the action of the transitive verb to be performed, not to make someone perform, (Grahame-Bailey, 1950:58 in Saksena, 1980:134)

and Leslau's (1967,1995) description of 'as-stem' forms as causative of the passive conform to Comrie's proposal of passive analysis to the causativization of transitives:

Another approach to the use of agentive phrases is expressing the embedded subject where there is also an indirect object would be to say that this agentive phrase is the result of passivization in the embedded sentence before causativization takes place. Evidence in favour of this is to be found in those languages that allow an agentive phrase even where we have the causative of a transitive verb that has no indirect object... (1976:271).

In Amharic the passive base of the so-called causative of transitives can be related to the morphological appearance of 's-' on the basically transitive forms with 'a-' affixation. The 's-' which has been postulated earlier to be a reflex of the passive affix 'tθ-' is the one which facilitates the condition for a uniform causativization of transitives.

It is the same also with other verb forms the a-structure of which contain an external argument: that their causatives are in 'as-stem' form indicates that they have undergone medio-passive formation before causativization. We can generalize that all verbs with an external argument can causativize only after they undergo medio-passivization. Prominence theory of argument structure predicts that "[i]n causativization... the addition of a new external argument is

possible only if the former external argument is suppressed or two different domains of prominence are maintained" (Grimshaw, 1990:126). Amharic provides concrete morphological evidence for the first option of suppressing a former external argument by an intermediary process of medio-passivization.

The causatives of medio-passives of 1a22ə3- and 1ə2a22ə3- types do not surface in 'as-stem' forms. The medio-passive formative 'assimilates' to the first radical of these forms with a few exceptions of basic 1a22ə3- forms such as garrədə 'curtain', galləbə 'ride', k'assətə 'gasp', etc.. The difference in the change of the medio-passive formative will be explained morphophonologically in the next chapter. What is important to note here is that the medio-passive is there to let the application of causativization as a uniform morphological process of affixing the causative morpheme 'a-' with its constraint that the a-structure of the base should have no external argument available for syntactic realization.

As it will become clear soon, the underlying form of the causative morpheme can better be represented as 'H-', a morphophoneme standing for a glottal consonant, which later surfaces as 'a-' after assimilating with the epenthetic /ə/. The morphophoneme 'H' can be related to the Proto-Semitic causative prefixes: 'ʔ' (= 'ʔ') and 'h' (Moscati, 1964).

Having this assumption and the generalizations made so far the causativization rule of Amharic can be formulated as follows:

(25) Rule of Causativization:

(a) Morphological change: $[x] \longrightarrow [H+x]_v$

(b) A-structure change: $(-(2(\dots)\dots)) \longrightarrow$

$(1(2(\dots)\dots))$

Where x is free or bound verbal stem and '-' is the suppressed or nil external argument position and the numerals are arguments in their order of prominence.

3. Morphophonology of Causativization

In the previous chapter the causativization rule of Amharic has been formulated. In this chapter, the application of this rule and the accompanying Lexical Phonological Rules (LPR) such as syllabification, epenthetic spreading, t-weakening and causative skeleton deletion will be discussed.

3.1 Syllabification and Epenthetic Spreading

So far, the medio-passive and the causative morphemes were represented as 'tə' and 'a-', respectively, implying that the traditional analysis does not represent the underlying forms of the morphemes. The underlying representations of the two morphemes are reduced to /t-/ and /H-/ based on the analysis of different lexical phonological rules which operate in the derivation of medio-passive and causative verbs.

The /ə/ of the medio-passive formative has limited occurrence to be taken as part of the medio-passive formative. It is not found where the medio-passive is preceded by other affixes such as in imperfective conjugations :y^hggəddəl-< y-təgəddəl-, inniffəlalləg- < inn-təfəlalləg-, tinnaggər-< t-tənaggər-, etc.; and in causatives: asgəddəl- < a-təgəddəl-, affəlalləg- < a-təfəlalləg-, annaggər- < a-tənaggər-, etc.. Also, /ə/ is not necessary in passivizing verbs with

underlying initial glottal consonant. Since the initial radical of such verbs surfaces as [a] as in *assərə-*, *awwək'-*, *addəs-*, etc. the /t/ can attach without a following /ə/ as follows : *tassər-*, *tawwək-*, *taddəs-*, etc.

Indeed, the /ə/ of 'tə-' is in an epenthetic position, because it is found only where /t-/ affixation is likely to create impermissible initial consonant cluster. When derivations violate the canonical syllable structures of the language rule of syllabification apply to erect epenthetic nuclei. The /ə/ is a vowel associated to the epenthetic nuclei erected by the syllabification rule. As distinct from the post lexical epenthetic insertion of /i/, the /ə/ is associated to the epenthetic nuclei by a lexical phonological rule of Epenthetic Spreading of the theme vowel.

The proposal of /H-/ as the underlying form of the causative morpheme follows from the assumption about the representation of vowels (p.17 - 18): that surface [a] is underlying long /ə/. In conformity with this assumption the underlying initial glottal consonant of verbs surfaces as [a] as a result of the association of the theme vowel /ə/ to the skeletal slot of the glottal consonant (with or without delinking of the glottal consonant).

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(26a) represents the underlying form of verbs with initial glottal consonant: the association of root consonants and the theme vowel to the skeletal slots. (26b) and (c) represent the conflation of the vocalic and the consonantal tiers, and the spreading of the nearby vowel to the skeletal slot of the initial glottal consonant, respectively. The affixation of the causative morpheme to the underlying form of a verb in (27a) is followed by epenthetic nuclei erection and epenthetic spreading in (27b) ; after tier conflation in (27c) the nearby vowel spreads to the skeletal slot of the glottal consonant of the causative morpheme in (27d).

The glottal consonant may or may not delink after the vowel has spread into its skeletal slot as the derived verb may be pronounced with or without glottal consonant word initially. In further derivations the skeletal slot of the glottal root consonant is maintained by the lengthened vowel /ə/ which is realized as [a], whereas the skeletal slot of the causative morpheme deletes.

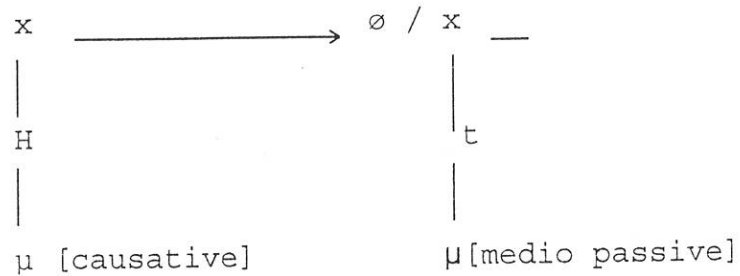
3.2 Causative Skeleton Deletion

It has been shown in the previous chapter that verbs can passivize only if they have an external argument. Accordingly, unaccusatives such as *følla* 'boil (intr)', *mok'ə* 'heat (intr.)', *bokka* 'ferment (intr)', etc. should not

passivize because they do not have external argument. However, there are passive forms which appear to have been derived from such basic verbs: təfəlla, təmok'ə, təbokka, etc.. Since these passive forms have suppressed agent argument in their a-structures, that agent should have been introduced to the unaccusative bases through causativization before passivization. But the causative morpheme does not surface in passives of causativized unaccusatives. It is the same with the passives of bound stems such as *gəññə > təgəññə, *wərra > təwərra, *bət't'ərə > təbət't'ərə, etc. that the passive forms have suppressed agent position in their a-structures, whereas the bound stems are agentless as their causative derivations gəññə, awərra, abət't'ərə, etc. suggest. These causative forms are not derived from the passives, because in that case the passive morpheme should have shown up as 's-'.

The fact that all passive forms have suppressed external arguments position suggest that the passive of verbal bases with no external argument can be derived from the causative of those verbs. The causative morpheme which does not surface in the passive forms can be assumed to have deleted in the process of passivization. The deletion of the causative morpheme in the passivization of causativized stems is formulated as follows:

(28) The Causative Morpheme Skeleton Deletion Rule:

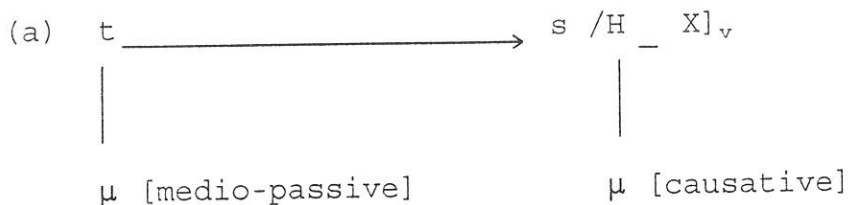
**3.3 t- weakening in Causativization of Medio-Passives**

According to the Simple Causativization Hypothesis of (14) verbs with an external argument in their a-structure derive their causative counterparts from their passive forms. And after a morphophonological process of derivation the passive morpheme is assumed to surface as [s] in certain stems and as part of a geminated initial radical in other stems. The change of /t/ into [s], in certain stems, is the change of the feature [-cont.] into [+cont.] and in other stems the change of /t/ into a totally different sound is the loss of feature matrices except the skeletal slot to which the initial radical of the stem associates. According to the progressive obstruent weakening schema of Lass (1984) the former is at the 'feature change' stage of lenition, whereas the second is at the 'matrix change' stage.

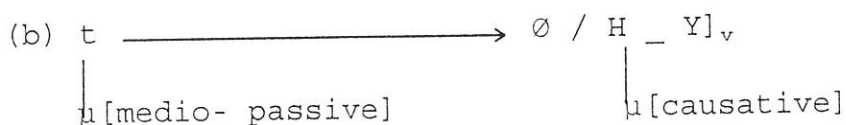
t-weakening is generally conditioned by causativization of medio-passives, and the specific changes are conditioned by

specific morphological properties of the stems in which the morpheme is contained. In the /H-/ affixation cycle the medio-passive formative /t/ changes its [-cont.] feature into [+cont.] in basic stems and it loses all its features in other stems. (See footnote on page 21 for characterization of basic stems.) Then [+basic] is the abstract morphological feature of stems which condition the specific change of the medio-passive formative /t/ into [s] under causativization. The feature change and matrix change lenition of the medio-passive formative /t/ of Amharic can be stated as reflexes of disjunctively applying weakening rules of the type (29).

(29) t- weakening in Causativization of Medio-Passives:



where X is [+ basic] verbal stem.



where Y is a verbal stem.

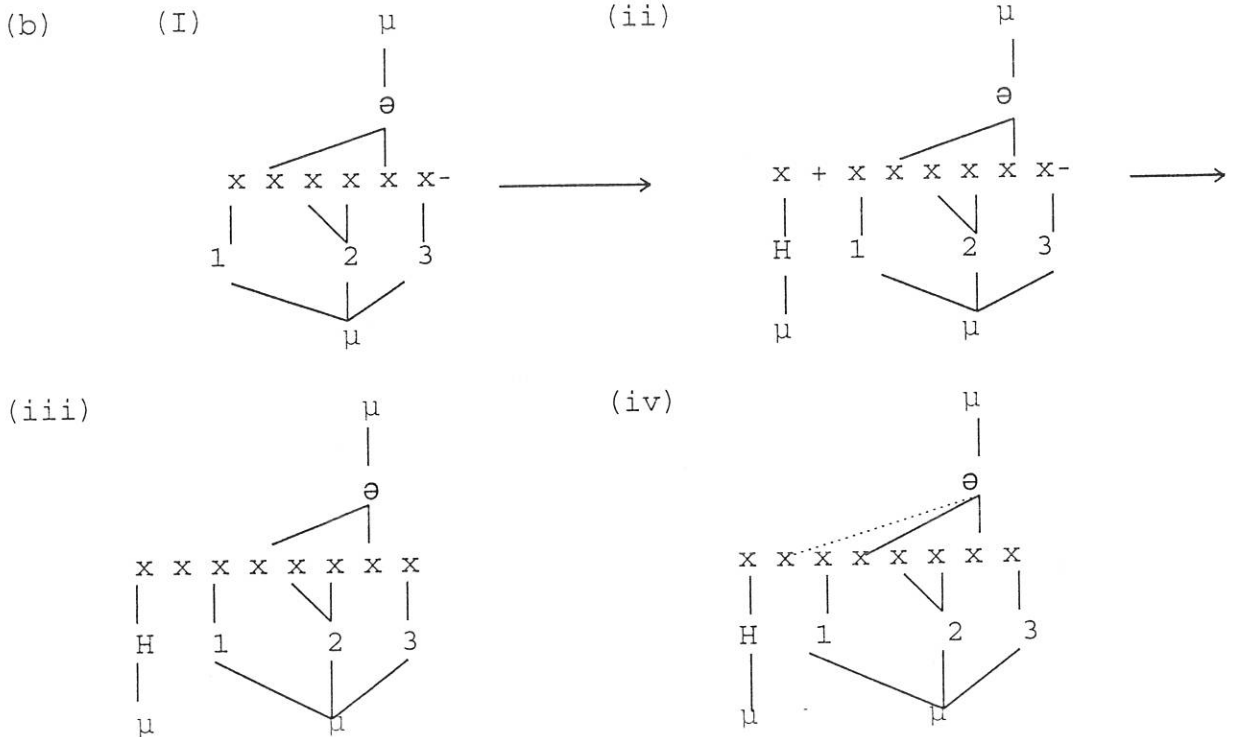
The application of the two rules (29a) and (b) is governed by the Elsewhere Condition (5).

Syllabification, t-weakening (29), Causative skeleton deletion (28), and epenthetic spreading are the important lexical phonological rules which apply cyclically in deriving medio-passives and causatives from different types of verbal stems. The morphophonology of causativization is illustrated below with different verbal stems.

(30) Causativization of verbs without external argument:

(a)

bækkən-	səffə	lək'k'əs-	k'ossəl-	bərəkkət-	Input
H-bækkən-	H-səffə	H-lək'k'əs-	H-k'ossəl-	H-bərəkkət-	H-affixation
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	LPR
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
HVbækkən-	HVsəffə	HVlək'k'əs-	HVk'ossəl-	HVBərəkkət-	Syllabification
Həbækkən-	Həsəffə	Hələk'k'əs-	Hək'ossəl-	Həbərəkkət-	Epenthetic Spreading

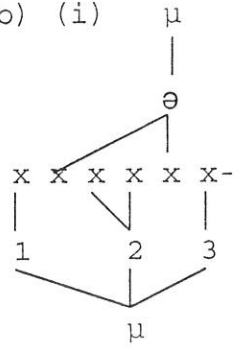


(31) Causativization of verbs with external arguments:

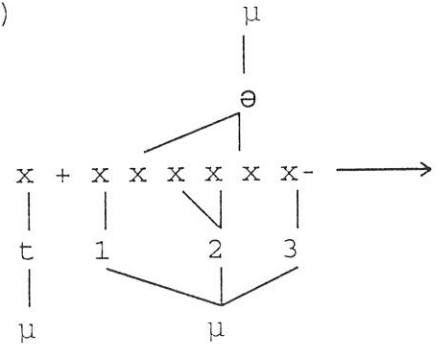
(a)

k'əət't'əl-	gələbbət'-	Həzzəl-	zəffən-	Həgəññ-	Hələk'k'əs-	wədəəddər-	Input
t-k'əət't'əl-	t-gələbbət'-	t-Həzzəl-	t-zəffən-	t-Həgəññ-	t-Hələk'k'əs-	t-wədəəddər-	t-affixation
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	LPR
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	(29a)
-----	-----	-----	-----	təgəññ-	tələk'k'əs-	-----	(29b)
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	(28)
tVk'əət't'əl-	tVgələbbət'-	tVHəzzəl-	tVzəffən-	-----	-----	tVwədəəddər-	Syllabification
tək'əət't'əl-	təgələbbət'-	təHəzzəl-	təzəffən-	-----	-----	təwədəəddər-	Epenthetic Spreading
H-tək'əət't'əl-	H-təgələbbət'-	H-təHəzzəl-	H-təzəffən-	H-təgəññ-	H-tələk'k'əs-	H-təwədəəddər-	H-affixation
-----	H-səgələbbət'-	H-səHəzzəl-	H-səzəffən-	H-səgəññ-	H-sələk'k'əs-	-----	LPR
H-ək'əət't'əl-	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	H-əwədəəddər-	(29a)
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	(29b)
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	(28)
HVək'əət't'əl-	HVsgələbbət'-	HVshəzzəl-	HVsəzəffən-	HVsgəññ-	HVslək'k'əs-	HVəwədəəddər-	Syllabification
Hək'əət't'əl-	Həsgələbbət'-	Həshəzzəl-	Həsəzəffən-	Həsgəññ-	Həslək'k'əs-	Həwədəəddər-	Epenthetic Spreading

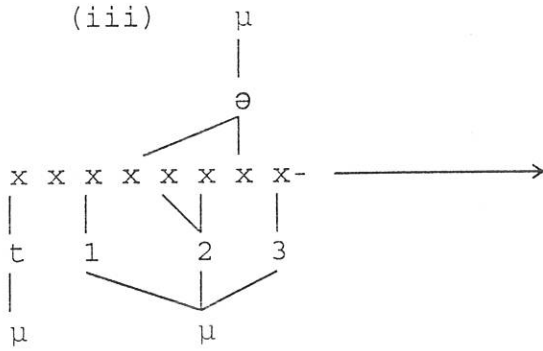
(31) (b) (i)



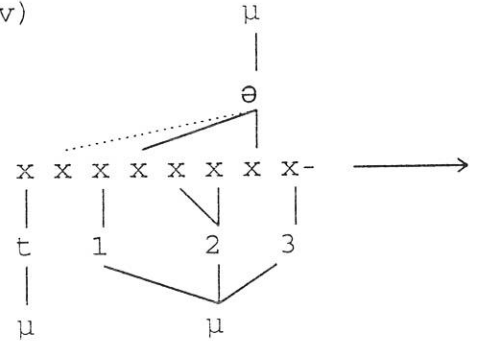
(ii)



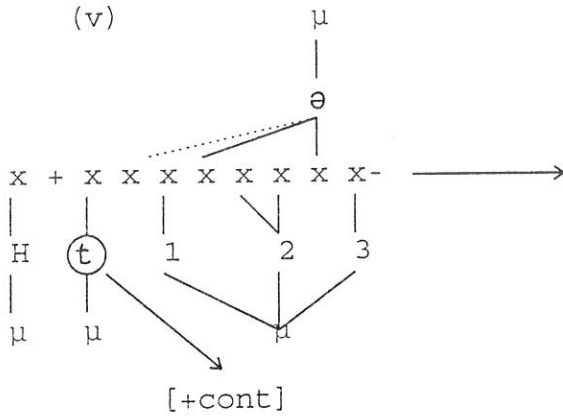
(iii)



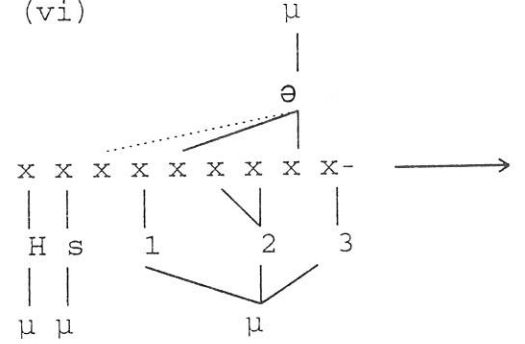
(iv)



(v)

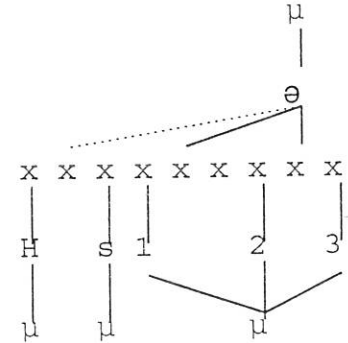
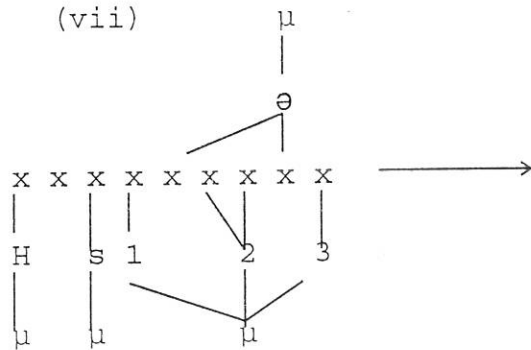


(vi)



[+cont]

(vii)



4. Conclusion

The two forms 'a-' and 'as-' have been identified as causative affixes. But, no explanation have been given about their formal and functional similarity and difference.

Transitivity and/or causation by the two affixes is obvious as a new causing event/argument is introduced to the event/argument structure of a base verb. The simple/direct nature of causation by 'a-' is also predictable as it attaches to single event verbs to form a structure of events such that the event of the affix directly causes the event of the stem. Since, the two events of a transitive verb are structured as causing and caused events, the event of the affix 'as-' will have defined relation with the events of the stem in the event structure of the derived causative verb: the event of the affix directly causes the causing event of the stem, and it indirectly causes the caused event of the stem. Therefore, 'as-' derivatives of transitives may be called direct causative in the sense that the event of the affix directly causes the causing event of the stem, and they may be called indirect causative in the sense that it indirectly causes the caused event of the stem. Directness and indirectness of causation depends on the event structure of the base.

The interpretation of 'a-' causatives is one and obvious. But 'as-' causatives are interpreted ambiguously. The ambiguity lies in the focus of relation between the event of the affix and the event of the base verb. When the relation between the event of the affix and the causing event of the stem is focused, the interpretation will be direct causative. Such a form will have a representation in which the causative verb embeds the transitive structure of the base. When the relation between the event of the affix and the caused event of the base verb is focused the interpretation will be indirect causative. Such a form will have a representation in which the causative verb embeds the passive structure of the base.

The fact that the direct causative interpretation of 'as-stem' forms is controversial in its acceptability strengthens the indirect/passive causative analysis of the function of 'as-'. An indirect/passive causative affix should be that which attaches to a passive stem or that which passivizes a transitive stem while causativizing it. In any case, the passive sense should be discerned in the reversal of events of the base verb. If 'as-' derivation is to be restricted to indirect/passive causative interpretation of its base the distinction between 'a-' and 'as-' will be that of ability to passivize a transitive stem.

The source of controversy over the acceptability of direct causative interpretation of 'as-stem' and the possibility of passivization under or before causativization have been examined in light of the prominence theory of argument structure. According to this theory, arguments of predicates are structured hierarchically based on their intrinsic semantic properties. A predicate cannot have more than one argument with exactly the same semantic properties, for there will be rivalry for a status. Causativization is known to add a causer argument to the argument structure of a base verb. This process should not violate the principles of organization of argument-structures. An argument may be added to an a-structure of a predicate only if it can be assigned distinct status in that structure according to its semantic property.

The controversy over the acceptability of direct causative interpretation of 'as-' derivatives of transitive stems arises from the conception of the a-structure of the derived form. The argument which is introduced by a causative affix is a causer, and it should be assigned external status in the derived a-structure. If the subject argument of a transitive stem is an agent or has external status, the derivation of the causative out of such a stem will be impossible, because there will be two rival arguments for

external status in the derivation. Since, in this theory a lexical operation cannot alter the status of an argument, one cannot assume the internalization of the external argument of a stem under causativization. Therefore, the only possible way for direct causative interpretation of 'as-' derivatives of transitives is to assume two different domains of prominence for the rival arguments of the stem and the affix. Such kind of derivations can be considered as periphrastic rather than lexical, because, they lack in lexical integrity with respect to a-structure. If there is any other possibility of introducing a causer to a given a-structure, it will be to have room for the newly introduced argument in the a-structure of the base.

All intransitives with no external argument in their a-structure can accommodate a causer argument and assign it external status. However, for transitives to allow extra causer argument into their a-structure, they should somehow spare their external argument position to the newly introduced causer argument. What is observed in the indirect/passive causative interpretation of 'as-' derivations of transitive stems is exactly the same, i.e., the causer argument takes the place of the external argument of the base verb, and the latter's being out of the picture is reflected in its optional syntactic realization as an oblique phrase.

Now the question remains to be whether, in the causativization of transitives, the defocusing or suppression of the external argument of the stem and the introduction of the causer argument is performed by a single lexical operation of causativization. If causativization can operate to suppress the external argument of a transitive stem the causative affix 'as-' can be identified with such a function, since it is with this affix that transitive and agentive stems derive their causatives, while 'a-' fails to do. At this point the distinction between 'a-' and 'as-' can be made on the basis of ability to passivize a stem. However, since passivization can be performed by an independent operation of 'tθ-' affixation, causativization of passive stems is theoretically possible.

As far as the external argument position of a transitive stem is suppressed by passivization, 'a-' can introduce a causer argument. The affixation of 'as-' to passive stems will cause redundancy of passivization function. In fact, no causative of passive stems surface as 'as-t-stem'. Also no causative of passive stems surface as 'a-t-stem'. But, what may be considered as causative of passive stems surface as 'as-stem' and 'a-1-stem' (where 1 stands for a duplicate initial radical of the stem) depending on the type of the stem. If such forms are said to be derived out of 'tθ-stem'

(passive) forms, there should be explanation as to what has happened to the passive morpheme.

In order to say that the causative is derived from the passive stem, the process of causativization should be understood only as introducing the causer argument. The affix 'a-' is known for this function. In the case of 'a-1-stem' forms the duplicate initial radical may be taken for the passive morpheme, which can be explained by morphophonological change.

The analysis of the so-called indirect causative affix 'as-' into two component morphemes -- causative and passive -- allows for a unified account of causativization in Amharic. And the proposed morphophonology of causativization sufficiently explains the process of derivation within the bounds of the adopted theories and assumptions. However, some of the generalizations such as the posited lexical (cyclic) phonological rules and their order of application need further examination before the whole analysis can be taken as a verification for the advantages of the theories and assumptions.

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Declaration

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

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