

VERBAL COMPLEMENTATION

IN AWINGI

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By

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

abl.	=ablative
acc.	=accusative
adv.p.	=adverbial phrase
AGR	=agreement
ASP	=aspect
C	=complement
COG	=cognate
COMP	=complementizer
CP	=complementizer phrase
dir.	=directional
e	= empty-NP
emph.	=emphasis
foc	=focus
I/INFL	=inflectional features
IP	=inflectional phrase
impf.	=imperfective
inf.	=infinitive
neg.	=negative
ps	=passive
pf	=perfective
pl	=plural
PRO	=empty pronominal
pro	=recoverable empty pronominal
refl.	=reflexivizer
rel.	=relativizer
TNS	=tense
1s	=first person, singular

2s	=second person, singular
3ms	=third person, masculine, singular
3fs	=third person, feminine, singular
1pl.	=first person, plural
2pl.	=second person, plural
3pl.	=third person, plural

A B S T R A C T

This paper attempts to describe complements of Awingi verbs following the X-Bar Theory of phrase structure rules of Jackendoff (1977), Chomsky (1981, 1986) and Radford (1981).

The theory claims that in all natural languages, the major lexical categories, that is, nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions have similar complement structures and levels of projection. The study shows that verbs in this language take A''', N''', P''' and CPs at V'; VP-adverbials at V'' ; and parentheticals at V'''. This is consistent with the claim of the theory.

The position of the head in relation to its complement is always final which fixes the parameter of Awingi as a head-final language.

C H A P T E R O N E

1.0. I N T R O D U C T I O N

4.1. THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE:

1.1.1. THE PEOPLE:

The people are the Agäws found in Agäwmeder and Matakäl in Gojjam. Some call them "Agau" (Rossini 1895: 103; Palmer 1959: 270; Tezera 1962 E.C.: 8). Others like Hetzron (1966: 2-3) refer to them as "Awiyiri,... and for matters of convenience... as Agaws." Still others address them by "Awka" (Tadesse Meng. 1984: 1; Worku Gela 1986:1). However, all the informants of the present researcher, the elderly as well as the young, call themselves "Awawa" (See Appendix III). Following them, the researcher shall refer to these people as "Awawa" and their language as "Awingi".

Regarding their location, there are conflicting statements made by various people. Bruce¹ (1790) quoted by Rossini (1895 :103) considers three-fourth of Gojjam as their location. This is readily rejectable as there are other tribes in this same area. Beke (1846) quoted by Pankhurst (1976:26) confuses "the land of the Shanqella (Gumuz)" as Agäwmeder which means 'the land of the Agäws.' The land of the "Shanqellas" is Uomberma and not Agäwmeder; and there are barely few, if not none, Awawas living here.

Contrary to Bruce and Beke, Rossini (1895:103) says that the land of proper Agäws is only the present day Agäwmeder. However, Appleyard (1938:581) confidently states that these people settle not only in Agäwmeder but also in the central highlands of Mätäkäl. Trimmingham (1965:6) also claims that "Agäws ... linger in Dembia, wagara and Quara....", although Bender (1976b:40) believes that there are no speakers of Agäw dialects in these areas. Murdock (1959:181-2) squeezes the land of "...the Agaw people... to ... a few scattered areas..." in their present vicinity. The same is claimed in Hetzron (1966:2) who says "...the once continuous Agaw area is split into small islands...". Bender (1976b:40), too, is not far from this because he considers "Awingi" as a... language in a small pocket."

All these², however, are not acceptable to the present researcher. He believes that the present Awawa area is neither vast (in relation to the area of Ethiopia) nor small (in relation to the area of Gojjam). The specifications of the area are as shown in the topographic map sketched by the Central Statistics Authority (CSA) in March, 1990 (See Appendices I and II)³.

Concerning their history, the study remains consistent with what seems to be unanimously accepted by historians and by the Awawa themselves. This is that a "family" (or war leaders)⁴ of seven came from Wollo to settle here. The time is believed to be "... sometime in the

late 11th or early 12th century A.D., (Trimingham 1965: 164n; Tadesse Tamrat 1972:53-65). The causes for the migration are thought to be these: feuds, spread of Christianity and language identity, that is, avoidance of the influence of the Axumites and the Amharas. It is noted that the Awawas are highly conscious of their language, kinship, and tradition as are all the other Agäws (Bender 1976 b: 40).

with regard to the size of their population there have been only humble but not reliable figures of estimations. Murdock (1959:181-2) estimates the number 100,000 and Lipsky (1962:43) 75,000 for all Agäws, i.e., Awawa, Kiment, Yamtanga and Bilin put together. It must be from these estimations that most recent writers consider 50,000 as the overall population of the Awawa. This number is mentioned by several writers including Teye Retta (1963:25), Hetzron (1966:ix), Bender (1976b: 15) and Tadesse Mengistu (1984:1). The present study has come up with new figures claimed as credible by the CSA office.

Firstly, the overall "Awingi-Speaking" people presently living in Gojjam as of May 9, 1984 is known to be 261, 693 according to the CSA's report of March, 1990.⁵ Of this number, only 8,567 live in urban⁶ areas while the rest 253, 126 reside in the rural areas.

Of the total rural population, 242,720 use Awingi as their only language. The remaining 10,406 are believed to be bilinguals in Amharic.

Of the 8,567 urban settlers, some 3,863 claim to use Awingri at home, while they shift to Amharic both at home and outside with a greater frequency for Amharic than for Awingri.

Lastly, the Office of the Central Statistics Authority has a tentative number: 272, 122 which is believed to include the 15,429 Awawas disseminated to the other parts of the country.

To sum up, the number of the "Awingri-speaking" people is a bit over a quarter of a million. This disposes to question the old figure 50,000 as the number of Awawas, and the humble estimations made about all the other Agawas mentioned above.

To add a few more words about the livelihood of the Awawas, we must start by calling them "Degegnas", i.e. highlanders, since they live in "Dega", i.e. wet, and "Doina-Dega", i.e. semi-wet, regions in the Western plateaux of Ethiopia. Such areas provide them with suitable moisture and easily cultivable land from which they harvest their wheat, barley, "teff", maize, and sorghum. They harvest these crops twice a year. From these crops, they prepare their /tuše/ "bread", /ankie/ "Amharic 'inj'era", and /bixure/ "porridge". They also grow cereals such as beans and peas for their /^tsewnta^wsa lašaxwe/ "delicious sauce" which they prepare as part of their meals.

Besides cultivation, the Awawas also keep animals. Among their domestic animals are cattle, sheep, goats,

horses and donkeys. Of these, the horses are most vital because they are used for farming as well as riding.

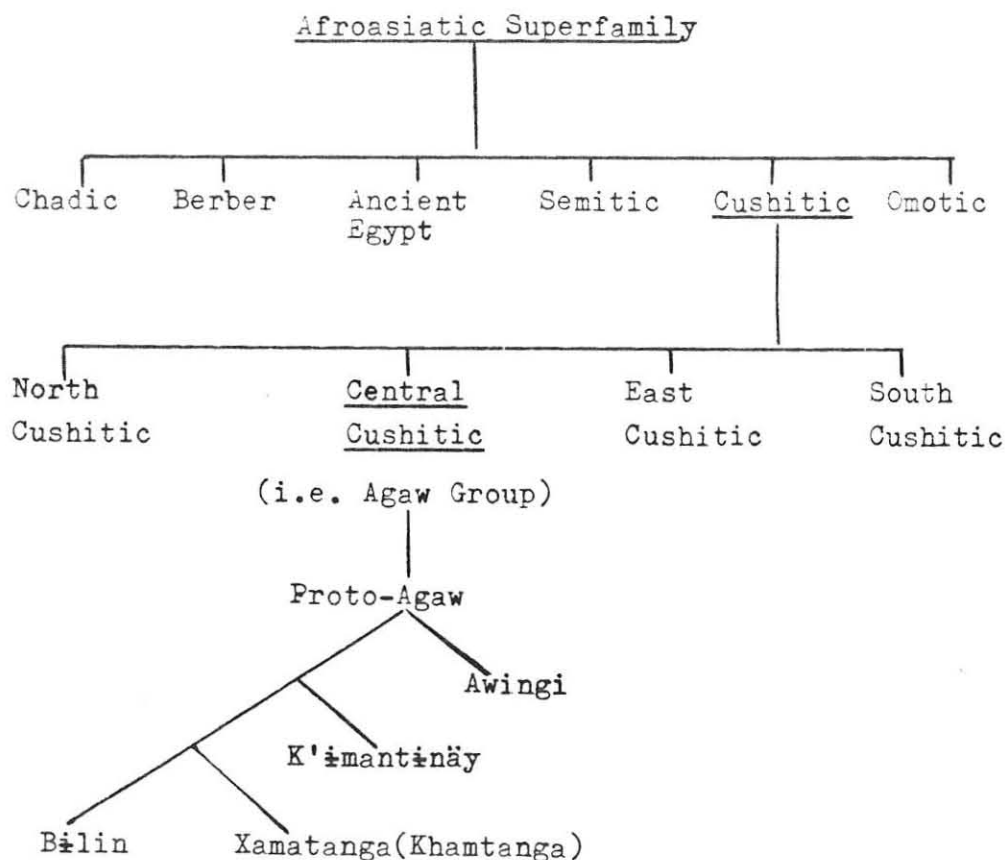
According to CSA's report of March, 1990 nearly all Awawas (94.7%)⁷ are Orthodox Christians.

1.1.2. THE LANGUAGE:

ITS CLASSIFICATION:

Awingi, according to Appleyard (1984:34; 1987:244-5; 1988:581)⁸, is a Central Cushitic language. Other languages within this include B̄ilin, Xamtanga and K̄imant̄in̄äy found in Eritrea, Wollo and Gondar respectively.

According to Bender (1976b:14) and Appleyard (1988:590), the position of Awingi within Cushitic is as shown below.



ITS EXTINCTION

Although the Awawas are relatively large in number, there are some who believe that their language is near extinction. Hetzron (1966:2), for instance, makes it a 'substratum' of 'Semitic supersedence' mainly of Amharic. Tadesse Mengistu (1984:4) adds "... that children receive education in Amharic, and that tribalism is low, (so) inter-marriage..." enhances acculturation thereby speeding up the "extinction" of the language. Appleyard (1987:244-5) presents historical evidence for the "reduction" of Xamtanga and carefully implies the possibility of the same to Awingi.

In contrast to these, there are also those who hold the opposite view. For instance, Bender (1976 b: 41) says that "... Bilin and Awingi seem to be in less danger of disappearing...". Tadesse Tamrat (1972 :53) believes that the "...compact and inaccessible nature of the area...., had preserved the tribal and linguistic identity of the local (Agäw) people."

In view of such controversies, the researcher looked into the matter with some more heed and found out the following.

First of all, according to Bloomfield (1933:13, 463ff), a language is said to be dead (or extinct) when "no child is taught it,... or imitates it." And according to Hockett (1958: 369), this happens when "...all its speakers die off or learn other languages without transmitting the language to... succeeding generations." Awingi is not in such a situation as it has over a quarter of a million native speakers.

Secondly, the point "... learn other languages (perhaps from schools) without transmitting it" does not seem to hold for Awingi speakers as there are only few of them who have had the chance of going to schools for a second language. It has been found out from CSA's report that only 20.8% of the overall population of Gojjam, which includes the people under consideration has had this chance. The remaining 79.2% has never had any chance of learning other languages. It has also been stated that migration to other parts of the country has been minimal, which again means that the opportunity of learning a second language from other places is also limited. From this follows the possibility that the people will continue to use their mother-tongue for generations to come.

Thirdly, Hetzron's view of 'Semitic supersedence', in this case Amharic over Awingi, does not seem to lead to "extinction" for two reasons: the first is geographical and the second is the averse attitude of the people towards other languages. After having visited three of the Awawas' localities, the present researcher has only got to agree to Tadesse Tamrat's (1972:53) words "compact and inaccessible" with regard to the first, and Bender's (1976 b:40) words "sensitive attitude towards their language and tradition" with regard to the second.

Finally is Bloomfield's (1933:13) point of "inherent, gradual change of language." In this regard, all languages do, indeed, change in the course of time, and Awingi is no exception. Thus, both it and its "superseder" do gradually change. Their gradual change, however, does not mean "death".

On these grounds, then, the researcher believes that the "extinction" of Awingi is not at least imminent. It will be "learnt" and "imitated" for many more generations to come.

1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Awingi is first recorded when Bruce (1790)⁹ mentioned it in his biblical translation of 'Songs of Solomon.' All works on this language since Bruce and until the turn of the 19th century had been either excerptual transcriptions of the Holy Book or lists of vocabulary items. Examples

are Beke (1846) and Waldmeier (1868). At the turn of the 19th century, Reinisch (1883) and Rossini (1895) came up with simple conjugations and comparisons of verbs of the Agäw languages.

"Research proper" on Awingi began with the "Verb Classes of Agau (Awiya)" by Palmer (1959). In this work, Palmer touched upon the (i) phonology, (ii) grammatical categories, and (iii) morphological features used for classifying Awingi verbs into eight types.

Next to Palmer is Hetzron's (1966) work on the "Verbal System of Southern Agaw." This is an elaborated classification of Awingi verbs on the basis of distribution such as main, subordinate, compound, intention, and emphatic verbs. He also classifies verbs on formal grounds such as those having /o-/, /y-/, /t-/, /ty-/, and those with /-y-/ and /-t-/ which he calls short verbs.

Another person is Tezera Alene (1962 Eth. Cal.). He classifies Awingi verbs on the basis of consonantal radicals into types with one, two, three and four radicals. He also treats conjugations and derivations of verbs.

The most recent work is Abeba Sirak's (1986) thesis on the "Structure of Simple Declarative Sentences in Awingi." She presents (i) inflection of nouns for number, gender and case referred to as "morphologically distinctive features"; and (ii) noun forms such as "single, compound, conjoined, possessive" and various modifiers in NPs.

Verbs are claimed to have no inflections but both Hetzron and Tezera display verbal inflections at least for the perfect and imperfect aspects. Verbal inflections, according to Abeba, are "... included in the VP as opposed to other models which treat such elements as independent constituents of a sentence." However, verbal inflections (INFL) are nowadays considered as major syntactic elements heading a sentence and forming an IP, that is, an inflectional phrase (Riemsdijk and Williams 1986: 302).

1.3. THE PRESENT STUDY

Unlike all its predecessors, the present study is based on a theory known as Government and Binding (GB). Its specific aim is to show whether the principles of this theory can be used to explain the facts of Awingi verbs or not. Concretely, it tries to examine syntactic structures as projections of lexical items.

To this end, the paper considers the complement structures of verbs in this language and the levels in which they are found. In this regard, the study is both descriptive and explanatory. It is descriptive because it tries to describe complement types of verbal heads; and it is explanatory because it attempts to give a theoretical reason for the existence of levels of projection and for the selection of complement types at each level.

The study is based on data collected during the researcher's field trip to the following areas:

- (i) Chara, near Dangila
- (ii) Gimija-Bet Mariam, in Ankasha
- (iii) Dinkara, near Chagni; in Mätäkäl

1.4. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As has just been stated, the study uses the theory of Government and Binding. This theory holds that the linguistic knowledge of all human beings conform to a uniform system at the level of abstractions. This system is believed to be the interaction of a limited number of principles which vary in their application leading to differences in languages. In this connection, Chomsky (1981:5-6) says:

UG(Universal Grammar) consists of interacting subsystems which can be considered from various points of view. From one point of view, these are the various subcomponents of the rule system of grammar. From another point of view,..., we can isolate subsystems of principles.... Through the interactions of these systems... and with certain... parametric variations,... many properties of particular languages can be accounted for.

The 'Components' that Chomsky refers to are: (i) the lexicon, (ii) the categorial component, (iii) the trans-

formational component, (iv) the PF-component (the phonetic form) and (v) the LF-component (the logical form). The 'subsystems' are the theories of: (i) bounding, (ii) government, (iii) theta, (iv) binding, (v) case, and (vi) control.

Of these components and subsystems, only the lexicon and the categorial component are central to this study. Hence, in what follows only these will be elaborated.

1.4.1. THE LEXICON

This specifies "... the morphological nature of each lexical item in a language" (Radford 1981:42-3). That is to say, it "...lists... all the words in a language," giving information about: (i) their syntactic category, that is, whether a lexical item is a verb (V), a noun (N), an adjective (A), or a preposition (P), etc., (ii) their meaning, (iii) their pronunciation, and (iv) the constituents with which they co-occur, all shown in their entry.

1.4.1. THE CATEGORIAL COMPONENT

This is concerned with the phrase structure rules which "... specify how sentences are structured out of phrases, and phrases out of words " (Radford 1981:41). The current version of the rules is known as an "X-bar Theory" of phrase structure rules. According to this theory:

... each lexical category X defines a set of syntactic categories X^1, X^2, \dots, X^k , the supercategories

of X related by phrase structure rules of the form $X^n \dots X^{n-1} \dots$ (Jackendoff 1977:30).

The bars (',", ''') marked on phrases represent the values of "n", that is, the number of levels in the phrasal projection of a lexical item. Jackendoff (1977) assumes three such levels for all lexical categories and for all languages.

Following this theory, a verb (V) projects into V', V'' and V'''. The lexical verb is referred to as V⁰. This projects into V' when it occurs with an obligatory functional argument (Jackendoff 1977:57). The V', together with optional complement(s) of adverbial functions, projects into V''. The V'' cooccurs with what are called sentence adverbials to form V''' (Jackendoff 1977:62). Such adverbials are also optional.

1.4.3. THE PROJECTION PRINCIPLE

This relates to V'-complements. It requires that these complements must appear at each level of representation. In technical terms, the 'Principle' states that "... a lexical structure must be represented categorially at every syntactic level." (Chomsky 1986 a:84).

According to this principle, a sentence like (1) is not possible.

- (1) *Dābbasu $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{inkan-e}^{10} \\ \text{like} \end{array} \right]_{V^0} \\ \text{-e} \end{array} \right]_{V'} \right]_{V'}$
 Debbasu like -3ms-impf.
 'Debbasu likes.'

The reason for the ungrammaticality is that the lexical property of /ɛnkan-e-e/ "likes" is not satisfied. The lexical entry for the verb is as shown in (2):

(2) / ɛnkan-/ : V [NP →] "like"

The frame shows that the verb needs an NP as its complement. Representing the verb without such a constituent in the syntax leads to the ungrammaticality observed in (1) above.

1.5. TRANSCRIPTION

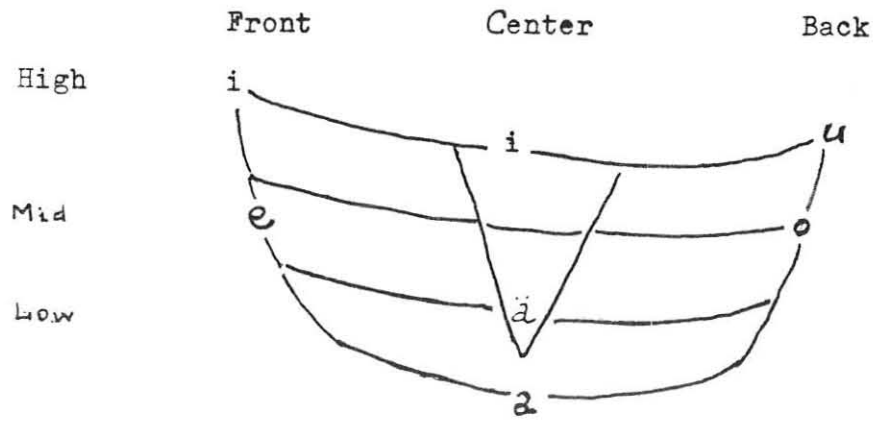
The transcription used throughout this study is based on the phonemic inventory of the language as presented in Hetzron (1966:6-8) and Worku Gela (1986:35-40).

C O N S O N A N T S

		Labials	alveo-lars	palat-als	velars	labio-velars	uvular	glottal
STOPS	Vl	P	t		k	k ^w	q	ʔ
	Vd	b	d		g	g ^w	ɣ	
AFFRICATES	Vl		t _s	ʧ				
	vd			j				
FRICATIVES	Vl	f	s	ʃ	h			
	Vd		z	ʒ	x	x ^w		
RESONANTS	Vd	m	r n	l ɲ	ŋ			
SEMI-VOWELS		w		y				

= 15 =

VOWELS



NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. There was not any study about the languages of Agäw (and/or their speakers) before Bruce's time. Earlier studies on languages concentrated on Giʼiz. For details, see Pankhurst in Bender (1976 a:25-42).
2. Had it not been for brevity, more could have been said; for example (i) Taye Retta (1963:25-6) says "...Kemants live in North Gojjam (i.e. with the Awawas)", but according to Appleyard (1988:581), this is not true, the kāmant-(näy) are found in Chilga and Kärkär; (ii) Tezera Alene (1962 E.C.:8), says "... Agaws live in Belaya in North-Western Gojjam....," but Taye says that there are only few Falashas and Kunfels in this area; (iii) Abeba Sirak (1986:2) believes that "Agaw (i.e. Awingi)... is widely spoken in the Southern part of Gojjam," whereas Bender (1976 a:298ff) sketches a "small pocket' of Shinashas, the dead Gafats, and the overwhelming Amharas in this place. Such inconsistencies have led scholars to conclude that: (i) the geographical location of the Agäws is not certain (Tubiana 1954); and, (ii) the Agäw locations reflect geographical confusion (Bender 1976 b : 40).
3. Cf. footnote 5 below.
4. As to whether the first migrants were families, war lords, or brothers, does not seem to be certain. Rossini (1895:122-3) describes them as "...le sette famiglie migrate...;" that is, a migration of a family of seven. Trimmingham (1965:164n) and Tadesse Tamrat (1972:53-65) refer to them as "...fleeing

war chiefs... from Seqotta... and Lasta..." . Ato Tamir Desta, my informant, retains what tradition has reserved for him, that is, "...migrants of seven brothers first, and four brothers later, " (See Appendix III). Moreover, the number of the first migrants is subject to question as the present researcher has come across a document provided by Merigeta Birhanu Käbbädä (See Appendix IV) which claims that only one family (or war lord) called Chartagn came at first. This family procured the seven brothers who gradually grew to leadership in the area.

5. The report is of a high degree of plausibility as it has: (i) covered all the population of the region, (ii) collected much more detailed socio-economic and demographic data, and (iii) used comprehensive census enumeration area maps (E.A's) delineated into 4,023 of these. Moreover, five or six E.A's have been put together to form a supervision area (S.A) which coordinated several supervisors. There have been 756 supervision areas. One supervisor inspected five to six enumerators. Each enumerator went from house-to-house to carry out the census on both 'defacto' and 'dejure' basis. Under the first approach, people were counted as the residents of the place where they were found on the 'Census Day' (a fortnight since May 9, 1984). Under the second, they were counted on the basis of his/her usual residence. "Usual residence" here refers to living at a place for not less than six-months continuously (See the preface of the report and the first two pages of its Chapter I for details).

6. "Urban" is defined as a center of 2000 or more inhabitants (CSA, March 1990: 2n).
7. The report states that 94.8% of all the people in Gogjam are Christians. Of these, 94.7% are Orthodox and only 0.1% are Protestant. The Moslems are 3.7%. "The pattern... observed also holds for rural and urban..., as well as "ethnic" distributions." (CSA, March 1990:33).
8. One might wonder why one should quote only Appleyard on Cushitic classification. Many have, indeed, written on this. The most notable ones include: (i) Marens (1940); (ii) Greenberg (1948, 1955 a , 1965 a); (iii) Tubiana (1954); (iv) Tucker (1967 b) ; (v) Fleming (1969 a) ; (vi) Palmer (1970); (vii) Black (1972); (viii) Sasse (1973 a) ; and (ix) Bender (1976 a and b). However, since the data used for classification by all these people were 'scanty' lists of vocabulary items with 'few' phonetic and phonemic correspondences, such works have not been accepted by most Cushiticists (Palmer 1976 a : 74-5). Only Appleyard's seem to be acceptable in this respect. This is because he has provided: (i) phonological (1984 a), (ii) morphological (1988), and (iii) grammatical (1987) bases for classifying particularly the Agäw, that is the Central Cushitic languages.
9. Cf. Footnote 1, above.

10. The "ʒms" in Awingi is marked by / -e-/, /-i-/, /-u-/, /-y-/, /-r-/ and even by a zero morpheme /-∅-/. And the "ʒfs" is marked by /-a/, /-t-/, /-y-/ and /-i-/. Yet, these morphemes are not restricted to signaling only "ʒms" or "ʒfs". They may also show other things as shall be seen in the text. It is such overlapping reference that scholars refer to as the "Agaw... interlocking pattern (See Falmer 1970:574; Tucker 1966; Appleyard 1938:582; Tezera Alene 1962 E.C. :22-30).

2.0. COMPLEMENTS

Jackendoff (1977:37) defines complements as "... concatenations of ordinary syntactic categories following a head in English." In Cushitic languages such as Awingi, such elements precede the head (Baye 1986:85-7)¹. However, not all materials preceding the head are complements. For instance, specifiers may precede a head but they are not complements. Jackendoff has four ways of recognizing complements. These include: (i) categorial label, (ii) position, (iii) distribution, and (iv) function.

At the categorial label, complements refer to constituents that are maximal projections of only major lexical categories such as nouns and adjectives.

Positionally, complements occupy argument positions such as those of subjects and objects. Such positions determine their distributions.

Functionally, complements serve as objects, restrictive modifiers and non-restrictive modifiers.

In light of these, we shall consider the structures of complements of Awingi verbs starting with those which form the minimal projection with non-clausal constituents.

2.1. NON-CLAUSAL COMPLEMENTS2.1.1. V'-COMPLEMENTS:

These are functional complements which a verb strictly

subcategorizes to form its minimal projection, that is, its V'. On the basis of the number and type of such strictly subcategorized complements, verbs may be divided into:

(i) copulatives, (ii) transitives, and (iii) *in*transitives.

2.1.1.1. COPULATIVE VERBS:

These are verbs which link their external and internal arguments. Their complements include APs, NPs, PPs, and Ss. Such verbs are called copulatives or 'linking verbs', and their complements as 'linked-complements' (Brown and Miller 1980:50). Leaving the Ss (clausal complements) for treatment in the next chapter, we shall examine the rest of the complements here.

2.1.1.1.1. COPULATIVES WITH ADJECTIVAL COMPLEMENTS

Verbs such as /-ax/² "be", /yaxu-/ "become" and /^tseger-/ "seem" take adjectival complements which express 'state' or 'change of state' that their external arguments undergo. Such verbs occur in structures of the type in (3).

- (3) (a) (i) $\bar{n}i$ -ka $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{buzzi-} \\ \text{A}''' \end{array} \right] \right]_{\text{A}'''} \left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-ax} \\ \text{V}^0 \end{array} \right] \right]_{\text{V}^0}$
 he-foc fat -be(impf.)
 'HE³ is fat.'
- (ii) $\bar{n}i$ -ka $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{buzza-} \\ \text{A}''' \end{array} \right] \right]_{\text{A}'''} \left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-ax} \\ \text{V}^0 \end{array} \right] \right]_{\text{V}^0}$
 she-foc fat -be(impf.)
 'SHE is fat.'

- (5) $\left[\begin{array}{l} -ax \\ \text{yaxu-, etc.} \end{array} \right] : V \left[\begin{array}{l} A''' \text{ ---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} \text{"be"} \\ \text{"become"}. \end{array}$

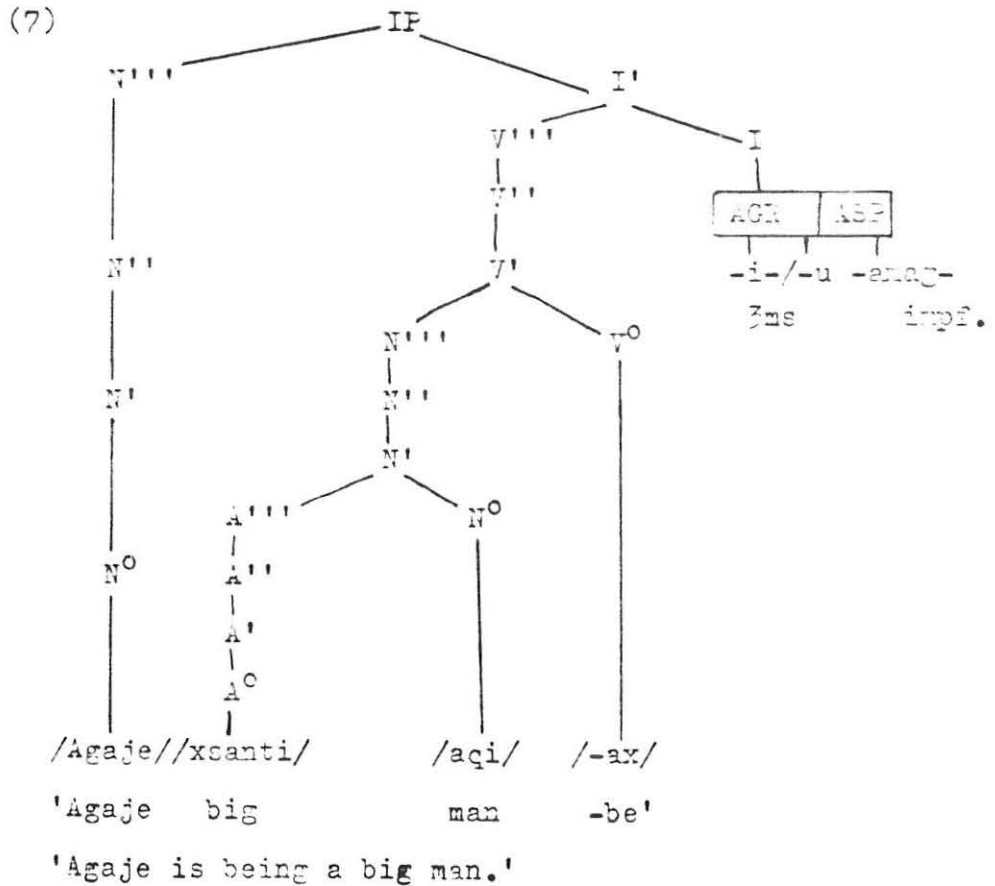
2.1.1.1.2. COPULATIVES WITH NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS:

Copulative verbs may also take nominal complements as in the structures in (6):

- (6) (a) (i) in aqxe $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ šumbi-w anki- $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} -ax \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$
 this thing maize-of 'injera' -be(impf.)
 '(lit.) this thing is 'injera' of maize.'
 This is 'injera' made of maize.'
- (ii) Agaje $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ xsanti aqi- $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} -amag-i -ax \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$
 Agaje big man -prog-3ms-be(impf.)
 'Agaje is being a big man.'
- (b) (i) Däbbasu $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ šagi int^tsay- $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} yaxu - u - x^w \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$
 Debbasu handsome boy become - 3ms-pf.
 'Debbasu became a handsome boy.'
- (ii) ñi $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ git^tsini- $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} yaxu - u - e \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$
 he merchant become - 3ms-impf.
 'He will become a merchant.'
- (c) Agaje $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ gudi git^tsini- $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ N''' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} tseger - e - e \\ V' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ V' \end{array} \right]$
 Agaje good merchant seem - 3ms-impf.
 'Agaje seems a good merchant.'

As the examples show, the verb /-ax/ "be" strictly subcategorizes the NPs /šumbiw anki/ "'injera' made of maize" in (a i) and /xsanti aqi/ "big man" in (a ii). The verb /yaxu-/ "become" also selects the NP/šägi in^tsay/ "handsome boy" in (b i) and the NP /gi^tsini/ "merchant" in (b ii). In just the same way, the verb /^tseger-/ "seen" in (c) takes the NP/gudi gi^tsini/ "good merchant" as its complement.

The tree representation of the structures and the corresponding subcategorization frames of the verbs are as shown below:



- (8) $\left[\begin{array}{l} -ax \\ yaxu- \\ {}^t\text{seger-} \end{array} \right]$: $v \left[\begin{array}{l} N''' \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right]$ "be"
 "become"
 "seem"

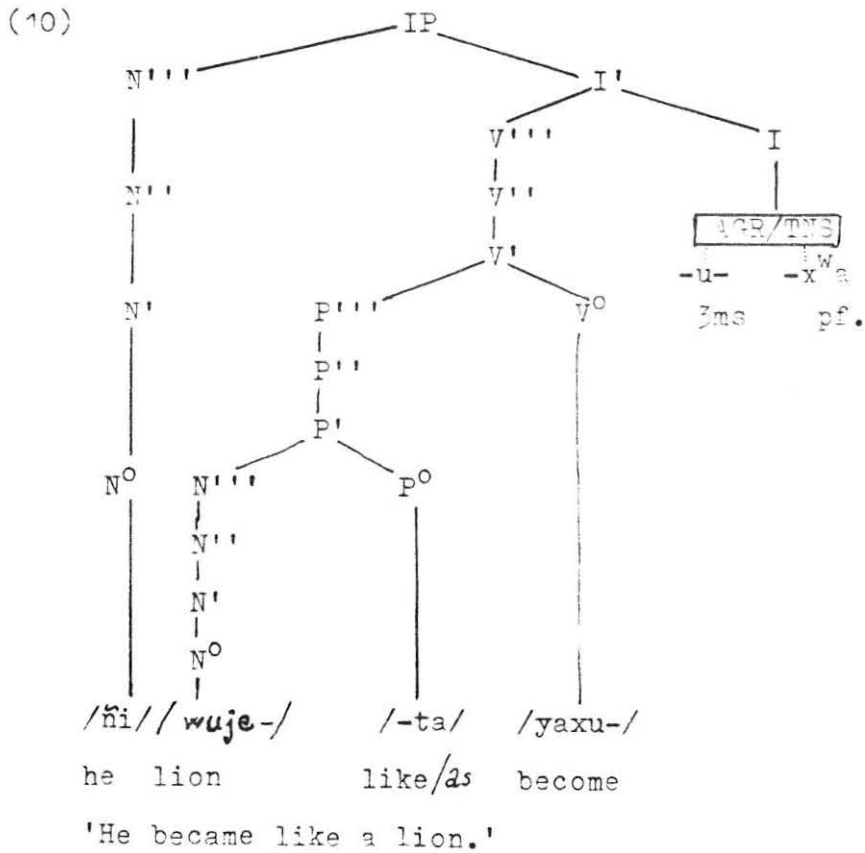
2.1.1.3. COPULATIVES WITH POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE COMPLEMENTS:

The copulative verbs we have seen so far can also take postpositional complements like those in (9) below.

- (9) (a) Agaje $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} nin-da \\ P''' \end{array} \right] \\ v' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} ax-da \\ P''' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} -i-ax \\ v^o \quad v' \end{array} \right]$
 Agaje house-from in-from -3ms-be(impf.)
 '(lit.) Agaje is from the house from the inside (of it).'
 'Agaje is inside the house.'
- (b) Dassaš $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} nin-da \\ P''' \end{array} \right] \\ v' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} ax-da \\ P''' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} -a-\emptyset \\ v^o \quad v' \end{array} \right]$
 Dassash house-from in-from -3fs-be(impf.).
 'Dassash is inside the house.'
- (c) ňi-ka $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} wuje-ta \\ P''' \end{array} \right] \\ v' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} -i-ax \\ v^o \quad v' \end{array} \right]$
 he-foc lion-as -3ms-be(impf.)
 'HE is like a lion.'
- (d) ňi-ka $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} wuje-ta \\ P''' \end{array} \right] \\ v' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} yaxu-u-x^w a \\ v^o \quad v' \end{array} \right]$
 he-foc lion-as become -3ms-pf
 'HE became like a lion.'
- (e) sılxi $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} mąše-ta \\ P''' \end{array} \right] \\ v' \end{array} \right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} {}^t\text{seger-e-e} \\ v^o \quad v' \end{array} \right]$
 beer mead-like seem - 3ms-impf
 '(The) beer seems like mead.'

As can be seen from the examples in (9), the complements /nin-da ax-da/ "inside the house", /wuje-ta/ "like a lion" and /miše-ta/ "like mead" are postpositional phrases.⁶ They function as locative and comparative complements.

The structural representation of the examples and the subcategorization frames of the verbs are as in (10) and (11) respectively.



= 27 =

(11) $\left[\begin{array}{l} -ax \\ yaxu- \\ t\text{seger-} \end{array} \right] : V \left[P''' \text{ ---} \right]$

"be"
"become"
"seem"

2.1.1.2. TRANSITIVE VERBS:

Transitive verbs can be divided into subtypes. These include the semi-transitives, the mono-transitives and the di-transitives. We treat these in turn.

2.1.1.2.1. SEMI-TRANSITIVE VERBS:

Verbs which select cognate nominals as their complements are considered as semi-transitives. The fact that the complements are their own cognates makes it possible for such verbs to occur with or without such complements without any loss of meaning. This is observable from the structures in (12).

(12) (a) (i) $\tilde{n}i \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} zique \end{array} \right] \\ N''' \end{array} \right] \\ V' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} ziq - u - e \end{array} \right] \\ V'' \end{array} \right] \\ V' \end{array} \right]$
 he drink drink-3ms-impf.

'He drinks a drink.'

(ii) $\tilde{n}i \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} e \end{array} \right] \\ V' \end{array} \right] \\ V' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} ziq - u - e \end{array} \right] \\ V'' \end{array} \right] \\ V' \end{array} \right]$
 He drink-3ms-impf

'He drinks.'

(b) (i) $\tilde{i}n^t\text{saxa} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} bixure \end{array} \right] \\ N''' \end{array} \right] \\ V' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} bixur - t - x^w\text{a} \end{array} \right] \\ V'' \end{array} \right] \\ V' \end{array} \right]$
 girl porrige porridge-3fs-pf

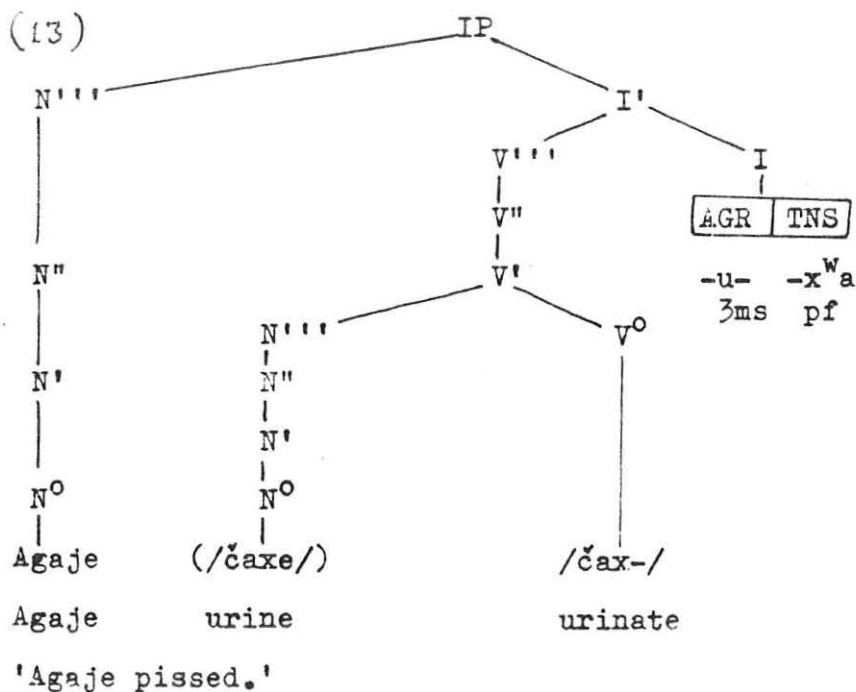
'(lit.) (the) girl porridged porridge.'

'(The) girl prepared porridge.'

- (ii) $\text{in}^t \text{saxa} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[e \right] \\ \vee' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{bixur} - t - x^{\text{wa}} \\ \vee^{\circ} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \vee' \end{array} \right]$
 girl porridge-3fs- pf
 '(The) girl prepared porridge.'
- (c) (i) $\text{Agaje} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\check{\text{cax}} \right] \\ \vee' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\check{\text{cax}} - u - x^{\text{wa}} \right] \\ \vee^{\circ} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \vee' \end{array} \right]$
 Agaje urine urinate-3ms- pf
 '(lit.) Agaje urinated (his) urine.'
 'Agaje pissed.'
- (ii) $\text{Agaje} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[e \right] \\ \vee' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\check{\text{cax}} - u - x^{\text{wa}} \right] \\ \vee^{\circ} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \vee' \end{array} \right]$
 Agaje urinate -3ms- pf.
 '(lit.) Agaje urinated.'
 'Agaje pissed.'

All the structures in (12) are acceptable with or without the complements.

The tree representation of such structures is as shown in (13) and the subcategorisation frames in (14).



(14) [čax- ,etc] : V [(N''') -] "urinate".

2.1.1.2.2. MONO-TRANSITIVE VERBS:

As the name suggests, the verbs in this group obligatorily take a single non-cognate nominal complement. Such verbs contrast with semi-transitives in that they cannot drop their complements without any loss of meaning. In fact, the semantics of all such verbs is greatly determined by the presence of their complements. The sentences in (15) may illustrate this.

(15) (a) (i) $\dot{\text{impl}}$ aqi $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{tuše-} \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{e} \\ \text{N}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{xo - x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \\ \text{V}^{\circ} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right]$
 one man bread-acc eat -3ms-pf.
 '(A) man ate bread.'

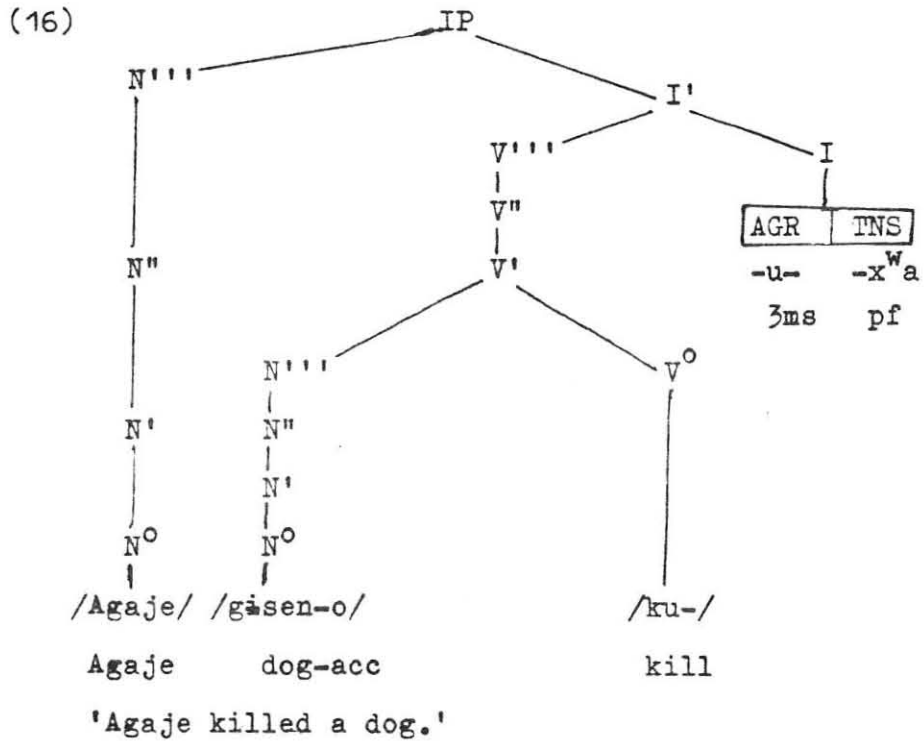
(ii) * $\dot{\text{impl}}$ aqi $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{e} \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{xo - x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \\ \text{V}^{\circ} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right]$
 one man eat -3ms-pf.
 '(A) man ate '

(b) (i) Agaje $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{gäsen-o} \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \\ \text{N}''' \end{array} \right] ? \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ku - u - x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \\ \text{V}^{\circ} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right]$
 Agaje dog -acc kill-3ms- pf
 'Agaje killed a dog.'

(ii) * Agaje $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{e} \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ku - u - x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \\ \text{V}^{\circ} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right]$
 Agaje kill-3ms- pf
 'Agaje killed.'

The structures in (i) are grammatical whereas those in (ii) are not. The reason for their ungrammaticality is that the verbs occur without their complements.

The structural relation of the complements and their heads is shown in (16) and the subcategorization frame in (17).



(17) / ku-/ : V [N''' —] "kill."

2.1.1.2.3. DI-TRANSITIVE VERBS:

Verbs that strictly subcategorize two complements are considered as di-transitives. Here, we shall consider

only nominal and postpositional complements of such verbs. Examples are shown in (18).

(18) (a) Däbbasu $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Agaje-s} \\ \text{P}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{genzeb-o} \\ \text{N}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{iy-i-x}^w\text{a} \\ \text{V}^0 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{V}' \quad \text{P}''' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{V}^0 \quad \text{V}' \end{array} \right]$
 Debbasu Agaje-to money-acc give-3ms-pf

'Debbasu gave money to Agaje.'

(b) ñi $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{träpez-da} \\ \text{P}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{amp-da} \\ \text{P}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{bičere-e} \\ \text{N}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{inku}^i\text{r-x}^w\text{a} \\ \text{V}^0 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{V}' \quad \text{P}''' \quad \text{P}''' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{V}^0 \quad \text{V}' \end{array} \right]$
 he table-from on-from cup-acc put-3ms-pf

'He put the cup on the table.'

In (18), the verbs /iy-/ "give" and /inkuⁱr-/ "put" have two complements each. In (a), /genzeb-o/ "(the) money" is the direct object while /Agaje-s/ "to Agaje" is the indirect object. And in (b), the complements are the direct object /bičere-e/ "(the) cup" and the locative postpositional phrase /träpez-da amp-da/ "on the table". None of the complements can be dropped. Exchanging the positions of the complements is, however, possible without any change of meaning. But dative shift is not possible. Therefore, (19 a) is acceptable whereas (19b and c) are not.

(19) (a) Däbbasu $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{genzeb-o} \\ \text{N}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Agaje-s} \\ \text{P}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{iy-i-x}^w\text{a} \\ \text{V}^0 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{V}' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{P}''' \quad \text{P}''' \quad \text{V}^0 \quad \text{V}' \end{array} \right]$
 Debbasu money-acc Agaje-to give-3ms-pf.

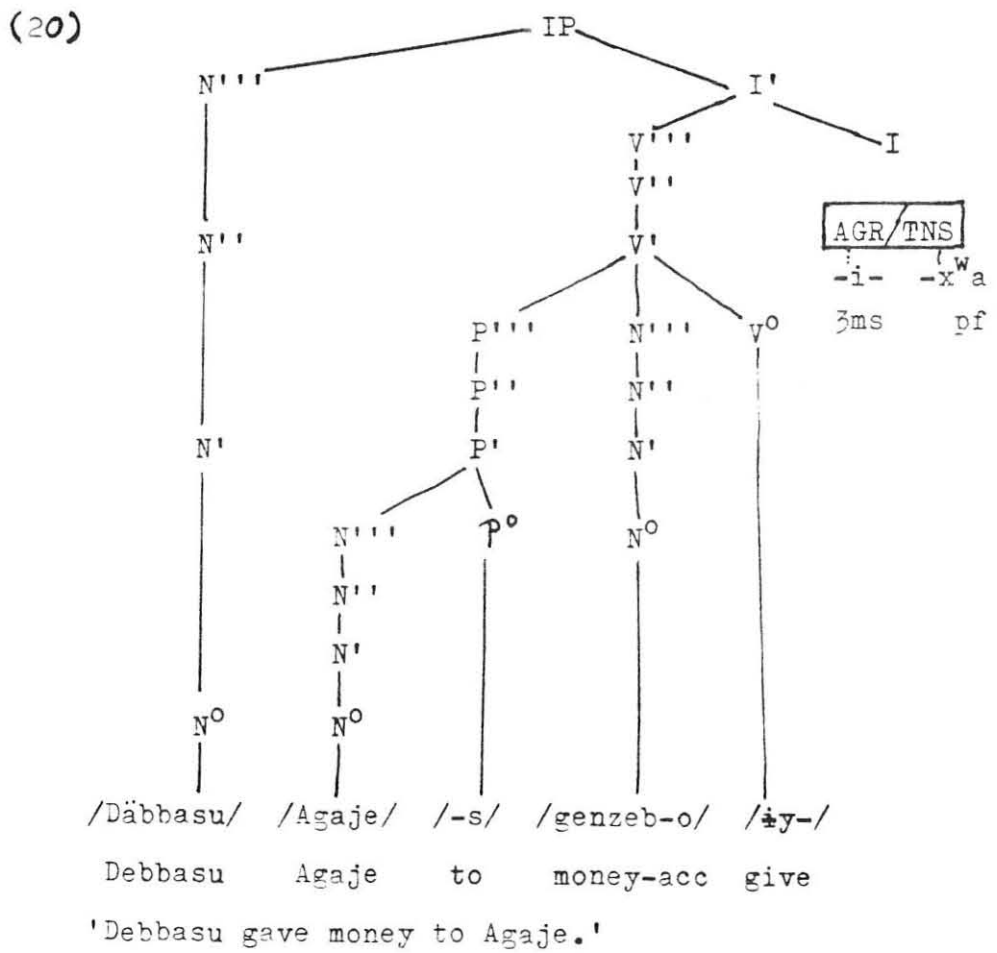
'Debbasu gave the money to Agaje.'

(b) * Däbbasu $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Agaje-}\emptyset \\ \text{N}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{genzeb-o} \\ \text{N}''' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{iy-i-x}^w\text{a} \\ \text{V}^0 \end{array} \right] \\ \text{V}' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{N}''' \quad \text{V}^0 \quad \text{V}' \end{array} \right]$
 Debbasu Agaje- \emptyset money-acc give-3ms-pf.

'Debbasu gave the money to Agaje.'

(c) * Däbbasu [genzeb-o] Agaje-Ø [ðy-i-x^{wa}]
 Debbasu money-acc Agaje-Ø give -3ms-pf.
 'Debbasu gave Agaje money.'

The tree representation of the structures and the subcategorization frames of such verbs are shown below.



(21) [ðy-
 { ðnkuⁱr-, etc. }] : V [P''' N'''] "give"
 "put".

2.1.1.3. INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

These are of two types. On the one hand, there are those which do not require any complements. We shall use the term "Vacuum"⁸ for such verbs. On the other hand, we have verbs which show movement. These require adverbial complements. We shall use the term motion verbs for these.

2.1.1.3.1. VERBS WITH NO COMPLEMENTS:

(VACUUM VERBS)

As stated above, such verbs have no complements. Their grammatical relations are with their external arguments, i.e., subjects only. On grounds of what they express, they may be classified as statives and eventives.

2.1.1.3.1.1. STATIVE VERBS:

These describe the state of being their external arguments are in. The following are examples.

(22) (a) in^tsay ⌈ ⌋ ⌈ buzit-u- x^Wa ⌋ ⌋
 boy get fat-3ms-pf.

'(The) boy got fat.'

(b) in^tsaxa ⌈ ⌋ ⌋ leges - t - x^Wa ⌋ ⌋
 girl get tall-3fs- pf.

'(The) girl got tall.'

The verbs express the state of being 'fat' and 'tall' that their respective external arguments get into.

2.1.1.3.1.2. EVENTIVE VERBS:

The verbs in this group express actions which

2.1.1.3.2. VERBS WITH ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENTS:

(MOTION VERBS)

Within the same class of intransitives, there are verbs of motion which take adverbial complements. They are of two types: directional and source.

2.1.1.3.2.1. VERBS WITH DIRECTIONAL ADVERBIALS:

Verbs that strictly require adverbial complements of direction or goal are considered here as motion verbs of directional complements. Structures with such verbs include the following:

(26) (a) in^tsay $\left[\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{v'} \\ \sqrt{p'''} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{adarašā-xa} \\ \sqrt{p'''} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{v_0} \\ \sqrt{v_0} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{tu - u - x}^w\text{a} \\ \sqrt{v_0} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{v'} \\ \sqrt{v'} \end{array} \right]$
 boy hall - in enter-3ms- pf.

'(The) boy entered into the hall.'

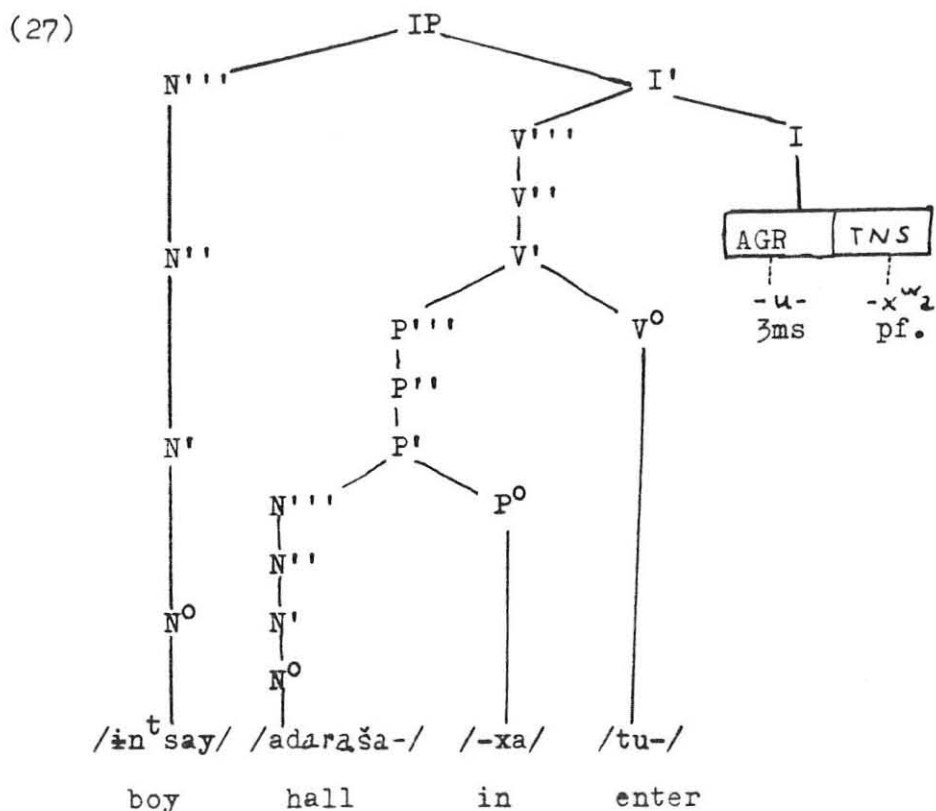
(b) Dābbasu īsta Agaje $\left[\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{v'} \\ \sqrt{p'''} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{adarašā-xa-des} \\ \sqrt{p'''} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{v_0} \\ \sqrt{v_0} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{fu} \\ \sqrt{v_0} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{una} \\ \sqrt{v_0} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{v'} \\ \sqrt{v'} \end{array} \right]$
 Debbasu and Agaje hall -in-from come out-3pl-pf

'Debbasu and Agaje came out of the hall.'

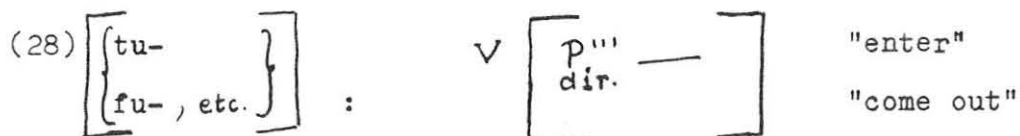
(c) *in^tsay $\left[\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{v'} \\ \sqrt{v_0} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{tu - u - x}^w\text{a} \\ \sqrt{v_0} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{v'} \\ \sqrt{v'} \end{array} \right]$ ⁹
 boy enter-3ms-pf.

'(The) boy entered.'

Unless in strict discourse contexts, structures like (26c) are ill-formed because the verb /tu-/ "enter" does not have the required adverbial complement. The tree configuration of the structures and the subcategorization frames of the verbs are as shown in (27) and (28) respectively.

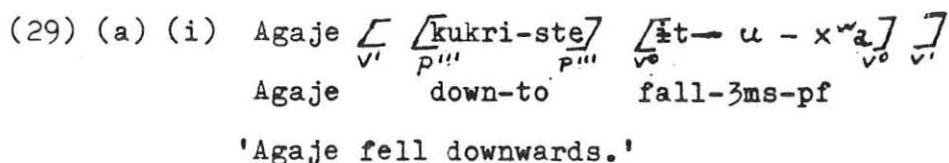


'The boy entered into the hall.'



2.1.1.3.2.2. VERBS WITH SOURCE ADVERBIALS:

Another subclass of motion verbs include those which take adverbial complements of source. Some call such complements as ablatives (Radford 1981: 317f). Examples of such structures are given below.



(ii) ? Agaje $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{it} - u - x^{\text{Wa}} \end{array} \right]_{\text{V}'} \end{array} \right]_{\text{V}''}$
 Agaje fall-3ms- pf.
 ' Agaje fell.'

(b) (i) ñi $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{jali-ste} \end{array} \right]_{\text{P}'''} \end{array} \right]_{\text{V}'} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{fu} - u - x^{\text{Wa}} \end{array} \right]_{\text{V}'} \end{array} \right]_{\text{V}''}$
 he up-to rise -3ms- pf.
 ' He rose upwards.'

(ii)? ñi $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{fu} - u - x^{\text{Wa}} \end{array} \right]_{\text{V}'} \end{array} \right]_{\text{V}''}$
 he rise-3ms- pf.
 ' He rose.'

The structures in (i) in (29 a and b) are acceptable whereas those in (ii) are dubious as the verbs lack complements.

The configurations of the structures and subcategorization frames of the verbs with directional and source complements are the same. However, the diacritic /dir/ for directional and /abl/, i.e. ablative, for source complements are needed as in (28) to avoid confusion. This means that the complement structures of the verbs in (26) and those in (29 a and b) may be collapsed into (30).

(30) $\left[\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{tu-} \\ \text{it-, etc.} \end{array} \right\} \right] : \text{V} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{P}''' \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{dir} \\ \text{abl} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} \text{"enter"} \\ \text{"fall", etc.} \end{array}$

So far, we have considered V'- complements. In the next section, we shall consider similar complements at the level of V''.

2.1.2. V"- COMPLEMENTS:

As has been pointed out earlier, V"-complements include restrictive modifiers whose function is to restrict or define the assertion made in V' in terms of circumstantial information. Unlike V'-complements, V"-complements are not strictly subcategorized constituents. Because of this, they cannot be included in the lexical entries of verbs. Instead, they occur with V'-structures and form the larger syntactic string, V". This is shown in the structures in (31).

- (31) (a) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{ayna} \right]_{V''} \left[\left[\left[\text{atišt} - u - x^w a \right]_{V'} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''} \right]$
 Agaje yesterday sneez -3ms- pf.

'Agaje sneezed yesterday.'

- (b) Dassaš $\left[\left[\left[\text{nin} - da \right]_{V''} \left[\left[\left[\text{ax} - da \right]_{P'''} \right]_{V'} \left[\left[\left[\text{tuše} - e \right]_{N'''} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''} \right]$
 Dassash house -from in-from bread-acc

$\left[\left[\left[\text{xo} - i - x^w a \right]_{V'} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''}$
 eat-3fs- pf

'Dassash ate bread in the house.'

- (c) Däbbasu $\left[\left[\left[\text{mikuli-s} \right]_{P'''} \right]_{V''} \left[\left[\left[\text{bixure} - e \right]_{N'''} \right]_{V'} \left[\left[\left[\text{xo} - e \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''}$
 Debbasu spoon -by porridge-acc eat-3ms-impf.

'Debbasu eats porridge with a spoon.'

- (d) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{soxet-s} \right]_{P'''} \right]_{V''} \left[\left[\left[\text{čagni-šo} \right]_{P'''} \right]_{V'} \left[\left[\left[\text{kas} - e \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''}$
 Agaje week -by week -by Chagni-to go-3ms-impf.

'Agaje goes to Chagni weekly.'

- (e) simki - w sālxi $\left[\left[\left[\text{tin-s} \right]_{P'''} \right]_{V''} \left[\left[\left[\text{gud-} \right]_{A'''} \right]_{V'} \left[\left[\left[\text{i} - ax \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''} \right]_{V''}$
 barley-of beer health-for good -3ms-be-impf.

'(Ethiopian) beer made of barley is good for health.'

The complements of V" include adverbial or postposit-

ional phrases that express time as in (a), place as in (b), instrument as in (c), frequency as in (d) and purpose as in (e). Moreover, more than one V"-complements may occur in a single sentence as in (32).

- (32) Dassaš $\left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ayna} \\ \text{2av.} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V''} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{mākuli-s} \\ \text{P}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{P'''} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{nān - da} \\ \text{P}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{P'''} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ax - da} \\ \text{P}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{P'''} \\ \text{Dassash} \quad \text{yesterday} \quad \text{spoon -by} \quad \text{house-from} \quad \text{in-from}$
- $\left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{bāxure - e} \\ \text{N}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V'} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{xo - i - x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \\ \text{V}^{\circ} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V^{\circ}} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{V}' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V'} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{V}'' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V''}$
 porridge-acc eat-3fs- pf.

'Dassash ate porridge yesterday with a spoon in the house.'

Some constituents also occur as V' or V" complements. Examine, for instance, the sentences in (33).

- (33) (a) Agaje $\left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{nān - da} \\ \text{P}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{P'''} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ax - da} \\ \text{P}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{P'''} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{tu - u - x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \\ \text{V}^{\circ} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V^{\circ}} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{V}' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V'} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{V}'' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V''}$
 Agaje house-from in -from enter-3ms- pf.

'Agaje entered into the house.'

- (b) Agaje $\left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{nān - da} \\ \text{P}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{P'''} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ax - da} \\ \text{P}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{P'''} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{bāxure - e} \\ \text{N}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V'}$
 Agaje house-from in-from porridge-acc

$\left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{xo - x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \\ \text{V}^{\circ} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V^{\circ}} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{V}' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V'} \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ } \\ \text{V}'' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]_{V''}$
 eat-3ms-pf.

'Agaje ate porridge in the house.'

In (33a) the FP /nān-da ax-da/ "in the house" occurs as a V'-complement, and in (33b) it occurs as a V"-complement. The question which follows from this is how to distinguish V"-complements from those of V'. Baye (1986) has used three tests to distinguish such complements. These include (i) the scope of negation, (ii) V'-gapping, and (iii) V"-gapping.

According to him, in Oromo "... a constituent ... must be adjacent to the form carrying the negative element" in order for it to be negated. This situation is the same in Awingi as illustrated in (34).

(34)(a)(i) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{n}\dot{\text{n}}\text{n} - \text{da} \right]_{\text{P}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$ ax - da $\left[\left[\text{tu} - \text{u} - \text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \right]_{\text{V}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$
 Agaje house-from in-from enter-3ms-pf.

' Agaje entered into the house.'

(ii) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{n}\dot{\text{n}}\text{n} - \text{da} \right]_{\text{P}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$ ax - da $\left[\left[\text{tu} - \text{u} - \text{ay-a} \right]_{\text{V}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$
 Agaje house-from in-from enter-3ms-neg-pf.

'Agaje did not enter into the house.'

(b)(i) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{n}\dot{\text{n}}\text{n} - \text{da} \right]_{\text{P}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$ ax - da $\left[\left[\left[\text{b}\dot{\text{x}}\text{u}\text{r}\text{e} - \text{e} \right]_{\text{N}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$
 Agaje house-from in-from porridge-acc

$\left[\left[\left[\text{x}\text{o} - \text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \right]_{\text{V}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$
 eat-3ms-pf.

' Agaje ate porridge in the house.'

(ii) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{n}\dot{\text{n}}\text{n} - \text{da} \right]_{\text{P}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$ ax - da $\left[\left[\left[\text{b}\dot{\text{x}}\text{u}\text{r}\text{e} - \text{e} \right]_{\text{N}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$
 Agaje house-from in-from porridge-acc

$\left[\left[\left[\text{x}\text{o} - \text{ay} - \text{a} \right]_{\text{V}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'}$
 eat-3ms-neg-pf.

'Agaje did not eat porridge in the house.'

The affirmative statement (34 a i) does not have a V"-complement. The inherent property of verbs like /tu-/ "enter" requires that they strictly subcategorize directional adverbial PPs such as /n̄n̄n-da ax-da/ "into (in) the house" (cf. above: P.36f). This makes the PP a V'-complement. This PP is affected by the negative element /-aya/ "not" in (34 (a ii)) as it is close to it.

The affirmative statement (34 (b i)), however, has both a V'-complement, which is the NP/ b̄x̄ure-e/ "porridge", and a V"-complement, which is the PP /n̄n̄n-da ax-da/

"into (in) the house". The negation in (34 (b ii)), thus, affects the V'-complement NP / baxure-e/ "porridge" as it is close to it. The PP / nin-da ax-da / "into (in) the house" is further away from the negative element and is, therefore, not affected by it. This helps us to identify the PP in (34 (b ii)) as a V"-complement.

Furthermore, we have already shown that verbs such as /xo-/ "eat" strictly subcategorize only NP complements as illustrated above in (15). Even if we exchange the positions of the NP / baxure-e / "porridge" and the PP / nin-da ax-da/ "into (in) the house" in (34 (b ii)) as this is possible in Awingi, the V'-complement will still be the NP. The PP remains outside the V'. When there is an exchange of position, the PP will be closer to the negative element and will be affected by it. But this does not dismiss the PP from being a V"-complement as the verb /xo-/ "eat" is lexically specified for only an NP.

Another device of identifying a V"-complement is gapping and its accompanying proform. The device deletes V' leaving a proform. The process does not affect V"-elements. Consider the examples in (35).

(35)(a) Agaje $\left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} v'' \\ \text{adv.} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{ayna} \right] \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} v' \\ \text{N}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{tay - o} \right] \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} v'' \\ \text{V}'' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{jew - u - x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \right] \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} v'' \\ \text{V}'' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]$
 Agaje yesterday sheep-acc buy-3ms - pf.

'Agaje bought a sheep yesterday.'

(b) Däbbasu $\left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} v'' \\ \text{adv.} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{naka} \right] \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} v' \\ \text{N}''' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{tay - o} \right] \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} v'' \\ \text{V}'' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \text{jew - u - x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \right] \left[\left[\begin{smallmatrix} v'' \\ \text{V}'' \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right]$
 Debbasu today sheep-acc buy-3ms-pf.

'Debbasu bought a sheep today.'

- (c)(i) Agaje $\left[\left[\text{ayna} \right]_{V'' \text{ 2dv.}} \right] \left[\left[\text{tay - o} \right]_{V' \text{ N}'''} \right] \left[\left[\text{jew - u - x}^W \text{a} \right]_{V^0} \right] \left[\right]_{V''}$
 Agaje yesterday sheep-acc buy-3ms-pf
 Däbbasu $\left[\left[\text{ku}^t \text{si} \right]_{V'' \text{ V}'\text{-proform 2dv.}} \right] \left[\left[\text{naka} \right]_{V''} \right]$
 Debbasu also today.

'Agaje bought a sheep yesterday;

Debbasu also today.'

- (ii) *Agaje $\left[\left[\text{ayna} \right]_{V'' \text{ 2dv.}} \right] \left[\left[\text{tay - o} \right]_{V' \text{ N}'''} \right] \left[\left[\text{jew - u - x}^W \text{a} \right]_{V^0} \right] \left[\right]_{V''}$
 Agaje yesterday sheep-acc buy-3ms-pf.
 Däbbasu $\left[\left[\text{ku}^t \text{si} \right]_{V'' \text{ V}'\text{-proform 2dv.}} \right] \left[\left[\text{—} \right]_{V''} \right]$
 Debbasu also — .

'Agaje bought a sheep yesterday;

Debbasu also.'

Both (a) and (b) of (35) have a common V'-structure /tay-o jew-u-x^Wa/ "bought (a) sheep". When this is deleted, we have (35 (c i)). This structure has the proform /ku^tsi/ "also". This form cannot replace a V"-element as the ungrammatical (35 (c ii)) shows. The structure becomes grammatical with the V"-constituent /naka/ "today" not missing.

The same device of gapping can also be used on V"-elements, and the proform we get is different from the proform of V'. Consider, for example, the structure in (36).

- (36) (a) Agaje $\left[\left[\text{warem - s} \right]_{V'' \text{ P}'''} \right] \left[\left[\text{wuje - e} \right]_{V' \text{ N}'''} \right] \left[\left[\text{ku - u - x}^W \text{a} \right]_{V^0} \right] \left[\right]_{V''}$
 Agaje spear -by lion-acc kill-3ms-pf
 'Agaje killed a lion with a spear.'

- (b) Däbbasu $\left[\left[\left[\text{warem} - \text{s} \right]_{\text{P}'''} \right]_{\text{V}''} \left[\left[\left[\text{wuje} - \text{e} \right]_{\text{N}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'} \left[\left[\left[\text{ku} - \text{u} - \text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \right]_{\text{V}^0} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right]_{\text{V}''} \right]$
 Debbasu spear-by lion-acc kill-3ms- pf
 'Debbasu killed a lion with a spear.'

- (c) (i) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{warem} - \text{s} \right]_{\text{P}'''} \right]_{\text{V}''} \left[\left[\left[\text{wuje} - \text{e} \right]_{\text{N}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'} \left[\left[\left[\text{ku} - \text{u} - \text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \right]_{\text{V}^0} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right]_{\text{V}''} \right]$
 Agaje spear-by lion-acc kill-3ms- pf
 Däbbasu $\left[\text{kila} \right]_{\text{V}''\text{-proform}}$
 Debbasu too

'Agaje killed a lion with a spear; Debbasu, too.'

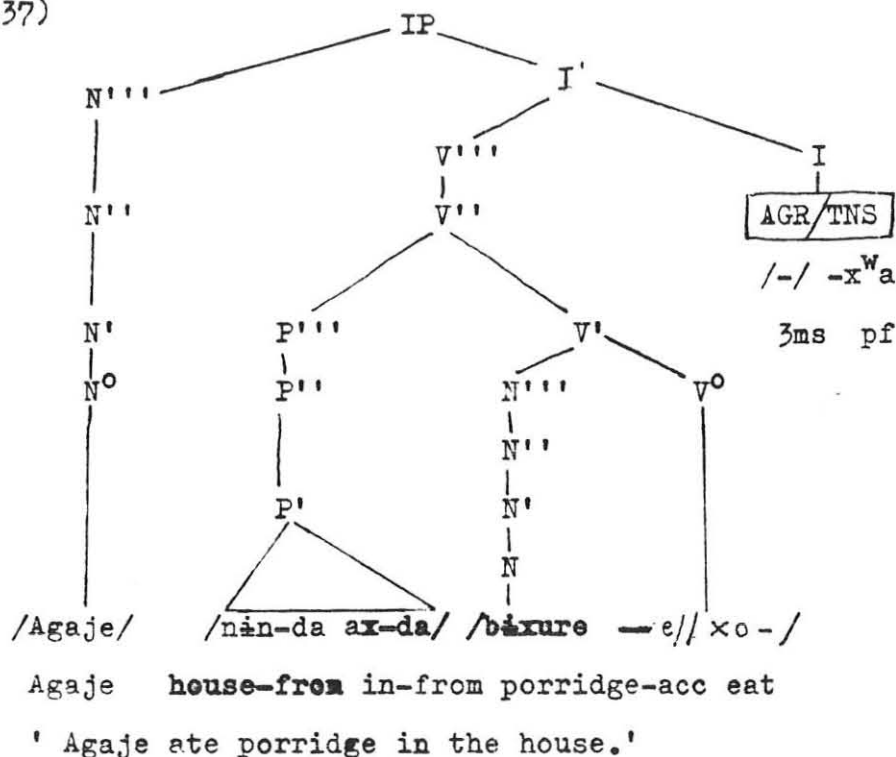
- (ii) *Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{warem} - \text{s} \right]_{\text{P}'''} \right]_{\text{V}''} \left[\left[\left[\text{wuje} - \text{e} \right]_{\text{N}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'} \left[\left[\left[\text{ku} - \text{u} - \text{x}^{\text{W}}\text{a} \right]_{\text{V}^0} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right]_{\text{V}''} \right]$
 Agaje spear-by lion-acc kill-3ms- pf
 Däbbasu $\left[\text{—} \right]$.
 Debbasu _____.

'Agaje killed a lion with a spear; Debbasu.'

What we see in (36) is that both (a) and (b) have identical V''-structure. When this structure is deleted, we get the proform /kila/ "too" in the gapped position as shown in (36 (c i)). Without this proform the structure becomes ill-formed as (36 (c ii)) shows.

It has already been stated that V''-complements are optional; and hence, need not be shown in the subcategorization frames of the verbs. They only need to be shown in a tree structure of the type in (37) in which they branch from the V''-node as sister of V'.

(37)



2.1.3. V'''- COMPLEMENTS:

Complements at this level include structures of parenthetical information. Again saving the clausal types for the next chapter, we shall examine here only the simple complements. Consider the examples in (38).

(38)(a) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{ārgāt-s} \right] \right] \right] \left[\left[\left[\text{tāna bārr-s} \right] \right] \right] \left[\left[\left[\text{tay - o} \right] \right] \right]$
 Agaje sure-by two bārr-by sheep-acc
 $\left[\left[\left[\left[\text{jew - u - x^{Wa}} \right] \right] \right] \right] \left[\right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$
 buy-3ms - pf.

'Agaje surely bought a sheep for two bārr.'

(b) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{dingeto} \right] \right] \right] \left[\left[\left[\text{ča} \right] \right] \right] \left[\left[\left[\text{dangli - šo} \right] \right] \right]$
 Agaje perhaps tomorrow Dangila-to
 $\left[\left[\left[\left[\text{kas - e} \right] \right] \right] \right] \left[\right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$
 go -3ms-impf.

'Agaje will perhaps go to Dangila tomorrow.'

The other test is focus, which is a feature assigned to constituents carrying new information. Such constituents are indicated by assigning to them heavy stress in-situ or by putting them in clause-initial or clause-final positions marked off by a pause/ comma. Native English speakers realize this in structures like (40a) (See Chomsky 1981:238), and Awingi speakers in (40b).

- (40)(a)(i) John eats bread tomorrow. (neutral)
(ii) John eats BREAD tomorrow. (focus:object, in situ)
(iii) BREAD, John eats tomorrow. (focus:object, in clause-initial position)
(iv) John eats tomorrow, BREAD. (focus: object, in clause-final position)
(v) eat bread tomorrow, JOHN will. (focus:subject, in clause-final position).

- (b) (i) /Agaje ča tuše-e xo-e/ (neutral)
Agaje tomorrow bread-acc eat-3ms-impf.
'Agaje eats bread tomorrow.'
(ii) /Agaje ča tuše-ka-wa xo-e/ (focus: object, in situ)
(iii) /tuše-ka-wa, Agaje ča xo-e/ (focus: object, in clause-initial position)
(iv) /Agaje ča xo-e, tuše-ka-wa/¹⁰ (focus: object, in clause-final position)
(v) /ča tuše xo-e, Agaje-ka/ (focus:subject, in clause-final position)

Whereas elements that appear at V' or V"-levels are

as in (43).

$$(43) \quad V \left[\left. \begin{array}{l} A''' \\ N''' \\ P''' \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \right]^{12}$$

Again at V'-level, we have transitive verbs subclassified into three types on the basis of their complements. These subtypes include semi-transitives, mono-transitives and di-transitives. The lexical entries for such verbs are shown in (14), (17) and (21) respectively. But all these can also be represented in a single frame as shown in (44).

$$(44) \quad V \left[\begin{array}{l} (P''') \\ N''' \\ (\sqrt{+COG}) \end{array} \text{---} \right]$$

Still at the same V'-level, we have seen intransitive verbs subclassified into those without any complements and those with adverbial complements. The subcategorization frames for these have been shown in (25) and (30) respectively. These, however, can be collapsed into one as shown in (45) below.

$$(45) \quad V \left[\begin{array}{l} (P''') \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{dir.} \\ \text{abl.} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \text{---} \right]$$

The three subcategorization frames shown in (43) for copulatives, (44) for transitives and (45) for intransitives may further be collapsed into (46) for all simple complements of verbs in the language.

$$(46) \quad V \left[\left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A''' \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{dir.} \\ \text{abl.} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} , \begin{array}{l} P''' \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{dir.} \\ \text{abl.} \end{array} \right] \end{array} , \begin{array}{l} N''' \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{COG} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right) \right] \text{---} \right]$$

Following V'-complements, we have observed V"-complements. Such complements supply circumstantial information to the assertions stated in V'-structures. Such elements are not shown in subcategorization frames as they are optional. They are identified by syntactic tests like the scope of negation, gapping and proforms.

Finally, we have seen complements at V'''-level. These constitute structures of parenthetical information. Such elements do not restrict the assertions made in V"-structures in terms of any circumstantial attributes. However, like V"-items, they too may be identified by such tests as the scope of negation, focus, movement and clefting.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Baye's work is on Oromo. But what is syntactically true of Oromo is also true of Awingi as both are closely related Cushitic languages. Differences lie, according to Andrzejewski (1964 b), in vocabulary and some innovated grammatical features such as number and gender (Bender 1976 a: 74-5; 1976 b: 130-148).
2. Awingi has four allomorphs of the verb "to be" as shown in the text. These include /-Ø-/ "zero-morpheme 'be'", /-ax/ "be", /-x/ "be" and /iš-/ "be". The variations seem to be phonological.
3. Capital letters are used to show focused constituents. This is done following Chomsky (1981:238).
4. In Awingi, it appears that not only a transitive verb but also a raising verb such as /^tseger-/ "seem" may assign the 'accusative case' to internal arguments whether these are simple phrases or clauses, adjectivals or nominals (See illustrations (3c), (15a and b) and (47c)).
5. Awingi does not have any form for the definite or indefinite articles. Such distinctions are made on the bases of contexts.
6. There is a distinction in the internal structures of the PPs. For example, the double-P head /ax-da/ "from inside" in (9a and b) governs /nɪn-da/ "from the house" which is itself a PP. But in (9c and d), the PP /wuje-ta/ " (like) as a lion" is a single PP.
7. The 'accusative case' is marked by a number of allomorphs. In (15), for example, we have /-e / in (a) and /-0/ in (b). In others, we see /-wa/ in (69b) and (71a and b); /-sa/ in (47c); and /-sta/ in (56a) and (69c).

8. The term 'Vacuum' is a coinage by the researcher. It refers to verbs lacking complements.
9. Such sentences are acceptable in contexts only. However, contextual acceptability does not always suggest grammatical well- or ill-formedness.
10. Cf. footnote 11 below.
11. This sentence was repeated to the three informants at different and for several times. In all cases, the writer deliberately presented the sentence as though it were grammatical. He was corrected by the informants in two ways. Firstly, the educated ones outrightly said that the sentence was incorrect and gave the correct version by putting the verb at the end. Secondly, the uneducated ones repeated the sentence after the writer, stubbornly putting the verb at clause-final position. However, items may occur after the verb if they are meant for purpose of focus (Cf. illustration 40 (b iv and v)); and even this is possible if only the items are set off by comma intonation (Jackendoff 1977:62). Nevertheless, V'''- items are never focused (Cf. above: P. 47 f). So, structure (41e) remains incorrect even if the placement of the V'''-item at that final position were meant for 'focus'.
12. The unifying frame presented here and those to follow are attempts made following Jackendoff (1977:81,240). He states that a grammar is highly valued if it is more general. And a more general grammar, according to him, is one characterized by a set of syntactic distinctive features shown in parentheses, braces, and feature notations. With the help of these, Jackendoff attempts to make a cross category generalization for complement and specifier structures of lexical categories. The attempt here is an intra-category generalization for complement types of Awingi verbs only. (See also footnote 11 of chapter three).

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. CLAUSAL COMPLEMENTS

As stated earlier, Awingi verbs are divided into three on the basis of the types of complements they take at V'-level. These include: (i) copulatives, (ii) transitives, and (iii) intransitives. Each of these has also been classified into various subtypes. The types of complements considered in relation to them have been simple phrasal items. Clausal complements were left to be considered in this chapter. We shall now examine such complements at all the three levels of V', V'' and V'''.

The clausal complements at V' are strictly subcategorized by a verbal head to form the minimal projection. The clausal complements at V'' include restrictive modifiers which we have said express the circumstances of the assertion designated by V'-structures. At V''', the clausal complements include those which provide non-restrictive information.

3.1. V' - COMPLEMENTS:

The verbs that strictly subcategorize clauses include copulatives and transitives. Let us examine each in turn.

3.1.1. COPULATIVE VERBS:

In the preceding chapter, we saw that copulative verbs like /-ax/ "be", /yaxu-/ "become" and /^tseger-/ "seem" may select simple APs, NPs and PPs as their V'-complements. Such verbs may also subcategorize clausal complements. The complements here consist of nominals and postpositions.¹

3.1.1.1. COPULATIVES WITH NOMINAL CLAUSES:

Nominal clauses are clauses which function like simple NPs. The verbs which strictly subcategorize such complements are /-ax/ "be", /yaxu-/ "become" and /^tseger-/ "seem" . Examine the structures in (47).

- (47) (a) $\left[\left[\left[\text{kis} - \text{a} \right]_{\text{IP}} - \text{wi} \right]_{\text{CP}} \left[-\text{ax} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right]$
 change-3ms-impf COMP - be(impf)

'(lit.) It is that he is to change.'

'He is to change.'

- (b) $\left[\left[\left[\text{kár} - \text{t} - \text{a} \right]_{\text{IP}} - \text{ti} \right]_{\text{CP}} \left[\text{yaxu} - \text{u} - \text{x}^{\text{Wa}} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right] /$
 die-3fs-impf-COMP become-3ms - pf.

'(lit.) it became that she is to die.'

'She is to die.'

- (c) $e^2 \left[\left[\left[\text{Däbbasu} \text{ Dassaš} - \text{o} \text{ inkan} - \text{i} - \text{e} \right]_{\text{IP}} - \text{w} - \text{sa} \right]_{\text{CP}} \right]$
 Debbasu Dassash-acc love-3ms-impf-COMP-acc
 $\left[\left[\left[\text{seger} - \text{e} - \text{e} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right]$
 seem -3ms -impf.

'(It) seems that Debbasu loves Dassash.'

- (d) * $\text{Dassaš} \left[\left[\left[\text{dadex} - \text{ij} - \text{o} \right]_{\text{IP}} \right]_{\text{CP}} \left[\left[\text{seger} - \text{t} - \text{e} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right]$
 Dassash steal-inf-acc seem -3fs-impf.

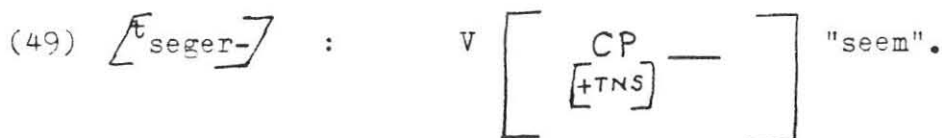
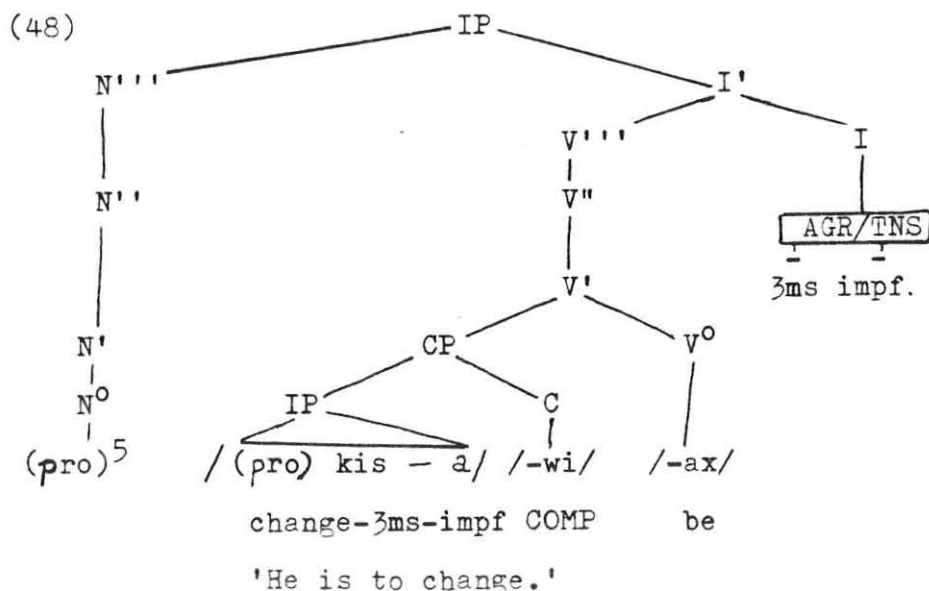
'Dassash seems to steal.'

The verb /-ax/ "be" and /yaxu-/ "become" select CPs to form V' as illustrated in (47 a and b). Such clausal complements express actions whose execution in the future is considered as certain.³ Those considered as uncertain are selected by the verb /^tseger-/ "seem" as shown in (47c).

As can be observed from the examples, the verbs select

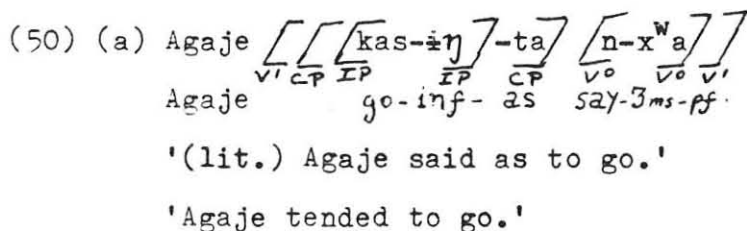
tensed clauses. Non-tensed ones, i.e. non-finite infinitivals⁴, lead to ungrammaticality as shown in (47d).

Structures like those in (47) can be represented in the tree in (48) and in the frame in (49).



3.1.1.2. COPULATIVES WITH POSTPOSITIONAL CLAUSES:

By a *postpositional* clause here is meant a clause headed by a postposition. An example of a verb which subcategorizes such clauses is the intentive /n-/"say".⁶ Consider the sentences in (50).



3.1.2.1. SEMI-TRANSITIVES:

Like simple cognate NPs, cognate infinitival clauses occur with such verbs at V'-level. This can be seen in the following sentences.

(53) (a) $\left[\left[\left[\text{zum-i}\eta - \text{o} \right] \right]_{\text{IP CP}} \right]_{\text{V' CP}} \quad \left[\text{zum} - \text{u} - \text{e} \right]_{\text{V' V'}}$
 speak-inf.- acc speak -3ms- impf.

'(lit.) To speak, he speaks.'

'To speak/ speaking, he does.'

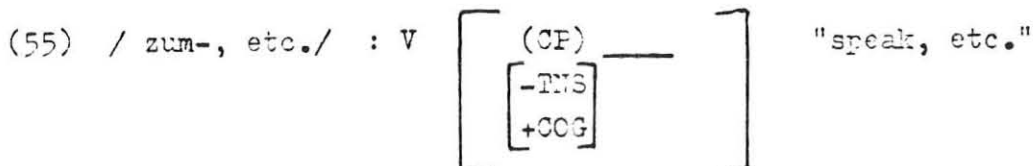
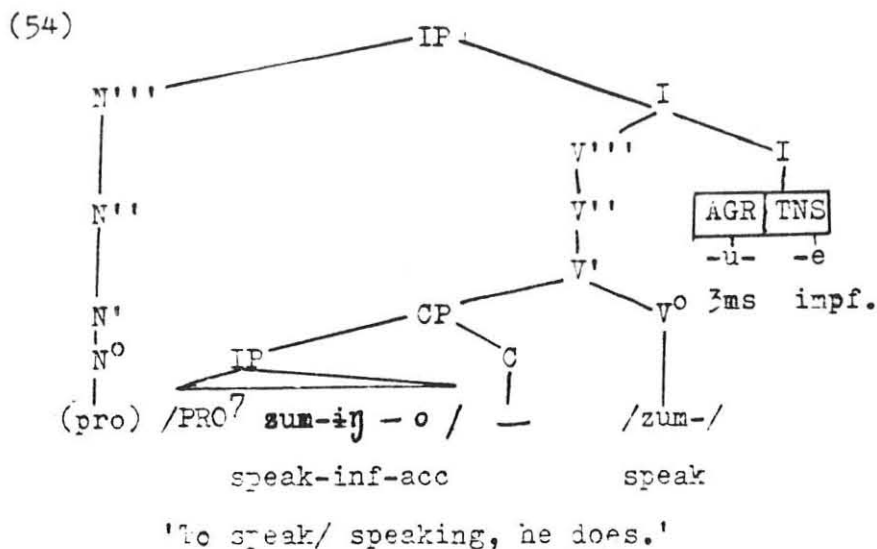
(b) $\left[\left[\left[\text{in}^t \text{saxst-i}\eta - \text{o} \right] \right]_{\text{IP CP}} \right]_{\text{V' CP}} \quad \left[\text{in}^t \text{saxst-al-a} \right]_{\text{V' V'}}$
 work - inf-acc work-3ms-neg-impf.

'(lit.) To work, he does not work.'

'To work/working, he doesn't.'

In the examples, the semi-transitive verbs /zum-u-e/ "speaks" and /in^tsaxst-al-a/ "does not work" strictly subcategorize the non-tensed cognate clauses /zum-iη -o/ "to speak/speaking" and /in^tsaxst-iη -o/ "to work/working". Such cognate clausal complements can be dropped as their meanings are recoverable from the meanings of their heads.

The tree representation of such structures and their subcategorization frames are as shown in (54) and (55) respectively.



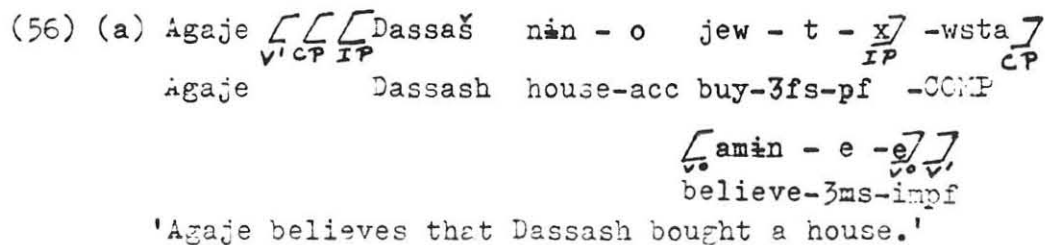
3.1.2.2. MCNC-TRANSITIVES:

In the preceding chapter, we have characterized such verbs as requiring obligatory simple nominal complements at V'. Here, we shall observe their clausal complements.

The subclass of verbs that take such complements are those known as epistemic, desiderative, control, quotative, etc.. We shall examine each in turn.

3.1.2.2.1. EPISTEMIC VERBS:

These are verbs whose expressions relate to mental processes. Examples of such verbs include /amin-/ "believe" and /akŋ-/ "know". Such verbs take both tensed and non-tensed clauses. Consider the examples below:



as non-tensed clauses. Consider the structures in (59).

- (59) (a) Agaje $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}' \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{CP} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{IP} \end{matrix}$ Däbbasu kas - a $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{IP} \end{matrix}$ -ta $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{CP} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}^0 \end{matrix}$ fay - i - e $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}^0 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}' \end{matrix}$
 Agaje Debbasu go-3ms-impf-COMF want-3ms-impf.

'Agaje wants that Debbasu goes.'

- (b) Dassaš $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}' \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{CP} \end{matrix}$ ĩni - w - sa gobez ax- $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{CP} \end{matrix}$ -iŋ - o $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}^0 \end{matrix}$ ĩšt - t - e $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}^0 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}' \end{matrix}$
 Dassash her-*cf*-acc - brave be-*inf*-acc wish-3fs-impf.

'(lit.) Dassash wishes herself to be brave.'

'Dassash wishes her being brave.'

In (59a), the clausal complement is tensed, but in (b), it is non-tensed. Hence, the tree representation and the subcategorization frame of such verbs is similar to that of the epistemic verbs which we have already seen.

3.1.2.2.3. CONTROL VERBS

In the same subclass of mono-transitives, there are verbs such as /moker-/ "try" and /kali-/ "be able" which express one's effort to do something. Such verbs are called 'control' verbs (Riemsdijk and Williams 1986:164ff). They take only non-tensed clausal complements as the structures below show.

- (60) (a) Agaje $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}' \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{CP} \end{matrix}$ siy - o kxu^ts- $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{CP} \end{matrix}$ -iŋ - o $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}^0 \end{matrix}$ moker - e - e $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}^0 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}' \end{matrix}$
 Agaje clothes-acc wash-*inf*-acc try - 3ms-*impf*.

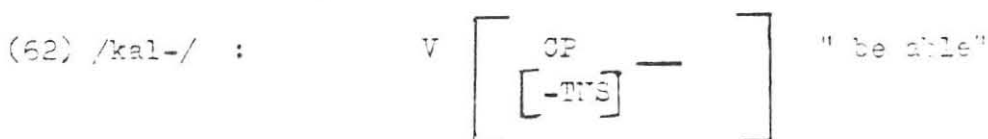
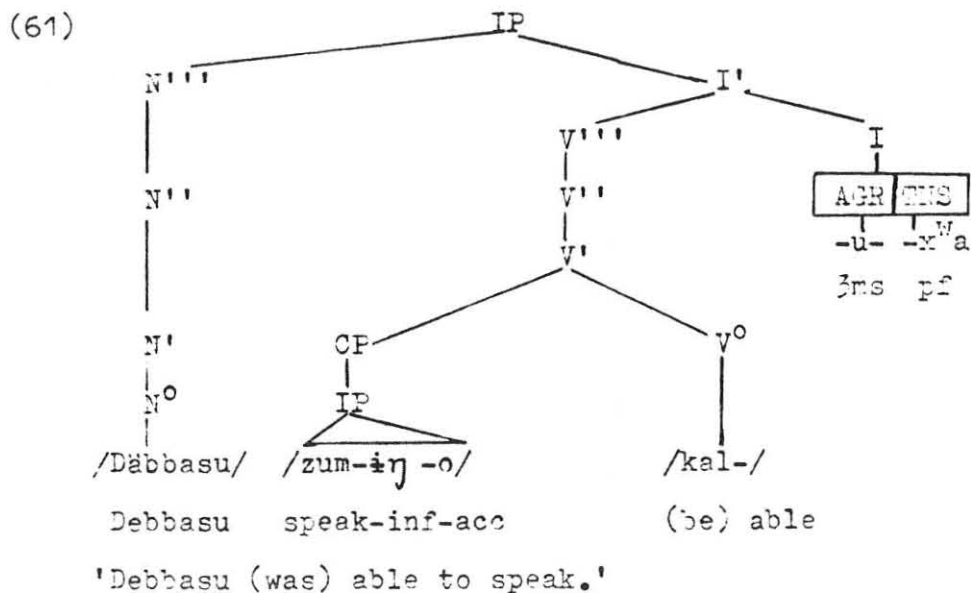
'Agaje tries to wash clothes.'

- (b) Däbbasu $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}' \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{CP} \end{matrix}$ zum - iŋ - o $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{CP} \end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}^0 \end{matrix}$ kal - u-x^wa $\begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}^0 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \diagup \\ \text{v}' \end{matrix}$
 Debbasu speak-*inf*-acc (be) able-3ms-*pf*.

'Debbasu (was) able to speak.'

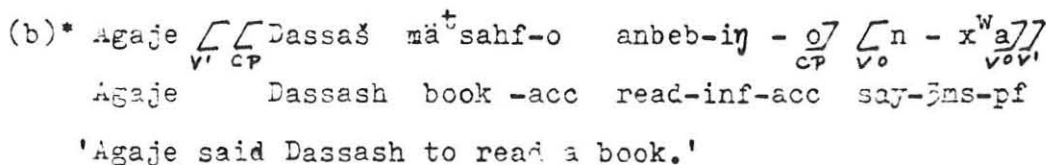
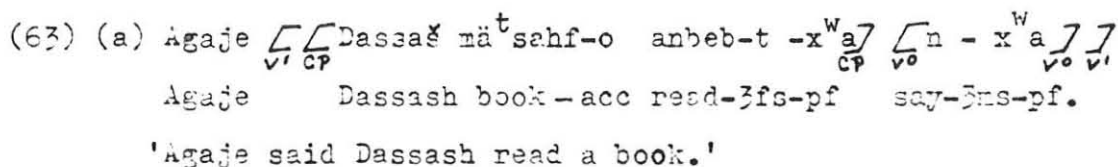
The clauses in these examples are non-tensed.

The tree representation and the subcategorization frame of such verbs take the form in (61) and (62) respectively.



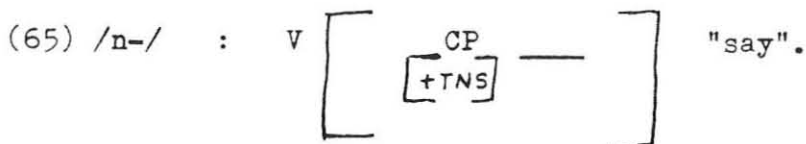
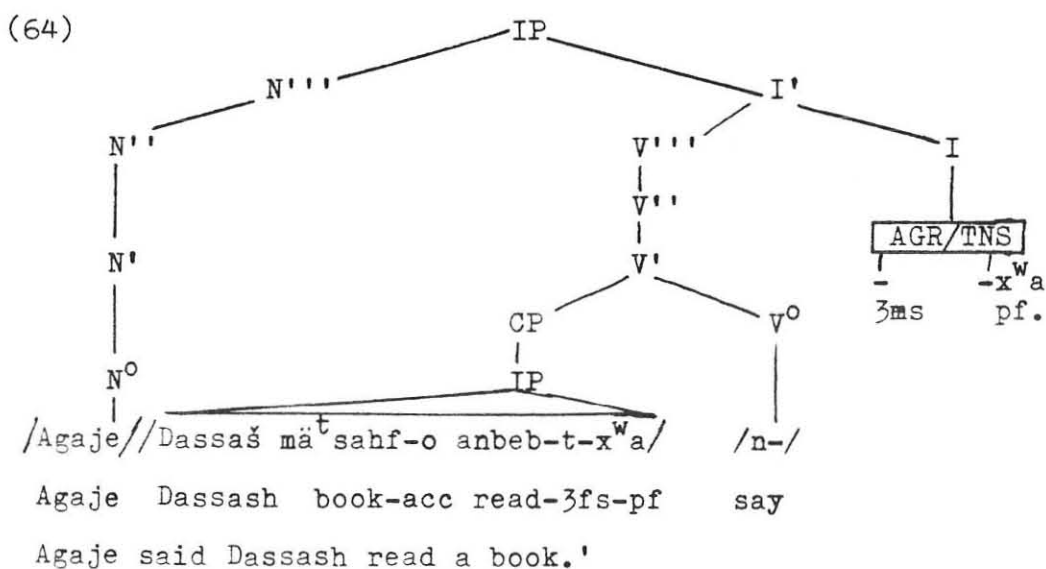
3.1.2.2.4. QUOTATIVE VERB:

Contrary to the verbs in the above structures is the quotative verb /n-/ "say" which takes only tensed complements. Consider the examples in (63).



The structure in (63a) is grammatical because the verb has a tensed clausal complement compatible with the quotative /n-/ "say". Such clauses do not have overt complementizers. Sentence (63b) is ungrammatical because the clausal complement is not tensed.

The tree configuration for this verb is as in (64) and the subcategorization frame as in (65).



3.1.2.2.5. QUESTION VERBS:

Other monotransitive verbs taking a clausal complement include the question verb /kasi-/ "ask". This verb subcategorizes both tensed and non-tensed clauses as in the structures in (66).

(66) (a) $\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{pro}} \\ \text{v}' \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{pro}} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{ki}} \\ \text{IP} \end{array} - \text{tala ayi-}\emptyset \begin{array}{c} \text{]}^9 \\ \text{IP} \end{array} \text{n - a - na} \begin{array}{c} \text{]} \\ \text{CP} \end{array}$
 your -father who-be-impf say-3ms-pf-3CMP

$\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{kasi-i}} \\ \text{v}_0 \end{array} - \text{x}^{\text{W}} \begin{array}{c} \text{a} \\ \text{v}_0 \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{]} \\ \text{v}' \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{]} \\ \text{v}' \end{array}$
 ask-3ms-pf.

'He asked having said who is your father.'

(b) Agaje $\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{Dabbasu}} \\ \text{v}' \\ \text{CP} \end{array} - \text{w -sa fätäne-e fey - inj -o} \begin{array}{c} \text{]} \\ \text{CP} \end{array}$
 Agaje Dabbasu -of-acc test-acc pass-inf-acc

$\begin{array}{c} \sqrt{\text{kasi}} \\ \text{v}_0 \end{array} - \text{i} - \text{x}^{\text{W}} \begin{array}{c} \text{a} \\ \text{v}_0 \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{]} \\ \text{v}' \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{]} \\ \text{v}' \end{array}$
 ask-3ms - pf.

'Agaje asked Dabbasu's passing the test.'

The structure in (a) has a tensed clausal complement of an indirect question and the one in (b) has a non-tensed type.

The tree representation for this verb may be shown in the manner in (67) and the subcategorization frame in (68).

(b) Agaje $\left[\left[\left[\text{iya-s} \right]_{\text{IP}} \right]_{\text{CP}} \right]_{\text{V}'''} \text{tseger} - \text{a} \left]_{\text{IP}} - \text{w} - \text{sta} \left[\left[\left[\text{mikuli} - \text{s} \right]_{\text{P}'''} \right]_{\text{V}''} \right]_{\text{CP}}$
 Agaje me-for seem-is-impf COMP-acc spoon-by

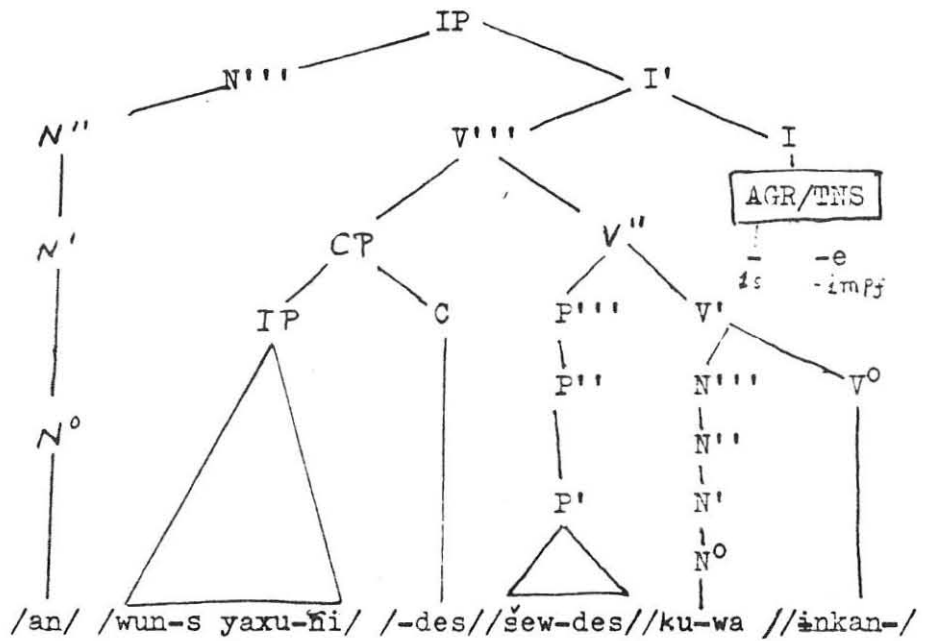
$\left[\left[\left[\text{inkuwini-wa} \right]_{\text{N}'''} \right]_{\text{V}'} \right]_{\text{V}''} \left[\text{ziq} - \text{u} - \text{al} - \text{a} \right]_{\text{V}'''} \right]_{\text{V}''}$
 soup -acc drink-3ms-neg-impf

'Agaje, as it seems to me, does not drink soup
 with a spoon.'

The clausal V'''-complements in (71) supply auxiliary information to that already expressed by the sentence.

Their tree representation is as shown in (72).

(72)



/an/ /wun-s yaxu-ñi/ /-des//šew-des//ku-wa //inkan-/

I truth-by become-it if heart-from you-acc love
 'To tell you truly, I love you heartily.'

Clausal complements at V'' and V'''-level are again identified by the same constituency tests used for their non-clausal counterparts shown in the preceding chapter.

From the tree representation, we can also notice the following.

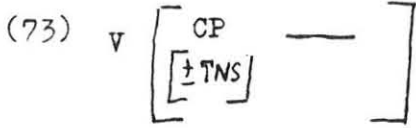
The first concerns the head parameter. A head of a phrase, according to Jackendoff (1977:30), is either the X^{n-1} which the phrase dominates, or the lexical category projecting into the phrase. In light of the first definition, the V''' can be considered as being headed by the V'' which it immediately dominates, and the V'' is headed by the V' which it immediately dominates, and the V' by the V^0 . The V^0 is the lexical head of the entire phrase. This head is found at the right hand side of the whole string of the verb phrase. This shows that the language belongs to the head final parameter, that is, it is a head final language.

Secondly, the configuration shows that the syntactic categories V' , V'' and V''' are hierarchical projections of this head and its complements occurring at various levels. The presence or absence of such complements is determined by the inherent properties of the lexical head.

3.4. SUMMARY:

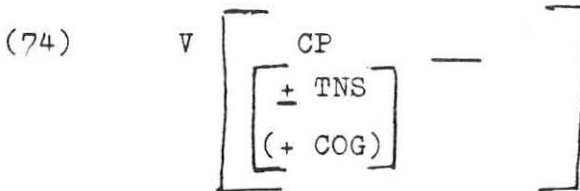
In this chapter, we have examined clausal complements at V' , V'' and V''' -levels. We have observed that only copulative and some transitive verbs take clausal complements at the level of V' . Copulative verbs such as /^tseger-/ "seem" select tensed clauses whereas those like the intensive /n-/ "say" subcategorize non-tensed ones. The subcategorization frames of such verbs are as shown in (49) and (52) respectively. But for purposes of generalization,

these can be reduced to (73).

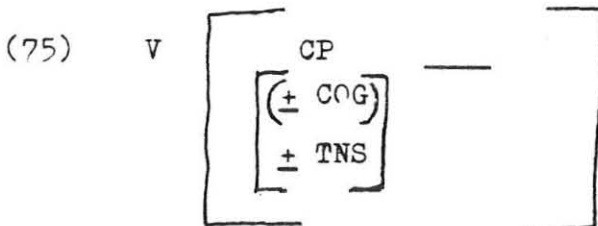


Among the transitives, those which are semi-transitives take non-tensed clauses. The mono-transitives have been subclassified as (i) epistemic, (ii) desiderative, (iii) control, (iv) quotative, and (v) question verbs. The first two can take either tensed or non-tensed clauses. The third subcategorizes only non-tensed clauses. The fourth selects only tensed ones. The last makes a choice between tensed and non-tensed ones depending upon the directness or indirectness of the question.

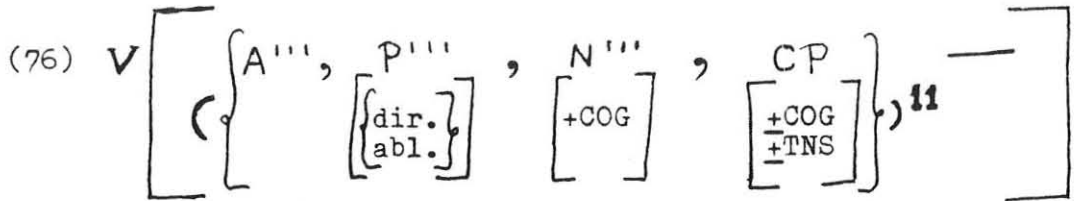
The subcategorization frames for the semi- and mono-transitive verbs may be unified in the manner shown in (74) below.



The subcategorization frame shown in (73) for the copulatives, and the one in (74) for the transitives may further be collapsed into (75) .



Now, all the phrasal and clausal complements of V' can be collapsed into a single entry of the type in (76).



Apart from the complements of V', which have been collapsed into the frame in (76), we have also seen clausal complements at V'' and V'''-levels. At the level of V'', the complements restrict the assertion expressed in V'. Such complements can be focused, clefted and be affected by negation. For these reasons, they have semantically been referred to as restrictive modifiers. Syntactically, they occur in the intermediate projection in the hierarchy.

The V'''-complements do not restrict the assertion expressed in V''. Unlike V''-complements, they cannot be focused, clefted or be affected by negation. For these reasons, they have semantically been referred to as non-restrictive modifiers. They supply only auxiliary comments to the overall sentence. Syntactically, such complements occur at the maximal projection in the hierarchy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. One might think of comparative clauses as **adjectivals**. However, since such clauses are headed by postpositions in Awingi, as the following example shows, they are considered here as PFs functioning as V"- complements.

Agaje $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Däbhasu} \\ \text{Debbasu} \end{array} \right]_{CP} \\ \text{buzit} \\ \text{get fat} \end{array} \right]_{EP} \\ \text{get fat} \end{array} \right]_{VP}$ — u - x^w - w - sa |2k2_{CP}
 — 3^{ms}-pf-COMP-acc. much
 buzit - u - x^w 2^o 2^o 2^o
 get fat - 3^{ms} - pf.

'(lit.) Agaje got fat as much as Debbasu got fat.'
 'Agaje is as fat as Debbasu.'

2. The external argument position of verbs like /^tseger-/ "seem" is empty, 'e'. Such a position is marked for case, but not for 'theta' (See Chomsky 1981a: 175). It can be filled by a pleonastic NP or by a theta marked caseless NP raised from a complement clause.
3. Hetron refers to such clauses as the 'imperfect definite'. According to him, such clauses express an action in the future which the speaker considers as certain (Hetron 1966:17).
4. Awingi does not make a distinction between finite and non-finite infinitival clauses. In (47d), the clause /dadex-ij / "to steal" is a non-finite infinitival clause. So, it does not have any AGR-feature to show. The suffix /-o/ is an accusative case marker.
5. In a morphologically rich language like Awingi, a small 'pro' at such a position refers to a pronominal feature recoverable from AGR in INFL. Here 'pro' is '3^{ms}'.
6. The intentive /n-/ "say", which is classified here as copulative, is different from the quotative /n-/ "say", which is classified as transitive under 3.1.2.2.4..

The intensitive /n-/ "say" is considered as copulative because it functions as a 'linking verb'. In (50), the verb links clausal complements expressing intents which the external argument NPs enter into. Moreover, it as well links adjectival complements with external argument NPs as in the example below.

Agaje $\left[\left[\underset{V'}{\text{d}i\text{m}i} \text{-ta-wa} \right] \left[\underset{V'}{\text{n-x}^w\text{a}} \right] \right]$
 Agaje red-like-acc say-3ms-pf
 '(lit.) Agaje said (more) red-like.'
 'Agaje looked (more) light-coloured.'

So, its classification as copulative appears quite convincing.

7. The subject of non-finite infinitival clauses, according to GB, is PRO. This PRO is an abstract caseless NP whose reference is controlled by either an obligatory control-relation with the subject or with the object NP of the matrix clause, or it may arbitrarily refer to anyone. PRO is developed from the 'Extended Projection Principle' which states that 'external arguments are required as subjects of VPs,' (Chomsky 1986 a: 116; Radford 1981: 288f; Cook 1988: 160).
8. Cf. footnote 4 of this chapter.
9. Cf. footnote 2 of chapter two.
10. There are verbs called ergative such as /ɪnkr-/ "play" which may or may not strictly subcategorize internal arguments (Rizzi 1986: 508f; Radford 1981:120). In this example, /ɪnkr-/ "play" does not have an internal argument. So, it is an intransitive verb of the subtype 'eventive' which forms its V' without a complement.

11. According to Jackendoff (1977:64,71, 81ff), the parentheses in a process of generalization such as these are essential in order to make a distinction between verbs which do and do not select strictly subcategorized complements. This, as to him, must be so in spite of the obvious facts of direct objects and other indispensable complements which are never optional. Without such notations, generalizations are not easy to make (Jackendoff 1977: 81, 240).

4.0. CONCLUSION

As has been pointed out in the first chapter, the objective of this study is to examine the complements of Awingi verbs at the three bar levels proposed in Jackendoff (1977) for all languages. This has been attempted in the second and third chapters. These chapters have shown that, on the basis of their V'-complements, verbs can be classified into a number of classes and subclasses.

One of the classes is that of the copulatives. Three subclasses of these have been distinguished on grounds of their complement structures. These include: (i) the copula /-ax/ "be" and /yaxu-/ "become", (ii) the raising verb /^tseger-/ "seem" and (iii) the intentive /n-/ "say". These verbs take APs, PPs NPs and clauses. Their clausal complements are either tensed or non-tensed.

The second class is that of the transitive verbs. Three types of these were recognized. These are: (i) the semi-transitives, which take cognate phrasal or clausal complements, (ii) the mono-transitives, which strictly subcategorize non-cognate, phrasal or clausal complements, and (iii) the di-transitives, which take two complements- a nominal and a postpositional phrase. The di-transitives do not take clausal complements.

The third class is that of the intransitives which includes statives and eventives. None of these may select complements to form V'. Another subclass includes those which subcateg-

orize phrasal adverbial complements. These complements may be ablative or directional.

At the level of V", we have VP-adverbials. These express time, place, manner, etc., under which the assertions made at V'-level are modified. In the syntactic hierarchy, such complements occur as intermediate projections.

Next to V", we have seen sentence adverbials forming V'''. Hierarchically, these branch from the maximal projection. Semantically, they do not contribute much to the assertion made by V' or V". They are only 'tags', i.e. added elements of no significance, to the overall sentential structure.

Finally, we have seen that in all the structures the lexical verb appears at final positions thus determining the parameter of Awingi as a head-final language.

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በአገር ውስጥ የተጻፉ

የቤተሰብ ጉዳዮች

ተከራካሪ ስለሆነ፡፡ 1982 ኢ.አ.፡፡ "የአገራችን ገሥተኛ ፍርድ ቤቶች"፡፡
አዲስ አበባ፤ ቀዳማዊ ኃይለማርያም ሄክብር ገብረ / ቀዳማዊ / ፡፡
አርቲስት ተባብሮ - ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ የተሠናዳ ስራ፡፡

የሰነድ ልምድ / ዘርፍ / ተገልጿል፡፡ 1956 ኢ.አ.፡፡ "ነገረ
አገራችን" በ የአለም ታሪክ ስርዓት ጋር የተያያዘ
አዲስ አበባ፤ በተቃራኒ ሆነ የሰነድ ልምድ ተገልጿል
ታሪክ፡፡

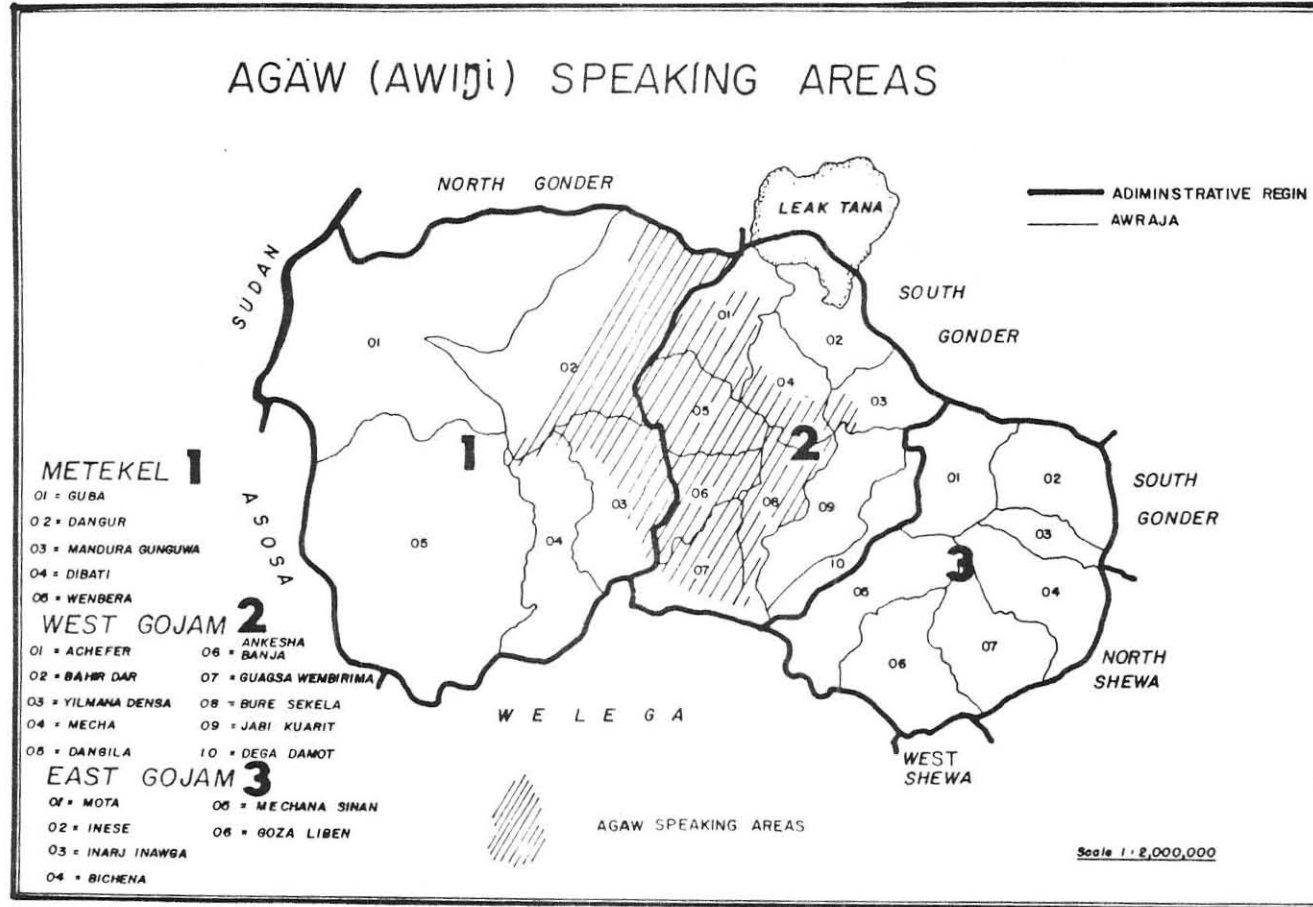
ደግሞ ስለሆነ፡፡ ገብረ ገብረ፡፡ 1952 ኢ.አ.፡፡ በግልጽ ገጽ
የሰነድ ልምድ የአገሪቱ ስርዓት ስርዓት ገጽ
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/ ተገልጿል / ፡፡

APPENDIX I

MAP OF ETHIOPIA: GOJJAM SPECIFIED



AGAW (AWIḡi) SPEAKING AREAS



የወጪ ገንጠ ሠንጃቸዓ ስህተት / ሠንጃቸዓ የኖተ
ሠጭ/ ለስተጠሪ ልግ ለስተጠሪ: ወይ ስህተት
ሰቲያህ ለጸጋ ለስጥ ለኖተ ያህንሀሰት ስህተት ስህተት
ተራራላቸ: ስህተት ታላቅ ወይ: በስጥ ስህተት
ተራራላቸ:

45 ጥያቄ

ለግርግ ለነገገር ያ በግምት ይህ ይላል: ለገንጠ ነገር
ይህን ጥላታ ያገኙት? በተራራላቸ ያ በስህተት ነገር
ሰቲያህ ነገር ይህንን የገንጠ ለግርግ ጥላታ በወሰነ ያ
ነገር?

ጥያቄ

/ወጪ ነገር ልግ ታ/ ታላቅ ለግርግ ለግርግ: ወይ
በስህተት ለገጠ ነገር: ለግርግ ለገጠ ይላል: ለገጠ
ለገጠ ለገጠ ነገር: ለገጠ ለገጠ ለግርግ ነገር ለገጠ
ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ የገጠ ለገጠ ነገር: ለገጠ ለገጠ
ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ በገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ " ለገጠ ነገር"
ገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ " ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ"
/awawa kantinama / ወይ ስህተት "ለገጠ
ገጠ ለገጠ" / awiya kantixuwama /
ለገጠ ለገጠ: ለገጠ ለገጠ "ያገራ ለገጠ—
ለገጠ ለገጠ ወይ? ወይ? "ያገራ ለገጠ — ለገጠ ለገጠ ወይ?"
ግርግ ነገር: የወጪ ገጠ ለገጠ: የገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ
ግርግ: ግርግ ለገጠ ለገጠ በገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ " ለገጠ"
ለገጠ ለገጠ: የገጠ ለገጠ ነገር: ነገር ለገጠ ለገጠ
ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ይላል: ስህተት ለገጠ ለገጠ
ለገጠ ለገጠ ይላል: ስህተት ወይ በገጠ ለገጠ
ለገጠ ለገጠ: ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ነገር
ለገጠ ለገጠ:

55 ጥያቄ

የለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ የገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ
ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ ለገጠ

በሰባታ የመጡትን ህንጻዎች የነጭ ተከታይ
ተከታይ አባቶች ገደቻቸው። የቀለበቻቸውም ማርና
የአጭን ሥጋ አንጂ ሽንቀሎች አርቫ በሰማይ ገጽ
አሁንም ዘርቶ ማምረት በሰላም አንጀራና ዳቦ
አሳይበሩት። አርቫ ለዚህ አባባቢ የመጣው
በሰባታ ቦታ ነው።

አገገጥ አጭን ዘንድ ተንጠ ገዛ ተቀምጦ
ለዚህ ታላቅ ሞተር ባቸው። በዚያ በኋላ በባታ
ህንጻዎች የአባባቢውን ዘ... ተከታይ ለያገገ
ንጭ በው የየራሱን ዘ... በራሱ በሥ በደቀ ለየተጠያ
የቀ በበሰላም ደካቃ ጀመር።

ለአጭንም ለሥተኛነት ቦታ ላይ ለሰማይ ገጽ ደረሰ
ዘንድ የሰውነት ድንጋጌ አባቶች። በሰውነት ሥራ
ጀምሮ ለበባሁን ድረስ ለሰፊ ለገጻዎች አገጥ በዚያ
ቦታ ላይ ድንጋጌና ጠጠር ለየረደቀ ስሜት ገቢ ተ
ገቢታ። ደረሰ በመሆኑ ለገጻዎች ቦታ — በተገ
ፈተሥ ሆነ ባሳተሞቹት ውስጥ — አጭን የአገጥ ሰጭ
ወላጅ ለፍት ለገደ ነበረች አድርገው ደተርካሉ።
ይህ ታሪክ ገን ተጠብቶ አደገለ።። ተጠብቶ ሰፊት
ለገገገ ለሰላም ሰባታ ህንጻዎች ተቀምጧል
ለገገገ ለሰላም ሰባታ ህንጻ ለፍት ሰላም ሰባታ።

በባታ ህንጻዎች አገገገ ተከታይ ሰባታው
ለየጠፋ ሰፊ ከጥቂት ዘመናት በኋላ ሌሎች ለራት
አገጥ ህንጻዎች ህንጻ ገጥሞ ለበከተለው በሰባታ
በቀጣይ መጡ። ሥሜት

ዳገገ
ተሂ / ተሞ/

ገያዜ
ጉንዚኔ

ደባዕ ነበር። ለነዚህ በኋላ የመጡ ለራት ለገጽ
ግንደማቸው ቀደም ነበሩ ከመጡ በጣም ግንደማቸው
ቸጥ ጋር በመሠያየት የሚቀረቡት በታላቅ ለንደባዎች
ጠየቋቸው። ለዚህም በኋላ

ገንገን	ኪሎሪ
ቀረን/ ቀረን/	ቻሪ
ቻያዚን	አዚኒ
ኩንዚኒን	ዚንዲ

ለንደባዎች ሆኖ በዚህ ዓመት ግንደማቸው ግንደማ

ሥፍራ ለገኙ።

በነዚህ በኋላ የመጡ ለንደባዎች ሆኖ ሥፍራ ያረፉበትን
ሥፍራ በሰማቸው ለምደባና ከሰጡት ሰማቸው ቋንቋዎች
አየተነጋገሩ። ለገር አቀንተው ለንደባዎች ለሰማቸው
ለየተሰጡት በሰማቸው ሆኖ። የነዚህም ሥፍራ
የሆኑ ሥፍራ ለንደባዎች የሆኑ የሆኑትን ሆኑትን
ለሰማቸው በሰማቸው የሰማቸው ትንሹ ለየተሰጡት ሆኑትን
አሁን በዚህ ለንደባዎች ለሰማቸው ያሉ ለሰማቸው ሆኑትን
ሥፍራ ቀደም ሆኖ የሰማቸው ሰማቸው የነበሩ ሆኑት። በዚህም
ዓመት በሰማቸው ለንደባዎች ለሰማቸው ሆኑትን ሆኑትን
ሆኑትን በሰማቸው ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን
የሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን
በሰማቸው ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን
በሰማቸው ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን
በሰማቸው ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን
በሰማቸው ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን ሆኑትን

ገቢያት፡፡ ለዚያ ሄይህ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ይገባል፡፡
በጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ጋር ሲገናኙ፣ ይገባል፡፡ ለዚህ ማህበራዊ
ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ተቃራኒ የሚሆኑ ሰነድ ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር፡፡

፪ኛ ጥያቄ

በሌላ ጉዳይ ላይ ይገባል?

መጠን

ገቢያት ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር
ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር... ለዚህ
ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ፡፡ በዚህ ጉዳይ
ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ፡፡ ለዚህ ጉዳይ
ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ፡፡ ለዚህ ጉዳይ
ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ፡፡

፫ኛ ጥያቄ

በጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ላይ ይገባል፡፡

መጠን

ገቢያት ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር
ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ፡፡ ለዚህ ጉዳይ
ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ማህበራዊ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ፡፡ ለዚህ ጉዳይ

APPENDIX III
THE ENGLISH VERSION OF
THE INTERVIEW
WITH ATO TAMIR DESTA

1st Question: Would you care telling me your full name?

Answer : No, I wouldn't. My name is Tamir Desta
Workie.

2nd Question: I don't know if I could dare ask your age.

Answer: Why, of course, you could! I am not as such
as old as you tend to regard me. I am
still young — a full adult of about 65, I
think. Not much far from this, anyway.

3rd Question: One wonders how much experience you could
accumulate in so long a life-time. Could
you kindly recall some of the highlights
of the events through which you have come?

Answer: Let me see... In those days, people joined
school when they had already been grown-
ups. I was one of those people. As adults,
I remember, we did all that could have
been expected of such a fitness. We had
activities to be done at home, we did them.
We had to acquire church manners, we learned
them. There were government schools to be
haunted, we visited them. So our knowledge,
which was limited in scope, was a result of
so many sources. It was thus that I, too,
received my "mixed" education.

One of our educators in those days was to Haddis Alemayehu (the famous Ethiopian novelist). It is he who introduced me to the modern Education. He did this when he stayed with us at Dangila between the years 1932-35, that is, until the time of the arrival of the Italian invaders. As we were invaded, he disappeared from school leaving us behind. Later on, we too dispersed. We remained silent (in the forests) and came out again when peace was sustained. After our freedom, we moved about safely that I, too, had the chance to go to Markos (i.e. the capital city of Gojjam). Here, I completed my education that qualified me as a teacher. In those days, a person could have become a teacher if he had only finished grade eight. Attending and dropping classes at intervals, I completed grade eight in 1949. I started teaching in September that year. I had remained a teacher for all the years between 1949 and 1987. This amounts to 37 (thirty-seven) years of service after which I have become a pensioner.

During my active years, I have worked in Gojjam, mostly in the District of Agäw-meder, mainly as a teacher, but also as a

'constructor' repairing old and building new government schools; as a representative of the Ministry of Education in erecting and promoting adult schools, and attending conferences on its behalf. I have really been a dedicated worker; I have never complained of being tired at work or of other dissatisfaction. I have rather volunteered always and been interested in being engaged in such works even during my present pensionable ages. I can, indeed, claim that I have been a strong man. So, I deserve the fame I have.

Moreover, my strength was not only at work outside home, but also inside. I am a father of nine children, you see. All these are grown-ups and educated. In fact, two of them are graduates — as you are. I have also two daughters who are already teachers. There are three others who have graduated in diploma and been posted at different jobs. The ones that still need my assistance are attending highschool. Am I not strong in this regard, too? I think, I am. I know how to bring up children. By the way, it is not only my children that I have brought up. I have also taken care of my younger brothers and sisters. One of these is my sister, Bossena Kassa, who

is teaching at your university in Addis Ababa.
Perhaps, you know her.

4th Question: I like your eloquence in Amharic. How is it that you have attained this skill? Is it because of your having gone through school, or because of your having taught for so long, or presumably because of your having been born in Gojjam?

Answer : (With a reserved smile) I do not come from an Amhara family (although my name suggests so). In fact, I am an Agāw. This is how the Amharas call us: 'Agāws'. We call ourselves as 'Awawa', and our district as 'Awaxuwa'. Awāwmeder is a relatively recent name. When two opponents come before elders for reconciliation, it is the tradition of the Awawa to address the elders thus: /awawa kantinama/ "(my people) Awawa, look into (my case well); or /awiya kantix^uwama/ "Son of my country, have you looked (into my case) well?" The first is while addressing a number of people in the plural, and the second in the singular, when talking to many as one. While we address ourselves thus, the Amharas prefer calling us Agāws. This is probably because they do not listen to us addressing ourselves as Awawas. It doesn't

matter much anyway. I also call myself Agäw quite a number of times.

5th Question: If you come from this tribe, I cannot doubt of your deep knowledge about the history of your people. If you don't mind, would you care telling me all that you know about this?

Answer: Oh, sure! Never doubt that! I certainly know the history of my people. If you 'give me ears', I can tell you a lot. It is as follows.

At the outset, the Agäw people lived in Lasta and Seqotta, in Wollo province. Those that have come to Agäwmeder came here about nine hundred years ago, i.e., at about 1050 A.D.. The first wave of migration of our ancestors was led by seven brothers. The names of these were:

Banji	Zigimi
Ankishi	Kuakuri
Azini	Mitikili
Čari	

The main reason for the migration was hunting. These people used to hunt lions, leopards, elephants and rhinoceroses. While looking for such big games, these people crossed over the territory of Gojjam where they had also discovered fertile land and favourable climate to live in. Having decided to settle here, these hunters came along with their

households and relatives in their next trip. The route they followed took them first to Motta, and from here they turned north to Damot across which they tracked to where they have settled now.

Before their arrival here, (it is said that) there were other tribes known as Shanqillas living in villages irregularly scattered here and there. There was a famous lady, a Shanqilla by birth, whose name was 'Aduk' who welcomed and treated the Agäw migrants kindly. She fed her guests honey and flesh of hunted animals as she had no bread or 'injära' since Shanqillas had never practised crop-cultivation. They learned this from the Agäw.

After the death of Aduk, the seven brothers shared the land among themselves and named each locality after the possessor. It is like this that the Agäws had begun their settled life here. And, they are very much thankful to Aduk. In fact, they have built her a monument to which generations of Agäws add gravels and pebbles as a symbol of remembrance. Observing this practice, some people, both among the educated and uneducated ones, consider Aduk as the mother of Agäws. This actually is not true. The true history is what I have just told you, that is, that Aduk was hostess

to the seven brothers but not mother.

Some years after the settlement of the seven brothers, there came other migrants led by four other brothers whose names were as listed below:

Dangi
Tuhi (Tumi)
Čayaži
Kunzini

These four Agāw brothers received counsel about their settlement from the seven old-comers who shared them land and gave them advice about their new life. The task of counseling was appropriated as follows:

Kuakuri took care of Dangi
Čari " " " Tuhi (Tumi)
Azini " " " Čayaži
Zigimi " " " Kunzini

Like the old-comers, the new ones, too, called their areas of settlement after their names and began to live farming peacefully.

All the migrants, the old and the new, used the language they brought from Lasta for communicating among themselves as they persisted to live at their new places. This has continued for centuries since then. And in all this time, the children and grand-

children of these people kept on the tradition of naming their areas of settlement after them that present-day names of localities such as Azini, Zigimi and Shashi were once proper names of people. Moreover, if you were to go to these three localities yourself, you would find that the Agäws there would provide the typical samples of the ancient Agäws. The present cultural practices in several areas of life: food, language use, songs, funeral and other ritual ceremonies are *similar to* the past (according to what their legend has preserved). You can say that the present Agäws in the mentioned areas are really "photo-copies" of the past. Go to these places and find out for yourself that they speak no word of Amharic or other language other than their own.

6th Question: What Agäw songs or ritual lamentations do you know? Do you have some words to say on these?

Answer : (Looking at the boy who brought me to meet him, Ato Tamir said):... About songs and such matters, this boy will tell you all that you need. I am sure he has a mastery

of these. If, however, he fails, then he will take you to those who know well. Such matters are not issues of elderly people.

7th Question: May I thank you very much for your time and humour?

Answer : Don't mind it. You have needed the information to keep us recorded before we keep silent for ever. That preserves our history. Do this before we (i.e. old people) die. Don't worry of having bothered us so long the intention is for good.

አገረው ምዕራፍ ገላጭ = ጠፋተ. ቀ-ህገውም የጊ = ቤተ-አገራዊ ተሳካ...
የጊ አገራዊ ለምዕራፍ :- ገዢ = ለገም = ለሀተኝነት = ለጊራ = አንድነት =
ገንዘብ = ንግድ = የገዢ።

በኋላ ለምዕራፍ የጊተ = አገራዊ = ማንኛውም ምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ አንድነት ለሀተኝነት
ይህ = ለአንድነት = ገምድ = ቀ-ገላጭ-ሰተም ንግድ-ሀገር ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ

አንድነት ለምዕራፍ ለሀተኝነት ለሀተኝነት ለሀተኝነት ለሀተኝነት ለሀተኝነት ለሀተኝነት
ወንጀል ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ

ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
ምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
የአገራዊ-1163- የአገራዊ: 40700-

ኋላ ምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	ወይም ማዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
ኋላ ምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	ወይም ማዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
አንድነት ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	አገራዊ: ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
አገራዊ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	አገራዊ: ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
አንድነት ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	አገራዊ: ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
አገራዊ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	አገራዊ: ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
አንድነት ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	አገራዊ: ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
አገራዊ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	አገራዊ: ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
አንድነት ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	አገራዊ: ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ
አገራዊ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ	→	አገራዊ: ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ ለምዕራፍ

APPENDIX IV

THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE
LEGENDARY HISTORY OF
THE DESCENDANTS OF THE AWAWA CLAN

Received from:

MERIGETA BIRHANU KEBEDE,
GIMJA-BET, ANKESHA

HISTORY¹ OF THE CLAN :

The Agäw tribe was first known as the Tribe of Adil. Adil was the son of Tirham, who was himself the grandson of David (See the Holy Bible²: The 2nd Chronicles, 12:3). Adil entered (Ethiopia³) as an army commander of King Menelik the First when the King came back (from a visit to Israel). Adil was appointed soon as a governor of the Agäws of Lasta. These Agäws are the sources (of Agäw flights) to whichever direction (in Ethiopia). The Agäws are of three clans: (i) The Agäws of Lasta (which are claimed to be the source of the rest), (ii) The Agäws of Damot (i.e. the Awawas), and (iii) The Agäws of Halul Bāgos (i.e. the Bilin).

The Agäws of Damot, i.e. the Awawas, came here as hunters. They used to hunt lions and elephants. The first hunters, who were only 'two', (perhaps a major hunter and an assistant), came from Lasta and settled here as they

have found the place quite agreeable to live in. They decided upon the settlement after a careful study of the place for seven consecutive months. When they had assured that life here was not bad, they went back to Lasta to bring their households, i.e. their wives and children, to live here for ever. They called the place as Agāwmeder which later on accommodated (what is commonly known as) 'The Seven-House Agāw.' This reference was after the names of the children of Čartagn (the great, grand-ancestor of the Agāws). The names of his children were: Azāna, Zigām, Čara, Ankāša, Banja, Kuakura and Mātākāl.

These were also followed by other Agāw brothers (or hunters) who were called Dangli and Tumhi. Čara gave Tumhi a piece of land to settle on. Kuakura did the same to Dangli. (These brothers have peacefully lived together ever since). For details about the Agāws in general, see the Glory of Kings⁴, 189: 171/191.

DESCENDANTS OF THE SEVEN-HOUSE

AGĀW OR THE AWAWA CLAN

The Awawas (or the Seven-House Agāw) descend from the Zagues. The person who links the Seven-House Agāw with the Zagues is Čartagn (the foremost ancestor).

Čartagn begat Azāna, Zigām, Čara, Ankāša, Banja, Kuakura and Mātākāl. These procured children as in the following genealogy.

The children of Azāna include these:

Čaja

Konzāna

Dagha

İbibta

The children of Zigām include these:

Jibana

Mangaxa

Gisayita

Nana

Ankuasta

Jawi

Mengāha

Sangaba

Asi

Awša

Guangua

Čarajana

Gohanaj

The children of Čara include these:

Gissa

Kuanča

Jibana

Manguda

The children of Ankaša include these:

Sigla

Bessena

Satma

Demene

Fafa

Wahssa

Fagta

Čewssa

İnjibara

Dangiya

The children of Banja include the following:

Sasāna

A-?usazam

Askuna

Sexabanja

Lokma

The children of Kuakura include the following:

Abzan	Agäw-Mälk
Urafguaz	Kärstos
Kifle	Zäwangel

The children of Mätäkäl include the following:

Dangala	Demeka
Manguda	Jabolla
Wolleta	Muča
Jamara	Yirga-Semen
Yägära	

Of the children of Mätäkäl, one is Manguda. Manguda had a daughter called Hira (which in Awingi means 'good-smell'). Hira was also called Hiruta-Sillasie in a Christian name. This girl was married to Philipos, the son of Seifä Yar?id. Philipos and Hira begat a child called Čuxay. Čuxay (who latter became an Army commander) had one hundred and twenty wives from whom he procured a great number of children who had scattered all over the Awawa land. A few of these include the following.

Mikko	Kifle
Ufana	Načarjis
Giču	Ačay
Zeru	Tägozguza
Abäkua	Agäw-Ras
Gimna	

Of Čuxay's children, one is his daughter Tägozguza.

She was married to Beša, the son of Amäsäg, Commander of Gojjam. (These too had children whose descent in the Agaw clan is considered as one of the major ones.)

The Awawas of Gojja^m are, thus, children of the above listed major ancestors.

LYRIC⁵ OF SOME AWAWA SONGS:

Oh, what a smile, do I sense from beyond
In me it has stirred, and my hunger vanished⁶

Let's all celebrate, the charm of the youth
Keep not your 'cash', flow it out smooth
What more is there, to admire of a man
The slit of his teeth, faints everyone

'Alas!' I cry, which one shall I opt
Two brothers⁷ are here, having laid a bet
Oh-what a trouble, excites me inside
Forget modesty, can't both be treated?

Hurry up my girl, let's soon run away
Think not anymore, here we can't stay
Forsake living here, unappealing view
Our livelihood, is the grass in the dew

Yonder is Fudi, the famous mountain
Densely forested, this is how it is seen
No one doubts there, that nature is hidden
Our nearness to it, shall vindicate this soon
So, come away my love, in the twilight evening
Happy as we are, we mount it gleaming
Discovery of it, cannot be fouling

-86, h-

I cry from here and you from **yonder**
As though undaring, to cross the river
Oh my fair, is it flood that you fear
Think of a means, that brings you here
A bridge or otherwise, suggestion I put
Do not hesitate, let's soon reunite.

Notes to the English Version of

Appendix IV

1. The handwritten Amharic manuscript received from Marigeta Birhanu Kebede presents its substances in this order: first, the list of descendants of the major ancestors of the Seven - House Agäw; then, the legend of their history; and finally, the lyric of some Awawa songs. For reasons of chronological ordering and other matters appealing to common-sense, the researcher has made some alterations of the given sequences in the English version. Thus, in this version, first comes the legend of the history, then the list of descendants, and lastly the lyric of the songs.
2. Note that the citations from the Bible and the Glory of Kings are made by Marigeta Birhanu Kebede. The researcher has attempted to find details on the matter from the cited sources, but could come across no congruent view with that of Marigeta Birhanu. The quoted chapters and numbers talk about other things and not about the Awawas.
3. The reader notices that there are words and phrases which are put in parentheses like this one, and distributed here and there in the English version. Such words and phrases do not come from the original manuscript. Instead, they are words and phrases supplemented by the writer thinking that they would complete gaps of thought which seem to have been missed in the original.
4. Cf. footnote 2 above.
5. The lyric, i.e. the verses of the songs, which are presented here are translations attempted by the researcher first from Awingi into Amharic, and then

from Amharic into English. So, a word-by-word translation of the original cannot be expected in the final. Moreover, it is known to the reader that poems are versed to express 'inner-feelings' and emotions, and not just to say what the words mean from the outward. So, in order not to miss the aesthetics of such 'inner-feelings' and emotional expressions in the translations, the researcher has in some cases used greater number of words and lines than what have been used in the original.

6. The rhyming here and below follows the pattern: aa, bb, cc, etc.. This is intentionally done by the writer so that the translated piece keeps harmony with the Ethiopian style of verse-rhyming.

7. The verses produced by Merigeta Birhanu Kebede do not constitute expressions used by only one party of the sexes (Cf. Stanza 2 and 3). They rather constitute expressions used by both sexes. The researcher has not found it necessary to sort out these in the translations. Presenting them as have been produced is felt preferable as this might flash my informant's unforgettable young-age experiences. As a matter of fact, the second stanza seems to celebrate Merigeta Birhanu himself as he has slits between some of his teeth.

D E C L A R A T I O N

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

Name: HAILE LEUL YIGEBRU SOLDEYES

Signature:



Haile Leul Yigeburu

Place: ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA.

Date of Submission : June 10 , 1991.

