

VERB COMPLEMENTS IN ARI

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the structure of verb complements of Ari. The attempt made here is, to present the basic grammatical features necessary for the discussion of verb complements, to describe the verb complements, and to explain the various constituents that compose the verb complements in light of the GB framework and Jackendoff's \bar{x} -theory. In relation to head and complement the dependency of one on another is analyzed using mainly theta and case theories.

The structure of verb complements fits the general principles of GB theory. Ari as a language (in its syntax) has some peculiar features which differentiates it from other languages. Some of them are found in the relation between the transitive verbs and their complements. Four of them are accounted here, others are raised as problems for further research.

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CONTENTS

| | <u>PAGE</u> |
|--|-------------|
| ABSTRACT | i |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENT | ii |
| CONTENTS | iii |
| KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS | iv |
| Chapter One: INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 The Language | 1 |
| 1.2 Previous Studies on Ari | 2 |
| 1.3 The Present Study | 5 |
| 1.3.1 Aims and Significance | 5 |
| 1.3.2 Research Methodology | 5 |
| 1.3.3 Limitation of the Study | 6 |
| 1.4 Theoretical Framework | 6 |
| Chapter Two: GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF ARI ... | 21 |
| 2.1 Noun | 21 |
| 2.2 Verb | 24 |
| 2.3 Complementizers | 29 |
| 2.4 Basic Sentence Structure and Typology | 33 |
| Notes | 36 |
| Chapter Three: VERB COMPLEMENTS OF ARI | 37 |
| 3.1 Description of Verb Complements ... | 37 |
| 3.2 Verb Complements of Ari in GB | |
| Frame work | 45 |
| Notes | 64 |
| CONCLUSIONS | 66 |
| REFERENCES | 69 |

KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|------|------------------------|
| acc | accusative | loc | locative |
| adj | adjective | m | masculine |
| asp | aspect | neg | negative |
| adv | adverb | N | noun |
| aux | auxiliary | Nzr | nominalizer |
| AP | adjectival phrase | ob | object |
| Adv.p | adverbial phrase | | |
| caus | causative | pro | pronoun |
| comp | complementizer | pl | plural |
| CP | complement phrase | pass | passive |
| def | definite | pf | perfect |
| dem | demonstrative | PP | postposition |
| det | determiner | pc | personal communication |
| dir | direction | s | singular |
| f | feminine | sp | subordinating particle |
| GB | Government and Binding | spec | specifier |
| gen | genitive | sb | subject |
| I | Infl(ection) | Tns | tense |
| inf | infinitive | VN | verbal noun |
| impf | imperfect | UG | universal grammar |
| inst | instrument | // | phonemic sign |
| intr | intransitive | - | morpheme boundary |
| 1 | first person | | |
| 2 | second person | | |
| 3 | third person | | |

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Language

Ari is one of the three languages (Ari, Dime, and Hamar) which are grouped under South Omotic (Fleming 1976), Aroid (Bender 1983) language subfamily.

Ari, whose speakers number more than a hundred thousand is a collective name given to ten dialects (Ford, 1985; Bender, 1989) namely: Baaka, Bargedda, Biyo, Gayli, Kuure, Layda, Seyki, Shangama, Sida and Ubaamer.

After making a dialect comparison, Ford (1985) remarked that excluding the three dialects: Bargedda, Gayli and Seyki, because they are spoken at the northern border area of the South Omo administrative region, all the others have 85% of shared vocabulary. She also found out that Biyo, Shangama, Sida and Ubaamer are central dialects and gave her preference for Sida to represent the language.

Ari is also surrounded by six different languages Basketo, Gofa, Cyda, Banna (Hamar), Kara and Dime. It is only in the south part that the lingua-franca composed of Ari and Hamar i.e. Kara is found (Ayjalew p.c. 1990).

1.2 Previous Studies on Ari

The following studies on Ari were done:

"Omotic and Cushitic Verbal Markers: A Possible Isogloss" (1981) by Alemayehu Haile.

In this M.A. thesis the author tried to indicate the tense/aspect marking isogloss of Omotic and Cushitic languages. Because of its being a South Omotic language, one paradigm 'eat' was taken and analyzed from Ari. He also identified the Cushitic trace of tense markers i.e., Vowels and also perfective and imperfective aspect markers.

"Ari Society and Its Language" (1983) by Bizuwork Gonfa.

Bizuwork wrote about the geographical location, the way of living, the beliefs and the values esteemed by Ari people including their language.

About the language she said the ancestor language of Ari is not known. She also mentioned that there are twenty-seven consonant phonemes and five vowels with their long counter parts. Concerning the syllable pattern she said that there are eight basic syllable structures in Ari.

"Ari Linguistic Survey" (1985) by Carolyn Ford.

She made a preliminary investigation and wrote a report to the Language Academy of Ethiopia. She

identified the dialects and made intelligibility tests and other sociolinguistic surveys.

Her report also described the phonology of the language.

"The Phonology of Ari (Generative Approach)"(1986) by Tenam Ahmed.

This is a senior essay presented for the B.A degree in linguistics. In this study the Layda dialect is dealt with, and forty-three phonemes have been established from his analysis.

"Verb Morphology of Ari" (1987) by Daniel Aberra.

He tried to describe the inflections and derivations of Ari verbs based on the Slangama dialect, and also the morphophonemic processes that are involved in the analysis of verbs.

"Ari Borrowed Words from Amharic" (1988) by Naasi Aleka.

It is a senior essay for the B.A degree in Ethiopian languages. He mainly discussed the sources of borrowing, the phonological adjustment of the borrowed words and the phonology of the language.

"Comparative Aroid (South Omotic) Morphology"(1989) by Lionel M. Bender.

This is one of the recent works prepared for the Second International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic languages. Bender did a comparative study of the three

South Omotic (Aroid) languages, focusing on the morphology of nominals. He also pointed out that there is a lack of research works on these South Omotic languages namely Hamar, Dime and Ari.

"Notes on the Ari Language" (1990) by R.J. Hayward.

This is an exhaustive research work which includes phonological, morphological, and syntactic analysis of the language.

Though the present researcher is heavily indebted to Hayward by using his article as reference material and checking instrument, there are some differences specially in assigning some grammatical items to their grammatical categories.

"The Phonology of Ari" (1991) by Ayyalew Mitiku.

It is a thesis for M.A. in Linguistics. Ayyalew did a relatively comprehensive work on describing the sounds of Ari by supplying ample examples.

He also attached an Ari-English dictionary of eight hundred words at the end of his paper.

Although they are not directly related to linguistic descriptive studies Ayyalew Mitiku, Donald Levine, Eike Haberland, Ernesta Cerulli and Gebre Yintso have made ethnographical and sociolinguistic studies on Ari language and people.

The above mentioned studies are relevant (especially

that of Hayward (1990)) to this study in that they supply the basic information about the language like phonology, morphology, syntax of the language on which the study of verb complements is based on.

1.3 The Present Study

The present study is structured as follows: first there is a simple description of structures of verbs and their complements. Then, based on the description the explanation and the conclusion with ample evidence is prepared and presented by using GB theory.

1.3.1 Aims and Significance

The aim of this study is to describe the obligatory and optional complements of verbs including their maximal projections and supplying a basic grammatical sketch of Ari as relevant to the analysis of complements.

This study can be significant in three respects. First, it will give information on the syntactic structure of Ari. Second, it will widen the present day linguistic knowledge of the South Omotic languages. And third, it will be an additional testing ground of the GB model for its universality, by applying it to one of the Ethiopian languages.

1.3.2 Research Methodology

This study of the Ari language is purely linguistic

so the methods, the procedures and the assumptions here are that of linguistics. It is based on the data elicited from informants. The data are of two types. First, from the elicited sentences possible grammatical information will be sought. Second, to find the natural settings of sentences, texts of different genres are used. The genres are narrative, descriptive, explanatory and argumentative.

The number of elicited sentences that are used for explanation of the grammatical system of the language are about nine hundred and the texts that are used in this analysis are nine (each on average composed of fifteen complex sentences) with different themes so that they fall to different genres.

1.3.3 Limitation of the Study

Due to a lack of knowledge of the language, all the verb complements of Ari are not dealt here. Only samples are taken and analyzed, hence the analysis is not to be claimed as being complete and free from errors.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework followed in this study is the Government-Binding (GB) theory.

GB theory is the recent development and extension of generative grammar. The generative grammar of a



particular language as Chomsky (1986:3) said, ... is a theory that is concerned with the form and meaning of expressions of this language". This generative grammar is determined by the "language faculty" i.e., a particular component of the human mind. The nature of this faculty is a subject matter of modern linguistics that aims to discover the framework of principles and elements common to attainable human languages; this theory is called "universal grammar (UG)".

The ultimate aim of studying universal grammar as Todd (1987:101) phrased it, "... is the understanding of language, of universals common to all languages and through this an understanding of the human mind".

UG can be studied from different perspectives. Of these various perspectives that enable one to consider the subsystems of UG, Chomsky (1981:5) mentioned two:

(1) subcomponents of the rule system

1. lexicon

2. syntax (base)

2.1 categorial component

2.2 transformational component

3. PF and

4. LF components

(2) subsystems of principles

1. bounding theory

2. government theory

3. theta theory
4. binding theory
5. case theory
6. control theory and later trace theory is added.

1.4.1 Subcomponents of the rule System

1.4.1.1 Lexicon

The lexicon includes a list of all the words in the language, together with a specification of their idiosyncratic phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic properties. Among the syntactic information that the lexical entry provides for a given item is its subcategorization frame, specifying the range of sister constituents which the item takes.

The semantic information included in the lexicon might comprise a specification of its sense, its functional and thematic structures and the selection restrictions (Radford, 1981:141) associated with its components.

1.4.1.2 Syntax (Base)

Categorial Component

The lexicon and the categorial component constitute the base. Base rules generate D-structures through insertion of lexical items into structures generated by the categorial component in accordance with their feature structure. (Chomsky, 1981:5)

The interaction of the lexicon and syntax can be viewed from two sides: projection principle and X-bar theory.

The projection principle is formulated as:

'representations at each syntactic level (i.e., LF and D- and S- structure) are projected from the lexicon in that they observe the subcategorization principle of lexical items' (Chomsky, 1981:29). It is one of the general principles in UG which has a wider interconnection with the subsystems of principles (like case, theta and trace theories). It is used to explain the well formedness of structures in ^{the} language.

X-bar theory is one subsystem of UG which is 'A theory of phrase structure of the D-structure of the sentence' (Cook, 1988:103). It bases itself on the idea "head of a phrase". The notion head is important because it embodies the insight that the head node shares some fundamental properties with the phrasal node containing it. (Riemsdijk and Williams (henceforth R & W) 1986:40). And to have a cross category generalization it has the X'-convention. The head of any phrase is termed X, the phrasal category containing X is termed X', and the phrasal category containing X' is termed X". (X' and X" are then known as projections of X) (R & W, 1986:41).

To express a number of generalizations regarding

the categories that precede and follow the head in a phrase a 'head parameter' has been developed. The head parameter (R & W, 1986:41) enables us also to predict the linear ordering of the head and other categories that occur with it.

To conclude X-bar is a theory of phrase structure in the subsystem of UG and the projection principle is a general principle in UG. As Cook (1988:102-3) writes "the route followed by X-bar theory is from the syntax to the lexiconV" has a head V' which has a head V which leads to a lexical entry' and the route of the projection principle is in the 'reverse direction', how the lexicon influences syntax '... considering how the lexical entry for a V affects the V' and the V", how the entry: 'drive' [-NP] requires a V' with an NP complement. The lexical entry is said to project on to the structure of the sentence: it defines the * possible complements within the phrase.

The two notions that are closely related to lexical head and its projections are complements and complementizers.

Concerning complements and complementizers there are different arguments in the literature of GB and X-bar theories. (a) Arguments that are subcategorized by verbs are complements, and arguments that modify the verb optionally are adjuncts (Huddleston 1984, Radford 1988).

(b) Whether arguments are obligatory or optional, they are considered as complements at all levels of projection. (Jackendoff 1977)

For complementizers, there are also two arguments: (a) Complementizers form independent class of their own different from subordinating particle (Baye, 1986) or merged with subordinating particles as belonging to one category and (b) Complementizers are semantically null versus they are semantically meaningful.

COMPLEMENT

The notion of complements and adjuncts which are not categorial terms, represent grammatical functions or relations (Radford, 1988). A complement has a very tight relationship with the lexical head. The inherent properties of the head determine the occurrence of complements (Lasnik and Uriagereka, 1988). While adjuncts do not have tight relation with the head.

There are (as stated by Huddleston (1984:178-9)) three basic reasons for dividing complements from adjuncts: (a) the occurrence of a complement of a given kind depends on the presence of a verb of an appropriate subclass, whereas there are no such restrictions on the occurrence of adjuncts. (b) adjuncts are syntactically omissable. Complements by contrast, may be obligatory.

(c) complements are prototypically NPs or APs, while adjuncts are prototypically Adv.Ps. or PPs.

Radford (1988) also stated about the differences between complements and adjuncts as follows:

- While adjuncts (or attributes (page 196)) expand N-bar in to N-bar, complements expand N in to N-bar (page 176).
- Complements and adjuncts are similar in that they are both daughters of N-bar: but they differ in that complements are sisters of (i.e. modify) N, where as adjuncts are sisters of (i.e. modify) N-bar (page 193).

In relation to verbs she (1988:232-3) stated that 'adjuncts would be sisters and daughters of V-bar, and complements would be sister of V, and daughters of V-bar'.

Contrary to Huddleston and Radford, in X-bar theory as proposed by Jackendoff (1977) both complements and adjuncts are treated as being one and the same. In X-bar the difference between the two is accounted for by classifying them to different bar levels. Complements to a constituent can be classified to the three possible levels: to X', X'' and X''' (Jackendoff, 1977:57).

According to X-bar theory at the minimal (X') level of projection, the complements of [-N] categories, (i.e. verbs and prepositions) are strictly subcategorized

arguments. The omission of such arguments leads to ill-formedness where as at the intermediate (X^{''}) and maximal (X^{'''}) levels the complements are optionally subcategorized complements. These can be omitted without the structure being ill formed.

Semantically there are three distinct ways in which a complement may be integrated in to a semantic interpretation: as a functional argument, as a restrictive modifier, as non-restrictive modifier. We will attempt to identify these respectively with X', X'' and X''' complements. (Jackendoff, Ibid)

'Functionally, complements are either objects or modifiers. Those which are objects have direct thematic relations with the lexical head by which they are strictly subcategorized. These are specified in the lexicon. Those which function as modifiers (will be taken up in the next chapter) as complements of X'' or X''''.' (Baye, 1986:87)

To conclude, Huddleston (1984:180) pointed out that the boundary between complements and adjuncts is not a sharp one...'. In this paper the preference is treating both the complement and the adjunct as complements at different bar levels. Complements as obligatory at X-bar level and adjuncts as optional complements at X-double and treble bar levels for keeping uniformity through out the projection of the lexical item. It may also be for this reason that this approach is termed (by Jackendoff, 1977) 'the uniform three level hypothesis'.

COMPLEMENTIZER

Noonan (1985:44-45) defines complementizer as follows: 'Complement types often have associated with them a word, a particle, clitic or affix whose function it is to identify the entity as a complement. Such forms are known as complementizers.' Smith and Wilson (1979:272) in their definition of complementizer as 'syntactic class of words which introduce a subordinate clause such as that, for, whether...' imply that both complementizers and subordinating particles are one and the same.

Baye (1986:252) argued in a different manner from that of Smith and Wilson. He has stated it as follows:

The next question we need to address ourselves to is whether complementizers belong to the class of subordinative conjunctions or form an independent class of their own. In order to answer this question we need to see the syntax and semantics of complementizer vis-à-vis other subordinative elements. As stated earlier, elements like /akka/ 'than' and /kan/ occur with clauses which occur as argument complements of verbals or modifying complements of nominals. In other words, they introduce clauses which occur in a strictly subcategorized argument position. In this regard they are different from subordinative conjunctions since the latter are associated with clauses which have adverbial functions. Such clauses are complements of VPs (V^{''}) and their position is outside the main predicate structure (V[']).

In this paper both are treated as being in the same class i.e., complementizer for the sake of uniformity. In addition complementizers are considered to be meaningful.

1.4.2 Subsystems of Principles

The syntactic relations of constituents in a clause or a sentence are explained by means of a set of general principles which are autonomous and interrelated subsystems or theories. From these the three that are most relevant to this work are government, theta and case theories.

1.4.2.1 Government Theory

Government (Cook, 1988:148) 'relates all the elements immediately dominated by another element, in effect the head and its complements'.

Some of the concepts needed for defining government relationship are domain, constituent command (C-command), and barrier condition.

'The domain of a category is everything within the next category above it with two bars' (Cook, 1988:149).

C-command is the relationship between an element and those other elements it is 'superior to' but does not dominate. When it is defined in terms of maximal projections it is also termed 'm-command' (Cook, 1988:150).

Radford (1981:314) defines c-command as 'X c-commands Y iff the first branching node dominating X, dominates Y, and X does not dominate Y, nor Y, X'.

'C-command configuration extends upwards to a maximal projection and downwards without a bottom limit excluding

those parts of the tree that are not within its domain or that it itself dominates'. (Cook, 1988:149-151)

Government is the relationship between two elements defined by mutual c-commands within a ceiling and floor of maximal projections, provided one element is a governor. And it is defined as 'X governs Y iff X is the minimal governing node c-commanding Y and there is no CP or NP intervening between X and Y' (Radford, 1981: 354).

If an NP or a clause intervenes between a governor and a governee the government relationship between the two is blocked. That is why the definition of government has to include the barrier condition.

Riemsdijk and Williams (1986:291-292) have stated the following about Government.

(18) governors

a. x^0 (i.e. V,N,A,P)

b. $[_{INFL} [+tns] AGR]_{INFL}$

c. NP_i where Y (the governee) = NP_i

governors must therefore be defined as follows:

(19) a. governors for Binding theory and Case theory
(18a), (18b).

b. governors for RES (NIC) (or Empty Category Principle) (18a), (18c).

- There is a further notion of government i.e. proper



government which is related to (19 (b)) or to ECP.

'Proper government: X properly governs Y if and only if X governs Y and X is either X^0 (i.e., V,N,A, P: ((18a)) or NP_i, where Y = NP_i ((18c)).'

The requirements (Cook, 1988:159) which have to be fulfilled for a category to govern another category are:

- (1) It c-commands the other category
- (2) It is a lexical category N,V,A or P or a projection of a lexical category, or INFL (I)
- (3) Every maximal projection dominating the other constituent also dominates the first.

The notion of government affects many aspects of syntax. To mention the aspects briefly (Cook, 1988:156):

- (1) Case, C-selection and S-selection are subject to government.
- (2) The agreement in number of the verb is due to it being governed by the AGR feature of INFL.
- (3) A parameter of variation is whether INFL (AGR) governs the subject (pro-drop languages) or does not (non pro-drop languages).

To conclude 'government plays a central unifying role throughout the system' ((Chomsky, 1982 a, p.7) quoted by Cook, 1988:148).

1.4.2.2 Theta Theory

Theta theory is one of the modules in GB theory which is concerned with the semantic relationship

between constituents as parts of the sentence; Some of the constituents of a sentence are predicates and arguments (i.e. subjects and complements (Radford, 1988: 372) . According to Riemsdijk and Williams (1986:241) 'θ - theory is an attempt to account for the relation between verbs and their arguments'. It determines the relationship in which the heads assign the semantic properties (or θ - roles) to the complements. We refer to the conditions on a proper assignment of theta roles as the 'theta criterion' (Chomsky, 1981:93). 'Each argument bears one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument' (Chomsky, 1981:36).

Chomsky also talked about a structural configuration (which represents a government relationship) under which arguments are theta marked. He (1981:36-38) states the important structural configuration as ⁿ(5)

- (5) (1) [γ.....α.....β.....]
(2) [γ.....β.....α.....]

This configuration, in addition to its other relevant uses, also plays an important role in θ - role assignment. He (ibid) further states that:

given ...β is an immediate constituent of γ. Then the position occupied by β may be a θ - position with respect to α. i.e., α position for which α determines a θ - role. Whether it is or not depends on properties of α. If it is, we will say that α θ - marks the position occupied by β (or a trace of β) ...

Using the basic concepts of theta theory and applying it to verbs and complements, Chomsky (Ibid) states that 'a verb selects its complements and also selects its subject if it participates in assigning a θ - role to the subject'.

1.4.2.3 Case Theory

Case theory is one of the modules in GB that 'deals with the assignment of abstract case to NPs according to their position in the D-structure or S-structure by the case assigner and is also concerned with its morphological realization' (Chomsky, 1981:6). One of the principles in Case theory, which provides an explanation for movements of NPs is the Case filter: "every phonologically realized NP must be assigned (abstract) Case". (Chomsky, 1986:74)

Case is a syntactic feature that can be abstract or concrete (realized). It is associated with nominals on a one-to-one basis and its assignment can take place only when the Case assigner and the NP to which it assigns Case bear the structural relationship of government.

The Case assigners share certain properties: (1) none are phrasal elements. (2) they are either lexical (V and ρ) or tense which may not be lexical in a strict sense, but is not phrasal. (3) Each is the head of the phrase that must immediately contain the NP that is

assigned Case, at least if it is legitimate to regard tense.

And some of the parameters (Cook, 1988: 143) involved in Case assignment are:

- (a) adjacency: some languages require Case assigners to be adjacent to the NP that receives Case.
- (b) direction: some languages require Case assigners to be to the left, or to the right.
- (c) exceptional Case marking: the lexical subject of infinitival clauses in some languages like English exceptionally has accusative Case.

Case theory is one of the theories with principles and parameters that explain the syntactic bond of NPs with other categories in sentences.

Chapter Two

GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF ARI

In this chapter, constituents that have relevance for the description of verb complements are introduced by their basic description.

2.1 NOUN

Nouns in Ari are identified by the ending vowels¹ -i or -a. Besides nouns can be derived from verbs by the verbal noun suffix -mi in /woŋ-/ 'drink(v)' /woŋ'-mi/ 'drink(n)', /it^s/ 'eat(v)' /it^s-mi/ 'food' and a gerundive suffix -inti /woŋ'-inti/ 'to drink/ drinking' and /it^s-inti/ 'to eat / eating'.

Nouns are inflected for case, gender, number and article.

2.1.1. CASE

Case is morphologically and syntactically marked. The three morphological case marking suffixes are: accusative /-m/, genitive /-t(a)/ and vocative² /-o/. Nominative case is marked syntactically by position.

- (1) /no noo-m piŋ - ŋ - e - e /
3sm fire-acc create-pf-3s- past

' he created the fire'

- (2) / epi - n - ta ses'a - n /
cry -def - gen day -def

'the day of mourning/crying'

- (3) /mora ki-t ki - m naŋ - ay - e /
neighbour 3sm-gen 3sm- acc like- not - 3s

'His neighbour didn't like him'

2.1.2 GENDER

Gender is marked on nouns, specifiers and adjectives. The morphemes ³ of masculine and feminine gender are:

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|------|
| m | -si | -i | ang- |
| f | -t | -ə | ma- |

- | | |
|---|---|
| (4) /yint ^s -i/ child-m 'boy' | (5) /ed - si/ adult - m 'man' |
| (6) /ang - yint ^s / m - child 'a boy' | (7) /yint ^s - ə/ child -f 'girl' |
| (8) / et - t-/ adult - f 'woman' | (9) /ma - yint ^s / f - child 'a girl' |

2.1.3 NUMBER

Nouns are unmarked for being singular. The plural marker morpheme is /-a/.

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| (10) / ed - in - a / adult - def - pl | 'the people' |
| (11) / dib - ən - a / thief - def - pl | 'the thieves' |
| (12) /yint ^s - in - a / child - def - pl | 'the children' |
| (13) /ma - yint ^s - ən - a/ f - child - def-pl | 'the girls' |
| (14) / et - t - ən - a / adult - f - def-pl | 'the women' |

2.1.4 ARTICLES

In Ari nouns and adjectives can be either definite or indefinite. Indefiniteness is unmarked, and the definite marker morpheme is /-n(a)/.

- (15) a. /buna - n/
coffee-def 'the coffee'
- (15) b. / buna /
coffee 'coffee'
- (16) a. / tokai - n /
small - def 'the small'
- (16) b. / tokmi /
small 'small'

2.1.5 NP Structure

The NPs in Ari can range from simple nominals (single nouns) to nouns with specifiers, noun with adjectival phrases, combined nouns, or noun with clauses.

Simple nouns include the noun stem and some inflectional and/or derivational elements.

- (17) / yint^s - i / (=15.a) / buna - n/
young - m 'a boy' coffee-def 'the coffee'
- (18) /ko - m / (19) /it^s - mi/
3sf -acc 'her' eat - Vn 'food'

Two noun phrases can be conjoined. The conjunction markers /-k(e)/ 'with' or /-re/ 'and' are suffixed to both conjoined noun phrases.

- (20) / kasa - ke ay - i - k /
kasa -with who - m - with 'kasa and who'
- (21) / danel - re ayala - re /
Daniel - and Ayyalew-and 'Daniel and Ayyalew'

As it can be seen from the following data, in noun phrase structures of Ari the head of the phrase i.e. noun is to the left, with some exceptional head to the right constructions.

- (22) / norti is - t (23) /da^vsi wo^v - inti /
belly lob-gen milk drink- vn
'my belly' 'drinking milk'

- (24) /yint^s -ə - n kose laxmak/
child -i' -def that good 'that good girl'
- (25) /zərgi - n kona laxmi/
wheat -def this good 'this good wheat'
- (26) /axa ga?i^və rotti^mi/
wood big long 'very long stick'

Most adjectives end with -mi and they may have the same article and case markers as the head noun.

- (27) /yint^s - i laxmi /
child - m good ' a good boy'
- (28) /koti - n ɕ'almi - n /
coat -def black -def 'the black coat'

A noun can occur with a clause, a postpositional phrase or a genitive construction as its complements. Those clauses that occur with a noun become subordinate clause by complementizers or subordinators. But the order still remains the same head to the left.

- (29) /sus'a pəga day - inde - ten /
relatives far exist- that - Nzr
'the relatives who live far away'
- (30) /ed de?i - t - ab /
adult die -pf - relativizer
' a person who died'

2.2 VERB

Verbs can be distinguished from the nouns or adjectives by their endings. Verbs frequently have consonants at the end, and morphologically by the presence of inflections and derivations.

- (31.1) /won-/(v) 'work' (32.1) /it^s-/(v) 'eat'
- (31.2) /woni/ (N) 'work' (32.2) /it^s-mi/(N) 'food'
- (33.1) /leq-/(v) 'play' (33.2) /leqa/(N) 'play'

2.2.1 Inflections of the Verb

Verbs can be inflected for person, number, gender, tense, aspect or mood.

Verbs do not have distinct number markers. Person and gender are indicated by the pronoun prefixes in clauses that have overt complementizers, and by pronoun suffixes in main clause verbs.

| Person | Singular | | Plural | |
|--------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|------|
| | Subordinate | Main | Subordinate | Main |
| 1 | ii- | -it | wo- | -ot |
| 2 | ana- /aa- | -ay | ye- | -et |
| 3m | ki- / yi- | -e/-a ⁴ | ke- | -ek |
| 3f | ko- | -e/-a | ke- | -ek |

(34) /ii - adin - bi^V/
1s - come - COMP

'As I will come'

(36) /ki - kay - an /
3sm - go - COMP

'(for) him to go'

(38) /na^V - d - ay/
like- impf- 2s

'you(s) like'

(40) /na^V - d - ek /
like-impf-3pl

'they like'

(42) /dox - d - a /
live - impf- pres

'(It) exists'

(35) /ana - aq - ink/
2s -exist - COMP

'If you were'

(37) /na^V - d - it/
like- impf - 1s

'I like'

(39) /na^V - d - ot/
like - impf- 1pl

'we like'

(41) /ep - s - e - e /
cry-pf -3s -past

'he cried'

'Tense, aspect and mood are all categories that further specify or characterize the basic predication, which can be referred to as the event. Tense locates the event in time. Aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of the event' (Chung and Alan, 1985:202)

... the most striking property of tense, aspect and mood is that all make reference to a point on the temporal dimension. Tense characterizes the location of an event with respect to a point in time. Aspect characterizes the dynamicity or closure of an event with respect to a point or interval in time, (the event frame). The tense locus is usually fixed at the speech moment, while the event frame is obviously variable. (Chung and Alan, 1985:250)

2.2.1.1 TENSE

Tenses are divided into two, present and past.

Present

Present tense is marked by /-a/

- (43) /it^S - d - a - a /
eat - impf-3s -pres '(s)he eats / will eat'

Past

Past tense is marked by /-e/. To indicate remote past the copulative /aq(q)/ 'exist' following the main verb is used.

- (44) /wa^{VV} - t - e - e /
descend- pf -3s -past 'he descended'
- (45) /aq -e /
exist-3s 'he lived'
- (46) /si^Vi - t - aq - y /
wash -pf -exist -2pl 'you(pl) had washed'

It can be observed from the data that are elicited that tense markers are on the verge of disappearing. Sometimes they are present/other times they are not marked.

In other situations there are cases of tense reversal, referring ^{to} the opposite of what they have to represent.

(47) /ard - aq -s /
enter -exist-pf '(he) entered'

(48) /kaži gažiṣenda day - e /
cold big exist-past 'there is a severe cold'

In regard to their disappearance or being replaced by consonants or [osing. their function Alemayehu ⁵

(1981:56-8) states the following:

... there are what may be interpreted as strong traces of past -e/i, present -a ... in both Southern and Northern Omotic ... Ari has -a, -e and -o in the past, present and converb marking suffixes respectively. In many cases they have reversed the function, some of them have been lost. In other cases consonants rather than vowels occur as tense marking elements.

2.2.1.2 ASPECT

Aspect like tense has two divisions: perfective marked by /-t/ or /-s/ and imperfective marked by /-d/.

(=41) /ep -s - e - e / (=42) /aax - d - a /
cry-pf -3s -past live- impf-3pres
'he cried' 'it exists'

(49) /ay - s - e - e / (51) /naš - d - a /
break- pf -3s -pres like -impf-3s(pres)
'he broke' 'he likes'

(50) /rat - t - a - a / (52) /naša⁶ - naš - d - it -e /
sleep -pf -3s -pres like -like -impf- 1s-past
'he sleeps' 'I liked'

Concerning the perfective aspect, Bander (1989:10) states that '... while t is more common for remote past, and ax usually used with 'go' and in answer to "when?" questions, but all forms are said to be interchangeable'.

2.2.2 Derivations from the Verb

Verbs have different derivational forms. These are causative and passive. There are two forms of causative markings: causative /-si/, double causative (or causative of causative) /-sis/. In Ari a causative situation is marked as part of the verb (taking Comrie's (1981:160) term) by "morphological causatives" i.e., by geminating the last consonant of the stem and suffixing -si when there is a direct relation between the cause (involved in the activity as agent) and the effect. If the cause is not the agent or not directly involved in the activity performed or if somebody other than the agent is involved, the morpheme -sis is suffixed.

There are also two passive forms in Ari /-er/ and /im/. Bender (1989:11) pointed out that, 'Ari passive intransitive is -er. To form reciprocal/reflexives, Ari uses -im with plural object pronouns. This -im may be simply the accusative marker'.

(53) /zəbsi - n - əm dəys -ər - aq /
 lion - def - acc kill -pass - be

'The lion was killed'

(54) /gəlti garinti ki - t es - im - t - e - e /
 early leaving 3sm - gen know - pass - pf - 3s - past

'It was known (that) he left earlier'

(55) /no et^si - n - əm deʔi - si - s - e
 3sm men -def -acc kill - cause - pf - comp

ʔanələt' - s - e - e /
 escape - pf- 3s - past

'He caused the men (to be) killed, he escaped'

(56) /ta - tak - si - d - a - a /
cut- cut -cause-impf-3s-pres

Lit. 'He caused something to be cut'

2.3 COMPLEMENTIZERS

Under the topic of complementizers, subordinator and complementizer marking morphemes are included because in GB theory they are treated as the head or they occupy the position of the head i.e. C of the CP. In descriptive terms they are also the ones that make an independent sentence a dependent one.

The complementizers in Ari are:

(1) /-inda, -ina, -in, -ino/ 'that'

From the data that are gathered and a sample presented here the four variants do not seem to differ in their grammatical and semantic characteristics.

(57) /ed - in woni ke - won - d - inda
man-pl-def work 3pl-work -impf - come

kam - d - e - e /
seem -impf-3s-past

'It seems that the men are working'

(58) /səs'ənka sərgi - gir ad - ad - in
time-from marriage-to come -come - comp

kam- d - e - e /
seem-impf-3s past

'It seems that he will come early to the
marriage place'

(59) / kəbədə ṡən - ṡ - aq - ina ar - e - e /
Kebede buy - pf -was - comp what-3s-pres

'What is (the thing) that Kebede bought?'

- (60) /kəbədə - ta Vənəfinti - in liki - ye /
Kebede -gen defeat-^{by} - COMP right- be

'It is right that Kebede's being defeated'

/-inda/ 'that' is found mostly with the verb 'seen'.

The verb to which it is affixed is inflected for person and aspect with some exceptions as ⁱⁿ/(58) and (60).

- (2) /-biš/ 'as' or 'that'

It occurs with almost all verbs and the verb to which it is affixed is inflected for person and aspect.

- (61) /pətənə - n - əm ii - alp - di - biš
exam -def- acc is -pass -impf - COMP

kez - t - it - e /
tell- pf- is - past

'I told that I shall pass the exam'

- (62) /aa - kaya - kay - d - biš esa - es - d - it - e/
2S - go - go - impf- COMP know-know-impf-is-past

'I know you are going'

- (63) /et^sin bača ki - dib - si - biš ki - m
man chicken 3sm-steal-pf - COMP 3sm- acc

šəj - j - it - e /
see -pf -is -past

'I saw the man that he stole the chicken'

- (3) /-ink/ 'if': It is the introducer of a conditional complement clause.

- (64) /məlsi - n-ə m ii - es - s - ink an
answer-def-acc is-know-pf -COMP 2S

ke - kez - d - it e /
tell-tell-impf-is-past

'If I know the answer, I will tell you'

- (65) /ii - təmar - k - ink eʔis - inti Vəl- ay - t - e/
is - learn -neg- COMP know - Vn can-neg -is-past

'If I hadn't learned, I couldn't know'

/-ink/ 'if' occurs with a finite subordinate verb that is inflected for person and aspect.

(4) /kən/ 'for' :- It is a postposition by category and as in example (67), indicates a lexical causal relation. It is also one of the unproductive (rare) complementizer(s) found in the data. Moreover it occurs with nouns and verbs which are not inflected for agreement and aspect markers.

(66) /no wo^V - kən zig - s - e - e /
3sm drink-for want-pf-3s-past

'He wanted to drink'

(67) /no ba^Vsi- ba^Vsin - kən ep - ep - s - e - e /
3sm fear- fear - for cry- cry-pf - 3s-past

'He cried because he fears'

(68) /ta it^S - kən zig - d - it-e /
now eat - for want-impf-is-past

'I want to eat now'

(5) /-o/ subordinate marker, mostly it occurs with /gay-/ 'say' as quotative form and generally occurs with a finite verb inflected for aspect only. The verb to which it is attached subcategorizes an indicative clause.

(69) /abəbə kəbədə-kən hailu kay - t - e - e /
Abebe Kebede-for Hailu go -pf -3s past

gay - s - o kez - z - e - e /
say -pf -comp tell -pf - 3s-past

'Abebe told Kebede that Hailu left'

(70) /bəri dox - ye gay - s - o amən - d - it - e /
God exist-be say -pf -comp believe-impf-is-past

'I believe that God exists'

(6) /-an, -a, -ən/ infinitive 'to'

These three forms do not differ in their grammatical and semantic characterization. /-an/ 'to' occurs with 'finite - infinitival' verb i.e., a verb inflected for person marker.

(71) /gabre e - r kay - an zig - s - it - e /
Gebre house - loc go - COMP want - pf - 1s - past

'I wanted Gebre to go home'

(72) /gabre olla ii - koy - an kez - z - e - e /
Gebre well 1s - dig - COMP tell- pf - 3s - past

Lit. 'Gebre ordered me to dig a well'

(7) /-ta/ 'infinitive', unlike /-an/, /-ta/ occurs with infinitive verbs which are not inflected for person and aspect, and found with reduced clauses.

(73) /et - tə - n bača dib - ta box - s - e - e /
adult - f - def chicken steal - COMP think- pf- 3s -past

'The woman wanted to steal the chicken'

(74) /kebede kat^sni - k zob deys - ta zig - s - e - e /
Kebede spear - with lion kill - COMP want - pf - es -past

'Kebede wanted to kill a lion with a spear'

The difference between -ta and -an is that -an occurs with the complement clause whose subject is (or the direct object of the main clause) different from the matrix subject⁷, where as -ta occurs with a reduced complement clause whose subject (+ human) is the same as the main clause subject.

(8) /ik/ "when/since", a subordinator occurs with a finite verb inflected for person and aspect.

(75) /ki - leqa - leq - d - ik ita ki - m
3sm - play - play - impf - COMP 1s 3sm - acc

esor - t - it - e /
hear - pf - 1s - past

(Lit.) 'I heard him as he sang a song'

(76) /kəbədə kay - d - ik Vət - t - it - e /
Kebede ge - impf - COMP see - pf - 1s - past

'I saw Kebede while was going'

To generalize, there are eight complementizers. The subject of the complement clause is represented by the pronoun object prefixes (if the subject is + human) though it is not found with -ken, -o and -a.

2.4 Basic Sentence Structure and Typology

Greenberg (1966:76-77) employed three sets of criteria to elicit and generalize information about the basic order typology. These are:

- (1) the existence of prepositions and postpositions.
- (2) the relative order of subject, verb and object in declarative sentences with nominal subject and object.
- (3) the position of qualifying adjectives.

Taking phrases, the frequent orders are as follows:

Ari has postpositions

(77) /kat^smi - k /
spear - with 'with spear'

In NP the noun precedes adjectives and other modifiers.

(78) /ed gasteŋ/
man two 'two men'

(-28) /koti - n Y'almi - n /
coat - def black - def 'the black coat'

The genitive follows the noun

(79) /lora ki - t /
neighbour 3sm - poss 'his neighbour'

The basic sentence typology⁸ in terms of word order in Ari is subject object verb (SOV) in transitive sentences.

(=1) / no noo - m piŷ - ŷ - e /
3sm fire-acc create-pf-past

'He created the fire'

In the place of object we may come across a subordinate clause, but still the order remains the same.

In subordinate complement clauses the complementizer which is the head occurs at the final position. In a complex sentence having a main clause transitive verb which subcategorizes a complement clause, the following linear ordering of the constituent is found (as illustrated by example (=72) and (=75) repeated here for convenience).

(=72) / gabre olla ii - koy - an kez - z - e - e /
Gebre well is - dig - COMP tell-pf-3s-past

(Lit.) 'Gebre ordered me to dig a well'

The order is: Subject_m object_s clause_s verb_m

-within clause_s (the subordinate clause) the ordering is:

(pronoun) -verb - (Aspect) - (complementizer)

-within verb_m (the main verb) the ordering is:

Verb - aspect - person - (tense)

(=75) / ita ki - leqa - leq - d - ik ki - m
is 3sm-sing -sing -impf- COMP 3sm-acc

esər - t - it - e /
hear - pf- is -past

(lit.) 'I heard him when he sang a song'

The constituent ordering in sentence (=75) is: Subject_m

Clause_s Object_m Verb_m

As observed in the data presented Aris' sentence structures and typology agree with Greenbergs' ((1966: 79 - 84) no: (4), (5) and (13)) universals. To conclude it has a dominant SOV order, postpositional, the genitive construction follows the governing noun as a result the adjective follows the noun and lastly nominal objects precede the verb as does the subordinate clause.



Notes On Chapter Two

¹Though most nouns end in -i or -a there are some nouns that end with other vowels and consonants.

²(Hayward (1990), Bender(1989)). From the data that are elicited examples for vocative are not found, hence not supplied here.

³It is not possible (for the writer of this paper) to find the allomorphic conditions of these gender markers.

⁴From the data one can see that third person singular suffix and the tense marker suffixes are identical. Their representation are complicated by two more factors. (1) As Alemayehu (1981) states it they are on the verge of being lost, and (2) when the data are elicited sometimes long and most of the time short vowels are found. So the data looks at some places a bit artificial, for emphasis at some places two vowels are used to represent 3rd person singular and tense respectively.

⁵In fact the whole idea of Alemayehu's (1981) thesis is about the presence/absence of system of tense/aspect marking suffix vowels in Cushitic and Omotic languages.

⁶Progressive occurs almost always with present tense and imperfective aspect. Due to this phenomenon it is not categorized under aspect or tense. If it is categorized in either of these categories one can see two distinct markers of the same category in the same word.

⁷There are some exceptions like the following sentence.

(30) / gabre yint^si mat-a alka zig - d - e - e /
Gebre young-m be-c. again want-impf-3s -past
'Gebre wanted to be young again'

⁸The basic word order is determined as (Greenberg, 1966) by examining different types of phrases which are the derivatives of it. Some of these are: the presence of postpositions and/or genitives. These are the typical feature of an SOV language.

Chapter Three

VERB COMPLEMENTS OF ARI

In this chapter, the structure of verb complements will be examined. For presentation purpose the chapter is divided in to two parts. First the presence of phrases and clauses as complements of verbs is described and the verbs are classified in to subtypes. And second the treatment of these complements in GB theory is discussed and explained. The latter part is included to answer questions like why does a particular type of complement occur with a particular set of verbs? Why do some complement types occur with nearly all types of verbs: or Why are some complement types permitted and others not? How do we differentiate these complement types from the obligatory ones? ...

3.1 Description of Verb Complements

In Ari verb complements (KPs, APs, PPs, Adv. Ps, clauses etc) which are modifiers or objects (Baye, 1986) of the head (verb) precede their lexical head.

Based on the analyzed data and the basic characteristics of complements, Ari verbs can be classified in to the major classes ¹ of intransitives, copulatives and transitives in relation to obligatory complements with which they cooccur.

All verbs can occur with optional postpositional phrases, adverbial phrases and with clauses of adverbial function, ^{at V'' level} but there are some verbs that occur with noun phrases, adjectival phrase categories or obligatory clauses. So the latter two phrasal categories and obligatory clauses

are used as main tools for the classification of verbs.

3.1.1 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs do not have NPs or APs as their complements. For example /ep-/ 'cry', /aad-/ 'come', /woʔi-/ 'stand' describe only their subject as experiencer of the action, state, or event represented by the verb.

(1) /yint^si walaq woʔi - t - e - e /
boy one stand- pf- 3s-past

'A boy stood'

Intransitive verbs have PPs, adv.Ps and clauses to indicate the situation, the time, the manner generally the circumstances in which the sentences occur or happen.

(2) /no pəʃa pəgi - ank aad - d - e - e /
3ms country far- from come -impf-3s-past

'He came from a far country'

In example (2) we can see the locative postpositional phrase while in example (1) there is only a subject and a verb. In example (67 of chapter 2) and (3) there are postpositional phrase and non-finite clause functioning as adverbs of reason which are optionally present.

(=67) / no ʃaʃi - ʃaʃ - in - kən ep - ep - s - e - e /
3ms fear -fear^v -def?- for cry -cry -pf -3s -past

'He cried because he fears'

(3) / beri wo-m daqʃ - ta aad - aq - e /
God 1pl-acc save-COMP come- be -3s

'God came to save us'

3.1.2 Copulative Verbs

Copulative verbs occur with NPs, APs, or clauses, which function as predicative complements (Cf. Huddleston 1984:183). These complements denote the property which the subject has or will have. Huddleston (1984:183) defines copula as a term (a syntactic element) reflecting the idea that it serves to 'fasten or link' the rest of the predicate (predicative complement) to the subject.

These verbs (Cf. Quirk et al. 1972) are 'be', 'exist', 'become', 'seem' etc.

Verb 'to be'

The verb 'to be' in Ari is irregular. It has the following realizations:

(1) /aq/ 'be' functions as (a) a remote past tense marker and (b) as a verb with its affirmative past meaning.

(4) /ita ii - ax - ink/
is is - was - if 'If I was'

(5) /ard - aq - s /
enter - was - pf '(he) entered'

(2) /-ye/ 'be' functions as a suffix particle in the affirmative present and occurs with noun and adjective phrases.

(6) /kona gabre ey - ye /
This Gebre house - be
'This is Gebre(s) house'

(7) /yint^s - ina rotimi - ye /
boy - m-def tall - be
'The boy is tall'

(3) /day-/ 'be' used as a verb 'to be' in the affirmative

(8) / day - e /
be - 3s 'He is'

(9) /aa - bi^Y day - ink /
2s - as be if 'If it is as to you'

(48 of ch.2) /ka^Y ga?i^Yenda daye - e /
cold big exist - past

'There is a severe cold'

(4) /dak-/ 'be used as a verb 'to be' in the negative

(10) /laqmi dak - ay - e /
good be - not - past

'It is not good'

Another copula in Ari is /mat-/ 'become'

(11) /seynisi - na wo^Yci mat - s - e /
stone - def dry become - pf - past

'The stone became dry'

Some clauses can optionally occur with /mat-//^{become}as

modifiers. This can be seen from (12)

(12) /wubaamer ii - kay - ik / [arpi qasken] mat - t - e /
wubhamer 1s - go - COMP month two become-pf-past

'It became two ⁿmoths since I went to Wubhamer'

Still another copula in Ari is /kam-/ 'seem'

(13) /keba^{da}da rurmi kam - d - e /
Kebede clever seem - impf - past

'Kebede seems/looks clever'

Sentence (57 of ch.2) is also one example of /kam-/ 'seem'

(57 of ch.2) /ed - in woni ke - won - d - inda
man - pl work 3pl - work - impf - COMP

kam - d - e /
seem - impf - past

'It seems that the men are working'

(14) /ed - in woni ke - won - d - inda
man - pl work 3pl - work - impf - COMP

kam - da - na - e /
seem - impf - 3pl - past

'The man seemed that they are working'

Unlike intransitive verbs copulative verbs have complements (NPs, APs and clauses) that are marking some type of description about the subject which are *found* obligatorily. Without the presence of these the sentences are not acceptable. Copulatives as we will see (Cf.3.2) are different from the transitive verbs eventhough they occur with obligatory, NPs, APs and clauses. The difference is that with copulatives they function as predicative complements, while with transitive verbs they function as object complements. (Cf. Huddleston (1984: 183-5)).

3.1.3 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs have objects preceding them. These objects are categorially NPs, ~~VPs~~ and clauses. Transitive verbs can be subdivided into three types: semi-transitives, monotransitives and ditransitives, based on the number of noun phrases and/or clauses with which they co-occur.

3.1.3.1 Semi-transitive Verbs

The verbs in this subgroup have only certain noun phrases which may occur with the verb. Most of the verbs of this subgroup if they have an NP as their object, this NP is a cognate with the verb.

(15.1) /keta leqa leq - de - ke /
3pl game play -impf - 3pl

'They play game'

(15.2) /keta leq - de - ke /
3pl play - impf - 3pl

'They played'

(16.1) /it^Smi it^S - s - e - e /
food eat - pf - 3s - past

'He ate (the) food'

(16.2) /it^S - s - e - e /
eat - pf - 3s - past 'He ate'

As observed above the verb may have objects derived from the same root morpheme /leq-/ 'play' and /it^S-/ 'eat'.

3.1.3.2 Monotransitive Verbs

Monotransitive verbs are characterized by complements which can not be missed^{out} without the resulting structure being incomplete or totally ill-formed. (Baye, 1986:108).

Some of the verbs categorized in this subclass are /naš^V-/ 'like', /šen^V-/ 'buy/sell', /zit^S-/ 'close' and /uš^V-/ 'cook' ...

(17) /ita ari edin - əm naša - naš - d - it - e /
1s Ari men - acc like - like -impf-1s -past

'I liked the Ari people'

(18) /kəbədə məs'ap - əm šen - š - e - e /
Kebede book - acc sell- pf - 3s -past

'Kebede sold(the) book'

(19) /ita giini - n - əm uš - š - it /
1s butter -def - acc cook - pf - 1s

'I cooked the butter'

(20) /ita pultən zit^S - d - it /
1s door close -impf - 1s

'I closed the door'

Though it is not found with all the examples, with the direct objects of monotransitive verbs the accusative

morphological case marker is suffixed to the object complement.

3.1.3.3 Ditransitive Verbs

The verbs categorized as ditransitives are the ones which subcategorize 'one NP and one adpositional phrase, or a clause as the case may be' (Baye, 1986:109).

The same characterization can also be used in Ari. So we can divide the ditransitive verbs of Ari in to two. Those that are preceded by two NPs and/or one NP and one adpositional phrase or clause are like /kez-/ 'tell' /im-/ 'give'

(21) /yint^Bən i - m bəl^V im - s /
 girl-def is-acc injera give-pf

'The girl gave me injera'

(22) /abəbə kəbədə - kən ree kez - z - e - e /
 Abebe Kebede - for secret tell-pf-3s-past

'Abebe told Kebede (thə)secret'

In (21) the verb /im-/ 'give' takes direct and indirect objects. The animate noun which is the direct object has the overt case marker (as in 21). If the direct object is like /bəl^V/ 'injera' which is inanimate it is not morphologically case marked. If the ⁱⁿdirect object is an animate noun it needs a postposition -kən to have accusative case of postposition. This can be seen also in example (22).

There are also verbs that usually require finite and non-finite clauses with or without additional noun phrase. These are like: /es-/ 'know', /esər/ 'hear',

/zig-/ 'want', /amən/ 'believe', /møkər-/ 'try', /gay-/ 'say' and /alyart-/ 'promise'.

- (23) /ita kasa - t qolii Ysenten ki - t
1s Kassa - gen sheep buy-pf-Nzr 3sm- gen
esər - s - it /
hear - pf - 1s

'I heard Kassa's buying the sheep'

/esər-/ 'hear' takes a nominalized clause complement and an NP /kit/ a pronoun with genitive case that agree in number, person and case with the subject of the subordinated nominalized complement.

- (24) /yint^sina abla ke - S?i - an ke - m
boys cloth 3pl - wash - comp 3pl - acc
zig - ər - da /
want - pass- impf-pres

'(that) the children (have) to wash clothes
is wanted'

/zig-/ 'want' as a transitive verb can take a clause and/or a clause with an NP. Here there is an NP as a pronoun and that pronoun has accusative case from the passive form of the matrix verb. The pronouns /kit/ of (23) and /kəm/ of (24) are in the position of NP where they do not have equivalents with the English gloss. The first point about these pronouns is, they are the representation of Kasa and children. They are repeated redundantly in comparison with their English gloss. Secondly, their case assignment /kit/ 'his' has the genitive case similar to 'Kasa', while /kəm/ has the accusative case unlike 'children', which is in the nominative position.

- (25) /geltik ii - ad - in - biš bak'əla - kən
early-on 1s -come - ? - COMP Bekele - for
alyart - it - e /
promise-pf- 1s - past

'I promised for Bekele that I will come early'

Here the verb /alyart-/ 'promise' takes two complements a PP and an aspectless clause with the pronoun prefix form that agrees with the main clause subject.

- (26) /kasa aster-ta qolii V_{3s} - tən -əm
Kasa Aster-gen sheep buy - N_{3s} - acc
es - d - e - e /
know -impf - 3s - past

'Kasa knew that Aster bought the sheep'

3.2. Verb Complements of Ari In GB Framework

In this section, constituents are classified and considered into three groups. The obligatory subcategorized constituents as V' complements, constituents that have adverbial function as V" complements and some sentential adverbs as V"' complements. From these three, only V' complements will be explained based on Jackendoff's (1977) X-bar model and some modules of Government and Binding theory as postulated in Chomsky's (1981, 1986) works. Lastly the chapter will be concluded by raising some language specific issues.

3.2.1. V' Complements

Complements for X' are termed functional arguments. These are ~~known as~~ phrases and/or clauses that have direct (obligatory) thematic relations with their lexical head (Baye, 1986:87), and they are strictly subcategorized

A complement in a copulative clause expresses either the entity or state of the subject. Hence, a copulative clause equates the NP in the subject position with the NP in the VP or the NP in the VP expresses the state of the subject. As a result the NP complement which the copulative verb S-selects gets its θ -role from its head. The NP in the subject position is θ -marked by the VP, since the verb has the nature of assigning a θ -role to its subject position compositionally with its VP. That means, there are θ -positions in a copulative construction where the S-selected category is N".

The proof he gives for the absence of internal arguments of copulative verbs is that unlike transitive verbs, they are devoid of assigning accusative case to their complement position i.e. the position is not a case position. So they behave like intransitive verbs. This is exemplified by sentence (30) and (11) in (3.1.2)

(30) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{k'aləmnə} \right] \\ \text{IP NP} \\ \text{colour-def} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{zəymi-} \right] \\ \text{I}' \text{ V}' \text{ AP} \\ \text{red} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{-e} \right] \\ \text{V} \\ \text{cop.} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\emptyset \right] \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right]$

'The colour is red'

(=11) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{seynisina} \right] \\ \text{IP NP} \\ \text{stone-def} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{wo}^{\text{Y}}\text{'i} \right] \\ \text{I}' \text{ V}' \text{ AP} \\ \text{dry} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{mət-} \right] \\ \text{V} \\ \text{become} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{-se} \right] \\ \text{I} \text{ pf-past} \text{ I}' \end{array} \right]$

'The stone became dry'

The verb 'seem' is the raising predicate² according to GB theory. The same is true here for /kam-/ 'seem'.

In Ari as observed in ((57) of ch.2), the complement clause subcategorized by /kam-/ 'seem' can be a finite

clause if it has both AGR and ASP features. The subject of this clause is not raised for the reason that there is no matching of features between the raised subject and the INFL of the matrix clause, which licenses its presence. In short it is the absence of AGR in the main clause.

(57 of ch.2) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{IP} \\ \text{NP} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} e \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{I}' \\ \text{V}' \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CP} \\ \text{IP} \end{bmatrix} \text{edin woni'ke - won - d}$
 men work 3pl- work -impf
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ \text{COMP} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-inda} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{seem} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{V}' \\ \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{I} \\ \text{impf - 3s-past} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{dee} \end{bmatrix}$
 'It seems that the men are working'

The assumption about the raising predicate is that it does not assign a theta role to the subject so the subject position at D-structure is empty. Due to EPP in some languages there will be a pleonastic subject. The subject of a complement clause is raised to be the subject of the matrix clause if the INFL of the main clause is $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{AGR} \end{bmatrix}$. This is in languages with rich inflections. Baye (1991:118) has stated the reason for it, as follows:

... it seems that raising is possible out of only finite or tensed complements. The reason for this seems to be connected with the fact that only in such complements can the trace of a raised subject be (properly) governed or locally identified by AGR in INFL. By local identification we understand the following:

28. X locally identifies Y, if X shares Z, Z a set of features, with y, and X and Y fall within the same IP or NP as head and specifier of that IP/NP.

This can be observed here from example (14).

It is repeated here for convenience.

(=14) $\begin{bmatrix} \text{IP} \\ \text{NP} \end{bmatrix} \text{edin}_i \begin{bmatrix} \text{I}' \\ \text{V}' \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CP} \\ \end{bmatrix} t_i \text{woni ke - won - d}$
 men work 3pl- work - impf
 $\begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ \text{COMP} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-inda} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{seem} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{V}' \\ \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{I} \\ \text{impf-3pl-past} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-dakee} \end{bmatrix}$

'The men seemed that they are working (to work)'

Here our clue for the raising is the change of INFL from /-dee/ which is /-AGR/ to /-dakee/ which is /+AGR/, to match in features with phonetically realized plural subject /edin/ 'men' which is raised to the empty subject position.

The subcategorization frame for the intransitive II verbs is



3.2.1.2 Transitives

Transitive verbs subcategorize ^{various} numbers of arguments as their complements.

Semi-transitive Verbs

Semi-transitive verbs are verbs that have visible or invisible arguments. In other words the arguments they subcategorize are not always phonetically realized.

(31) $\left[\begin{array}{l} IP \\ NP \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} pro \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} I' \\ V' \\ NP \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} boksa \\ ditch \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} V \\ \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} bok- \\ dig \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} -ses \\ pf-3s-past \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$

'He dug (the) ditch'

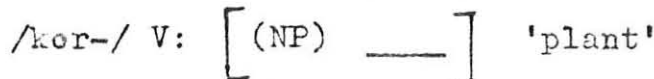
(32) $\left[\begin{array}{l} IP \\ NP \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} ita \\ 1s \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} I' \\ V' \\ NP \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} e \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} V \\ \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} kor- \\ plant \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} -sit \\ pf-1s \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$

'I plant'

(33) $\left[\begin{array}{l} IP \\ NP \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} ki \\ 3su \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} I' \\ V' \\ NP \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} e \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} V \\ \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} takk- \\ break \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} -s \\ pf \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$

'He broke (it)'

The subcategorizational frame for the semi-transitive verb as represented by /kor-/ 'plant' is:



In terms of theta role assignment semitransitive verbs are problems because the internal arguments are sometimes visible and at other times they are not. Riemsdijk and Williams proposed two alternative solutions.

They (1986:243) have stated that:

two distinct solutions have been proposed to account for such (exceptional) cases: either it is not necessary for every argument to be syntactically realized: or it is necessary to have two lexical entries as a one argument verb and a related two argument verb.

The preference for Ari is the first one that it is not necessary for every argument to be syntactically realized.

Monotransitive Verbs

Monotransitive verbs are two place or two argument verbs. That is, the verbs have two theta roles to assign, agent theta role to their external argument and the other to their internal argument i.e. the complement.

- (34) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{pro} \right] \\ \text{IP NP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{f}' \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{dibinci - ke kawinti - k} \end{array} \right]$
 stealing-and lying -and
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{na}^{\text{V}} - \text{ay} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{like-not} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{-itte} \right] \\ \text{I} \\ \text{pf-1s-past} \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$

'I don't like stealing and lying'

- (35) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{wota} \right] \\ \text{IP NP} \\ \text{1pl} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{I}' \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{yint}^{\text{S}} - \text{in -an} \\ \text{children-def-acc} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{V} \\ \text{?i-} \\ \text{wash} \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{?ote} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{pf-1pl-past} \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$

'We washed the children'

- (36) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{pro} \right] \\ \text{IP NP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{I}' \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{ko - m} \\ \text{3sf-acc} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{V} \\ \text{neni}^{\text{S}} - \\ \text{love-love} \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-dit} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{impf-1s} \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$

'I love her'

The subcategorizational frame for monotransitive

verb is: /na^V-/ V: $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \right] -$ 'love'

Ditransitive Verbs

Ditransitives are three place or three argument verbs. One external argument and the rest two are obligatory internal arguments. In terms of θ - theory, these verbs have three θ - roles to assign and due to theta criterion they need three arguments to receive these three theta roles. These arguments can be filled by NPs, PPs or clauses as observed in (3.1.3.3).

As in example (37), and ((69) of chapter two)

(37) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{no} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{IP} \text{ NP} \\ \text{3sm} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{iy - add - an} \\ \text{1s-come - COMP} \end{array} \right] \text{im} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{zig-} \right] \\ \text{1s-acc} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{see} \right] \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\right] \\ \text{I} \\ \text{pf-3s-} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{past} \end{array} \right] \right]$

'He wanted me to come'

(69 of ch.2) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{abəbə} \right] \\ \text{IP} \text{ NP} \\ \text{Abebe} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{kəbədə - kən} \right] \\ \text{I} \text{ V} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{Kebede - for} \end{array} \right]$

$\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{hailu kayte gayso} \right] \\ \text{CP} \\ \text{Hailu go-pf-past} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{kez-} \right] \\ \text{V} \\ \text{say-COMP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{-ze} \right] \\ \text{Y} \\ \text{pf-past} \end{array} \right]$

'Abebe told for Kebede that Hailu left'

The subcategorizational frame for ditransitive verbs taking /kez-/ 'tell' as a sample is:

/kez-/ : V + [pp cp -] 'tell'

To conclude this section, at V' level the S-selection and theta role assignment is obligatory. As a result the arguments i.e., the subjects and the complements are licensed to be visible. This is because of the inherent semantic and syntactic properties of the verb.

3.2.2. V" Complements in Ari

It is seen in (3.2.1) that the complements are obligatory i.e. the inherent lexical properties of the verb

require them to appear. And the verbs are divided according to the number and the types of complements they subcategorize and S-select. However from the sample data that are presented, there are some complements which are found with almost all types of verbs without distinction. Because of this, they are treated as V" complements.

In GB literature they are known as X" complements and all ~~the~~ X" complements are optional. 'In V" there are adv. Ps and PPs of manner, means, time, instrument and various adverbial clauses' (Jackendoff, 1977:72).

3.2.2.1 Phrases with Adverbial function

- (38) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{no} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{IP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{tokmi} - \text{kən} \right] \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{small-for} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{V}'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{gixər-} \right] \right] \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\right] \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right] \right]$

$\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{-de} \right] \\ \text{I} \\ \text{impf-past} \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$

'He easily became angry'

- (39) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{pro} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{IP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{senak} \right] \\ \text{V}'' \text{adv.P} \\ \text{tomorrow} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{I}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{adad-} \right] \right] \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\right] \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right] \right]$

$\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{-it} \right] \\ \text{I} \\ \text{1s} \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$

'I will come tomorrow'

Sentence (68) of chapter two is reproduced here as an additional example

- (68 of ch.2) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{pro} \right] \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{IP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{ta} \right] \\ \text{adv.p} \\ \text{now} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{V}'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{it}^{\text{s}} - \text{kən} \right] \\ \text{CP} \\ \text{eat-for} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right]$

$\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{zig-} \right] \\ \text{V} \\ \text{want} \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{-dite} \right] \\ \text{I} \\ \text{impf-1s-past} \end{array} \right] \left[\right] \left[\right]$

'I want to eat now'

The θ -roles that are assigned to V'' complements are circumstantial. Some are temporal, others spatial, manner etc. Chomsky (1981:40) states it as follows, 'if a position is only optionally present, then the θ -marking of this position is correspondingly optional, and will apply just to satisfy the θ -criterion'.

3.2.2.2 Clauses with Adverbial Function

There are also clauses that have adverbial function indicating the reason, manner, etc.

- (40) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{pro} \\ \text{IP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{I}' \\ \text{I}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}'' \\ \text{V}'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{pro} \\ \text{1s} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ii} \\ \text{-father} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-acc} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ə} \\ \text{ə} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{yo} \\ \text{see} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ji} \\ \text{-inf} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ta} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
 $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ad-} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{come} \\ \text{come} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}' \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}'' \\ \text{V}'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{I} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{aq} \\ \text{be} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-pf/1s} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{it} \\ \text{-past} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{e} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

'I came to visit my father'

- (55 of ch.2) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{no} \\ \text{IP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{3sm} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{I}' \\ \text{I}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}'' \\ \text{V}'' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{IP} \\ \text{IP} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{pro} \\ \text{men} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{et} \\ \text{-def} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{si} \\ \text{-acc} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ə} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{de} \\ \text{kill} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-cause} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{is} \\ \text{-pf} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{o} \\ \text{comp} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Cp} \\ \text{Cp} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}' \\ \text{V}' \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{V} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{?amelet} \\ \text{escape} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-see} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-} \\ \text{-pf-3s-past} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

'(Because) he killed the men, he escaped'

To summarize due to extended projection principle the external arguments as specifiers of IP occupy the highest (maximal) position in the projection of the sentence. Because of their close relationship with the head, V' complements occupy the minimum (initial) projection level in the clause. Between the maximal and the minimal projection the circumstantial, V'' complements are found.

3.2.3 V''' Complements

From the literature one can observe that there are disagreements on the number of levels (bars) which a lexical head can be projected to. Jackendoff (1977:61-2) states that:

V''' complements... add no conditions to the assertion of the sentence but rather add some sort of auxiliary assertion (one of whose arguments is usually the main assertion). They include sentence adverbials of all sorts sentence appositives, parentheticals ... and various other subordinate clauses... .

There is one sentence adverbial, that is /dopan/

'certainly' in Ari:

- (41) $\left[\left[\left[\text{kəbədə} \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[\left[\text{dopan} \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[\left[\text{samintika ses'k} \right] \right] \right]$
 IP NP Kebede I' V''' Adv.p certainly V'' PP weekly Sunday
 $\left[\left[\left[\text{betəkristian} \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[\left[\text{kay-} \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[\left[\text{-d-e-e} \right] \right] \right]$
 NP church V' V go I impf - 3s -past

'Certainly Kebede goes to church every Sunday'

- (42) $\left[\left[\left[\text{pro} \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[\left[\text{dopan} \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[\left[\text{t}_i \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[\left[\text{muzi-n - əm} \right] \right] \right]$
 IP NP I' V''' Adv.p V'' i V' NP
 certainly •banana-def-acc
 $\left[\left[\left[\text{pro} \text{ əfə - ke te}^{\text{X}} \text{'X'} \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[\left[\text{-o} \right] \right] \right]$ $\left[\left[\left[\text{it}^{\text{S}} \right] \right] \right]$
 Cl knife -with cut COMP i V eat
 $\left[\left[\left[\text{-tee} \right] \right] \right]$
 I pf-3s-past

'Certainly he ate the banana cutting (it) with knife'

It has been tried in this chapter to describe and clarify the verbs of Ari mainly in to transitive, copulative and intransitive based on the complements with which they co-occur. It has also been seen that postpositional and clausal complements occur with almost all verbs. And to differentiate various types of complements the second

part of this chapter discusses complements in terms of GB theory, why they are visible, why postpositional and clausal complements coocus with all verbs.

Briefly Ari fits to the general framework of GB theory, some specific language particular issues are discussed below:

- (a) the morphological Case marking of clausal complements of transitive verbs (in violation of the Case Resistant Principle (CRP)).
- (b) the absence of Case shifting, the insertion of dummy postposition and the assignment of morphological Case for animate nouns.
- (c) the subjects of infinitival clauses.
- (d) the assigning of accusative case by passive verbs to their direct objects.

A. The morphological Case marking of clausal complements of transitive verbs.

Some of the ditransitive verbs as seen in (3.1.5.3) subcategorize clausal complements. Some of these clauses are marked for definiteness and Case by the verb like /es-/ 'know', /amən/ 'believe' ...

(43) /kasa aster - ta qolii ^Yšan - t - ən - əm
Kasa Aster - gen sheep buy- pf -der - acc

es - d - e - e /
know-impf-3s-past

'Kassa knew that Aster bought the sheep'

(44) /kəbədə ki - desitə^Yna mat - aq - t - əm
Kebede ^{3sm} happy become-past-pf-acc

amən - amən - d - a - a /
believe-believe-impf-3s-pres

'Kebede believes that he was happy'

In terms of GB, complements for ditransitive verbs are obligatory internal arguments. They are in argument positions (case positions) hence governed and assigned semantic roles. Usually they are filled (or occupied) by NPs. Clauses functioning as NPs are also found at this position as complements of transitive verbs. The general claim as Plann (1986:377) quoting Stowell (1981) states 'clauses are Case resistant because the heads of constituents are case assigners themselves so they do not need/allow Case from some where else'. Hence in GB theory a principle called CRP (Case may not be assigned to a category that bears a Case-assigning feature) is formulated. CRP works for English. And 'In Spanish all clauses can be marked for case'. (Plann, 1986:344)

In Ari also clauses are assigned accusative morphological case by the head verb.

- B. The absence of case shifting, the insertion of dummy postposition and the assignment of morphological case for animate nouns.

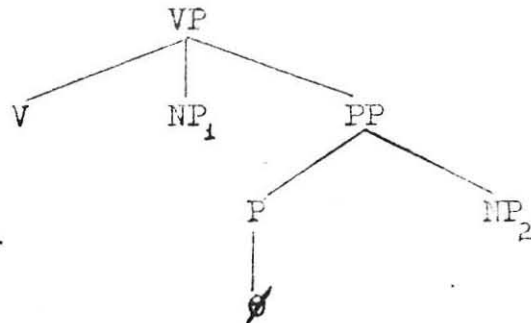
In Ari at V single bar level the case marked complements are adjacent and have to be to the left of the case assigner. For pragmatic reasons as in the case of (42) other complements can come between the two. In addition animacy is a factor in assigning case. If the noun is inanimate it does not need to have an overt case marker, and case marking morphemes.

It is indicated by position.

Case adjacency exists in Ari. So the noun that receives Case has to be adjacent to the Case assigner. If another constituent comes between the case assigner and the case receiver as in the case of ditransitive verbs where they have two NP complements, the indirect object will get case by the dummy postposition /kən /³ 'for', which is inserted if the NP is animate⁴. If the NP is inanimate, it does not need a morphological case marker.

This observation can be of help or can be additional evidence for the question raised by Barss and Lasnik (1986:347) in relation to English V NP₁ NP₂ double object constructions.

In the Ari situation (i.e., the insertion of -kən) fits to Barss and Lasnik (1986:351. ii)



If the NP₂ is animate P will be /-kən/, if it is inanimate P will be ∅

(45) /ita ki - kən gini - n us - ^v - it - e /
1s 3sm - for butter - def cook - pf - 1s - past

'I cooked the butter for him'

(46) / ita mäs'ap ki - m im - s - e /
1s book 3sm-acc give-pf-past

'I gave him a book'

(47) /gabre namsi - kən kat^smi im - s - e - e /
Gebre Namsi - for spear give-pf-3s -past

'Gebre gave Namsi a spear'

C. The subjects of infinitival clauses

One of the issues in relation to verb complements is that of infinitival subordinate clauses. In descriptive terms there are two types of infinitival clauses. These two types are identified by the morphemes /-ta/ and /-an/. /-ta/ occurs with a clause that neither has a subject of its own nor subject agreement marker with the verb. This is illustrated by example (3) of chapter (3) and (71) of chapter two; reproduced here for convenience.

(=3) / beri wo-m daq^v - ta aad - aq - e /
God 1pl-acc save-inf come-be - 3s

'God came to save us'

/-an/ occurs with a clause that have a subject and/or agreement marker.⁵

(71 of ch.2) /gabre e - r kay - an zig - s - it-e/
Gebre house-loc go - inf want-pf-1s-past

'I wanted Gebre to go home'

In terms of GB theory clauses are termed infinitives because they lack INFL (i.e. person, gender, number, tense, and aspect markers). So if clauses are not marked for these features especially for aspect and/or agreement they will not assign nominative case. If they don't assign case their subjects are not governed and can not be realized

recovered from the AGR that matches with the pronominal NP as in (48)

(48) [ita [[(pro)_i ki_i - kay] -an] zig - d - it - e]
1s 3sm - go inf want- pf - 1s -past

'I wanted him to go'

(3) The presence of AGR as it is seen above licenses the potential 'lexicalization of the subject'. So instead of pro(nominal) we can also observe a lexical subject as in (49).

(49) [etəəna [[et^sin baça dib] -an]
woman-def man-def chicken steal -inf
zig - s - e - e]
want - pf - 3s - past

'The woman wanted the man to steal the chicken'

To summarize in Ari with the infinitival clauses both options are observed. The infinitival clause without overt subject and [-AGR] in INFL which is morphologically marked by /-ta/, and the infinitival clause with overt subject or pro and/or [+AGR] in INFL which is marked by /-an/. Baye (1988:603) named the first type 'non-finite infinitival', and the second 'finite infinitival'.

D. The assigning of accusative morphological case by passive verbs to their direct objects.

Ari has morphological passive constructions. The passives (Cf. 2.2.2) are formed by the suffix either /-ər/ or /-im/. In addition, the passive verbs have NP complements that are marked for accusative case though it is

not in all situations (sometimes the objects are moved).

In terms of GB theory Sobin⁷ ((1985: 650 - 1) (quoting Chomsky (1981)) states that:

Passive morphology has the unique property that it "absorbs" case. Thus in a passive VP the passive head V will block case assignment to an NP that it governs... since it was not assigned case based on its earlier GF, [NP, VP] , because of the passive governing V, it is assigned (nominative) case based on its new GF. (after the application of move α).

These two statements about passive constructions are violated in this language. There is an NP complement which is assigned accusative case by a passive verb as in ((53) of ch.2).

(53 of ch.2) [e zɔbsi - n -əm dəys - ər - aqq]
lion - def - acc kill- pass- be
' It was killed the lion'

Interestingly, in Ari two options are observed⁸. These are:

(1) Passive morphology with movement: passive verbs will not assign case so the NP of VP will be moved to the subject position and acquire nominative case.

(50) [ke - n; [t_i kez - ər - d - e]]
3pl - def tell - pass - impf- past
'They were told'

(2) Passive morphology without movement: In some constructions of passive verbs, the verbs will assign accusative case.

(=24 of ch.3)

[_{IP} e [_{CP} yint^sina abla ke - ʒʔi - an] [_{NP} ke - m]]
children cloths 3pl-wash-inf 3pl-acc

[zig - ər - da]]
want-pass-impf-pres

'(that) the children (have) to wash cloths^e is 'wanted'

Though it is not totally clear when NP complements of the verb move and when they do not move, the assignment of morphological accusative case marker to the NPs by the governing verbs raise a challenge to the theoretical notions⁹ of passive constructions and case assignment.

⁷Sobin (1985) pointed out that in Ukrainian language the morphological passive verb assigns case to its NP.

⁸Concerning different options of passives, Bekale (1989:92) quoting Chomsky (1981)) states that 'even within a single language there may be passive morphology with movement, movement without passive morphology, or passive with neither passive morphology nor movement'.

⁹Sobin (1985:661) concerning this theoretical issue states the following:

Given such a range of case assignment behavior, it seems that property I ($\langle \text{NP}, \text{S} \rangle$ does not receive a θ - role) is the only consistent correlate of passive morphology and the only candidate for being labeled the "core property" of passive. Further, from the range of case assignment possibilities discussed here, it is not clear that property II ($\langle \text{NP}, \text{VP} \rangle$ does not receive case within VP, for some choice of NP in VP) should in any direct way derived from property (I).

In Sobin's (1985), evidence from different languages, (those that are Case marked by passive verbs and those that are not) are used to indicate the constant presence of principle (I) in passive constructions.

CONCLUSION

To summarize, this paper includes the literature review on Ari, the theoretical framework that is used in the explanation, the basic grammatical features that are important for the work, the description and explanation of verb complements (with special emphasis on single bar level).

As can be observed in the descriptive and explanatory part Ari is a pro-drop language with the head final in most phrases and clauses.

There are some issues which are remained unsolved here. These are:

- (a) The problem of the theory in relation with copulative verbs. Their subcategorization feature is the same with transitive verbs, but their behaviour is like intransitive verbs.
- (b) In the case of semi-transitive verbs with relation to their theta role assignment. If they are two argument verbs they will be monotransitive verbs and they will have two NPs, subject and object. But as seen in the third chapter these verbs may not occur with objects. Their having of two subcategorization potential remain the same here.
- (c) In the case of ditransitive verbs they can take clausal complement(s) with or without additional NP complements. Some of these verbs like /esər-/ 'hear', /zig-/ 'want' may have coreferential,

morphologically case marked (i.e., genitive and/or accusative) "resumptive pronoun" which as it is compared with its English gloss is redundant and need further study.

- (d) The existence of the pronoun - prefix form (as INFL) representing the subject of subordinate clausal complements in their verbs as different from the suffix form in main clause verbs is observed, but not explained.

Some of the findings of this thesis (having in mind the assumption that the descriptions are correct) are:

- The morphologically case marking of clausal complements of transitive verbs (in violation of the Case Resistant Principle (CRP)).
- The absence of Case shifting, the insertion of dummy postposition, and the assignment of morphological case for animate nouns.
- The subjects of infinitival clauses
- The assigning of accusative morphological case by passive transitive to their direct object in some situations.

Some of these, the case marking of clauses, the insertion of dummy postposition, the subjects of infinitival clauses and the assignment of accusative Case by passive verbs are explained in (3.2). Others like the existence of the pronoun-prefix form in subordinate clausal complements and "resumptive pronouns" with their

Case markings are some of the problems which require further research.

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DECLARATION

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

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Place: June 1, 1993

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Date: June 1, 1993