

THE CASE SYSTEM IN WOLAYTA

(GB - APPROACH)

A Thesis

Presented to

The School of Graduate Studies

Addis Ababa University

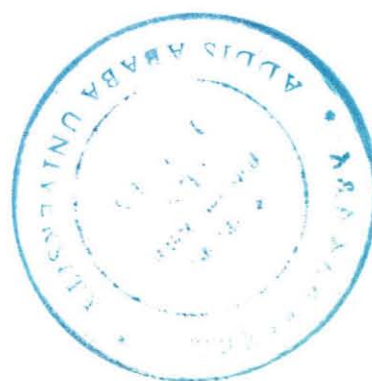
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By

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DECLARATION

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Abstract

This study attempts to examine and explain the properties of the Case system in Wolayta on the basis of the theoretical framework of Government and Binding (GB). This theoretical framework is briefly explained in the introductory chapter.

It is shown that the language has only two Cases - nominative and accusative, and that Case is phonetically realized in the language. The Case suffixes designating nominative and accusative, and the syntactic relationship that the noun phrases form with the Case assigners are described. The manner in which both Cases are assigned in the language is also explained. Finally, structures of infinitival clauses, passive and raising constructions are considered in relation to the assignment of Case to noun phrases.

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Dedication

To Etsegenet Tsigie, Atakilt Bekale
and Dagim Bekale

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
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(GB - APPROACH)

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Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1. Statement of the problem and objective of the study

As a member of the languages of the world, Wolayta shares some linguistic properties with other natural languages. Some properties of Case are, in this sense, part of Universal Grammar (UG), while other properties are particular to this language. The main objective of this study is to identify such general and particular properties of the language.

1.2. Significance of the study

Linguistic theories are formulated on the basis of a variety of observations gathered from data of natural languages. Eventhough generative syntax has evolved to its present form mainly on the basis of data from English and some Indo-European languages, linguistic facts observed in several European, Asian, Australian, African and American languages have contributed very much for its development. Descriptive works on Ethiopian languages such as Wolayta, which have not yet been done adequately, may also contribute to the development of a comprehensive theory of grammar. In this sense, ~~the~~ ^{the} research may afford its share of contribution to the linguistic theory in general and to Case theory in particular.

Due to the scarcity of descriptive materials on the Omoto cluster of languages, classification of Omotic has not yet become fully successful. Students of Omotic recommend descriptive studies in each language of this group including Wolayta. This study, it is hoped, will contribute to the fulfilment of that requirement.

1.3. Methodology

The main sources of the data are native informants. Data have been elicited and texts recorded, to be processed and described from the point of view of GB-theory. Previous studies on Wolayta have also been used. The researcher's knowledge of a related dialect of the language under investigation has also been used for analysis and interpretation of the structural devices of the language.

1.4. Abbreviations

The following list of abbreviations are used in the paper.

acc	accusative Case
CL	pronominal clitic
fem	feminine and deminutive
1pl	first person, plural
1sg	first person, singular
imp	imperative
gen	genitive case
impf	imperfective aspect
mas	masculine
neg	negative
nom	nominative Case
pass	passive

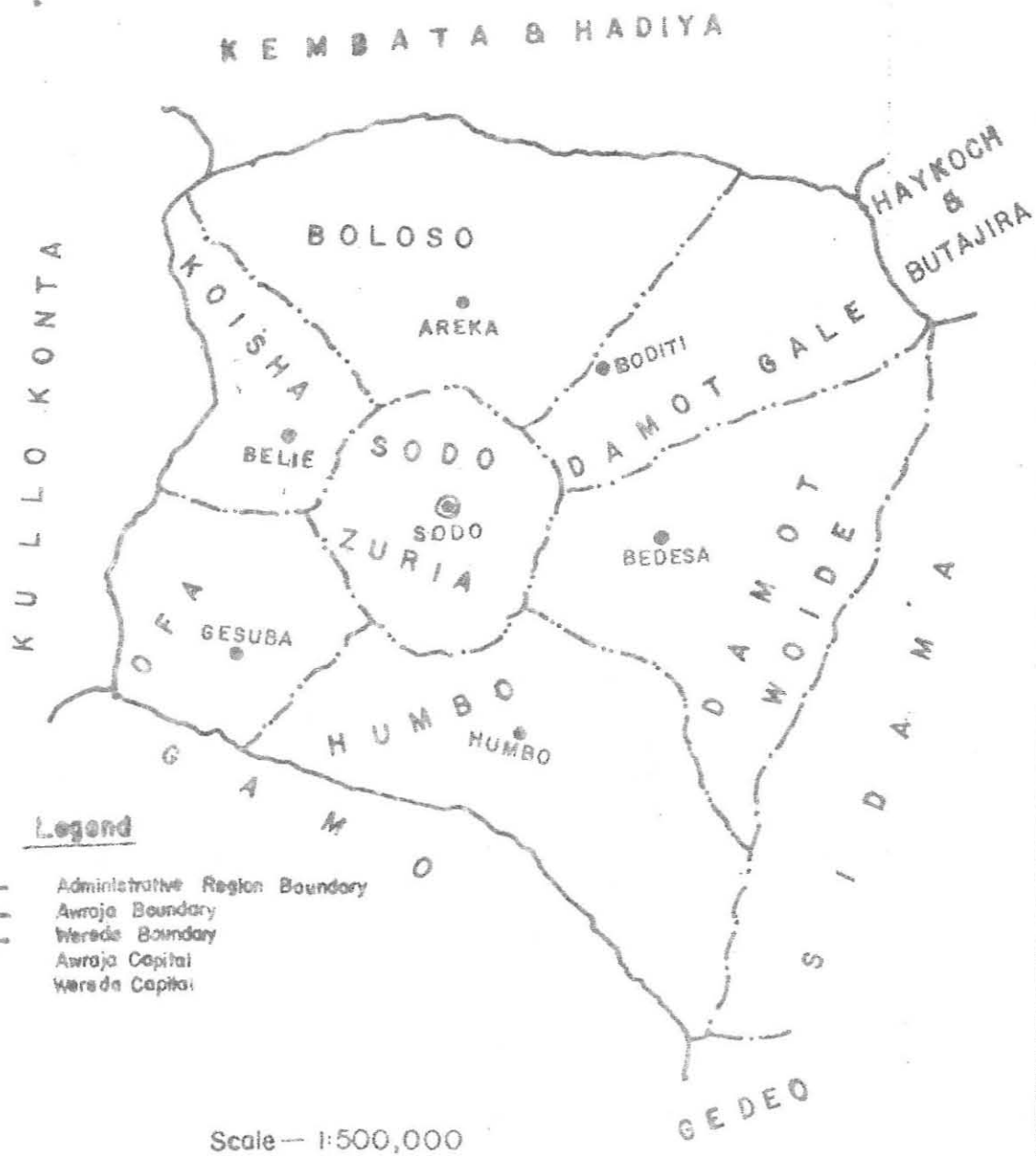
pf	perfect aspect
pl	plural
Rel	relative pronoun
2 sg	second person, singular
sg	singular
subj	subject
3fs	third person, feminine, singular
3ms	third person, masculine, singular
3pl	third person, plural

1.5. The People and the Language






Wolayta is spoken in Wolayta Awraja, in the administrative region of Sidamo. The Awrajas surrounding it are Kembata and Hadiyya on the one hand and Haikoch and Buttajira on the other hand in the north; Kullo-Konta in the west; Gamo in the south; and Sidama and Gedeo in the east. The languages spoken around the area are: Kembata, Hadiyya, Alaba and Oromo in the north; Sidama and Gedeo in the east; the dialects of Gamo in the south; and the related dialects of Kullo in the west. The main town of the Awraja is Soddo, which is situated 395 kilometers south of Addis Ababa on the main road to Gamo Gofa. Communication facilities are available within and outside the Awraja.

Wolayta is the name of the region, the people, and the language. Speakers of other languages (particularly Amharic speakers) used to call them by the name Welamo (spelled differently by different writers), since long before Menelik's conquest of the region in 1894 (Cerulli, 1929: 10-11). This name has acquired a derogatory sense, as a result

ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF WOLAYITA



Legend

-  Administrative Region Boundary
-  Awraja Boundary
-  Wereda Boundary
-  Awraja Capital
-  Wereda Capital

Scale — 1:500,000

Adapted from the Map Prepared by Institute for Study of Ethiopian Nationalities, 1986.

9/20/1

of which the term has ceased to be used since 1974.

The Wolayta have their own long history, language, costumes, food, and other cultural heritages. They had an independent kingdom whose history goes as far back as the 13th century (Bogale 1965 E.C.; Cerulli, 1929; Tsehay, 1973; Wudineh, 1984). There are still remains of monuments and obelisks that signify this old history at the top of Menelik Korebta at Soddo (Wudineh, 1984). The people are said to be heterogeneous in origin, being composed of people from many tribes, hence the name Wolayta, which means "mixed" (Abraham, 1976; Samuel, 1983).

Wolayta is a member of the Omotic family of languages, classified under the Ometo cluster. In some works of prominent Ethiopicist - linguists a number of these languages spoken in the administrative regions of Kefa, Gamo Gofa, and Sidamo are grouped together and are collectively called Northern Ometo (by Fleming, 1976a), Central Ometo (by Fleming, 1976b), Welamo (by Bender, 1976; Tucker and Bryan, 1956; and Bender, et. al. 1976), or Wolayta (by Tucker and Bryan, 1956; Adams, 1983). Besides one of the languages in this group is also referred to as Welamo or Wolayta. Such multitude of names may confuse readers. In this study, reference to the particular language will be made by the name Wolayta while the cluster to which it belongs is referred to as Northern Ometo.

According to Fleming, there are about forty other languages in this cluster including Gamo, Zala, Gofa, Kullo, Dace, Konta, Malc, Oyda, Dorze, etc. (see Fleming 1976 a; 1976b, for details). According to the report of the Academy of Ethiopian Languages (1980 E.C.), of the eight varieties (i.e. Wolayta, Gamo, Gofa, Kullo, Zayse, Basketo,

Dorze, and Oyda) on which intellegibility tests had been conducted, only Gamo, Gofa, Kullo and Wolayta are found to be mutually intellegible with one another.

According to Adams (1983: 14), Wolayta ranks fourth among the major languages in Ethiopia, next to Oromo, Amharic, and Tigrinya, though the total number of Wolayta speakers is not precisely known.) Bender, et. al. (eds), (1976) estimate the mother tongue population of Wolayta to be 520,000 and of the Northern Omoto cluster 908,000. In Bender (1976), the speakers of Northern Omoto cluster are estimated to be nearing a million, etc. But according to the Central statistics Office (1985), the total population of the Awraja in 1988-1989 could be estimated to be 1, 109, 260. Since the great majority of the population of the Awraja are native speakers of Wolayta, it is possible to estimate the total speakers of this language at a few thousands more than a million.

According to Yitbarek (1983), the phonemic inventory of Wolayta consists of the following consonants and vowels.¹

Chart 1

		bila bial	dental	alve olar	palato alve olar	palatal	velar	glottal
non-	vl	p	t		c		k	ʔ
continuant	vd	b	d		j		g	
continuant	vl		s		š			h
	vd		z					
ejective		P	T		C		K	
implosive			D					
nasal		m	n					
liquid			l	r				

The consonants of Wolayta

Chart 2

i	u
e	o
a	

The vowels of Wolayta

Simple and geminate consonants as well as long and short vowels contrast in analogous environments.

1.6. Review of Literature

Since the main concern of this thesis is the Case system in Wolayta, only works dealing with the syntax of the language will be reviewed here.

Cerulli (1929) gives a very sketchy grammatical description of Wolayta. There he observes that the nominative Case is expressed by the suffix -i (which becomes -y after vowels); that the genitive Case is expressed by the possessor noun preceding the possessed noun with no use of adpositions; and that the dative has the suffix -s, as in Western Sidama (Keffinya and Shinasha) languages.

Moreno (1938) describes the grammatical system of the Ometo languages on the model of Gofa. He agrees with Cerulli's view that the nominative Case is expressed by the suffix -i (or -y after the vowels a, e, and o). Just like Cerulli, he observes that the genitive Case is

expressed by the position of the possessed noun following the possessor noun. Moreno also explains that in Gofa the final vowel -a in the suffix -sa of his agent nouns, and -ta of his plural suffix is cut off when there is a consonant cluster as in /awanta/ 'fathers', which becomes /awanti/; /nagidaysa/ 'guard or keeper', which becomes /nagidaysi/. Moreno also says that in Gofa and the related dialects (including Wolayta), sometimes the absolute form of the personal pronouns serves as nominative. At other times the personal pronouns become **nominative** with the form -ni, while they become accusative with the form -na, as in /ta/ or /tani/ for the first person nominative, but /tana/ for accusative; /ne/or/neni/ for the second person nominative but /nena/ for the accusative; etc. He points out that the speakers use postpositions with the absolute form of nouns and with the accusative form of personal pronouns to express other Cases. However, he does not say what these other Cases would be. Finally, according to Moreno, in the Ometo languages (including Wolayta), there are no definite and indefinite articles, and indefiniteness may be expressed by using the numeral 'one'. For example, /asa/ can be rendered in English as 'a man' or 'the man'; and /isi asa / lit. 'one man', is rendered as 'a man'. This view is contrary to the view of some linguists (like Adams (1983), and Yitbarek (1983)) who claim what Moren and Cerulli consider Case morphemes, to be definite markers.

Yitbarek (1962 E.C.) points out that most nouns in Wolayta end in the vowels -a, -e, or -o, and gives the forms of the nominative, the accusative and the dative suffixes. According to him, when they are nominative, nouns ending in -a suffix -ay for masculine, -iya for feminine and -ati for plural; nouns ending in -e take the suffix ^{i was} -ey for masculine, -iya for feminine, and -eti for plural; nouns ending in

-o take the suffixes -oy for masculine, -iya for feminine, and -oti for plural; and proper nouns take the suffixes -i for masculine, -a for feminine, and -nti for plural. He further states that the accusative suffixes in nouns ending in -a are -a for masculine, -iyo for feminine, and -ota for plural; in nouns ending in -e, the suffixes are -iya for masculine, -iyo for feminine, and -eta for plural; in nouns ending in -o the suffixes are -wa for masculine, -iyo for feminine, and -ota for plural; and in proper nouns they are -a for masculine, -o for feminine, and -onta for plural. Moreover, he shows the suffixes of the dative Case to be -aw or -as for masculine, -iyow or -iyos for feminine, -ataw or -atas for plural if the nouns end in -a. The suffixes are -iyaw or -iyas for the masculine, -iw or -is for the feminine, and -ataw or -itas for the plural if the nouns end in e. The dative is marked by -waw or -was in the masculine, -iw or -is in the feminine and -otaw or -otas in the plural if the nouns end in -o. For proper nouns -w or -s are suffixed to the masculine, and -iw or -is to the feminine. In the case of plural proper nouns they are first converted into the accusative and then -s or -w is added. (See chart 3).

With regard to the definite article, even though Yitbarek (1962 E.C does not say directly that it does not exist in the language, all his examples imply its non-existence, putting him in the same line with Moreno (1938), and Ohman and Hailu (1976) who claim that it does not exist. For example, as it can be seen below in the examples that he has provided to show the nominative suffixes, his glosses can be translated with either definite or indefinite article, which implies that the definite or indefinite article does not exist as a morphological element. Consider his examples (Yitbarek, 1962 E.C. : 59).²

<u>without case</u>	<u>stem</u>	<u>number/gender</u>	<u>noun</u>	<u>gloss</u>
udun ^T e	udun ^T	mas, sg	udun ^T ey	a fly/the fly
		fem, sg	udun ^T iya	a fly/the fly
		pl	udun ^T eti	flies/the flies

Ohman and Hailu (1976) deal with a brief grammatical description of Wolayta. According to them, the basic form of the noun is the accusative singular. Although the authors have not made an extensive discussion on the Case system in the language, they have tried to show that nouns, personal pronouns and demonstratives have different endings when they are in the nominative and in the accusative. As in Moreno

Chart 3

noun ending, or noun form	gender and number	suffix for nominative	suffix for accusative	suffix for dative
-a	mas	-ay	-a	-aw/-as
	fem	-iya	-iyo	-iyow/-iyos
	pl	-ati	-ata	-ataw/-atas
-e	mas	-ey	-iya	-iyaw/-iyas
	fem	-iya	-iyc	-iw/-is
	pl	-eti	-eta	-itaw/-itas
-o	mas	-oy	-wa	-waw/-was
	fem	-iya	-iyo	-iw/-is
	pl	-oti	-ota	-otaw/-otas
proper nouns	mas	-i	-a	-w/-s
	fem	-a	-o	-iw/-is
	pl	-nti	-onta	-onta#w/+s

Yitbarek's (1962 E.C.) Case - suffixes
distribution

(1938) and Cerulli (1929), they have also observed that in possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessed noun. Moreover, according to their observation, there is neither the definite nor the indefinite article in Wolayta, and the numeral 'one' may be used to express indefiniteness, while demonstratives may be used to show definiteness. This view puts them in the same line with Moreno (1938).

Ferguson (1976) says that in Wolayta the Case system is marked by suffixes and postpositions, but that the language does not possess suffixes for the possessive form. However, he does not show what the Case suffixes are and how the language shows possession.

Allan (1976a) deals with a grammatical sketch of Kullo where he touches upon the Case morphemes, classifying the personal pronouns into subject, object, and possessive pronouns. He treats the suffix -i as a definitizer, whereas Moreno (1938) and Ohman and Hailu (1976) argue for the non-existence of the definite article. In fact, Moreno (1938) considers the suffix -i as a nominative marker.

Getachew (1975 E.C.), in his B.A. thesis on the gender and number morphemes of Wolayta nouns and adjectives, observes that the suffixes -a, -ia, -io, and -ta mark masculine, feminine, and plural, respectively. His examples are /dors-a/ 'male sheep', /dors-io/ 'female sheep' and /mizza-ta/ 'cows'.

Adams (1983) in his work entitled A Tagmemic Analysis of the Wolaitta Language, gives an overview of the phonology and syntax of the language. As the title indicates, the approach used is a tagmemic one. This work gives a more detailed description of the language than the earlier works. In the part on syntax, the Case system of the language is given a brief treatment. He analyzes the Case in his "nominalized

phrase" (i.e.; the noun phrase heading an embedded relative clause), where he identifies four Cases consisting of the absolutive, the nominative, the vocative and the oblique. He also points out that the suffixes -e:, -a, -i, -ai and -oi mark the nominative; -a:, -o, and -a mark the absolutive; -a:, -a-, and -u- mark the oblique; and -o: marks the vocative. With regard to the articles, he claims that the suffixes marking definiteness are complex where many processes such as vowel insertion, vowel addition, lowering or raising of vowels, lowering of pitch, shortening or lengthening of vowels and other features are used. What are considered in the present study as Case morphemes are taken for morphemes of the definite article by him. Adams also criticizes Moreno (1938), and Ohman and Hailu (1976) for "missing the definiteness in nouns due to faulty phonological analysis", according to which he seems to disagree with their view that the definite article is nonexistent. (This issue will be discussed in chapter two, the part which deals with the Case morphology).

Yitbarek (1983) is mainly concerned with the phonological system of the language. However, in the introductory part of his thesis he raises arguments regarding the form of the definite article. He rejects Ohman and Hailu's (1976) proposal of the non-existence of the definite article in the language. According to him, the definite article is "inherent especially in the nominative affix", while its existence in the objective Case is unclear "unless in context". This view contradicts his position in Yitbarek (1962 E.C.), where he had shown by the glosses that an NP of any Case may be rendered as either definite or indefinite. According to his present (Yitbarek 1983) examples, what he treats as the definite articles are what I consider here as Case morphemes. A detailed argument in support of my view will be given in chapter two.

In her B.A. thesis, Sennayit (1984) analyzes the different Case morphemes of the personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns by identifying the base forms of the pronouns and by showing their forms in different Cases. She points out that the nominative suffix is -i or -e in the masculine, and -a in the feminine, while the accusative suffix is -a in the masculine and -o in the feminine. Moreover, she says that pronouns are marked for the benefactive Case by the suffix -ssi (or its alternants -yyo and -w).

Most of the articles reviewed thus far deal with the Case morphology of the language. Some treat certain suffixes as markers of Case while others treat them as markers of definite articles, gender, or number. The shortcomings in the analysis of each one will be shown in chapter two, where the Case morphology of the language is discussed. However, none of the reviewed articles has made an in-depth study of the Case system of the language.

The present study differs from all of the above in several respects. First, it tries to provide an in-depth analysis of the Case system of the language. Secondly, it tries to resolve the controversial state of the Case suffixes in the language by providing a wider perspective. Lastly, it attempts to analyze the syntactic relationship of constituents in structures in the light of a highly constrained theoretical framework (i.e., Government and Binding, or GB for short).

1.7. The Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework on which this study is based is the Government and Binding (GB) theory of Chomsky (1981, 1982, 1986). According to this theory, Universal grammar (UG) is generally believed

to have two interacting systems. These are the rule system of the grammar, which includes the lexicon, the categorial component, the transformational component, the phonetic form (PF) component and the logical form (LF) component; and the subsystem of principles which includes bounding theory, government theory, θ - theory, binding theory, control theory, and Case theory. The rule system, which has been regarded to be impoverished (Chomsky, 1982: 7) is being reduced to the system of principles.

This suggests that GB - theory has a modular approach, i.e., an autonomous approach, to grammar. Primarily, it distinguishes sentence grammar from pragmatics - the study of discourse structure, and believes that each should be studied independently. Within the domain of grammar, Chomsky maintains that syntax, semantics and phonology should also be treated autonomously. Riemsdijk and Williams (1986: 225) explaining the modularity of the theory of GB point out that the empirical idea that the transformational component of the grammar should be reduced has led to the development of relatively autonomous modules, each of which is characterized by a small number of universal and sometimes parametrized principles. From this it follows that the analysis of structures in GB is quite different from that of classical generative grammar. For instance, in GB, the syntactic relations of constituents in a sentence are not explained in terms of rules that state the distribution of specific categories like NP, PP, AP or VP, i.e., in terms of phrase structure rules; but by means of a set of general principles which are organized into autonomous subsystems or theories.

One of these subsystems is Case theory, which shows the syntactic relationship of NPs with other categories in structures and the principles underlying such a relationship. The theory also helps to determine the typology of languages in respect to headedness (i.e., as right - or left - headed) since Case assignment is directional. A Case assigner may be to the right or to the left of the Case recipient.

Besides, Case theory is crucial in explaining the factors that trigger movement of constituents in some structures. An account for when NP movement is and is not optional, obligatory or impossible can be provided by Case theory (Radford, 1981: 338). For instance, passive structures and structures with raising verbs or adjectives are instances of such movement. Observe the following structures:

- (1)a. e seems [¬Mary to be unhappy_]
- b. Mary seems [¬e to be unhappy_]
- (2)a. e was broken the window
- b. The window was broken e

The structures (1a) and (2a) are the underlying representations of the S - structures³ in (1b) and (2b), respectively. The underlying structures have undergone an obligatory NP movement in order to derive the S - structures.

The movement in such structures can be explained in terms of Case theory. The base structure (1a) has within it the NP 'Mary'. This NP is the subject of the infinitive. According to GB-theory, it is assumed that the subject of an infinitive cannot be assigned Case in situ. (See section 4.1 for details). As a result, the NP 'Mary' remains Caseless. In the base structure (2a), on the other hand, there is the NP 'the window', as a complement of the verb which is a partici

The verb which is the head of the VP ought to have assigned accusative Case to this NP. But the Case has not been assigned to the NP because it is absorbed by the passive suffix; there is no more Case the verb can assign to the NP. Therefore, the NP is deprived of Case in its base position (see section 4.2 for details). Hence, the NPs in the structures (1a) and (2a) are caseless.

According to the theory, there is a filter known as the Case Filter, which operates on S-structures after the assignment of Case. The filter states as follows:

(3) Every phonetically realized NP must be assigned Case.

According to this filter,⁴ any sentence containing a phonetically non-null NP is ill-formed if that NP is Caseless. In order to satisfy this condition, an overt NP in a Caseless position should move to an empty argument⁵ position, which has Case (that is, to a position where the NP can receive Case from a Case assigner).

The NPs in (1a) and (2a) must move to the empty Case positions, for the structures to be well-formed. In (1a) the NP 'Mary' moves to the empty position (e) and we get the S-structure (1b); similarly, in (2a) the NP 'the window' moves to the empty subject position (e) and results in the S-structure (2b). The ill-formedness of the structures in (4a) and (4b) results from the violations of the Case Filter, since the structures contain NPs which are Caseless and there are no empty Case positions for these nouns to move to. Such examples show that NP movement is motivated by the Case Filter.

(4) a. * It seems [_Mary to be unhappy_]

b. * It was broken the window

Case assignment is closely related to the notion of government. In order to get Case, an NP has to establish a syntactic relation with a Case assigning category. This relationship is known as government. In other words, the category which assigns Case must govern the NP to which the Case is assigned. In traditional grammar, scholars speak of prepositions governing their complements in prepositional phrases (Radford, 1981: 313). The same notion has been extended to other categories in GB-theory. As the prepositional head in the PP governs the complement NP, so does every lexical head its complement. Adapting Chomsky (1980a), Radford (1981: 318-319) gives the following definition of government.

(5) Government

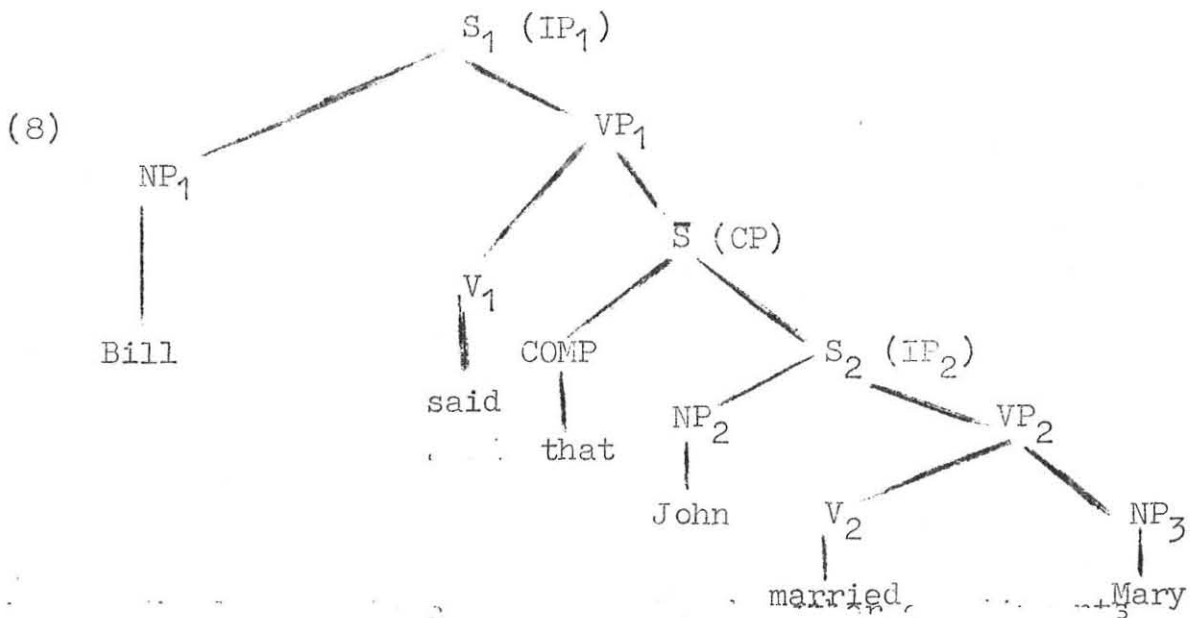
x governs y iff x is the minimal governing node c-commanding (i.e., constituent which is commanding) y.

The notion of government cannot be grasped without having a clear idea about the notion of c-command. Radford (1981: 314) defines it as follows:

(6) x c-commands y iff the first branching node dominating x, dominates y, and x does not dominate y, nor y, x.

Let us take the structure in (7) and see the c-command relationship of constituents by means of a tree configuration.

(7) Bill said that John married Mary.



In (8) the NP₁ 'Bill' c-commands all the other constituents. For instance, it c-commands V₁ 'said', because the first branching node dominating NP₁ 'Bill', also dominates V₁ 'said' (i.e., S₁ (IP₁) dominates both); and neither NP₁ dominates V₁, nor V₁ dominates NP₁. Similarly, S̄(CP) c-commands V₁ because the first branching node dominating S̄(CP) also dominates V₁ (i.e., VP₁ dominates both); and neither V₁ dominates S̄(CP), nor S̄(CP) dominates V₁. Conversely, we can also say that V₁ c-commands S̄(CP) for the same reason. This means that V₁ and S̄(CP) c-command each other.

Having this notion of c-command, we now return to the notion of government. According to the definition given in (5), in the example in (8), V₁ 'said' governs S̄(CP) because V₁ is the minimal node, and it c-commands S̄(CP).

This definition of government is not without any defect. There are conditions where X may not govern Y even if X is the minimal node c-commanding Y. For instance, in the example in (8), V₁ does not govern

NP₂. This is because of the intervening CP which is believed to be a barrier to government. That is, if an NP or a CP intervenes between a governor and a governee the government relationship between the two is blocked. The definition of government has, therefore, to be tightened. We may apply the condition in (9) as stated in Radford (1981: 323).

(9) Barrier condition

NP and \bar{S} (CP) are absolute barriers to government (i.e., one category cannot govern across another intervening NP or CP boundary).

This condition prohibits V₁ 'said' in (8) from governing NP₂ 'John' since there is the intervening CP. In the light of this, a more constrained definition of government given by Radford (1981: 354) is as follows:

(10) Government

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.

Accordingly, in the structure in (8), V₁ 'said' governs the CP 'that John married Mary', but not the NP₂ 'John', because of the intervening CP; and V₂ 'married' governs NP₃ 'Mary' because it is the minimal node; it is a lexical category; it c-commands the NP 'Mary'; and there is no barrier between them.

Having this notion of government let us see the fundamental principles of Case assignment. According to Chomsky (1981: 170), the fundamental principles of Case assignment are those in (11) below.

- (11) a. an NP is nominative if governed by AGR in INFL
b. an NP is accusative if governed by a transitive verb
c. an NP is oblique if governed by a preposition
d. an NP is genitive in $[-N]$
e. an NP is inherently Case-marked as determined by properties of $[-N]$ governor.

Clauses are of two types - finite (or tensed) and non - finite (or non-tensed). An NP is nominative if it is the subject of a finite clause. In languages with rich morphology, an NP shows overt agreement relations with the verb, mediated through inflectional affixes, and the NP is assigned nominative Case. Hence, it is said that nominative Case is assigned by agreement (AGR) element in inflection (INFL) which governs the NP. This means that INFL is syntactic and is generated by the base rules.

The NP which is the logical object of a transitive verb is assigned accusative Case under the same government relation with the verb. The NP which is the object of a preposition is assigned an oblique Case. The complement of a noun head receives genitive Case. For instance, in the NP 'John's father', the NP 'John' is assigned genitive Case realized by the process of possessive (POSS) insertion or sometimes by the insertion of a dummy (semantically null) preposition-like element 'of', as in 'the father of John' (Chomsky, 1986: 194).

The properties of Case given above in (11a-d) are structural as opposed to the inherent Case given in (11e). According to Chomsky (1986: 193) the latter is associated with θ -marking⁶ while the former is not. Since θ -marking takes place at D-structure, inherent Case is also assigned at D-structure as opposed to structural Case which is

assigned at S-structure. Thus, by way of generalization, nominative Case, for instance, is assigned to the NP 'Mary' in the example in (1b) structurally at S-structure after the NP has undergone movement.

Inherent-Case refers to the assignment of Case in structures of VP with double NP complements. For example, the NP 'a prize' in (12) below is assigned accusative Case inherently at D-structure where it is also Θ -marked by the verb (cf. Chomsky, 1986: 193).

(12) The president gave the champion a prize.

Under normal circumstances, Case is assigned to an NP by a category that governs it. This suggests that all Case assignment can be handled in terms of government relationship as stated in (11). Theoretically, lexical categories with the features $[-\pm N]$ and $[-\pm V]$ (i.e., all N, V, P, A and INFL) are potential governors, and hence potential Case assigners. But in many languages including English, categories with only the feature $[-N]$ (i.e., V, P and INFL⁷) are Case assigners.

In Case theory, there is always a distinction between abstract and concrete Case. In some languages, the Case assigned to an NP may be overt or morphologically concrete. In such cases, the NP is said to possess concrete, or real (or morphological) Case. In other languages the Case may not be morphologically overt. It can only be explained in terms of abstract syntactic relationship an NP forms with its governor. In such cases, the NP is said to be identified by an abstract Case. In spite of this distinction, however, abstract and concrete Case share all the main properties of Case, since both fall into the relationship of government. As Chomsky (1986: 74) has pointed out, it is assumed that both a morphological Case and an abstract Case are assigned in a uniform manner.

Notes

1. For ease of typing the symbols selected, and entered in the phonemic charts will be used consistently throughout this thesis.

2. Yitbarek gives his examples with glosses in Amharic. The English glosses given here are my translations.

3. S-structure is a level of representation derived from D-structure by the application of the transformational rule (generalized as Move- α , α being any category). It is distinct from the level of the PF-representation (surface structure). S-structure differs from surface structure because it takes D-structure as its input, and is enriched by traces of moved constituents while surface structure takes S-structure as its input and does away with all the traces. Besides, they result from the application of different sets of rules.

4. The Case Filter is said to be subsumed under the visibility condition on θ -role assignment according to which an NP must be visible by having a phonetic shape in order to be assigned a θ -role, and for an NP to be visible, it must be in a Case position or be linked to such a position. In other words, a lexical NP must have Case to receive a θ -role. This makes the Case Filter to be derivative of the visibility condition.

However, this assumption is not without objections. Some linguists are opposed to it. For instance, Davis (1986: 567) says that to make θ -role assignment dependent on Case results in serious problems like accepting subcategorization as a primitive allowing raising verbs and adjectives to assign Case, and suggests that θ -assignment be divorced from Case assignment and that Case Filter be reinstated as an

independent constraint on representation. (For more details, see Chomsky, 1986: 94-95; 1981: 337; and Davis 1986).

5. Arguments are NP_S that require θ -roles (semantic roles) (see note 6 below). Such NP_S are assigned θ -roles by virtue of being in complement positions of the heads or in subject positions. Such positions may sometimes be without overt NP_S . In such cases the positions are said to be empty argument positions usually represented by e.

6. Any complement must be selected by a head. A complement must appear in its appropriate syntactic position in order to receive a θ -role from its head. This is called θ -making. θ -role is the semantic role assigned to an NP by a head which selects it. The condition on the proper assignment of θ -roles is called the θ -criterion. (For details, see Chomsky 1981; 1986; Riemsdijk and Williams, 1986).

7. Note that the category INFL is not lexical. It is therefore not subject to the classification of categories in terms of the feature $[-\text{N}]$ or $[-\text{V}]$. It can be classified in terms of the feature $[-\text{TNS/ASP}]$.

CHAPTER TWO

2. The Case Morphology in Wolayta

Cases are concrete in Wolayta for they have morphological realizations. This means that an NP which is assigned a particular Case shows that Case by some inflectional affixes. Hence NP_s are distinguished from one another by the form of their Case affixes.

Most of the researchers who have written on Wolayta syntax have touched upon the Case morphemes (see chapter one). Some have assumed that the elements considered in this study as Case morphemes are gender or number markers or definitizers. I shall argue against this claim on the basis of empirical evidence.

One such work is that of Getachew (1975 E.C: 4) who observes that final -a and -(i)o mark the masculine and the feminine gender respectively, in nouns and adjectives. He provides the following examples to support his observation (of Getachew 1975; E.C. 4 - 5).

- (13) a. dors -a
 sheep-mas
 'male sheep'
- b. dors- io
 sheep-fem
 'female sheep'

Furthermore, he says that when the morphemes -ta, -ia, and -io are suffixed to nouns or adjectives, they identify the nouns or adjectives as plural, masculine singular, and feminine singular,

respectively. However, the corpus on which this thesis is based upon does not support this description.

Nouns are formed in Wolayta by sporadic vocalic endings, like -o, -a, and -e for masculine nouns, and -e for feminine nouns (see chart (4)). The fact that feminine proper nouns borrowed from other languages like Amharic take final -e supports this argument. For example, Amharic proper nouns like /almaz/ 'Almaz' becomes /ʔalmaaze/, /kasecc/ 'Kasech' becomes /kasacce/, /tɨgɨst/ 'Tigist' becomes /tigiste/, /maʔaza/ 'Meaza' becomes /mafaze/, etc. while masculine proper nouns like /kasa/, /bayyu/, and /hayle/ remain the same when borrowed. Therefore, Getachew's examples for 'female sheep' should have been /dorse/ (but not /dorsio/), as against the masculine /dorsa/.

Chart 4

masculine	feminine or deminutive	g l o s s
naʔ -a	naʔ -e	boy / girl
kan -a	kan -e	dog / bitch
mašš -a	mašš -e	knife
kutto-o	kutt -e	cock / hen
don-o	don -e	potato
ʔaš-o	ʔaš -e	meat
bitan-e	mišir -e	man / woman
har-e	har -e	donkey
maʔin-e	maʔin -e	salt
ʔanjull -o	balʔann -e	names of
baass -a	baatur -e	persons
ʔasal -e	maʔaz -e	

Of course, the distinction between the Case morphemes in Wolayta is based on gender. This is not particular to Wolayta. For example, according to Appleyard, in Kamtanga, an Agaw (Central Cushitic) language spoken in Wollo (Ethiopia) the Case markers show different forms depending on the gender of the NP they are attached to (Appleyard, 1987: 258). However, in Wolayta, each morpheme does not mark gender but indicates only the Case. For instance, had the morpheme -a marked masculine gender, as Getachew claims, this morpheme should have consistently been suffixed only to masculine NP_S. But as the examples below show, it may sometimes be suffixed to feminine NP_S and may sometimes even not appear in masculine NP_S at all.

- (14) a. naʔiy-a zinʔ-aw-su
 girl-nom sleep-impf- 3fs
 'The/a girl is sleeping.'
- b. miširiy-a kund-asu
 woman-nom fall down-3fs (pf)
 'The/a woman has fallen down'.
- c. bitane waass-esi
 man(nom) cry - 3 ms(impf)
 'The/a man is crying'.
- d. ʔašo-y kaT-isi
 meat-nom be cooked-3ms(pf)
 '(The) meat was cooked'.

Number is indicated independently by the plural morpheme -t (or -nt in proper nouns). The following examples illustrate that -ta, which

Getachew claims to be the plural marker, is not a single morpheme, but consists of two morphemes, one showing number and the other Case.

- (15) a. ?anjullo-y hare-t-a laagg-esi
Anjullo-nom donkey-pl-acc drive-3ms(impf)
'Anjullo is driving (the) donkeys'.
- b. hare-t-i maTiniy-a tookk-id-osona
donkey-pl-nom salt -acc carry - pf - 3pl
'(The) donkeys have carried (the) salt'.
- (c) ^vsucca-y ?oto-t-a ment-id-esi
stone-nom jar-pl-acc break-pf- 3ms
'The/a stone has broken (the) jars.
- (d) ?oto-t-i puuPulle-t-a ?oyk-id-osona
jar-pl-nom egg-pl-acc contain-pf - 3pl
'(The) jars have contained (the) eggs .

Had -ta been a single morpheme showing number as in Getachew's observation, it ought to have appeared consistently in all plural NP_S, irrespective of the Case the NP is in. But as the examples in (15a-d) show, it is only -t that shows number, Case being indicated by -a in (15 a,b, and d) and by -i in (15 b and d).

One additional piece of evidence against Getachew's claim is the following. If an NP with a particular gender and number morpheme changes its syntactic position in a sentence, the Case morpheme changes too, corresponding to the new Case position, while the gender and number morphemes remain the same. This shows that Case suffixes are different from gender and number markers .

- (16) a. gošsanca-y dorsiy-o šukk-isi
farmer-nom sheep-acc slaughter-3ms(pf)
'The/a farmer slaughtered the/a sheep (fem)'.
b. dorsiy-a maata m - aw - su
sheep-nom grass(acc) eat-impf-3fs
'The/a sheep(fem) is eating (the) grass'.
c. dorsa-y gošsanca Caadd-isi
sheep-nom farmer(acc) attack-3ms(pf)
'The/a sheep(mas) attacked the/a farmer'.
d. gošsanca-y dorsa šamm - isi
farmer-nom sheep(acc) buy-3ms(pf)
'The/a farmer bought the/a sheep(mas)'.
e. gošsanca-t-i dorsa-t-a šukk-osona
farmer-pl-nom sheep-pl-acc slaughter-3pl
'(The) farmers are slaughtering (the) sheep(pl)'.
f. dorsa-t-i gošsanca-t-a Caadd-id-osona
sheep-pl-nom farmer-pl-acc attack-pf-3pl
'(The) sheep have attacked (the) farmers'.

So far, I have argued against Getachew's (1975 E.C.) claim which holds the view that the suffixes -(i)a, -(i)o are gender markers and that -ta is a plural marking single morpheme. I have concluded with empirical evidence that the elements treated by Getachew (1975 E.C.) as gender markers are actually Case morphemes; and that his plural marker consists of two morphemes - the plural morpheme -t and the accusative Case marker -a.

Contrary to Getachew's claim, Adams (1983), Yitbarek (1983) and Allan (1976a), have treated the Case morphemes of Wolayta and Kullo as definitizers. Adams (1983: 255-256) considers the base form of the noun to be the indefinite, and claims that the definite form is derived through such morphophonemic processes as final vowel shortening, lengthening, insertion of suffixes, change of pitch, etc. What are considered in this study as Case morphemes are treated in Adams' as markers of definiteness. Besides, he opposes Moreno (1938) and Ohman and Hailu (1976), who suggest that the definite article (other than the demonstrative) and the indefinite article (other than the numeral 'one') are non-existent, for "missing the definiteness in nouns due to faulty phonological analysis" (Adams, 1983: 40). Although Adams does not forward enough arguments for his claims, he tries to support his view by giving the following examples (Adams, 1983: 40) which seem to imply that -o is the indefinite article and -iyo the definite article.

- (17) a. micc -o 'a sister'
b. micc -iyo 'the sister'

On the other hand, Yitbarek (1983: 15) believes that Ohman and Hailu's (1976) argument that the definite article in Wolayta is nonexistent, is incorrect, and he suggests that the definite article is "inherent" in the nominative Case. He also adds that the existence of the definite article in the accusative Case is not clear unless it is seen in context. In support of his argument he presents the following examples.¹

- (18) a. kapoy 'the bird' (mas, sg, subj)
b. kapiyo 'the bird' (fem, sg, obj)
c. kapoti 'the birds'

- d. kapuwa worasi 'I killed the bird'.
- e. kapiyo worasi 'I killed the bird'.
- f. kapo worasi 'I killed bird'.

Although Yitbarek has not segmented the morphemes to show the definite markers in the given examples, comparing the NP /kapo/ in (18f) (whose gloss indicates that it has no article) with the same noun elsewhere in the examples, he seems to imply that the elements -y, -(i)yo, -ti and -wa are the definite article markers (cf. Yitbarek, 1983: 15).

Allan (1976a: 331) also states that in Kullo, which is mutually intellegible with Wolayta (Academy of Ethiopian Languages, 1980 E.C.), a single NP in subject position (and sometimes in object position) can be made definite by suffixing -i. But he does not give examples.

What Adams (1983), Yitbarek (1983) and Allan (1976a) agree on is that there are suffixes which show definiteness in this language, and that these suffixes include the elements that I consider here to be Case markers. The arguments that follow will show that their analyses are incorrect.

The examples forwarded by Adams (1983) and Yitbarek (1983) are given incomplete glosses. The complete glosses are given in (19) below, and these examples will prove that these suffixes are not definitizers but Case markers, and that there are no definiteness marking suffixes in the language.

- (19) a. micco 'sister' (generic).
- b. micciy-o 'the/a sister-acc'.
- c. kapo-y 'the/a bird-nom' (mas).
- d. kapiy-o 'the/a bird-acc' (fem).

- e. kapo-t-i '(the) bird-pl-nom'.
- f. kapuw-a worasi 'I killed the/a bird (mas)!'.
- g. kapiy-o worasi 'I killed ^{the}/a bird (fem)!'.
- h. kapo worasi 'I killed bird (generic)'.

To illustrate these examples, let us suppose that two persons exchange the following hypothetical discourse. Even though the discourse seems to lack coherence, it could serve our purpose of showing that a single form /kapoy/ 'bird-nom(mas)' can be both definite and indefinite and that this is not shown by any definiteness marking suffixes.

- (20) (i) Speaker A: kapo-y waass-esi, ha-ge ?iita
bird-nom sing-3ms(impf). This-one bad(be).
'This is bad (omen); a bird is singing'.

Speaker B: tumakka, ?issi kapo-y waass-esi
certainly, one bird-nom sing-3ms(impf).
'Certainly, a bird is singing'.

- (ii) Speaker A: ?anjullo kapo-y ?awa?
Anjullo bird-nom where (be)
'Where is Anjullo's bird?'

Speaker B: ?anjullo-y ?oyk-id-o kapo-y-ikka waass-esi
Anjullo-nom catch-pf-acc bird-nom-also sing
3ms(impf).
'The bird Anjullo caught is also singing'.

As the utterances demonstrate, the NP/kapo-y/ 'bird' is indefinite in (i), while it is definite in the sentences of speakers A and B in (ii). The definiteness or the indefiniteness of the NP is shown not by any definiteness or indefiniteness marking element, but by pragmatic context.

Yitbarek (1962 E.C.) has noted this fact. In this study all his examples of the type given in (19) are translated with the two alternative ~~s~~ namely, as definite or indefinite, implying that there is no definiteness marking suffix. For instance, in his examples quoted below as (21) his glosses imply that each NP irrespective of the difference in the Case suffixes may be definite or indefinite and there is no any element showing this.²

(21)	<u>without Case</u>	<u>the stem</u>	<u>nominative</u>	<u>gloss</u>
(i)	dorsa	dors-	dors-ay (mas)	the/a sheep
			dors-iya (fem)	the/a sheep
			dors-ati (pl)	(the) sheep
(ii)	udunTe	udunT-	udunT-ey (mas)	the/a fly
			udunT-iya (fem)	the/a fly
			udunT-eti (pl)	(the) flies
(iii)	kutto	kutt-	kutt-oy (mas)	the/a cock
			kutt-iya (fem)	the/a hen
			kutt-oti (pl)	(the)cocks/h-

(Yitbarek, 1962 E.C. : 58-59).

Besides, Moreno's (1938) and Ohman and Hailu's (1976) views regarding the definite article are worth noting. Moreno (1938: 31), explaining the manner in which definiteness is expressed in Ometo languages, taking the Gofa dialect which is mutually intellegible with Wolayta (Academy of Ethiopian Languages, 1980 E.C.), says that the definite article is nonexistent and that indefiniteness can be expressed by the numeral 'one'. He cites the example /asa/ 'man' and 'the man'; but /issi asa/ literally 'one man' to mean 'a man'. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 157) have also agreed with Moreno saying that there is no

definiteness marker in Wolayta other than the demonstratives for definiteness and the numeral 'one' for indefiniteness.

By definiteness is meant reference to an NP showing familiarity of the referents to participants of a discourse. In some languages, such old information denoted by an NP is expressed by using all the three definitizers, namely, definite article, demonstratives, and singulatives, or one or two of them. In Wolayta, however, as shown by Moreno (1938), and Ohman and Hailu (1976) definiteness is expressed by using only demonstratives and indefiniteness by the numeral /?issi/ 'one'. Other than these, it is determined by context. Thus, NP_S in Wolayta may be ambiguous as to their definiteness or indefiniteness, if they are not determined by one of these two devices.

- (22) a. ?issi kapo-y kaara-n de?-esi
one bird-nom roof-in exist-3ms(impf).
'A bird lives in the/a roof'.
- b. kana-y ?issi kapuw-a m-esi
dog-nom one bird-acc eat-3ms(impf).
'The/A dog is eating a bird'.
- c. he kapo-y hayK-isi
that bird-nom die - 3ms(pf)
'That/The bird has died'.
- d. kana-y he kapuw-a wor-isi
dog-nom that bird-acc kill-3ms(pf).
'The/A dog has killed that bird'.
- e. zino kapuw-a wor-asi
yesterday bird-acc kill-lsg(pf).
'I killed the/a bird Yesterday'.

- f. kapo-y guṭiniy-a m-esi
bird-nom worm-acc eat-3ms(impf)
'The/A bird is eating the/a worm'.

The examples show that the NP /kapo-/ 'bird' is indefinite when it follows the quantifier /ʔissi/ 'one' (as in (22a-b)); definite when it follows the demonstrative (as in (22c-d)); and is ambiguous being either definite or indefinite depending on context (as in (22e-f)) where it does not follow either.

Furthermore, consideration of the mechanisms the language uses where definiteness in an NP is a requirement shows clearly that the language has no overt definite or indefinite marking affix. Let us observe the following examples.

- (23) a. ta keetta-y bilatte haatta mata
my house-nom Bilatte river(acc) near(be)
'My home is near the river Bilatte'.
- b. naʔatetta-ni taan-i haatta gidḍon kaaʔ-asi
childhood-in I-nom river(acc) in play-lsg(pf)
'During childhood I used to play in a/the river'.

The sense we get from the word /haatta/ 'river' in (b) is different in different contexts: If the statements in (a) and (b) are uttered by different speakers at two different times, /haatta/ 'river' in (b) refers to an unidentified river by the discussants, and the gloss will be 'a river'. But if the statements (a) and (b) are uttered by the same speaker continuously, the word /haatta/ 'river' refers to the River Bilatte, and the gloss reads 'the river'. But since the language has no affixes to indicate definiteness or indefiniteness, the word is the same for both senses. Hence the statement in (b) is ambiguous. If the

speaker intends to disambiguate it by showing that /haatta/ 'river' refers to 'the River Bilatte', the language provides no other mechanism than using either a demonstrative like /ha/ 'this' or /he/ 'that', or the name of the river once more, as in (24) below.

(24) a. ta keetta-y bilatte haatta mata.

my house-nom Bilatte river(acc) near(be)

'My home is near the river Bilatte'.

b. na tatetta-ni taan-i (ha/he/bilatte) haatta gidder

childhood-in I-nom (this/that/Bilatte) In

kaa[?]=asi

play-1sg (pf)

'During childhood I used to play in the river'.

This suggests then that in this language there is no definiteness or indefiniteness marking affix.

That the elements considered to be definiteness markers by Adams (1983), Yitbarek (1983) and Allan (1976) are not actually such morphemes can also be verified by examining the independent pronouns. It is an established fact that independent personal pronouns do not require definiteness markers as they are inherently definite. But in this language, the independent personal pronouns have the same endings that these linguists consider to be definitizers in other NF₃. The fact that such endings are determined by the position the pronoun occupies in sentences, proves that these are Case endings and not definiteness markers. Observe the pronouns in the following examples.

(25) a. ?-i tama ?eet-esi

he-nom fire(acc) make-3ms(impf)

'He is making fire'.

- b. balʔann-a ʔ-a soʔ-asu
Ballane-nom he-acc hit-3fs (pf)
'Ballane hit him.'
- c. ʔ-a haatta duuk-aw-su
she-nom water(acc) bring-impf-3fs
'She is bringing water'.
- d. ʔanjullo-y ʔ-o Teeg-esi
Anjullo-nom she-acc call - 3ms(impf)
'Anjullo is calling her'.

As we can observe, the endings in the pronouns are identical to those in other NPs in different Case positions. (See Sennayit (1984); see also charts 5 and 6 below). From this follows the conclusion that Wolayta has no independent morphemes other than the demonstrative marker to show definiteness, and no independent morphemes other than the numeral /ʔissi/ 'one' to show indefiniteness.³

One may perhaps argue that these elements could refer to another grammatical category than a definite marker such as a noun class marker. However, this argument could not hold true either. The fact that a single NP manifests the different endings when it appears at different Case positions in clauses shows that these elements are indeed Case markers.

One more piece of evidence to show that these suffixes are indeed Case markers can be obtained from the clitic pronouns of the language. These pronouns represent the heads of NP structures and possess the meaning 'one'. They are marked for Case according to the position they appear in the sentence and the Cases are realized by the same Case

markers in the clitics and varying according to the gender of the clitics just like the NPs. Some examples are given below.

- (26) a. bitaniy-a-ge hayK-isi
man-acc-CL(nom) die - 3ms(pf)
'The man's one(mas) has died'.
- b. ?anjullo-y bitaniy-a-g-a ?ekk-isi
Anjullo-nom man-acc-CL-acc take - 3ms(pf)
'Anjullo took away the man's one(mas)'.
- c. bitaniy-a-r-a hayK-asu
man-acc-CL-nom die - 3fs(pf)
'The man's one(fem) has died'.
- d. ?anjullo-y bitaniy-a-r-o ?ekk-isi
Anjullo-nom man-acc-CL-acc take - 3ms(pf)
'Anjullo took away the man's one(fem)'.

In the examples, we have the clitic pronouns -ge (masculine) and -r (feminine). The masculine clitic pronoun takes the suffix -i when it is marked nominative Case in subject position as in (a), where it makes coalescence with the final vowel of the clitic and does not show on surface. But the same masculine clitic pronoun appears heading the object of the verbal head in (b) where it is marked accusative Case. The Case is realized as -a (i.e. ge+a → g-a). On the other hand, the feminine clitic pronoun -r appears heading the subject NP in (c) where it is marked nominative Case realized by the suffix -a; and it appears heading the object of the verbal head in (d) where it is marked accusative Case realized as the suffix -o. This is identical to the case with lexical NPs in the language (see also chart 5 and 6).

Chart 5

form of the pronoun	number	n o m i n a t i v e		a c c u s a t i v e		gloss
		masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine	
personal pronouns	singular	ta /taan-i	---	taan-a	---	I
		ne /neen-i	---	neen-a	---	you
pronouns	plural	?-i	?-a	?-a	?-o	he/she
		nu /nuun-i	---	nuun-a	---	we
		?inte/?inten-i	---	?inten-a	---	you
		?et-i	---	?et-a	---	they
clitic pronouns	singular	ge(i.e. ge+i)	r-a	g-a(i.e. ge+a)	r-o	one
		ba-y(i.e. ba+i)	---	ba(i.e. ba+a)	---	one
pronouns	plural	---	nn-a	---	nn-o	one
		get -i	---	get - a	---	ones

Wolayta pronouns with their Case suffixes

Chart 6

form of the pronoun	number	n o m i n a t i v e		a c c u s a t i v e	
		masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
personal pronouns	singular	-i	-a	-a	-o
	plural	-i	---	-a	---
clitic pronouns	singular	-i (-y)	-a	-a	-o
	plural	-i	---	-a	---

Case endings in Wolayta pronouns

It has been shown thus far that the assumption that considers the Case morphemes as gender, number, or definiteness markers is incorrect. What exactly, then, are the Case morphemes? How does one Case morpheme differ from another? I shall now address these questions.

Cerulli (1929) and Moreno (1938: 28-29) identify the nominative Case marker to be *-i* or *-y*. They also explain that genitive Case is formed when the possessor NP immediately precedes the possessed NP. But they do not give any examples. This implies that genitive Case is abstract having no phonetic realization, which is contrary to my observation below (see 3.2.3 for details). Moreover, Moreno (1938:31) states that postpositions can be suffixed to the accusative form as in */tana-s/* 'to me', */nena-n/* 'by you(sg)'

Ohman and Hailu (1976: 157) argue that the accusative Case is the base form of NPs as in Oromo and many other Ethiopian languages, which, according to my observation, is very unlikely because the nominative and the accusative Case suffixes are added to the noun root or follow the plural marker, and one form does not derive from the other as we shall see in the examples below. However, Ohman and Hailu (1976: 155) point out the phonological changes that take place as the Case morphemes are suffixed to NPs ending in vowels. They say that when two vowels come in succession in morpheme boundaries, a glide is formed as in */kapo-i/* 'bird-nom' becoming */kapoy/*, and */kapo-a/* 'bird-acc', becoming */kapowa/*, etc. Moreover, Ohman and Hailu (1976: 158) have also tried to show that personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns take different endings when they are in nominative or the accusative Case.

Regarding the pronouns, Sennayit (1984) has identified the Case suffixes to be *-i* or *-e* for the masculine, but *-a* for the feminine in

the nominative; and -a for the masculine and -o for the feminine in the accusative. However, she has wrongly considered -e to be the nominative Case marker for masculine. This -e is part of the stem as in /hage/ 'this one' and /hage-t-i/ 'this one-pl-nom' (see charts 5 and 6).

Indeed, the nominative Case morpheme is -i (which sometimes appears phonetically as -y) in the masculine and in plural NPs, and -a in the feminine NPs. The accusative Case suffix is -a (and it alternates with -u in the plural) in the masculine and plural NPs; and it is -o in the feminine NPs.

Postpositions are not Case realizations. They are suffixed to the NPs with the accusative marker, as the following examples show (cf. Moreno, 1938: 31): ex. /neen-a-ra/ 'you(sg)-acc-with', 'with you'; /kuttuw-a-ra/ 'cock-acc-with', 'with the cock'; /na?iy-o-ppe/ 'girl-acc-from', 'from the girl'; etc. Had the postpositions been Case realizations, they would have been dropped when another Case marker is attached to the NP, or the other Case marker would have been dropped when a postposition is attached to the NP. But this is not so.

The Case morphemes are realized without any phonological changes only when they appear after a consonant, and the best of such places is in plural NPs where they occur after the plural marker -t. Otherwise, the Case morphemes, being vocalic in most cases, undergo certain phonological changes when they occur in the environment of other vowels (see charts 7 and 8). The phonological processes in charts 7 and 8 can be summarized as follows. The changes seem to depend on whether the stem is a common or a proper noun:

Common nouns

-a + i	ai
-e + i	ai
-o + i	oi
-a + a	a
-e + a	ia
-o + a	ua
-e + o	io

Proper nouns

-a + i	i
-e + i	i
-o + i	ci
-o + a	o
-o + a	a
-e + a	i
-e + o	o
-e + o	i

The details of these phonological rules, the changes that emerge from such rules and the explanations as to what triggers the changes are beyond the scope of this thesis which must be taken up in another research.

Let us now see the different Case morphemes as realized in different NPS at different Case positions in the following examples.⁴

- (27) a. ʔanjullo-y diitta kaaʔ-esi
 Anjullo-nom "ditta"(acc) play - 3ms(impf)
 'Anjullo is playing the "ditta".⁵
- b. naʔiy-a ʔanjulla-a dos-aw-su
 girl-nom Anjullo-acc love-impf-3fs
 'The girl loves Anjullo'.
- c. naʔiy-a ʔanjullo-ppe miišša bonk-asu
 girl-nom Anjullo(acc)-from money(acc)snatch-3fs(pf)
 'The girl snatched money from Anjullo'.
- d. bitane ʔanjullo mayuw-a peer-isi
 man(nom) Anjullo(acc) clothes-acc tear-3ms(pf)
 'The man tore Anjullo's clothes'.
- e. bitane balʔann-o koyy-esi
 man(nom) Ballane-acc look for - 3ms(impf)
 'The man is looking for Ballane'.

stem	n o m i n a t i v e				a c c u s a t i v e			
	S i n g u l a r		P l u r a l		s i n g u l a r		P l u r a l	
	underlying	surface	underlying	surface	underlying	surface	underlying	surface
naʔa	naʔa-i	naʔa-y	naʔa-t-i	naʔat-i	naʔa-a	naʔa	naʔat-a	naʔat-a
dorsa	dorsa-i	dorsa-y	dorsat-i	dorsat-i	dorsa-a	dorsa	dorsat-a	dorsat-a
mašša	mašša-i	mašša-y	maššat-i	maššat-i	mašša-a	mašša	maššat-a	maššat-a
ʔeCere	ʔeCere-i	ʔeCere	ʔeCeret-i	ʔeCeret-i	ʔeCere-a	ʔeCeriya	ʔeCeret-a	ʔeCeret-a
maTine	maTine-i	maTine	(maTinet-i)	(maTinet-i)	MaTine-a	maTiniya	(maTinet-a)	(maTinet-a)
bitane	bitane-i	bitane	bitanet-i	bitanet-i	bitane-a	bitaniya	bitanet-a	bitanet-a
kutto	kutto-i	kutto-y	kuttot-i	kuttot-i	kutto-a	kuttuwa	kuttot-a	kuttot-a
dono	dono-i	dono-y	donot-i	donot-i	dono-a	donuwa	donot-a	donot-a
ʔanjullo	ʔanjullo-i	ʔanjullo-y	ʔanjullont-i	ʔanjullont-i	ʔanjullo-a	ʔanjulla ʔanjull	ʔanjullont-a	ʔanjullont-
baassa	baassa-i	baass-i	baassant-i	baassant-i	baassa-a	baassa	baassant-a	baassant-a
ʔasale	ʔasale-i	ʔasal-i	ʔasalent-i	ʔasalent-i	ʔasale-a	ʔasale ʔasala	ʔasalent-a	ʔasalent-a

The Case suffixes in masculine NPs (underlying and surface forms).



Chart 8

s t e m	n o m i n a t i v e		a c c u s a t i v e		g l o s s
	underlying	surface	underlying	surface	
naʔe	naʔe-a	naʔiy-a	naʔe-o	naʔiyo/ naʔe	girl
dorse	dorse-a	dorsiy-a	dorse-o	dorsiyo/ dorse	sheep
mašše	mašše-a	maššiy-a	mašše-o	maššiyo/ mašše	knife
ʔeCere	ʔeCere-a	ʔeCeriy-a	ʔeCere-o	ʔeCeriyo/ ʔeCere	rat
mišire	mišire-a	miširiy-a	mišire-o	miširiyo/ mišire	woman
kutte	kutte-a	kuttiy-a	kutte-o	kuttiyo/ kutte	hen
balʔanne	balʔanne-a	balʔann-a	balʔanne-o	balʔanno/ balʔanni	Ballane
ʔalmaaze	ʔalmaaze-a	ʔalmaaz-a	ʔalmaaze-o	ʔalmaazo/ ʔalmaazi	Almaz

The Case suffixes in feminine or demunitive NPs (underlying and surface forms).

- f. bitane balʔanni-ra giya b-esi
man(nom) Ballane-with market go-3ms(impf)
'The man is going to the market with Ballane'.
- g. bitane balʔanni naʔiy-o ʔekk-isi
man(nom) Ballane(acc) daughter-acc marry-3ms(pf)
'The man married Ballane's daughter'.
- (28) a. dono-y kaT-isi
potato-nom ripen-3ms(pf)
'The potato has ripened'.
- b. naʔiy-a donuw-a katt-asu
girl-nom potato-acc cook-3fs(pf)
'The girl has cooked potato'.
- c. miʔiriy-a donuw-a-ppe guʔiniy-a maT-aw-su
woman-nom potato-acc-from warm-acc pick-impf-3fs
'The woman is picking the warm from the potato'.
- d. naʔa-y donuw-a hayta duutt-isi
boy-nom potato-acc leaf(acc)detach-3ms(pf)
'The boy detached the leaf of the potato'.
- e. kuttiiy-a katta maT-aw-su
hen-nom grain(acc)pick-impf-3fs
'The hen is picking grain'.
- f. naʔa-y kuttiiy-o šucca-n šoʔ-isi
boy-nom hen-acc stone(acc)-with hit-3ms(pf)
'The boy hit the hen with stone'.
- g. naʔiy-a kuttiiy-o huʔiy-a KanT-asu
girl-nom hen-acc head-acc cut off-3fs(pf)
'The girl has cut off the hen's head'.

- h. naʔa-y kuttiiy-o-ra kaaʔ-esi
boy-nom hen-acc-with play-3ms(impf)
'The boy is playing with the hen'.

Each of the NPs /ʔanjullo/ 'Anjullo' in sentences (27 a-d), /balʔanne/ 'Ballane' in sentences (27 e-g), /dono/ 'potato' in sentence (28 a-d) and /kutte/ 'hen' in sentences (28 e-h) occur in different Case positions (i.e. in $[-NP, S]$, $[-NP, VP]$, $[-NP, PP]$, and $[-NP, \bar{N}]$) in the sentences, and the Cases are realized as -i (or-y) or -a for the nominative, and as -a or -o for the accusative depending on the gender of the NP.

Notes

1. Yitbarek's (1983: 15) /kapowa/ and /kappyo/ are rewritten as /kapuwa/ and /kapiyo/ respectively, following the way informants pronounce them.
2. Note that Yitbarek (1962: 58-59) gives the glosses in Amharic. The rendering into English is mine.
3. Henceforth, glosses will be given only with either the definite or the indefinite article freely.
4. Note that as shown in charts 7 and 8, the suffixation of the Case morphemes sometimes results in some kind of phonological changes with stem final vowels. The Case morphemes do not result in any phonological change only when they are attached to stems with final consonants as it is the case after the plural marker -t (eg. bitane-t-i 'man-pl-nom', bitane-t-a 'man-pl-acc'; mišire-t-i 'woman-pl-nom', mišire-t-a 'woman-pl-acc', etc). In the examples, therefore, only the surface forms are given. The reader may refer to the charts in case he wants to know the underlying forms.

5. /diitta/ is a Wolayta word for a musical instrument identical with the /k̄rar/ in Amharic. While the /diitta/ has only five strings, the /k̄rar/ has six. For lack of an equivalent English word the word is not translated.

Chapter three

3. Case Assignment in Wolayta

In Wolayta NPs are assigned different Cases by virtue of their being in different Case positions. A sentence will be excluded as ill-formed if it violates the Case Filter, that is, if it has NPs which are not assigned Case.¹ Compare the NPs in (29a) and (29b-c).

- (29) a. kana-y ?ašuw-a m-esi
 dog-nom meat-acc eat-3ms(impf)
 'The dog is eating meat'.
- b. * taan-i [kana ?ašuw-a m-ana-w] Teell-asi
 I-nom [dog meat-acc eat-imp -for] see-lsg(pf)
 * 'I see the dog to eat meat'.
- c. * ?et-i [na?a ?ašuw-a m-ana-ssi] digg-osona
 they-nom [boy meat-acc eat-imp -for] prohibit-3pl
 * 'They prohibit the boy to eat meat'.

The structure which has satisfied the Case Filter and has all its NPs assigned Case is (29a). The sentences in (29b-c) are ill-formed because they violate the Case Filter having NPs (the embedded subjects) which are not assigned Case. The embedded subjects are not assigned Case because there is no AGR or ASP/TNS to assign them one.

Eventhough Case assignment has some universal properties, it may also have particular properties in languages. The properties may relate to the categories which assign Case and which receive Case, the levels at which Case assignment takes place, and the manner it is

assigned. In this section, I shall attempt to show both the general and particular features of the Case system in Wolayta.

In the previous section, it has been pointed out that NPs may be assigned either nominative or accusative Case in Wolayta, and that these Cases are designated by different morphemes. But I have not identified the categories which assign and those which receive such Cases. I shall take up this issue in this section. Besides, in this section, I shall also show the levels at which Case is assigned in the language.

Theoretically, every lexical head, i.e., N, V, P, A and INFL (strictly speaking INFL is not lexical; see note 7 of chapter 1) is potentially a Case assigner (Chomsky, 1981: 50). In this language, however, only INFL, V and P are Case assigners. AGR or ASP/TNS in INFL assign nominative Case to a subject NP; transitive verbs and postpositions assign accusative Case to their complements (see 3.1-3.2 below for details). The Case assigners are always on the right of the Case receivers. Hence Case assignment in this language is from right to left. This suggests that the language is typologically head-final.

The Case recipients in this language are only NPs. Clauses are, of course, excluded by the Case resistance principle (CRP). All NPs must satisfy the Case Filter by receiving a particular Case that a Case assigning category can assign. The Case is realized morphologically

In an NP structure in which the head has an AP complement, i.e., $[AP, NP]$, and is in a Case position, the Case manifests itself on the NP. In some discourse situations where only the AP appears, the Case suffix may appear on the AP (see 30-31 below). This does not however mean that APs are Case recipient. The fact that this takes place when

the NP head is missing indicates that the Case is basically that of the NP and not of the AP. The AP shows the suffixes by taking them from the NPs.

- (30) a. [ʔadussa naʔa-y] hariy-a laagg-esi
[tall boy-nom] donkey-acc drive-3ms(impf)
'The tall boy is driving a donkey'.
- b. [ʔadussa-y] hariy-a laagg-esi
[tall-nom] donkey-acc drive-3ms(impf)
'The tall (one) is driving a donkey'.
- c. * [ʔadussa-y naʔa-y] hariy-a laagg-esi
[tall-nom boy-nom] donkey-acc drive-3ms(impf)
- (31) a. ʔanjullo-y [Ceega miizziy-o] bayz-isi
Anjullo-nom [old cow-acc] sell-3ms(pf)
'Anjullo has sold the old cow'.
- b. ʔanjullo-y [Ceegiy-o] bayz-isi
Anjullo-nom [old-acc] sell-3ms(pf)
'Anjullo has sold the old (one)'.
- c. * ʔanjullo-y [Ceegiy-o miizziy-o] bayz-isi
Anjullo-nom [old-acc cow-acc] sell-3ms(pf)

These examples illustrate that only NPs are Case recipients. This includes derived NPs as well. Like other NPs, they are also subject to the Case Filter. The following examples show that such NPs receive Case and the Case is realized morphologically.

- (32) a. masKala gallasi [✓]suha-y deʔ-esi
Masqal day slaughtering-nomexist-3ms(impf)
lit. 'On Masqal day slaughtering exists'.
'There is slaughtering on Masqal day'.

- b. miširiy-a ʔanjullo-ssi daro zoriy-a ʔimm-əsu
woman-nom Anjullo-to much advice-acc give-3ms(pf)

'The woman gave Anjullo much advice'.

In (32) the derived nominals are /šuha/ 'slaughtering' and /zore/ 'advice'. They are derived from the corresponding verbs /šukk-/ 'slaughter' and /zor-/ 'advice', respectively. These NPs are assigned Case and the Cases are morphologically realized. The structures would have been ungrammatical had the NPs been without Case. Compare the ungrammatical (33) with the grammatical (32a).

- (33) * maskala gallassi šuha deʔ-esi
Masqal day slaughtering exist-3ms(impf).

The next question to raise concerns the level at which Case assignment takes place. According to Chomsky (1981: 170; 1986: 193) Case assignment takes place both at D - and S - structures. Inherent Case is assigned at D-structure and structural Case is assigned at S-structure. The assignment of inherent Case is associated with θ -marking. This means that inherent Case is assigned to an NP as part of the subcategorization property of the head (Chomsky, 1986: 193).

In Wolayta, one of the internal arguments in a VP with a verb of double NP complements gets accusative Case inherently at D-structure. Thus, such verbs have the subcategorization property of selecting two internal arguments one of which is marked accusative Case inherently as the NP /bitaniy-a/ 'man-acc' in (34) below. This means that this internal argument is base generated with an accusative Case, while the other /ʔoge/ 'way', in (34), is assigned accusative Case by the verb. (See 3.2.1 for details).

- (34) polise bitaniy-a ?ogiy-a ?oyc-isi
 police man(nom) man-acc way-acc ask-3ms(pf)
 'The police man asked the man the way'.

Following Chomsky, NPs get structural Case at S-structure. In this case, Case assignment is dissociated from θ -marking. For instance, in the language, nominative Case assignment to the patient noun in a passive structure takes place after the NP has undergone "Move α " triggered by Case, which is at the level of S-structure (see 4.2 below for details). Therefore, it seems plausible to generalize that Case is assigned in this language at both levels of D - and S-structure.

So far, we have tried to show the Case assigning and Case recipient categories and also the levels at which the assignment of Case takes place. In the following section, I shall try to show how the assignment of the two Cases, nominative and accusative, takes place in the language.

3.1. Nominative Case Assignment

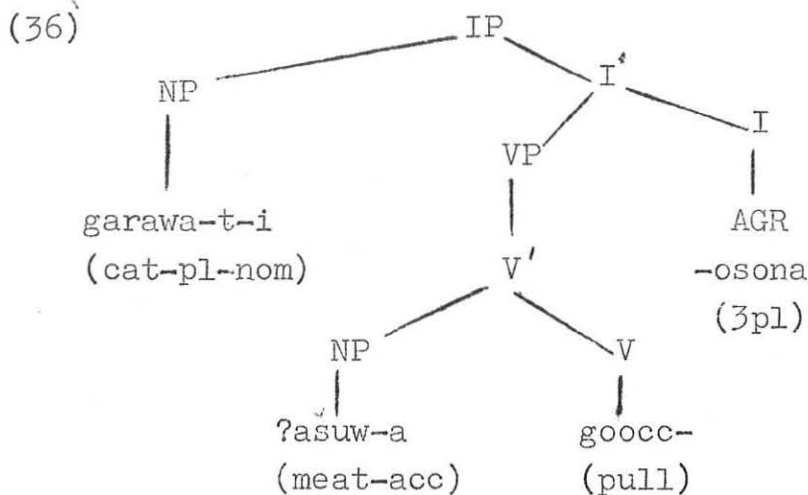
As it has been pointed out above, in Wolayta nominative Case is assigned to an NP governed by AGR or ASP/TNS in INFL. This means that nominative Case is assigned to a subject NP of a finite or tensed clause and the Case assigners are both the features AGR and ASP/TNS in INFL. First let us consider the assignment of nominative Case by AGR in INFL.

In a finite clause whose INFL contains AGR, the subject NP is assigned nominative Case, since only in such a clause does INFL have AGR to match the subject NP in the features person, number and gender. Consider the following examples.

- (35) a. mitta-y na?a bolla kund-id-esi
 tree-nom boy(acc) on fall down-pf-3ms
 'The tree has fallen down on the boy'.

- b. naʔiy-a m-aw-su
 girl-nom eat-impf-3fs
 'The girl is eating'.
- c. garawa-t-i ʔasuw-a goocc-osona
 cat-pl-nom meat-acc pull-3pl (impf)
 'The cats have pulled the meat'.

In the examples, AGR is 3ms in (35a), 3fs in (35b) and 3pl in (35c), and INFL governs and assigns nominative Case to the subject NPs, which show a matching in the features of person, number and gender with AGR. The government relationship between the AGR and the subject NP in (35c) is shown below.



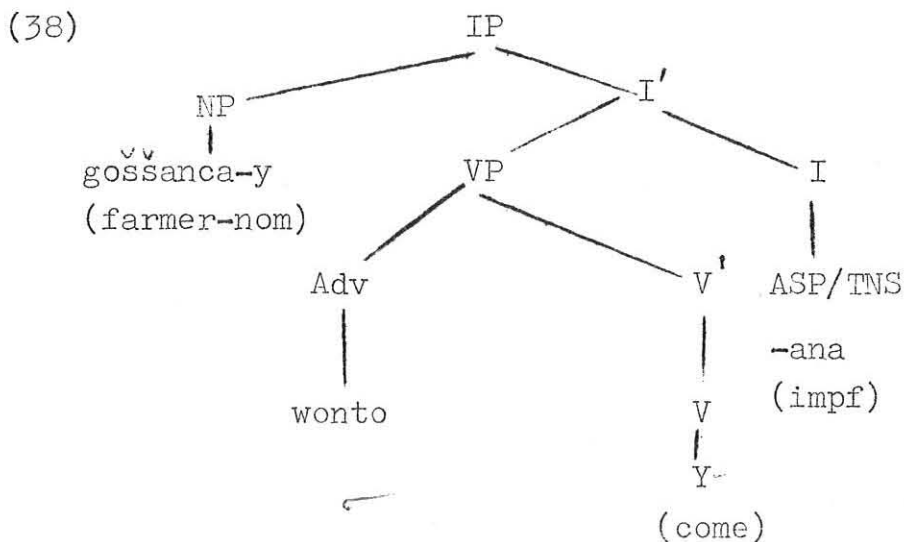
As we can see from the P-marker, strictly speaking, the government relation is not between NP and I, but it is between NP and I'

The examples (35a-c) illustrate that there is a matching of features between the subject NPs and the AGR elements in INFL. But there are also cases where such AGR features are absent as in (37) below. In such cases INFL seems to have only the feature ASP/TNS. (For details of the nature of INFL in different types of clause, see 4.1 below).

- (37) gošsanca-y wonto y-ana
 farmer-nom tomorrow come-impf
 'The farmer will come tomorrow'.

In (37), the subject NP is in the nominative Case. This may suggest that ASP/TNS in INFL can assign nominative Case. In other words, a subject NP may be governed and assigned nominative Case by ASP/TNS in INFL. There need not be an AGR element in INFL always for the subject NP to be assigned nominative Case. That the verbs are inflected for ASP/TNS and that there is government relationship between the ASP/TNS elements and the NPs in subject position is adequate for these NPs to be assigned nominative Case.

The government relationship between ASP/TNS in INFL and the subject NPs is shown by the P-marker in (38) which represents sentence (37) above.



3.2. Accusative Case Assignment

As explained in the previous section, an NP is assigned accusative Case when it is governed by a postposition or a verbal head. It also

receives the same Case when it is the complement or the specifier of a nominal head in an NP.

That NPs in these positions bear accusative Case gets support from structures of relative clauses like the following.

- (39) a. $\bar{L}_{IP} \bar{L}_{NP} \bar{L}_{CP} \bar{L}_{IP}$ na?iy-a baatta-n e wott-id-o \bar{J} e \bar{J} parso- \bar{y} /
 girl-nom jar-in put-pf-acc beer-nom
 malD-esi \bar{J}
 taste good-3ms(impf)
 'The beer that the girl has put in the jar tastes good'.
- b. $\bar{L}_{IP} \bar{L}_{NP} \bar{L}_{CP} \bar{L}_{IP}$ e baatta-n parsuw-a wott-id-a \bar{J} e \bar{J}
 jar-in beer-acc put-pf-nom
 na?iy-a \bar{J} ye ekk-aw-su \bar{J}
 girl-nom cry-impf-3fs
 'The girl who has put the beer in the jar is crying'.
- c. \bar{L}_{IP} ?anjullo-y $\bar{L}_{VP} \bar{L}_{NP} \bar{L}_{CP} \bar{L}_{IP}$ na?iy-a baatta-n e
 Anjullo-nom girl-nom jar-in
 wott-id-o \bar{J} e \bar{J} parsuw-a \bar{J} ?uy-isi \bar{J} \bar{J}
 put-pf-acc beer-acc drink-3ms(pf)
 'Anjullo drank the beer that the girl has put in the jar'.
- d. \bar{L}_{IP} ?anjullo-y $\bar{L}_{VP} \bar{L}_{NP} \bar{L}_{CP} \bar{L}_{IP}$ e baatta-n parsuw-a
 Anjullo-nom jar-in beer-acc
 wott-id-a \bar{J} e \bar{J} na?iy-o \bar{J} yeer-isi \bar{J} \bar{J}
 put-pf-nom girl-acc kiss-3ms(pf)
 'Anjullo kissed the girl who has put the beer in the jar'.

In these structures, the head NP is coreferential with the gap in the relative clause. The relativized NP drops leaving its Case feature

as a suffix (i.e. AGR) in the verb of the relative clause. If the relativized position in the relative clause is in the position of an accusative Case, the AGR element in the verb of the relative clause becomes -o, copying this Case to licence the dropping of the NP. But if the relativized NP is in the nominative Case, the AGR element becomes -a, copying the Case again to licence its dropping. The AGR element always manifests these two Case features corresponding to the Case of the relativized NP, irrespective of the gender the relativized NP is in.

In the structures in (39b) and (d) the gaps in the relative clauses are governed by ASP/TNS of the embedded INFL, and therefore, the relativized NPs are in the nominative positions. Consequently, the AGR in the relative clause has the nominative Case feature, realized as -a. In (39a) and (c) on the other hand, the gaps in the relative clauses are governed by the embedded verbs and thus the relativized NPs are in accusative positions. As a result the AGR elements in the relative clauses show the accusative Case feature realized as -o.

The examples show that in this language, the AGR element in the verbs of the relative clauses have two forms depending on the Case positions of the relativized NPs in the clauses. If the relativized NP is in the nominative position, the AGR is -a, no matter what gender the relativized NP is in. If it is in the accusative position, the AGR is -o again irrespective of the gender of the relativized NP.

In the examples in (39) the relativized NPs are $\left[\text{NP}_i \text{S} \right]$, and $\left[\text{NP}_i \text{VP} \right]$. The situation is the same when $\left[\text{NP}_i \text{PP} \right]$ and $\left[\text{NP}_i \text{NP} \right]$ are relativized.

- (40) a. $\overline{IP} \overline{NP} \overline{CP} \overline{IP}$ kana-y \overline{PP} e_] ?ašuw-a bonK-id-o_] e_]
 dog-nom meat-acc snatch-pf-acc
 garawiy-a_] hayK-asu_]
 she cat-nom die-3fs(pf)
 'The she cat from which the dog snatched the meat has died.'
- b. $\overline{IP} \overline{NP} \overline{CP} \overline{IP} \overline{NP}$ e keetta-y_] kund-id-o_] e_] bitane_]
 house-nom fall down-pf-acc man(nom)
 b - isi_]
 go away-3ms(pf)
 'The man whose house has fallen down has left'.

The relativized position in (40a) is the PP position. In the relative clause, the postposition does not appear and the whole PP is empty. The AGR in the verb of the relative clause has the accusative form -o suggesting that the position of the relativized NP is in the accusative Case. This means that an object of a postposition is assigned accusative Case.

In (40b), on the other hand, the NP /bitane/ 'man' is relativized out of the NP /bitaniy-a keetta-y/ 'the man's house'. Here also the relative clause has a gap in the position of the NP /bitane/ 'man' as we can see from the S-structure in (40b). The AGR in this structure is also -o, the accusative form. In other words, the AGR licences the relativized NP, which is in accusative position, at the same time copying the Case of the relativized NP, in this case, accusative. The relativized NP is the complement of a nominal head in a possessive construction. This suggests that the complement of nominal head receives accusative Case. The fact that the structure becomes ill-formed when

the AGR is left out, or if it is the nominative form *-a* as in the ungrammatical (41a-b) below suggests that the complement of a nominal head in an NP is assigned accusative Case.

- (41) a. * keetta-y kund-id-a bitane b-isi
house-nom fall down-pf-nom man(nom) go away-3ms(pf)
- b. * keetta-y kund-id bitane b-isi
house-nom falldown-pf man(nom) go away-3ms(pf)

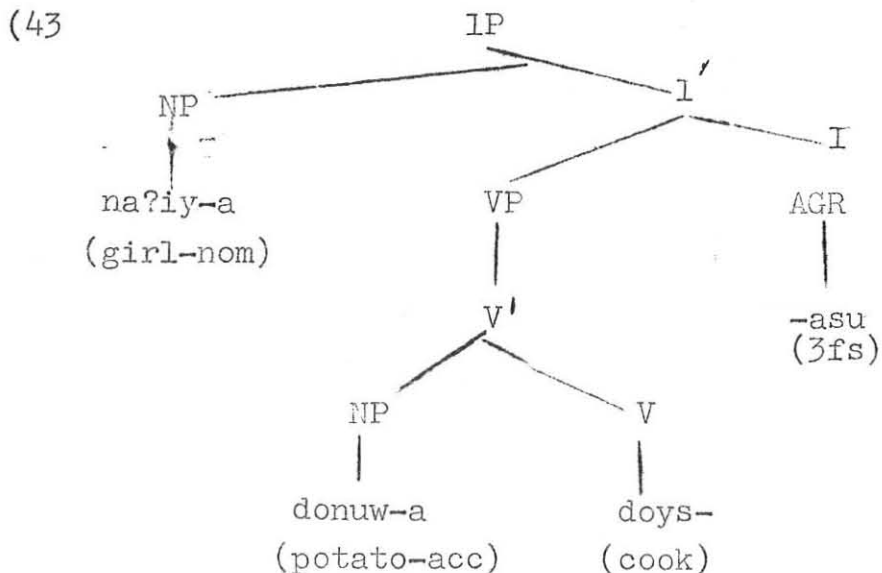
I have tried to show that the objects of verbs and postpositions as well as the complements of nominal heads in possessive constructions receive accusative Case. In what follows, I shall show the manner in which such NPs receive the Case. For ease of exposition, I shall begin with the manner of the assignment of accusative Case to an object of a verb, then the assignment of accusative Case to the object of a postposition, and finally I shall proceed to show the manner of accusative Case assignment to the complements and specifiers in possessive constructions.

3.2.1. Accusative Case Assignment by a Verbal Head

The object of a verbal head is assigned accusative Case. It is realized morphologically by the accusative suffix *-a* in masculine NPs, and *-o* in feminine NPs. The assignment of this Case in Wolayta is consistent with the standard assumption of GB in which it is believed that an NP is assigned accusative Case by a transitive verb (Chomsky, 1981: 170, Radford, 1981: 314). In this language also NPs are assigned the same Case by transitive verbs under government. Consider the following examples:

- (42) a. naʔiy-a [̄_{vp} donuw-a doys-asu]
 girl-nom potato-acc cook- 3fs(pf)
 'The girl is cooking potato'.
- b. šank-i [̄_{vp} garawiy-o dos-esi]
 Shaka-nom she cat-acc like - 3ms(impf)
 'Shanka likes the she cat'.
- c. taan-i [̄_{vp} ʔuddupun miizza-t-a ʔekk-ana]
 I-nom nine cow-pl-acc take-impf
 'I will take nine cows'.

In (42) the objects of the verbs /donuw-a/ 'potato-acc' in (a), /garawiy-o/ 'she cat-acc' in (b) and /ʔuddupun miizza-t-a/ 'nine cow-pl-acc' in (c) are assigned accusative Case as their Case endings indicate. In all the examples, there is a government relation between the Case assigning verb and the NP which receives the Case. This relationship can be shown by the following P-marker which represents sentence (42a). Here the verbal head /doys-/ 'cook' governs the NP /dono/ 'potato' as it is the minimal node c-commanding the NP and there is no barrier to block this relationship.



As pointed out in the introduction, Case is always assigned under government relationship. Besides, there is another structural condition required for Case assignment. Stowell (1981: 113) states this condition as follows:

- (44) Case assignment under government
In the configuration $\langle \bar{\alpha} \beta \dots \bar{\gamma} \rangle$ or $\langle \bar{\gamma} \dots \beta \bar{\alpha} \bar{\gamma} \rangle$,
 α Case-marks β , where
- (i) α governs β , and
 - (ii) α is adjacent to β , and
 - (iii) α is $\langle \bar{\gamma} - N \bar{\gamma} \rangle$.

According to Stowell, -N categories must govern their complements and also be adjacent to them in order to assign Case. In structures like the following, the structural condition of adjacency seems to have been violated. But a closer observation reveals that the adjacency condition is met, and the apparent violation is only a surface phenomenon. Compare the following examples.

- (45) a. $zal?anca-y \langle \bar{vp} \rangle giya-ppe kuttuw-a \check{s}amm-isi \bar{\gamma}$
merchant-nom market-from cock-acc buy-3ms(pf)
'The merchant bought a cock from the market'.
- b. $zal?anca-y \langle \bar{vp} \rangle kuttuw-a giya-ppe \check{s}amm-isi \bar{\gamma}$
merchant-nom cock-acc market-from buy--3ms(pf)
'The merchant bought a cock from the market'.

In (45) the verb / $\check{s}amm$ / 'buy' subcategorizes the NP / $kuttuw-a$ / 'cock-acc' strictly, while it optionally subcategorizes the PP / $giya-ppe$ / 'market-from'. But the linear order of these two constituents in the VP seems to be free. This does not however mean that the language is non-configurational having free constituent order. The language

distinguishes between X' and X'' projections in the syntax, which suggests that there is in general a fixed word order. Neither does it mean that the condition of adjacency is not met. Since the constituent which is strictly subcategorized by the verb appears adjacent to it in the syntax, the apparent violation of the adjacency condition is a postsyntactic phenomenon. Thus the scrambling of the constituents in (45b), where the PP intervenes between the verbal head and its complement is made possible postsyntactically because the language has morphological Case. This is common in such languages. According to Stowell (1981: 125), for instance, a configurational language like German shows a similar property. From this it follows that the Case the object of a verbal head bears is assigned by the governing verb which is structurally adjacent to it.

Furthermore, there are clauses with verbs of double NP complement in the language where one of these complements is assigned accusative Case inherently at D-structure. Examples of such structures are given below:

- (46) a. miširiy-a \bar{L}_{vp} na?iy-o ?ooratta mayuw-a
woman-nom girl-acc new dress-acc
wooss-asu_7
beg - 3fs (pf)

'The woman begged the girl for a new dress',

- b. miširiy-a \bar{L}_{vp} ?ooratta mayuw-a na?iy-o
woman-nom new dress-acc girl-acc
wooss-asu_7
beg - 3fs (pf)

'The woman begged the girl for a new dress'.

- (47) a. zalʔanca-y $\overline{[vp]}$ naʔiy-o laaʔa šobb-isi_7
 merchant-nom girl-acc lunch(acc) invite-3ms(pf)
 'The merchant invited the girl lunch'.
- b. zalʔanca-y $\overline{[vp]}$ laaʔa naʔiy-o šobb-isi_7
 merchant-nom lunch(acc) girl-acc invite-3ms(pf)
 'The merchant invited the girl lunch'.

Both complements of the verb in each sentence in (46) and (47) are assigned accusative Case as we can understand from the Case endings. The verbs /wooss/ 'beg' in (46) and /šobb/ 'invite' in (47) are verbs of double NP complement. That means both have two internal arguments. Each verb normally assigns accusative Case to the adjacent NP under government structurally. But the other non-adjacent complement in each sentence is selected by the respective verb to satisfy its subcategorization property as it is marked accusative Case along with the appropriate θ -role at D-structure. Thus, the NPs /naʔiy-o/ 'girl-acc' in (46a), /ʔooratta mayuwa/ 'new dress-acc' in (46b), /naʔiy-o/ 'girl-acc' in (47a) and /laaʔa/ 'lunch(acc)' in (47b) receive accusative Case inherently at D-structure, while the other complements of the verbs in each sentence receive accusative Case structurally from the governing verb.

3.2.2. Accusative Case Assignment by a Postposition

As already stated, postpositions assign accusative Case to their complements under government. Such NPs manifest the accusative Case suffix /-a/ or /-o/.

Various Omotic languages seem to have distinct suffixes for various Cases.² But this is not the case in Wolayta. This may suggest that other Omotic languages have a richer Case system than Wolayta. "It might be the case that certain Cases have disappeared"

in Wolayta today and as a result postpositions have come to assign only accusative Case instead of various oblique Cases. The following examples show that NPs which are complements of postpositions in this language are assigned accusative Case.

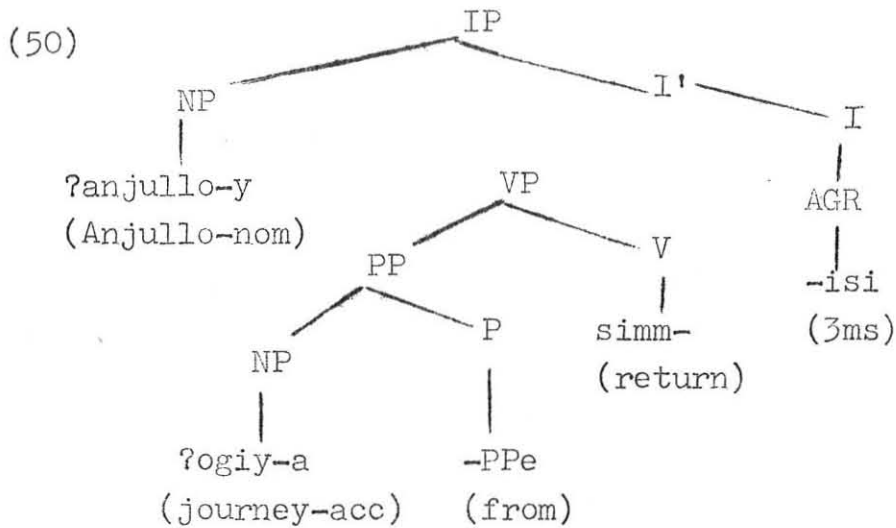
- (48) a. ?anjullo-y /?ogiy-a-ppe/ simm-isi
 Anjullo-nom journey-acc-from return-3ms(pf)
 'Anjullo returned from the journey'.
- b. miširiy-a /donuw-a-ra/ budden^a m-aw-su
 woman-nom potato-acc-with bread(acc)eat-impf-3f
 'The woman is eating bread with potato'.

The examples show that the NPs /?oge/ 'journey' and /dono/ 'potato' are governed and assigned accusative Case by their respective postpositions /-ppe/ 'from' and /-ra/ 'with', respectively. The Case is realized by the accusative markers -a or -o.³

When pronouns are governed and assigned Case by postpositions in this language, the Case may be realized by the same accusative suffixes as the following.

- (49) a. taan-i neen-a-ra b-ana
 I-nom you-acc-with go-impf
 'I will go with you'.
- b. * taan-i neen-i-ra b-ana
 I-nom you-nom-with go-impf
- c. * taan-i ne-ra (neen-ra) b-ana
 I-nom you-with (you-with) go-impf

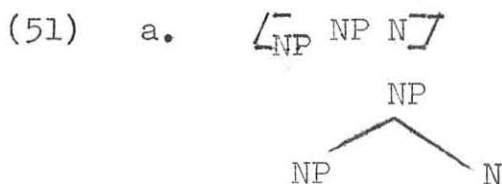
The following P-marker shows the government relationship between the postposition and its complement NP for the structure in (48a).

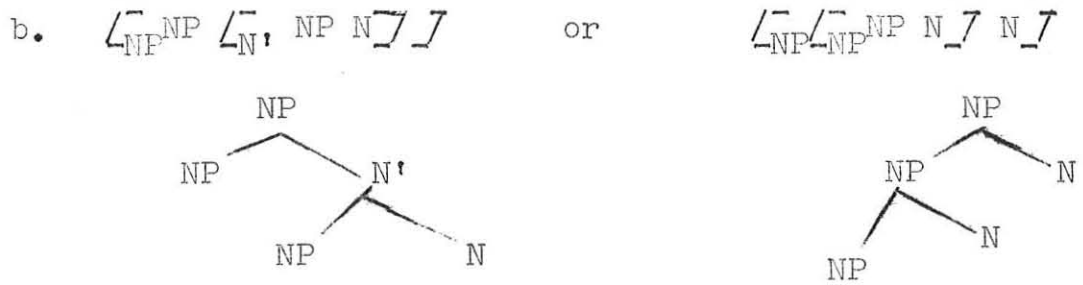


Hence, the postposition /-ppe/ 'from' governs the NP /?oge/ 'journey', since it is the minimal category c-commanding the NP with no intervening NP or CP to block the relationship. Besides, the adjacency condition is met for Case to be assigned by this head.

3.2.3 Accusative Case Assignment to Complements and Specifiers of Nominal Heads

In Wolayta, NPs that are complements or specifiers of nominal heads are assigned accusative Case, and the Case is realized by the same suffixes -a (in masculine NPs) and -o (in feminine NPs). In what follows, I shall try to show the manner of Case assignment in NP structures. These structures include NPs like $\langle \bar{N}_P \text{ NP } N \bar{I} \rangle$ and the structurally ambiguous $\langle \bar{N}_P \text{ NP } \langle \bar{N}, \text{ NP } N \bar{I} \bar{I} \rangle \rangle$ or $\langle \bar{N}_P \langle \bar{N}_P \text{ NP } N \bar{I} \rangle N \bar{I} \rangle$ types. In terms of tree configuration such structures are as shown below.





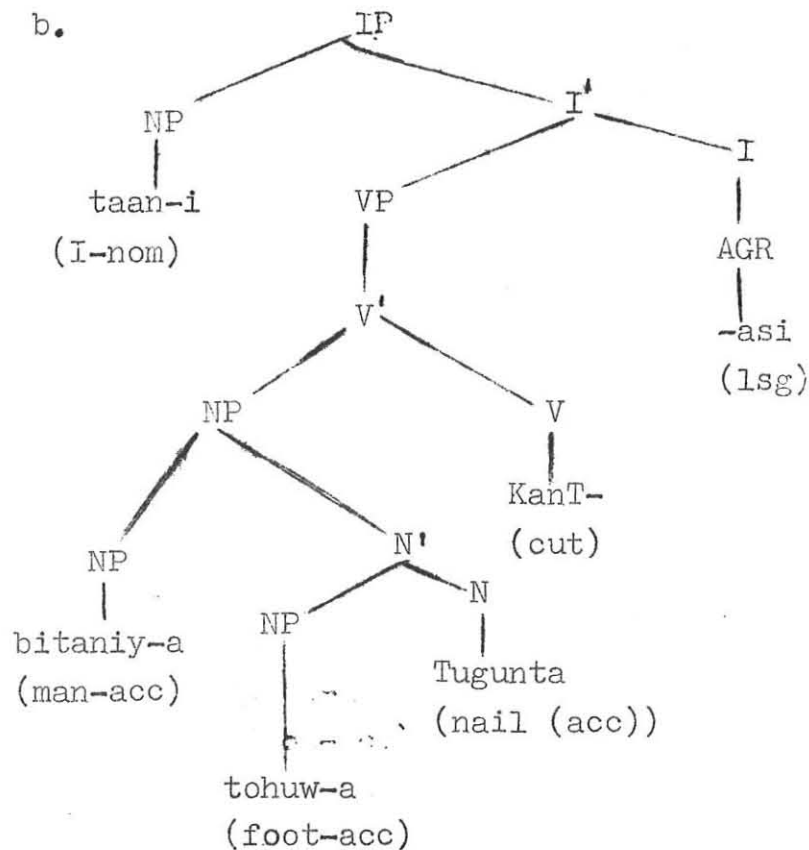
observe the following examples:

- (52) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
- a. (i) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{tohuw-a} \quad \text{Tugunta - y} \\ \text{foot-acc} \quad \text{nail - nom} \end{array} \right]$
or
(ii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{tohuw - a} \quad \text{Tugunta} \\ \text{foot - acc} \quad \text{nail (acc)} \end{array} \right]$
'the nail of the toe' or 'toe nail'.
- b. (i) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{?asa-t-u} \quad \text{kutto-t-i} \\ \text{person-pl-acc} \quad \text{hen-pl-nom} \end{array} \right]$
or
(ii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{?asa-t-u} \quad \text{kutto-t-a} \\ \text{person-pl-acc} \quad \text{hen-pl-acc} \end{array} \right]$
lit. 'the persons' hens'
'Some people's hens'
- c. (i) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{mayuw-a} \quad \text{sametta-y} \\ \text{clothes-acc} \quad \text{buying - nom} \end{array} \right]$
or
(ii) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{mayuw-a} \quad \text{sametta} \\ \text{clothes-acc} \quad \text{buying(acc)} \end{array} \right]$
'the buying of clothes'.

- (53) $\langle_{NP} NP \langle_{N'} NP N _ _ \rangle \rangle$ or $\langle_{NP} \langle_{NP} NP N _ \rangle N _ \rangle$
- a. (i) $\langle_{bitaniy-a} \quad tohuw-a \quad Tugunta-y _ \rangle$
man-acc foot-acc nail - nom
- (ii) $\langle_{bitaniy-a} \quad tohuw-a \quad Tugunta _ \rangle$
man-acc foot-acc nail (acc)
- 'the nail of the toe of the man' or
'the man's toe nail'.
- b (i) $\langle_{mišire-t-u} \quad kutto-t-u \quad baalle _ \rangle$
woman-pl-acc hen-pl-acc feather(nom)
- or
- (ii) $\langle_{mišire-t-u} \quad kutto-t-u \quad baalliy-a _ \rangle$
woman-pl-acc hen-pl-acc feather-acc
- 'the feathers of the women's hens'.
- c. (i) $\langle_{\langle_{puuttuw-a} \quad mayuw-a _ \rangle} \check{s}ametta-y _ \rangle$
cotton-acc clothes-acc buying-nom
- or
- (ii) $\langle_{\langle_{puuttuw-a} \quad mayuw-a _ \rangle} \check{s}ametta _ \rangle$
cotton-acc clothes-acc buying(acc)
- 'the buying of cotton clothes'.

All the NPs in the examples, i.e. the head, the complement and the specifier NPs, are assigned Case to satisfy the Case Filter. The head nouns, which are always in final position in the NP structures, are marked either nominative or accusative Case. But the complement and the specifier NPs are always marked accusative Case. Let us first consider the example given below and its corresponding P-marker.

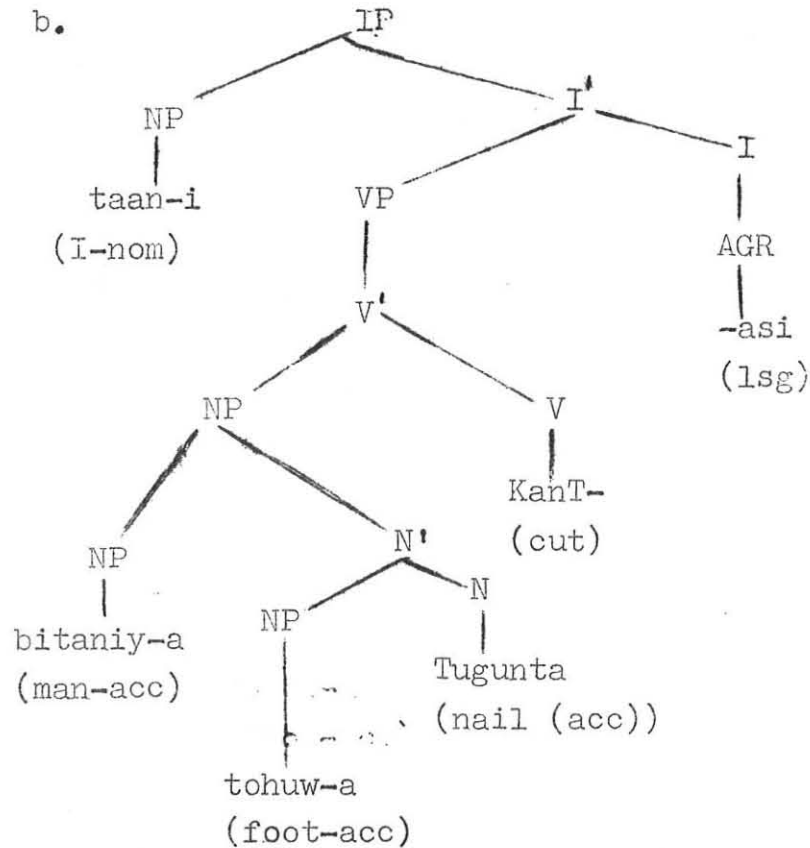
- (54) a. taan-i [bitaniy-a tohuw-a Tugunta] KanT-asi
 I-nom man-acc foot-acc nail(acc) cut-lsg(pf)
 'I have cut the nail of the man's toe'.



How could one account for the assignment of accusative Case to the complement and specifier NPs in the NP structure? As pointed out in the introductory chapter, Case is always assigned under government. The other structural condition that must be met for Case assignment is the condition of adjacency. Stowell states this condition as (44) above.

In the structure (54a) the complement and specifier NPs in the NP structure are governed by the nominal head (Tugunta/ 'nail', which is adjacent to the complement /tohuw-a/ 'foot'. But this head is not a -N category. It is +N as it is a nominal.

- (54) a. taan-i [bitaniy-a tohuw-a Tugunta] KanT-asi
 I-nom man-acc foot-acc nail(acc) cut-lsg(pf)
 'I have cut the nail of the man's toe'.



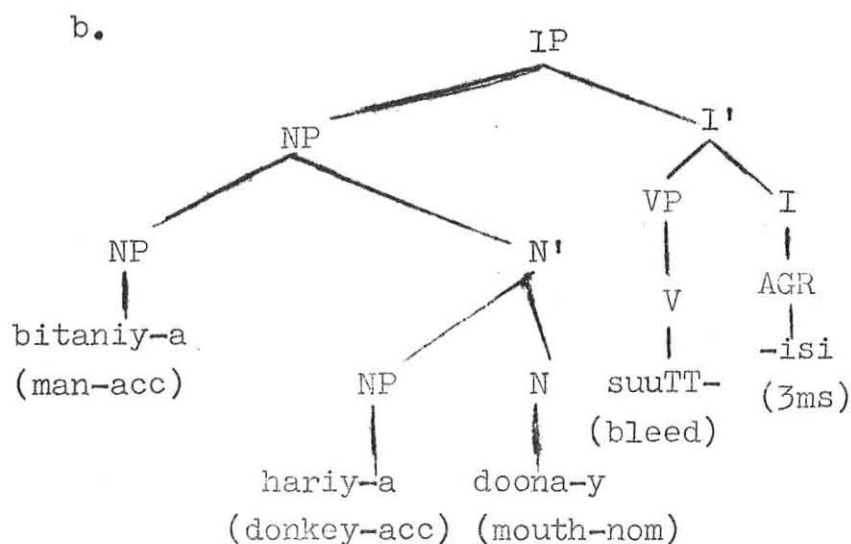
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In the structure (54a) the complement and specifier NPs in the NP structure are governed by the nominal head (Tugunta/ 'nail', which is adjacent to the complement /tohuw-a/ 'foot'. But this head is not a -N category. It is +N as it is a nominal.

Based on the structure (54a) or (54b), one may account for the assignment of accusative Case to the complement and specifier NPs in the following seemingly correct way. According to Chomsky (1986: 162), if a lexical head α and the maximal projection X'' c-command each other, the lexical head governs the maximal projection, the head of the maximal projection and the specifier in the maximal projection. In this sense, the NP/bitaniy-a tohuw-a Tugunta/ 'the nail of the man's toe' is a maximal projection, an N'' , having a mutual c-command relationship with the verbal head /KanT-/ 'cut', and hence the verbal head governs the specifier NP/bitaniy-a/ 'man' and the head /Tugunta/ 'nail'. Now the whole NP is governed and assigned accusative Case by the verb with adjacency condition satisfied. The feature goes to the head of the NP/Tugunta/ 'nail'. Then one could conclude that this Case has transferred from the head noun to its complement /tohuw-a/ 'foot-acc' and its specifier /bitaniy-a/ 'man-acc' (or that the complement and the specifier agree with the head noun in Case), which are adjacent to it, as these NPs are also required to satisfy the Case Filter. Since both NPs are governed (i.e. the specifier is governed by the verb and the complement by the nominal head), they satisfy the structural condition for Case assignment. From this it follows that the complement and the specifier NPs receive Case by transfer from (or by agreement with) the head noun. This apparently correct explanation seems to give the expected result.

But there is a counter example for this explanation. The explanation fails to account for the assignment of accusative Case to the complement and specifier NPs in the NP structure, where the whole NP is not under government relationship with a verbal head. Consider the following example.

- (55) a. [bitaniy-a hariy-a doona-y] suuTT-isi
 man-acc donkey-acc mouth-nom bleed-3ms(pf)
 'The mouth of the man's donkey has bled'.



As the example shows, the whole NP/bitaniy-a hariy-a doona-y/ 'the mouth of the man's donkey' is in a mutual c-command relationship with the I'-node. This means that it is governed by AGR in INFL; and is assigned nominative Case. The Case percolates down to the head /doona-y/ 'mouth-nom'. In the light of the assumption of Case transfer (or agreement in Case with a head), the complement NP should have been in the same nominative Case as the head; but it is not; it is in the accusative Case. Therefore, this explanation fails to hold.

We are now required to come up with a stronger account. Two possible explanations can be given. I shall first forward an assumption of accusative Case assignment by a +N governor, and then, an assumption of accusative Case assignment by default.

3.2.3.1. Case Assignment by a +N Governor

In the structures (54a) and (55a), which I shall give as (56a-b) below for convenience, all the NPs in the possessive constructions, i.e. the head, the complement and the specifier are assigned Case and satisfy the Case Filter. The head receives accusative Case as it is the object of the verbal head in (56a), and it receives nominative Case from the AGR in INFL in (56b). But the complement NPs, which are governed by their respective nominal heads and appear adjacent to them are assigned accusative Case. According to Stowell (1981: 113), Chomsky (1981: 50), Radford (1981: 314), and others, Case is assigned only by -N categories and +tense. From this it follows that the nominal head in these constructions which is +N cannot assign Case to its complement.

- (56) a. taan-i bitaniy-a tohuw-a Tugunta KanT-asi
I-nom man-acc foot-acc nail(acc) cut-lsg(pf)
'I have cut the nail of the man's toe'.
- b. bitaniy-a hariy-a doona-y suuTT-isi
man-acc donkey-acc mouth-nom bleed-3ms(pf)
'The mouth of the man's donkey has bled'.

Suppose, following Chomsky (1988:112) who, after considering a wider range of languages and more complex constructions, states that the assumption which suggests +N categories not to be Case assigners is quite incorrect, and that nouns and adjectives assign genitive Case to their complements; we assume that nominal heads in possessive constructions can assign Case. Then, the complement NPs in the NP

structures in (56a-b) satisfy the Case Filter as they are assigned accusative Case by the governing noun to which they are adjacent. Then we may further assume that the same Case transfer to the specifier NPs which are adjacent to the complements. This means that the nominal head which is adjacent to the complement governs this NP and assigns accusative Case to it, which Case is also transferred to the specifier. So, both the complement and specifier NPs are marked accusative Case.

But according to Chomsky (1988:112) nominal heads assign genitive Case and not accusative Case. If this is to be universal, then we have no explanation for such counter examples.

However, if we follow this line of argument as outlined above, in this language, a nominal head can assign accusative Case like the categories of verbs and postpositions in other languages. This is outside the core case of Case assignment in GB as it assumes that complements of nominal heads in possessive constructions receive accusative Case rather than genitive Case from a nominal head. For this analysis to be valid, it would be necessary to reconsider the assumption that +N categories assign genitive Case. Either this should be a language particular property or we should set a parameter. At present, however, we are short of supporting evidence from other languages to pursue this line of argument. Therefore, I propose an alternative analysis.

3.2.3.2. Case Assignment by Default

If the assumption that +N categories assign genitive Case to their complements is a universal condition of Case theory, then it follows

that Wolayta nouns are not Case assigners. If nominal heads cannot assign Case to their complements, how else do the complement and the specifier NPs in a possessive construction like those in (56a-b) receive accusative Case?

The fact that complements and specifier NPs in the NP constructions in (56a-b) have the accusative Case endings, and that the structures are well-formed with these NPs suggests that these NPs have satisfied the Case Filter. Since the governor, which is a nominal, is not a Case assigner in this language, the complement and specifier NPs must have satisfied the Case Filter by some other device provided by the language. English, for instance, uses the exceptional Case-marking mechanism to Caseless NPs in some structures. Some languages insert a vacuous preposition which lacks semantic content like the English 'of', or the Spanish 'a' or 'de', etc., to mark the Case in the NPs. Another device languages use for the NPs to escape violations of the Case Filter is to move such Caseless NPs to other non-thematic positions where they could receive Case.

In such possessive constructions as (56a-b), Wolayta does not utilize any of these devices to save the NPs from violations of the Case Filter. It does not have a device of using a dummy postposition for that purpose. The NPs cannot move either, as there is no empty Case position for them to land in. But the grammaticality of the structure indicates that the language has employed some other device to rescue these NPs from violating the Case Filter. I assume that the device the language employs is the assignment of Case by default.

Larson (1985) assumes that in English bare NP adverbs which are headed by a particular class of common nouns and which must bear Case

receive some oblique Case through a special feature $[^-+F_]$ borne by such NPs. According to him such a Case is assigned in the absence of an external Case assigner. He claims that such an oblique Case associated to a $[^-+F_]$ feature has the status of a "default" Case value that certain classes of NPs can assume in the absence of any structural Case assigner, which makes assignment by $[^-+F_]$ optional.

To explain the assignment of accusative Case to complement and specifier NPs in possessive constructions I shall follow basically Larson's (1985) assumption with some differences. In this language, if the complement and specifier NPs, which satisfy the structural relations of government and adjacency with the nominal heads which are not Case assigners, lack external Case assigners, we may assume that such NPs bear accusative Case by default. It should be assumed that this default Case value must be inherent in the NPs **themselves**. Moreover the assumption is that all NPs inherently possess the Case features that the language provides in general, with one of them marked (or hot)⁴

What underlies the fact that one Case feature in the Case system of the language is marked (or hot)? A marked (or hot) Case feature is that feature which is more dominant in the Case system of the language. Such a hot Case feature sometimes manifests its dominance by suppressing other Case features in the language. For instance, in English the accusative Case feature which used to be assigned to the objects of transitive verbs are now also assigned to objects of prepositions. This suggests that the accusative Case feature is a more dominant Case feature in the English Case system and hence the marked (hot) Case feature in the language.

When an NP receives a structural Case from an external Case assigner this Case acts over the Cases already possessed inherently by the NP and activates its identical Case feature by which the NP will be identified in that particular structure. The inherent Case features of the NPs are generally dormant in the syntax so long as there is an external case assigner or so long as there is another structural device like movement to save the NP from violations of the Case Filter. But in the absence of an external Case assigner or another structural device, the inherent Case feature struggles to rescue the NP from violating the Case Filter. It is the marked (hot) Case feature which dominates over the other inherent Case features in the NP and marks it accordingly in the syntax.

In the light of this assumption, default Case assignment in Wolayta will be as follows. All NPs in this language inherently possess the two Case features, which are the only ones in the Case system of the language. This can be shown as:

- (57) NP
[+acc]
[-Nom]

In the language [+acc] is the marked (hot) Case feature⁵ in the NPs as it is the dominant Case in the language. As shown in section 3.2.2 objects of postpositions are assigned accusative Case as are objects of transitive verbs while nominative Case is assigned only to subjects of finite clauses. It means that accusative Case is a more dominant Case in the language than the nominative. This suggests that accusative is the marked (hot) Case feature in the Case system of the language.

When an NP in Wolayta is structurally assigned a certain Case by an external Case assigner, the Case feature that comes from the external Case assigner acts strongly on the *inherent* Case features and selects the one that is identical to it so that the NP is marked this Case in the syntax. So, if the Case assigner is AGR/ASP in INFL, the structural Case feature that acts on the inherent Case features will be nominative. This feature selects the $[^-Nom_]$ Case feature inherent in the NP and mark the NP nominative Case structurally. But if the NP were assigned accusative Case by an external Case assigner such as a postposition or a verb, it selects the $[^-+acc_]$ Case feature inherent in the NP and the NP is marked accusative Case structurally. The case is different when the NP has no structural Case assigner externally. In such cases, when the NP takes its position in the syntactic structure the Case features inherent in the NP struggle as they are rather strongly threatened by the Case Filter. However, the marked (hot) Case feature finds its way out into the syntax and marks the NP the identical Case. The marked (hot) Case feature in Wolayta being $[^-+acc_]$, an NP which lacks a structural Case assigner externally receives the accusative Case. Thus the Case feature inherent in NPs have a default Case value which the NPs assume in the absence of an external Case assigner. The language utilizes the default Case assignment rule when it faces a situation where an NP lacks any external Case assigner in the syntax. This rule may be formulated as follows:

- (58) Case assignment by default
Assign the marked (hot) Case feature to
an NP when there is no external Case assigner.

It now remains to determine at what level default Case assignment takes place. Larson (1985: 610-611) states that default Case assignment has the particular property of being optional. It is assigned when there is no external Case assigner, but does not apply when there is one. He observes that from this follows that default Case is neither lexical nor structural. Chomsky (1986: 193) proposes, on the other hand, that structural Case is assigned at S-structure while inherent Case is assigned at D-structure in association with θ -marking. Thus if default Case is neither structural to be assigned at S-structure, nor lexical (to be assigned in the lexicon) then it must be at some intermediate level. Thus D-structure is the best candidate.

This account seems to be more valid than the account given in the previous section. It does not contradict the GB assumption which states that a +N category assigns genitive Case and -N categories assign accusative Case.

N o t e s

1. In this language, an NP assigned a particular Case at a Case position may realize the Case morphologically. A structure becomes ill-formed not only because it has an NP which is not assigned Case, but also because the NP is not properly marked for the Case. Therefore, for a structure to be well-formed the NPs must also be properly marked for the appropriate Case. Consider the following examples.

- (i) boora-y ?otuw-a ment - isi
 bull-nom jar-acc break - 3 ms(pf)
 'The bull broke the jar'.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| (ii) | * boora-y | ?oto - y | ment - isi |
| | bull-nom | jar-nom | break-3ms(pf) |
| (iii) | * boora | ?otuw-a | ment-isi |
| | bull | jar-acc | break-3ms(pf) |

(i) is well-formed because the NPs /boora/ 'bull' and /?oto/ 'jar' are assigned Cases by the governing AGR which is 3ms, and by the verb /ment/ 'break', respectively. Thus the NP /boora/ 'bull' is nominative and the Case is realized as -y, while /?oto/ 'jar' is accusative and the Case is realized as -a. These NPs are marked by the appropriate Cases. The ill-formed (ii) and (iii) have NPs which are marked the wrong Cases. In (ii) the NP /?oto/ being in accusative position has the nominative marker. In (iii) the NP /boora/ being in nominative position is not marked this Case. This suggests that the assignment of a particular Case to an NP should be properly marked.

2. Data from many Omotic languages show that the languages have distinct suffixes for various Cases such as nominative, accusative, genitive, and oblique Cases. The suffixes are shown in the chart below. This fact may lend support for the explanation that it might be the case that Wolayta has lost these different Cases in the course of its development.

Language	nom	acc	Gen	Dat	Loc	Ins
Kefa } Mocha }	∅	-n	-e	-c	-c/-ts	
Boro(Shinasha)		-ni(?)	-i	-s	-ts/-ka	
Dizi		-n	-kn(tone)			
Yamsa	-u/-tu	-ni	-nir/-ni	-k	-si/-ker	-sik
Chara			∅	-r/-r(i)a	-in/-ina	
Zayse	-i/-y			-ro	-n(i)/-fe	

(Allan, 1976b; Cerulli, 1938; Fisseha, 1984; Fleming, 1976c.)

3. Note that an NP governed and assigned Case by a postposition in this language may realize the Case optionally. That is, the accusative suffix may optionally become overt in the complement of the postposition. Thus, the structures (i) and (ii) below are equally acceptable.

- (i) miširiy-a [donuw-a-ppe] gujj-asu
 woman-nom [potato-acc-from] add - 3fs(pf)
 'The woman added (some) from the potato'.
- (ii) miširiy-a [dono - ppe] gujj-asu
 woman-nom [potato - from] add - 3fs(pf)
 'The woman added (some) from the potato'.

4. Markedness (or hotness) is a notion of the phonological theory of Chomsky and Government as outlined by Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud (1985: 305-328). According to this theory, the ultimate unit of phonological segments is the element, which can phonetically

be interpretable by phonological features. The elements may be represented as follows:

$$I = \begin{bmatrix} \text{-Round} \\ \underline{\text{-Back}} \\ \text{+High} \\ \text{-ATR} \\ \text{-low} \end{bmatrix} \quad U = \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\text{+Round}} \\ \text{+Back} \\ \text{+High} \\ \text{-ATR} \\ \text{-low} \end{bmatrix} \quad A = \begin{bmatrix} \text{-Round} \\ \text{+Back} \\ \underline{\text{-High}} \\ \text{-ATR} \\ \text{+low} \end{bmatrix}$$

One of the features in each element has been underlined. This is the hot (marked) feature, the only feature of an element whose value is marked. This feature is a defining property of the element.

All phonological segments are either elements themselves or combination of elements. Combining the elements, technically called fusion involves two elements: a head and an operator. In this process the value of the hot feature of the operator is substituted for that of the corresponding feature of the head. Fusion is, therefore, the process of the passing over of the hot feature of the operator to the other element, which shows an effect of dominance on the features of the head (cf. Kaye, Lowenstamm, and Vergnaud, 1985: 306-309). (For details see Kaye, Lowenstamm, and Vergnaud, 1985: 305-328).

I have adapted the notion of marked (or hot) feature value to Case theory from this phonological theory. As the hot feature value of an element identifies the element and plays a dominant role in element combination in phonology, the marked (or hot) Case feature in an NP is also a significant Case value inherent in the NP and plays a dominant role in default Case assignment. When there is no any structural Case assigner to an NP, this marked (or hot) Case feature suppresses the other Case values as it is the dominant feature value.

5. A hot (marked) Case feature has a plus sign as opposed to the cold Case feature which is indicated by minus. Thus if an NP has

[+Nom
-Gen
-acc]

, this means that the NP has nominative Case feature which is hot (or marked) but genitive and accusative Case features which are cold, as default Case values inherently.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. CASE ASSIGNMENT IN DIFFERENT STRUCTURES

Clauses are of different types depending on subcategorization properties of verbs. There are clauses formed by transitive, intransitive, causative, passive, raising, etc. verbs. In all such clauses Case assignment may show slightly different properties. In this chapter, I shall attempt to show one such property in infinitival, passive and raising constructions.

4.1. Infinitival Clauses

According to Chomsky (1981), clauses may be divided into finite (or tensed) and infinitivals (or non-tensed) (see also Radford, 1981: 323-324; Reuland, 1983: 105). A finite clause has AGR in its INFL, which governs the subject position and assigns nominative Case to the NP in it. On the other hand, an infinitival clause does not have AGR in INFL, and thus, the subject position is ungoverned, and hence not Case assigned. A lexical NP cannot appear in this position without violating the Case Filter. Therefore, the subject of an infinitive is believed to be an abstract pronoun (PRO). This PRO is Caseless. This is supposed to be the unmarked case (Chomsky, 1980b: 26).

The other proposal in line with this classification of clauses and related to the assignment of Case to subject NPs does not limit itself to observing the presence or absence of only AGR, but also considers the effect of the other feature of INFL, i.e. Tense or Aspect.

in the assignment of Case. One such work is that of Stowell. Quoted by Plann (1986: 336-7) it claims that all clauses, be it finite or non-finite contain the feature $[+TNS]$ in INFL. This feature is a Case assigner. Plann (1986: 338) further points out that this is attested by Picalo in languages like Spanish in which indicative clauses are $[+TNS, +AGR]$, subjunctive clauses are $[-TNS, +AGR]$, and infinitivals are (typically) $[-TNS, -AGR]$, and that in both subjunctive and indicative clauses nominative Case is assigned while in infinitivals it is not. From this he concludes that it is the feature $[+AGR]$ which is common to both clauses which is responsible for the assignment of nominative Case. From these two observations it follows that in general, the subject of a clause may get nominative Case if the clause has, in Stowell's term, the feature $[+TNS]$, or in Picalo's term, the feature $[+AGR]$ in INFL.

In the light of this, and following Reuland (1983: 130) the following possible expansions of INFL can give a corresponding type of clause in English.

- (59) A. $[+TNS, +AGR]$
- B. $[+TNS, -AGR]$
- C. $[-TNS, +AGR]$
- D. $[-TNS, -AGR]$

Assuming that the subject of a clause is assigned nominative Case by $[+AGR]$ or $[+TNS]$ in INFL, then clauses A, B, and C represent finite clauses and can assign nominative Case to their subjects, as they have the features $[+AGR]$, $[+TNS]$, or both in INFL. but D represents only infinitival clauses with neither features in INFL (cf. Reuland, 1983). Such clauses do not assign Case to their subjects,

as subject. Non-finite infinitivals lack AGR, and the subject position is ungoverned and not Case-marked. As a result, only PRO and not a lexical NP can appear in this position. Consider the Oromo examples (61a) and (61b), for finite and non-finite infinitives respectively, both from Baye (forthcoming (a)).

- (61) a. \bar{I}_p tulluu-n $\bar{V}_p/\bar{C}_p/\bar{I}_p$ Chaltuu-n deem-uu-se \bar{I} \bar{I}
 Tullu-nom Chaltu-nom go-to-her
 Doga?-e \bar{I} \bar{I}
 hear-pf
 'Tullu heard Chaltu's going'.
- b. $\bar{I}_p/\bar{C}_p/\bar{I}$ PRO deem-uu-n \bar{I} \bar{I} gaarii Da \bar{I}
 go - ing-nom good is
 'Going is good'.

As regards Italian, Baye (forthcoming (a)) summarizes Rizzi's (1982) account that a lexical subject is possible in infinitival clauses when AUX moves to the COMP position and governs the subject position.

In such marked cases, lexical NPs can appear in subject positions of infinitival clauses. The question now is: to which group does Wolayta belong?

Like in other languages, clauses in Wolayta may be divided into finite and non-finite. These can further be subdivided using the features $\bar{I}^{+AGR, +ASP/TNS} \bar{I}^1$ of INFL.

- (62) (i) Finite clauses
 Type A $\bar{I}^{+AGR, +ASP/TNS} \bar{I}$
 Type B $\bar{I}^{-AGR, +ASP/TNS} \bar{I}$

- (64) a. taan-i wonto demba goyy- ana
I-nom tomorrow field cultivate - impf
'I will cultivate the field tomorrow'.
- b. ?anjullo-y go^{✓✓}ssanca
Anjullo-nom farmer (be)
'Anjullo is/has been a farmer'.
- c. miizza-t-i sa[✓]aapa - n - a
cow - pl-nom river-at-be
'The cows are/have been at the river'.

The simple clause with the imperfective aspect in (64a) has only ASP/TNS but no AGR in INFL. In (64b-c) the copular structures have only ASP/TNS as a verbal feature, although it is not clear whether it is perfect or imperfect. But there is no AGR in INFL. ASP/TNS governs and assigns nominative Case to a subject NP in each case like /taan-i/ 'I-nom' in (64a).

(ii) Type C clauses are non-finite. These include only infinitivals. Such clauses lack both AGR and ASP/TNS in INFL, and therefore, their subject positions are without Case. Thus, lexical subjects are not possible without violating the Case Filter. Therefore, such clauses have PRO as their subject, as stated in Chomsky (1981, 1980b: 26).

Contrary to this analysis, Ohman and Hailu (1976: 160) assume that the infinitive in this language is formed by suffixing -w to the imperfective stem of the verb. I shall argue against this proposal here. It is not only -w, as Ohman and Hailu have observed, which is attached to the verb stem; it is also -ssi and -yyo. All these three

forms can also appear in NPs as we can see in (65a) below. They can be treated as postpositions with the gloss 'to' or 'for'. As postpositions, they are attached to simple nominals as in (65a) and clausal NPs which includes infinitivals (as in (65b)).

- (65) a. balʔann-a [ʔhariy-a-w/ssi/yyo] maata ʔeh-asu
 Ballane-nom [donkey-acc- for] grass bring-3fs(pf)
 'Ballane brought grass for the donkey'.
- b. balʔann-a [ʔaʃuw-a Kant-ana-w/ssi/yyo]massa ʔeh-asu
 Ballane-nom [meat-acc cut-ing- for] knife bring-3fs
 (pf)
 'Ballane brought knife for cutting meat'.

Of course, there is the imperfective suffix -ana, ^didentical in form to the infinitive marker. But despite their similarity in form, the imperfective verb and the infinitive are responsible for the distinction between the finite Type B and the non-finite Type C clauses. The verb in the imperfective aspect with the suffix -ana heads a finite clause, which allows lexical subjects as shown in (64c) above. But with the suffix -ana, the infinitive, heads a non-finite clause which never allows lexical subjects but only PRO as the following example shows.

- (66) [ʔanjullo-y] [ʔoosuw-a-ppe] [simm-isi] PRO laaTa samm-ana-w/ssi/yyo]]
 Anjullo-nom work-acc-from return-3ms(pf) lunch buy-ing - for
 'Anjullo returned from work for buying lunch'.

To summarize, in terms of Case theory, using the features in INFL, Wolayta clauses may be classified into types A, B and C. Types A and B are finite clauses. Type A clauses have the feature $\langle \bar{+}AGR, +ASP/TNS \bar{_} \rangle$ in INFL, while type B clauses have the feature $\langle \bar{-}AGR, +ASP/TNS \bar{_} \rangle$. In spite of the differences in their INFL, the subject positions of type A and B clauses are governed and assigned nominative Case by INFL, which makes it possible for lexical subjects to occur in this position. Type C clauses are non-finite. They are always infinitivals. Conforming to the unmarked case in UG, the subject of an infinitival clause in this language is ungoverned and not assigned Case. Lexical NPs do not appear as subjects of such clauses. The subject is always PRO. This means that in this regard, Wolayta never manifests any of the marked properties discussed above like English, Portuguese, Italian, Oromo, or Amharic.

4.2. Passive Constructions

Passive constructions have been of interest to many theoretical linguists. As a result, different methods of analysis have been used by different theories.² In this study, I shall try to show how GB - theory attempts to analyze passive constructions in relation to the assignment of Case to NPs.

In the theoretical framework of GB, passive constructions are not treated by independent transformational rules. They are treated in terms of subtheories or principles like Case theory, θ -theory, the projection principle, etc.

Discussing the structure of morphological passive constructions in this theory, Chomsky makes distinction between syntactic and lexical passives. Lexical passives are morphologically complex; are adjectives or monadic predicates which are formed idiosyncratically in the lexicon like other lexical items. They are thematically restricted to assigning the θ -role of a direct object of a corresponding verb. Syntactic passives, on the other hand, are morphologically not complex, the meaning of the passive being determined not by the lexicon but only by the D- and S-structures. They require no thematic relation between the surface subject and the verbal base (Chomsky, 1981: 118).

When we have syntactic passive, then, following Chomsky (1981), the morphological passive verbs do not assign Case to the NPs they govern, because the passive morphology absorbs the Case. In such constructions the NPs governed by passive verbs are forced to move to positions where they can be assigned Case so as not to violate the

Case Filter and result in an ill-formed structure. This means that in a morphological passive construction $[_{NP}, VP]$ moves from its base position motivated by Case. From this Chomsky has formulated the two crucial properties of morphological passive:

- (67) a. $[_{NP}, S]$ does not receive a θ -role.
b. $[_{NP}, VP]$ does not receive Case within VP, for some choice of NP in VP (Chomsky, 1981: 124).

Accordingly, in English, sentences like (69) are derived from the underlying structures like (68) by the movement of the NP 'the bottle' which lacks Case in (68) by (67b). The NP moves to the subject position which is empty (by 67a), where it is assigned nominative Case by the governing AGR in INFL.

(68) $[_{IP}] e$ $[_{VP}]$ was broken the bottle $[_{NP}]$

(69) The bottle was broken.

There are, however, views suggesting that even though the Case absorption analysis works well for English, it does not apply to languages like Italian and Spanish (Jaeggli, 1986: 593) or Ukrainian (Sabin 1985: 655) where they give evidences that $[_{NP}, VP]$ in morphological passive constructions may be assigned Case in base position violating the condition (67b) of Chomsky. In light of these theoretical assumptions let us now consider the data from Wolayta.

Wolayta also has morphological passive constructions. The passive is formed in this language by a productive process of suffixation of -ett or -etett to the verb root, as in the following examples.

- (70) a. peer - ett - esi
tear - pass - 3ms (impf)
'be torn'.

- b. m - etett - esi
eat - pass - 3ms(impf)
'be eaten'.

Most transitive verbs passivize with the help of these morphological elements. There are a few verbs, however, which with morphological irregularity use a different lexical item with the sense of passive. For instance, the active verbs /woD-/ 'kill' and /ment-/ 'break' have the passive counterparts /hayK-/ 'be killed' or 'die' and /meKK-/ 'be broken', respectively, instead of the expected /woD-ett-/ and /ment-ett-/. Moreover, while morphological passive constructions in languages like English are copular, such structures in Wolayta are not copular. Consider the examples that follow.

- (71) a. ?imatta-y moys - ett - isi
 guest - nom see off - pass - 3ms(pf)
 'The guest has been seen off'.
- b. kana-y godariy-a-n m-etett-isi
 dog-nom hyena-acc-by eat - pass - 3ms(pf)
 'The dog has been eaten by the hyena'.

The next point to consider is whether the morphological passive construction in this language is syntactic or lexical. The formulation of passive by attaching the suffix -ett or -etett on the verb root is not idiosyncratic; but it is a predicatable process subject to a rule we may refer to as the passive suffixation rule. This suggests that passive construction is syntactic here.

A piece of evidence for this can be obtained from the comparison of morphological passive with constructions having lexical items with the sense of passive. For instance, the lexical item /meKK-/ 'be broken'

base generates the direct object of the corresponding active verb /ment-/ 'break' at subject position as shown in (72) below. Note that there is no movement in such constructions. But the morphological passive constructions like (73) require the movement of the $\langle \bar{NP}, VP \rangle$ to subject position as we can see from the D- and S-structures respectively in (73a-b).

(72) a. $\langle \bar{NP} \text{ ?anjullo-y} \quad \text{mitta} \quad \text{ment - isi} \rangle$
 Anjullo-nom wood(acc) break - 3ms(pf)
 'Anjullo has broken the wood'.

b. $\langle \bar{NP} \text{ mitta-y} \quad \text{meKK-isi} \rangle$
 wood-nom be broken-3ms(pf)
 'The wood has been broken'.

(73) a. $\langle \bar{NP} \text{ e} \quad \langle \bar{VP} \text{ ?ašo} \quad \text{CaaC - ett - isi} \rangle \rangle$
 meat roast - pass - 3ms(pf)

b. $\langle \bar{NP} \text{ ?ašo-yi} \quad \langle \bar{VP} \text{ ti} \quad \text{CaaC - ett - isi} \rangle \rangle$
 meat-nom roast - pass - 3ms(pf)
 'The meat has been roasted'.

The passive meaning from the morphological passive construction in (73) is thus determined by the properties of D- and S-structures, unlike the case in the lexical passive in (72b), where the passive sense is obtained from the lexical property of the particular verb idiosyncratically. Once the speaker has learned the semantic feature of the active verb, the passive sense in the syntactic passive is predicted from the D- and S-structures.

So far, I have attempted to substantiate my argument that there is syntactic passive construction in this language. In what follows I shall try to show how the analysis of syntactic passive (henceforth,

passive) construction can be carried out in Wolayta.

Due to the projection principle, the D-structure of a passive construction has an NP in VP. By (67a), $[_NP, S_]$ is empty, as shown in (73a). This empty position serves as a landing site for a moved constituent.

By (67b), the $[_NP, VP_]$ does not get Case in its base position, as a morphological passive verb does not assign Case to its complement. Therefore, motivated by the requirement of Case, the $[_NP, VP_]$ moves to the empty subject position at S-structure, leaving its trace behind so that it will not violate the projection principle. At the new site, the moved NP is assigned nominative Case by the governing AGR or ASP/TNS in INFL. (See the S-structure (73b) above).

From this follows that, in this language, the Case absorption analysis forwarded by Chomsky works as well as in English. There is no violation of Chomsky's crucial property of morphological passive stated in (67b), like the case in Spanish, Italian, or Ukrainian, which is pointed out by Jaeggli (1986) and Sabin (1985).

Finally, I shall point out some cases where the analysis followed above may fail to hold. According to Chomsky, passive constructions have no unitary syntactic characteristics across languages or even within a single language. For instance, syntactic passive may involve some kind of rule in one language but a different one in another. Even with a single language there may be passive morphology with movement, movement without passive morphology, or passive with neither passive morphology nor movement (Chomsky, 1981: 121). Accordingly, some constructions in this language have been observed with morphological

passive verb but without a moved NP in the manner shown above. Some examples are given below.

- (74) a. ?[TaaTa-y giig-ett-isi_]]
lunch-nom be ready-pass-3ms(pf)
'Lunch has been made ready'.
- b. ? [-šidda-y ?ut-ett-esi_]]
shidda(seat)-nom sit-pass-3ms(impf)
'The shidda(seat) lets one to sit on'.
- (75) a. ?anjullo-y bal?anni-ra sig-ett-isi
Anjullo-nom Ballane-with come to terms-pass-3ms(pf)
'Anjullo has come into terms with Ballane'.
- b. ?anjullo-y liKamambariy-a-ra yoot-ett-isi
Anjullo-nom chairman - acc - with talk-pass-3ms
'Anjullo talked to the chairman'.

(74a-b) are accepted by some of the informants as grammatical while by others they are rejected as ill-formed. The structures have the verbs /giig-/ 'be ready' and /?ut-/ 'sit' both of which are intransitive and cannot have complement NPs. In the passive construction, they have base generated subjects assigned nominative Case. Therefore, their D- and S-structures are isomorphic. In the normal case of passive structure in the language, one would have expected these verbs to undergo causativization before being passivized which would naturally have made them transitive with a property requiring an NP complement such that in the syntax this complement would have moved to subject position for Case when the structure becomes passive. But this has not been the case.

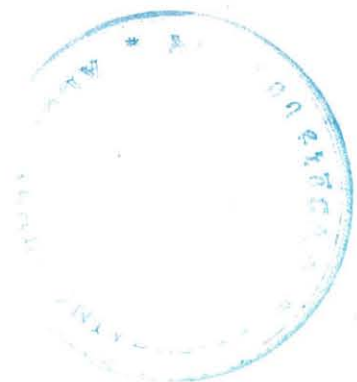
The fact that the structure itself is not accepted as grammatical by all speakers cause some doubt as to its being a native syntactic form. As the informants are Amharic speakers as a second language, it could be attributed to Amharic influence since we can find identical cases in this language, although it is difficult to come out with strong evidences now.

The 'structures in (75a-b) also have morphological passive verbs /sig-ett-/ 'come' into terms-pass' and /yoot-ett-/ 'talk-pass', respectively. But in (75a) the verb cannot have an internal argument since it is basically intransitive; and in (75b) the surface subject /?anjullo-y/ 'Anjullo-nom' cannot form an NP complement for the active counterpart of the verb /yoot-ett-/ 'talk-pass', as (76a) is ungrammatical. But this active verb may subcategorize a [_S-human_S] NP and PP complement as shown in (76b).

- (76) a. * [_Sgoššanca-y ?anjullo-a yoot-isi_S]
farmer-nom Anjullo-acc tell-3ms
- b. [_Sgoššanca-y [_{VP}?anjullo-ssi yohuw-a yoot-isi_S]
farmer-nom Anjullo-for news-acc tell-3ms(pf)
'The farmer told Anjullo the news'.

In light of this, an explanation that the NP /?anjullo/ is raised to subject position out of the pp when the verb becomes passive, may be proposed. But this is implausible for several questions cannot be answered. For example, what is the motivation for the movement of the NP? Is the movement syntactic? If so, how could we account for the possible Case conflict which may result as such a movement takes place? If not, how could we account for the assignment of nominative Case? and so on.

Any way, the problem remains unanswered by this study. The study has gone as far as identifying the problematic structure. Accounting for it is left for future research.



4.3. Raising Structures

According to Chomsky (1981: 127), an analogous condition to the two crucial properties of passive morphology (repeated here as (77a-b)) also hold for raising structures.

- (77) a. $[_NP, S_]$ does not receive a θ - role.
b. $[_NP, VP_]$ does not receive Case within VP.

Thus a raising construction in English may have an empty non- θ subject position and an infinitival complement at D-structure. Because the subject of the infinitival complement lacks Case in situ, there is an obligatory NP movement for Case, and at S-structure the NP moves to the matrix subject position which is empty. Here it is assigned nominative Case by INFL. From this ^{it} follows that raising is possible out of non-finite complements.

Based on such evidences, Rizzi (1982) advocates that raising out of finite complements is impossible (Baye, forthcoming (b)). But Grosu and Horvath (1984) predict that raising must be possible out of finite complements in pro-drop language that have empty complementizers, and present evidence from Rumanian. In support of Grosu and Horvath, Baye (forthcoming(b)) suggests in light of evidences from Amharic, a pro-drop language, that raising out of finite complements is possible. At the same time, he assumes that the empty subject position in a raising structure in languages like Amharic is an empty pleonastic, which can serve as a landing site for the raised NP. Besides, he shows that raising becomes possible in this language only from finite complements and only into a clause with empty complementizer.

The preceding analyses seem to suggest that for raising to take place the language shall satisfy one of the following two required conditions. The condition (78a) seems to be required for languages like English while the condition (78b) seem to be required for pro-drop languages like Amharic.

- (78) a. That a matrix clause with an empty subject position must embed a non-finite clause with a lexical subject at D - structure, or;
- b. That a matrix clause with an empty pleonastic subject must embed a finite clause which has an empty complementizer position at D - structure.

In the light of this theoretical background let us consider the case in Wolayta. This language satisfies the condition (78b) as it is a pro-drop language. But raising is not possible in such structure. What may be translated into English in raising constructions have matrix clauses with empty pleonastic subjects. Within the matrix clauses are complex NPs whose finite clausal complements have empty complementizers. Consider the following examples.

- (79) a. $\bar{L}_{IP} \text{ e } \bar{L}_{NP} \bar{L}_{CP} \bar{L}_{IP}$?anjullo-y tambuw-a ?uy-iyā_]]
Anjullo-nom tobacco-acc drink-impf-
-ba_] masat - esi_]
-CL(acc) seem - 3ms(impf)
'Anjullo seems to smoke tobacco'.
- b. $\bar{L}_{IP} \text{ e } \bar{L}_{NP} \bar{L}_{CP} \bar{L}_{IP}$ misiriy-a ?asuw-a doys-iyā-]]
woman-nom meat-acc drinks-impf-
-ba_] masat - esi_]
-CL(acc) seem - 3ms(impf)
'The woman seems to cook meat'

The subject positions of the matrix clauses in (79a-b) are empty pleonastics. The matrix verbs in each example have a complex NP as a complement. The complex NPs headed by the accusative Case marked indefinite pronominal clitic /-ba/ have clausal complements. The clausal complement in each of the examples has a finite verb and both its arguments (internal and external) are satisfied by the two NPs. The subjects of these clausal complements are not raised to the matrix subject which is occupied by the empty pleonastic. These NPs are base generated at the subject positions of the clausal complements and remain in situ. The empty complementizer positions also remain so in the syntax.

One may change the AGR element in the matrix verb in (79b), for example, which is 3ms into 3fs, so that it matches in features with the subject /miširiy-a/ 'woman-nom' and see if raising were the case. But this will give a change of meaning to the matrix verb /masat-/ 'seem' which becomes 'resemble', followed by a change in the structure of the complex NP, such that it becomes a nominal head heading a relative clause. In this case, the NP /miširiy-a/ 'woman-nom' is base generated as the matrix subject and there is no empty pleonastic as we can see from the isomorphic D - and S - structure in (80) below.

- (80) $\begin{array}{l} \llbracket_{\text{IP}} \text{ miširiy-a } \llbracket_{\text{VP}} \llbracket_{\text{NP}} \llbracket_{\text{CP}} \llbracket_{\text{IP}} \text{ pro } \text{ ?ašuw-a } \text{ doys-iy-a} \rrbracket \text{ -} \rrbracket \\ \text{woman-nom} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{meat-acc cook-impf-nom -} \\ \text{-ba} \rrbracket \text{ masat - aw - su} \rrbracket \\ \text{-CL(acc) seem-impf - 3fs} \\ \text{'The woman resembles someone who is cooking meat'}. \end{array}$

Therefore, this suggests that in this language, what might be translated into English in a raising structure is not actually a

raising construction. But it is only a matrix clause with a complex NP as a complement headed by a clitic pronoun. There is no other construction which manifests a raising of an embedded NP into its respective matrix clause. The fact that the language satisfies the condition (78b) but does not allow raising suggests that this condition cannot be taken as a universal condition for raising to take place in such a language.

Notes

1. Henceforth, instead of using $[^{-+}ASP]$ and $[^{-+}TNS]$ as two separate features, a single binary feature $[^{-+}ASP/TNS]$ will be used in contradistinction to the other feature $[^{-+}AGR]$ in INFL.

2. Several basic differences in the analysis of passive constructions persisted in one form or another from the start of generative grammar down to the present. Traditionally in generative grammar passive constructions were assumed to derive from active sentences. Gradually theories emerging in syntax have given different analysis for the passive.

According to Nerbonne (1986), the followers of phrase structure Grammar like Bresnan and himself regard passivization as lexical rule since it applies to lexical items and not to phrases or sentences (Nerbonne, 1986: 915). On the other hand, Relational Grammarians like Perlmutter, Postal, Comrie, Keenan, etc. believe that a universal characterization of passive constructions can be arrived at, not in terms of word order, Case, or morphology, but rather in terms of a change in grammatical relations. Thus, passive construction

must be explained either as mechanisms of direct object promotion or subject demotion; and as a result passivization can be characterized as changing the transitivity of the sentence (Shibatani, 1985: 822). Langacker in his Space Grammar framework objects to the Relational Grammarian's explanation of demotion or promotion and attempts to analyze the passive using semantic criteria. He assumes that a passive structure does not derive from an active structure and that the by-phrase is basically a by-phrase and not a demoted subject (Langacker, 1982: 56 - 57). Others have presented a functional approach for the analysis of the passive construction based on the theoretical framework of "the Functional Sentence Perspective" developed by Prague School linguists (Bubenik, 1979). Still others (for instance, ethnolinguists) whose research interest goes beyond the language structure, are interested in pragmatic and functional explanations of passive constructions (Kroskrity, 1985: 306). In general, there are a number of approaches to passive construction. As Riemsdijk and Williams (1986: 128) have put it, the issue remains complex and as yet unresolved. This study, however, does not go into the evaluation of these varied approaches. Here, solely the GB - approach to the passive is followed.

CHAPTER 5

5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I shall give the highlights of the findings of the study and indicate residual cases that require further research.

1. Wolayta has morphological (or concrete) Cases. That is, the Cases assigned to NPs in this language are phonetically realized. The morphemes which represent the same Case show different phonological forms depending on the gender of the NPs they are suffixed to.

2. Nominative Case is realized by the suffix -i (which may sometimes be phonetically realized as -y) in masculine and plural NPs, but by -a in feminine NPs. Accusative Case is realized by the suffix -a (alternating with -u in plural NPs) in masculine and plural NPs, and by -o in feminine NPs. However, these suffixes are affected by some phonological changes when they are attached to NPs ending in vowels. This study has not dealt with the phonological rules that are responsible for the changes. These are left open for further research.

3. The claim made by some scholars that the Case suffixes are gender, number or definiteness markers is refuted by counter examples seen in the language.

4. The Case assigners in the language are only the categories INFL, V and P.

5. The Case recipients are only NPs, which includes derived nominals. But clauses are not subject to the Case Filter.

6. The language has only two Cases, nominative and accusative. Evidences are given to substantiate this view in the study.

7. Nominative Case is assigned by AGR or ASP/TNS in INFL. The subject of a finite clause is assigned nominative Case. Accusative Case is assigned to an NP by transitive verbs and postpositions. Besides, in constructions with verbs of double NP complement, one of the complement NPs is assigned accusative Case inherently at D - structure, while the other, which appears adjacent to the verb is assigned accusative Case normally by the governing verb.

8. The complement and specifier NPs in possessive constructions which are headed by nominal heads are also assigned accusative Case. Two possible explanations are given about the assignment of this Case. The first states that the Case is assigned structurally by the governing nominal head which appears adjacent to the complement. It is argued that this assumption contradicts the GB assumption which states that +N governors assign genitive Case. The second explanation says that accusative Case is assigned to the complement and specifier NPs by default for there is no structural Case assigner. According to this explanation, nominal heads are not Case assigners and all NPs have Case features with default Case value inherently. This explanation does not contradict the GB assumption that says +N categories assign genitive Case and -N categories assign accusative Case.

9. Both nominative and accusative Cases are assigned under the syntactic relationship of government. The Case assigner governs the Case recipient.

10. The direction of Case assignment in this language is from right to left. This means that in this language Case is assigned by a head which is always in the right of the Case recipient. This makes the language typologically head-final.

11. Case is assigned both at D - and S - structures in the language. Inherent Case is assigned to one of the objects of a verb in structures with verbs of double NP complement while structural Case is assigned under the structural relationship of government and adjacency by AGR or ASP/TNS in INFL, or by transitive verbs and postpositions. Default Case is assigned to complements and specifier NPs in possessive constructions at D - structure.

12. In Wolayta, there are mainly finite and nonfinite clauses. Finite clauses have ASP/TNS or both ASP/TNS and AGR in INFL. This governs the subject NP and assigns Case to it. Hence a lexical NP appears in subject position. Non-finite clauses have neither AGR nor ASP/TNS in INFL. Their subject position is ungoverned and lexical subjects are not possible here. The subject always becomes PRO.

13. The non-finite clauses in Wolayta are infinitivals. There are no finite-infinitives in the language as in the case of Oromo or Amharic. Like the unmarked case in UG, also this language does not allow lexical NPs at the subject positions of infinitives.

14. The language has syntactic passive constructions. In most such structures $[\bar{NP}, VP]$ does not get Case in base position. So, it moves to an empty non- θ subject position for Case where it is assigned nominative Case by the governing AGR or ASP/TNS in INFL.

15. Certain passive constructions have been observed with passive morphology but without NP - movement. Some of these are accepted by speakers marginally, which seems to indicate that they are not native syntactic forms. Perhaps they are results of Amharic influence, as all the informants are exposed very much to Amharic influence. However, the explanations for these and the passive constructions of this nature that have unanimous acceptance by informants are left for future research.

16. There are no raising constructions in the language. What are translated in raising constructions in languages like English are clauses with complex NPs as verbal complements. No NP is raised from the embedded clause to the matrix clause in such structures. Neither are there other structures where such a raising is possible from an embedded clause to a matrix clause.

17. As far as theoretical assumptions go, it seems that a language must satisfy one of the two conditions to have a raising construction. These conditions are:

- a) That a matrix clause with an empty subject position must embed a non-finite clause with a lexical subject at D - structure, or;
- b) That a matrix clause with an empty pleonastic subject must embed a finite clause which has an empty complementizer position at D - structure.

The condition in (a) is required for a non-pro-drop language like English, while the condition in (b) seem to be required for pro-drop languages like Amharic. Wolayta satisfies the condition (b) as it is a pro-drop language. But raising is not possible in such structures

in this language. This suggests that the condition (b) cannot be taken to be universal for raising to take place.

18. While most of the properties of Wolayta Case fall consistently into the universal properties, some are found to be particular to the language. These are:

- (a) that it has only two Cases, nominative and accusative, and no more;
- (b) that an NP governed by a nominal head receives accusative Case rather than genitive Case; and,
- (c) that there is no raising construction in the language as it is true in languages like English where an embedded NP moves to the matrix clause mainly for reasons of Case assignment.

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DECLARATION

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

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