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NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE IN HARARI

BY

Beniam Mitiku

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
Addis Ababa University**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the
Degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics**

**July, 2004
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Abstract

This study reports on the noun phrase of Harari. It gives a descriptive account of the structure of the noun phrase in the language.

Harari is among the Ethio-Semitic languages on which so far little linguistic studies have been made and documented. The descriptive works on the language are not complete and most except a chosen few are sketchy. This proves a considerable research gap and lack of descriptive works pertaining to the language in general and its syntax in particular. This has led to the present thesis which would be the first detailed syntactic study on the language presented after a decade since Teshome (1992). Its pertinacity would therefore be to some extent to address the lack of descriptive works on the language.

This study, based on syntactic-semantic grounds, describes certain grammatical or lexical formatives - articles and quantifiers - as specifiers; and other phrasal structures - adjectival and nominal phrasal structures - and clausal structures - relative clauses - as complements. Both of these are optional and positionally prenominal structural constituents that may occur with an obligatory simple nominal head in noun phrases. It also discloses that the two hold independent structural positions when both occur in the same noun phrase structure. The specifiers always precede the phrasal and clausal categories described as complements.

The study also claims that, in Harari, there is no morphological affix for definiteness, and argues that the forms *zi* and *z* are distributionally distinct markers introducing relative clauses constituting perfective and imperfective verb forms respectively.

In general, this study provides empirical evidence for classifying Harari as a head-final language.

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Symbols and Abbreviations

acc	-	Accusative
caus	-	Causative
dat	-	Dative
def	-	Definiteness
f	-	Feminine
gen	-	Genitive
impf	-	Imperfective
Inf	-	Infinitive
loc	-	Locative
m	-	Masculine
neg	-	Negative
nom	-	Nominative
O	-	Object Marker
ord	-	Ordinal Numeral
pass	-	Passive
pf	-	Perfective
pl	-	Plural
poss	-	Possessive
prs	-	Present
pst	-	Past
RM	-	Relative Marker
S	-	Subject Marker
s	-	Singular
1	-	First person
2	-	Second person
3	-	Third person
C	-	Consonant
V	-	Vowel
:	-	Vowel Length
*	-	Ungrammatical construction
∅	-	Empty category

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Chapter One

1. Introduction

The present study on noun phrases of Harari can be assumed to have been conceived, to some extent, to address the problem of insufficient linguistic works done on the language. Existing works done on Harari apparently are suggestive of the prevalence of a gap in the study on the Harari syntax in particular and the language in general. From the studies so far carried out on the Harari language, most are sketchy and mainly concerned with aspects of morphology and phonology. While few detailed studies have been documented over the years, apparently none seem to have dealt with aspects of the noun phrase in the language. The study at hand is therefore meant to narrow or to some degree fill the research gap present in the Harari syntax by thoroughly attempting to attend to the proper portrayal of the structure of its noun phrase. This involves the identification and analysis of the various constituents of the noun phrase and their syntactic and semantic relations with heads within the domain.

Findings in the present study are believed to have some imperative contributions in that first, they may contribute to the pedagogy of Harari and may also provide data for comparative studies. And second, they may provide data for further research in the language, especially for those studies which attempt to test the data in light of linguistic theories.

1.1 The Harari People and their Language

The Harari are among one of the Semitic peoples living in the country. They reside in Harar, a city situated some 537 kilometers to the east of the capital while still others reside in various regions of Ethiopia.

The name "Harari" has long often been used by foreigners to refer to these people and was recently officially put to use by the government. However, "Adere" is a much favored name used by non-Hararis in the area. These people call themselves by the name *ge:y* and their language *ge:ysinan*.

According to the 1984 population and housing census made by the Central Statistics Authority (CSA), the total population of the Harari people, including those who reside in other regions of the country, is 25,673. A recent publication - 'Ethnologue: Languages of the World' (2003), states that there are 21,283 mother tongue speakers, 7,766 second language speakers and 2,351 monolinguals. Quoted in the same source as (Hetzron 1997:486), an estimated 20,000 Hararis also reside in the capital – Addis Ababa.

It can be said that almost all Hararis are followers of Islam. This religion demands that each individual reads or recites at the least a single verse from their holy book – the Koran, hence showing their familiarity with and usage of the Arabic language (Cf. Leslau, 1965:1).

Though an Ethio-Semitic language, the vocabulary of Harari is very much influenced by the Cushitic presence surrounding its geographical setting (Cf. Leslau, 1958:1). History has its own part to play in the language of the Hararis as it is also heavily intertwined with the Arabic language in vocabulary as well as writing system as the language doesn't have any (Cf. Leslau, 1956:1).

The Harari language is often classified by most scholars as being connected to the East Gurage group (Silti, Wolane and Zay); within the South Ethiopian Semitic branch (Cf. Cohen (1931, 1950) and Polotsky (1956) as quoted in Fellman (2001); Hetzron (1972), Bender (1976)). The following outline is made representing the tree diagram from Bender (1976:29) to show the classification of the Harari language.

- 1. Proto Ethio-Semitic
 - 1.1 North Ethio-Semitic
 - 1.1.1 Geez
 - 1.1.2 Tigre, Tigrinya
 - 1.2 South Ethio-Semitic
 - 1.2.1 Outer South- Ethio-Semitic
 - 1.2.2 Transversal South Ethio-Semitic
 - 1.2.2.1 Northern: Amharic, Argoba
 - 1.2.2.2 Southern
 - 1.2.2.2.1 East Gurage
 - 1.2.2.2.2 Harari

1.2 Review of Related Literature

One of the earlier linguistic studies on the Harari language was made by Leslau (1956) compiled in a book called 'Arabic Loan Words'. It emphasizes on the phonetic and morphological properties of loan words from Arabic found in Harari.

Leslau (1959) has presented a study on Harari and other Ethio-Semitic languages in Ethiopia, giving a comparative analysis in his book 'Sketches in Ethiopic Classifications'. One essential finding worth mentioning in Leslau's work is the presentation of the phonemic inventory of Harari. He identifies 24 distinct consonants and 7 vowel phonemes, which are put as follows.

Labials	: b, f, m, w	
Dentals	: (including sibilants) d, t, t' (glottalized) z, s	
Liquids	: n, l, r	
Palatals	: ñ, š, y	affricates: ġ, č, and č'
Velars	: g, k, q ¹ , x	
Glottal Stop	: ʔ	
Laryngeal	: h	

The Vowels being: i, e, a, i, ä, u, and o

¹ This phoneme is considered to be k', in Teshome (1982). This study adopts Teshome's phoneme in the transcription

religiousto

Leslau (1960), in 'Rassegna sistudu Etiopici', deals with a handful of morphological and lexicographical issues within the Harari vocabulary.

Teshome (1982) in his thesis 'Harari Phonology' reexamines the phonemic inventory of Harari. He confirms and shares the view of Leslau (1959) concerning the discovered phonemic inventory of Harari. Moreover, his study includes suprasegmental features of the Harari language making note on gemination, and vowel length, which according to the study, have phonemic values. Teshome's study has also disclosed that Harari exhibits a syllable structure with only simple nuclei having open and closed syllable types with distinct distribution in words.

Teshome (1992) is a detailed study done on Harari. Teshome, in his MA thesis, analyzes the VP complement structures of Harari in light of basic insights of the Government and Binding Theory. He shows that various phrases and clauses can function as complements of verbs. Accordingly, he presents that directional or adpositional complements, NP complements, and cognate phrasal complements are recognized as strictly sub-categorized by statives, copulatives, and semi-transitive verbal heads respectively occurring within a V' structure. At the V'' level, he identifies optional complements which restrict the V' structure such as the expressions of time, manner, etc. Moreover, he identifies sentence adverbials as complements that occur with V'' making the next higher syntactic structure, which is V'''.

The most recent as well as the last linguistic work done on Harari is a thesis by Eshetu (2000). This thesis, "The Noun Morphology of Harari", identifies the inflectional and derivational morphemes related to nouns. In addition, it attempts to address compound noun formation in the language.

1.3 The Present Study

The studies that have just been reviewed are but a small portion of the evident implicative assertion that almost a lot of research yet awaits the Harari language.



Not only is the language amidst those that have not been thoroughly studied, the area that this present study is concerned with has not been dealt with by researchers of the past. It therefore follows that this fact has brought about an indispensable desire on the part of the researcher to provide a descriptive account of the noun phrase of Harari.

Consequently, this study is organized into two major chapters the first of which deals with heads and specifiers. The second one makes an effort to closely scrutinize complements of simple nominal heads.

The data collected for the analysis of this study are elicited from individuals who are native to the language and the culture.

The transcription used in this study is phonemic.

Chapter Two

2. Heads and Specifiers

As stated in the previous chapter the main objective of this study is to examine the structure of the noun phrase (NP) in Harari.

An NP is a higher level structure which exhibits certain levels of phrasal expansion for a head noun. The structural constituents of the NP in Harari can be categorized into two groups. These are the head noun and the constituents that specify or modify the head noun. The latter group can be divided into the categories of specifiers and complements based on their syntactic-semantic relations with the head noun. And henceforth, we shall use brackets to indicate a form or a string of forms that either constitute or serve as an NP.

Skipping complements of NP for treatment in the next chapter, here we shall take up heads and specifiers.

2.1 Heads

In a category-based grammar, it is assumed that major lexical categories such as nominals can expand into phrasal categories to which they may serve as heads. Hence, NPs, as phrasal categories, are headed by nominals.

Nominals constitute a major lexical category and serve as heads of NPs. This category may embrace simple nominals (non-derived) and derived nominals. Nominals are obligatory elements of NPs. They alone can form an NP as shown in the following structures in (1).

1. (a)

[hangur]	aman	int-a
food	good	be-3ms
'food is good'		

- (b)

[dāw]	k'ali	int-a
goat	expensive	be-3ms
'goat is expensive'		

- (c) **[mä-roja]** **yägäsi** **int-a**
 inf- steal bad be-3ms
 'stealing is bad'
- (d) **[mä -bla?]** **aman** **int-ta**
 inf- eat good be-3ms
 'eating is good'
- (e) **[azzo]** **di:ǰ-a**
 he come pf.-3ms
 'he has come'

In the above structures of (1a) and (b), the bracketed nouns **/hangur/** -'food' and **/däw/** - 'goat' respectively, are head nouns which constitute a NP. These types of nouns are referred to as simple nominals. Whereas in (c) and (d), **/mä-roja/** -'stealing' and **/mä-bla?/** -'eating', are examples of derived nominals which occur as heads in each structure respectively. Also, in (e) the pronoun **/azzo/** 'he' functions in the same way as the other nouns in (1); hence pronouns may also be treated within the category of nominals.

It is assumed that words belonging to grammatical categories share a common set of grammatical properties. In this connection, Radford (1981:37) states, "...a principled description of the grammar of any language requires us to recognize that all words in the language belong to a restricted set of grammatical categories".

It would therefore be a necessary task to examine the relevance of the above assumption in light of the Harari data and attempt to identify the category of nominals in the language by providing syntactic evidence. In what follows, we will do a substitution test which may help us capture the distributional regularities in the class of nominals.

For example, the [---] marked position in structure (2) below can only be filled by an appropriate kind of noun.

2.	[-----]	aman good	int-a be-3ms
----	---------	---------------------	------------------------

Thus, as illustrated in (3), it is possible to insert nouns like the following in the above structure.

3.	(a)	[däw] goat 'Goat is good'	aman good	int- a be-3ms
	(b)	[mi:] water 'Water is good'	aman good	int- a be-3ms
	(c)	[färid] F 'Ferid is fine'	aman fine	int- a be- 3ms
	(d)	[mä- ñe?a] inf- sleep 'Sleeping is good'	aman good	int- a be-3ms

However, substitution of other categories for the bracketed nominals in (3) will lead the structures to ungrammaticality, as we see from (4) below.

4.	(a)	* [gidi:r] big	aman good	int- a be-3ms
	(b)	* [däläg-a] work-pf-3ms	aman good	int- a be-3ms
	(c)	* [kut] like	aman good	int- a be-3ms

7.	(a)	* a:n	[gidi:r]	ʔu- wudd-ah
		I	big	I like-impf-I
	(b)	* a:n	[bäläʔ- a]	ʔu- wudd-ah
		I	eat	I like-impf-I
	(c)	* a:n	[kut]	ʔu- wudd-ah
		I	like	I like-impf-I

Structures like (7) are ill-formed as the verb's [**wudd-**] 'like', lexical requirement is not satisfied. The verb lacks the required complement that can serve as its object¹.

The substitution tests we have made so far seem to be sufficient enough to indicate distributional regularities with respect to the positions that nominals can occupy in sentences. In other words, it is evident from the comparison of (3) and (6) that the nouns occur in the same positions where they substitute one another in structures of sentences. For the reason just set out it may follow that nominals seem to form a distinct distributional category from other categories such as verbs, adjectives, etc.

In what follows we shall attempt to identify the kinds of nominals in Harari.

Nominals², in Harari, could generally be classified as simple (non-derived) and derived, the latter being results of some derivational processes. Simple nominals may subsume 'Proper' nouns and 'Common' nouns. The latter could further be classified as [+COUNT] and [-COUNT]. The nominals used in (3) and (6) above are given below as these epitomize the classes and sub classes of nominals just outlined.³

¹ Verbs like /wudd-/ 'like' are subcategorized for a noun (phrase) or a clause as their complement.

² Henceforth, we shall use the term nominal to refer to the category otherwise expressed in terms of distinct sub classes.

³ The nominal category may also subsume pronouns as these function like nouns (see examples (1e) and (6d).

8. (a) **[dāw]** 'goat' [+COUNT]
 (b) **[mi:]** 'water' [- COUNT]
 (c) **[fārid]** 'F' (Proper Noun)
 (d) **[mä-ñe?a]** 'sleeping' (Derived Nominal)

Here, one thing should be emphasized. It should now be clear that the above nouns are considered as sub classes of the major category – nominal – on syntactic grounds pertaining to distributional regularities and tendencies of free substitution within sentences. (Cf. examples (3) and (6)).

Below we shall examine the occurrences of the above nominal forms with different constituents in NP structures in which they occur as heads.

For example, the structures in (9) below show some of the positions in which the simple nominal /dāw/ - 'goat' occurs within NPs.

9. (a) **[yi dāw]** 'this goat'
 this goat
- (b) **[ko?ot dāw-(ač)]** 'two goats'
 two goat-(pl.)
- (c) **[bājih dāw-(ač)]** 'many goats'
 many goat-(pl.)
- (d) **[gidi: r dāw]** '(a) big goat'
 big goat
- (e) **[dāw kut]** 'like goat'
 goat like
- (f) **[dāw -ze]** ' her goat'
 goat poss.3fs

The structures in (9) show that the simple nominal /dāw/ 'goat' may occur following a demonstrative, as in (a), a numeral, as in (b), an indefinite quantifier, as in (c), and an adjective in (d). It also occurs preceding a postposition and a suffixal possessive as in (e) and (f), respectively.

Proper nouns similarly, except in some positions may occur in the positions in which the noun /dāw/ - 'goat' occurs, as observed in (9). For example, the personal name /fārid/ -'F' can freely substitute /dāw/ - 'goat' in positions (9) (a), (e), and (f). Corresponding to (9) (a), (e) and (f), (10) (a), (b), and (c) are given below respectively.

10. (a) [yi: fārid] 'this Ferid'
 this F
- (b) [fārid kut] 'like Ferid'
 F like
- (c) [fārid – ze] 'her Ferid'
 F -her

Example (10) shows that proper nouns like /fārid/ can occur with demonstratives as in (a), a postposition as in (b) and a possessive suffix as in (c). Moreover, though not common but tolerable, is the occurrence of proper nouns preceded by quantifiers⁴. Again, (d) and (e) in (10) are given corresponding to (b) and (c) in (9).

- (d) [koʔot fārid – ač] 'two Ferids'
 two F

⁴ The occurrence of a quantifier with proper nouns as in (10) (d) and (e) is rarely acceptable in situations where two or more persons known to have the same name are addressed. For example, as in:

[bajih fāridač]	idde – be	nar - u
many 'F' – pl	here – loc	be-pt-3pl
'Many Fs were here'		

(e) **[bäjih färid –ač]** 'many Ferids'
 many F- pl.

But the proper noun in question is strictly not able to take the position of /däw/ - 'goat' in (10) (d) or the structure would be the ungrammatical (11).

11. * **[gidi:r färid]**
 big F

The above structure reveals that proper nouns can not occur with adjectives. But such structures like (11) can be recovered when the adjective is made definite by a relative clause as in (12):

12. (a) **[gidi:r – zi-t-a färid]**
 big RM – be-3ms F
 'Ferid, the big one'

On the other hand, derived nominals of Harari in general, may function in the same way as simple nominals do, i.e. they may serve as heads of NPs. However, like proper nouns, they tend to be restricted hence do not occur in some of the positions indicated for the simple nominal /däw/ 'goat' in (9), above. Compare the following examples.

13. (a) **[yi [mä-dläg]]**
 this inf – work
 'this working'
- (b) * **[ko?ot mä-dläg]**
 two inf – work
- (c) **[bäjih mä-dläg]**
 much inf– work
 'much working'
- (d) * **[gidir mä-dläg]**
 big inf– work

- (e) **[mä-d läg kut]**
 inf- work like
 'like working'
- (f) **[mä-d läg - ze⁵]**
 inf- work - her
 'her working'

As illustrated in (13) /mä-dläg/ -'working' occurs in the positions following a demonstrative as in (a), a quantifier as in (c), and preceding a post position and a genitive agentive as in (e) and (f), respectively.

By contrast, the structures in (b) and (d) where /mä-dläg/ - 'working' is preceded by the definite quantifier /koʔot/ - 'two' and the adjective modifier /gidi:r/ - 'big' give rise to ungrammaticality because of a semantic constraint.

Thus, in (13) (b), the derived nominal /mä-dläg/ -'working' is not compatible with numeral quantifiers by virtue of its meaning. Such nominals like gerundives denote state of actions and hence they may be modified by measure phrases such as in (14a) below, but not by direct counting like other derived nominals such as in (b).

14. (a) **[[koʔot saʔa] mä-dläg]**
 two hour infv – work
 Lit. two hour working
 'working for two hours'
- (b) **[koʔot diläga]**
 two work
 'two jobs'

Again, (13) (d) is a semantically anomalous structure as the derived nominal /mä-dläg/ - 'working' is not compatible with adjective modifiers like /gidi:r/ -'big'.

⁵ This possessive affix is used as an agentive with derived nominals.

But this structure can be recovered by using a different adjective modifier as in (15).

15. **[aman mä-dläg]**
 good inf –work
 ‘doing good’

In the discussion so far we have treated nominals as heads of the noun phrase structures.

Following the brief account regarding the occurrences of nominal heads with various structural constituents, it can be said that simple nominal heads, in general, may allow most of the specifiers or modifiers considered. In contrast, it appears that derived nominal heads are to some extent subject to semantic restrictions hence they do not allow certain specifiers or modifiers unless the structures are ungrammatical. This may suggest that derived nominals seem to select different structural constituents in their occurrence as heads of NPs.

Hereafter the discussion on noun phrases will proceed with special reference to simple nominal heads. Hence, in the next section we shall take up simple nominal specifiers in the context of Harari.

2.2 Specifiers

In this section, we shall examine the specifiers of simple nominal heads.

Baye (1988) defines the types of specifiers in question as “lexical or grammatical formatives that occur with a noun head in phrasal structures in order to limit the referential or quantitative scope of the head.”

In light of the above view; specifiers may subsume articles and quantifiers, which are entity and quantity denoting elements, respectively.

2.2.1 Articles

Articles are entity denoting elements that may appear with nouns as suffixes or lexical formatives in Harari. They may specify a head noun by limiting its reference either to an identified member or to any one member from the class of entity it may denote (cf. Baye, 1988) Hence based on that function, articles can be divided in to two groups, namely indefinite articles and definite articles.

However, before the discussion on articles a short remark regarding the generic references of nouns is in order.

Without articles the occurrence of nouns alone in sentences may correlate with generic interpretations. In Harari, this may be demonstrated in the following examples.

16. (a) **[wānag]** **gidir** **int – a**
lion big be – 3ms
'Lion is big'
- (b) **[t'ay]** **k'ali** **int- a**
sheep expensive be- 3ms
'Sheep is expensive'

In the above examples, the nouns /wānag/ 'lion' as in (a) and /t'ay/ 'sheep' as in (b) have generic readings in the sense that they refer to the entire class of 'lion' and 'sheep' respectively, as being distinct from other classes of animals. In other words, they may not refer to members from their respective class of animals they designate. The use of articles with nouns would therefore be one of limiting such

a wide reference either to unidentified members or to particular ones, comprising the whole class.

2.2.1.1 Indefinite Articles

In Harari, head nouns can be marked as indefinite by lexical formatives which comprise /**kit't'e**/ - 'any', and the numeral /**ahad**/ - 'one'⁶. Within NPs these formatives may serve as indefinite articles and occur in prenominal positions as we shall see from below.

17. (a) **[kit't'e** **?ussu?]** **gar** **mä-wxäb** **färäk – a**
any man house to buy able – 3ms
'Any man can buy a house'
- (b) **[ahad** **?ussu?]**⁷ **di: ʃ - a**
one man come-pf-3ms
'(A) man has come'
- (c) **[k't't'e** **attay]**
any place
'any place'
- (d) **[ahad** **k'ähät]**
one girl
a girl

⁶ / **kit't'e** / and / **ahad** / are basically quantifiers but described here as indefinite articles.

⁷ The use of /**ahad**/ in such structures may create ambiguity between its definite reading as a quantifier and indefinite reading as an indefinite article unless it is clear from a context.

In (17), the form /**kit't'e**/ 'any', in (a) and(c) serves as an indefinite article and expresses the head nouns as indefinite. Also, the numeral /**ahad**/ 'one' in (b) and (d), is used to indicate indefiniteness. Semantically the two formatives show a little disparity in that /**kit't'e**/ has the sense of 'any one of...' while /**ahad**/ may be read as 'one of ...'. Consequently, in the above structures the former limits the reference of the heads to unidentified members of a group and the latter to one unidentified member from the entire class of entities under consideration.

In the structures of (17), the position of the specifiers is always preceding the heads. As it is evident from (18) below, the strict precedence relation cannot be reversed.

18. (a) * [**k'ähat** **ahad**]
 girl one
- (b) * [**attay** **k't't'e**]
 place any

Structures like in (18) are ungrammatical as the head /**k'ähat**/ 'girl' and /**attay**/ 'place' cannot occur preceding their respective specifiers /**ahad**/ 'one' and /**k't't'e**/ 'any'. The head should always follow the specifier.

Apart from these, it is also common in Harari to express indefiniteness by the relative clause /**zi- xan- a**/ which may nearly be glossed as 'unidentified/unfamiliar'.⁸ Look at the following examples

19. (a) [**zi – xan - a** **?ussu?**] **di: j – a**
 RM – be -3ms man come-pf-3ms
 'A man has come'

⁸ The general notion is that relative clauses usually define a noun. However the use of this form with nouns is to indicate indefiniteness. This could be parallel to the Amharic form given below which attributes indefiniteness to nouns.

[yä –hon- ä] lĩ j
 Rm- be- 3ms boy
 'a / an unknown / unidentified / boy'

- (b) **[zi – xan - a gar]** **hal**
 RM - be -3ms house exist
 'There is a house'
- (c) **[zi -xan- ti k'ähät]** **mo:t - ti**
 RM-be - f girl die-pf-3fs
 'a girl died'

In (19), the form /zixana/ in (a) and (b), in each case, is used to limit the reference of the head nouns to an unidentified members of a set. This form also marks a feminine head noun as indefinite by overtly showing a gender agreement as shown in (c). Semantically, the indefiniteness with the above structures is similar to those expressed by the numeral /ahad/ 'one' in (17b) and (d).

Regarding the NP structures examined so far, it can be said that the associated indefinite readings are ascribed to the specifiers that strictly occur in the prenominal positions. Moreover, such specifiers as indefinite articles are used to initiate new idea to a discourse.

2.2.1.2 Definite Articles

As already noted, indefinite articles are one of two ways of restricting the generic reference of a noun to an unidentified member (individual or thing). Definite articles on the other hand specify a noun by giving a definite reference to the entity it may denote.

The class of definite articles may embody the definite determiner, demonstratives, pronominals, and certain genitive NPs.

2.2.1.2.1 The Definite Determiner⁹

This may refer to an anaphoric element, like the English '*the*' that specifies nouns as definite. Thus, such elements are referential to a noun to which a mention is already made, and is known. (Cf. Baye (1988))

In some Ethio-Semitic languages, including Silt'i, which is thought to be a close relative of Harari, this element exists as being a suffix to nouns in order to determine a reference to particular entities which have already been discoursed. This can be evident from (20) as it comprises a single example from Amharic, Silt'i and Wollene, and sources from which these are quoted.

(20)	(a)	[liŋ - u] boy-def	'the boy'	<i>Amharic</i>	(Haileyesus, 1999)
	(b)	[miiš - i] boy-def	'the boy'	<i>Silt'i</i>	(Rawda, 2000)
	(c)	[miš - i] man-def	'the man'	<i>Wollene</i>	(Woinshet, (2001)

In the examples referred to above, one can observe an apparent parallelism among the languages as having a morpheme which encodes definiteness. As a result, the bracketed NPs, in each case, have definite readings, i.e. refer to a specific entity whose identity is assumed to be known.

The above reference was made for the sake of convenience so that one might contrast it with the case in Harari.

⁹ The term 'determiner' traditionally may have a collective reference to most specifiers. But it is used here to refer to an element which has a role akin to the English '*the*'.

In Harari, to the best knowledge of the researcher, there is no phonetically realized formative that denotes the same definiteness as in (20) above.¹⁰

¹⁰ Against this claim, Eshetu (2000), argues that the suffix /-u/ is the definite marker in Harari. But based on the bulk of data examined and to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the above assumption does not seem to be the case. Evidences for this claim may emerge from the following:

Nouns to which /-u/ is suffixed cannot function as subjects in sentences. Consider (i):

(i)	wānag	gāngora	gādāl – a
	lion	tiger	kill-Pf-3ms
	'(The/A) lion killed (a) tiger'		

The structure of (i) shows typically the word order of Harari, i.e. SOV; hence, the direct object should precede the verb and the subject should precede the object. The supplied gloss is determined from the order. Moreover, it should be noted that the subject / **wānag**/ may have definite or indefinite interpretation as shown in the gloss to be determined by context. And the object /**gāngora**/ has an indefinite reading. There are no overt markers attached to both to identify their functions as agent and patient respectively.

If we now attach the suffix /-u/ to the noun /**wānag**/ - 'lion', which is the subject, the outcome would be a complete semantic change as we shall see from (ii) below.

(ii)	[wānag – u]	gāngora	gādāl-e-w
	lion - ?	tiger	kill-pf-3ms-OM
	'(The/A) tiger killed the lion'		

Note the gloss supplied for (ii). Given the basic order and its associated semantics as shown in (i), the same syntactic encoding, except /-u/, gives rise to a complete change in meaning. This may suggest that the meaning change in (ii) is ascribable to the change in the role of /**wānag**/'-lion' which is caused by the suffix /-u/.

Structure (ii) however, may indicate that the basic word order (SOV) is free that the direct object can precede the subject. Hence (ii) is derived from (i) for emphasis. The same case can be observed in other languages like Amharic (Cf. Haileyesus, 1993:39).

Returning to (ii), in addition /**gāngora**/'-tiger', also has a definite reading as opposed to its occurrence in (i). Let us now see the result when /-u/ occurs with /**gāngora**/ in the same structure.

(iii)	wānag	[gāngora-u]	gādāl –ew
	lion	tiger -?	kill-pf-OM
	'(The/A) lion has killed (the) tiger'		

Akin to (i), in (iii), we have the basic word order and the supplied gloss can be determined from it. But unlike the indefiniteness in (i) and the context based definiteness in (ii), here, the object /**gāngora**/ has a definite reading as a result of the suffix /-u/. If one only accounts for (iii), it is likely that the status of /-u/ may be determined as a definite marker. Evidences given below however strongly suggest that this is not the case.

(iv)	(a)	[wānag]	di:ǰ –a
		lion	come-pf-3ms
		'(The/A) lion has come'	
	(b) *	[wānag –u]	di:ǰ –a
		lion -?	come-pf-3ms
	(c)	[wānag –u]	gādāl-k-o
		lion -?	kill-pf-1s(S)-(O)
		'I have killed the lion'	

However, the type of definiteness in question can be determined by non-linguistic contexts such as when both speaker and listener have a shared assumption or expectation regarding the referent of a noun in a discourse. For example, given that a relevant context exists, the bracketed nouns in the following structures may have definite readings. Otherwise their interpretations will be indefinite as shown in the options in their respective glosses.

21. (a) **[wäldi]** **di: ĵ- a**
 boy come pf.-3ms
 (i) 'The boy has come'
 (ii) 'A boy has come'
- (b) **[wänag]** **bara** **gädäl-a**
 lion ox kill-pf.-3ms
 (i) 'The lion has killed (an) ox'
 (ii) 'A lion has killed (an) ox'
- (c) **[bara]** **mi:** **säč- a**
 ox water drink-pf.
 (i) 'The ox has drunk water'
 (ii) 'An ox has drunk water'

In the above examples, the bracketed nouns may have definite or indefinite readings as indicated in the supplied glosses (i) and (ii) respectively. It is assumed that structurally the two readings can not be distinguished as there is

In (iv), (a) and (c) are grammatical, but not (b). Thus (b) may suggest that /-u/ cannot occur with subject nouns. Also look at (v):

- (v) **bäkri** **[färid -u]** **mähät' -ew**
 B F. -? hit-pf-3ms
 'Bekri has hit Ferid'

In (v), note that the element in question can also occur with proper nouns which already have definite readings. These are always definite (Bloomfield, 1933:205). The occurrence of /-u/ in (v), therefore, is unlikely to be correlated with definiteness.

To sum up, based on the examples and discussion we have made so far, the role of /-u/ does not seem to correlate with definiteness. But from (ii), (iii) and (v), it does appear more like an accusative case marker. Again, this goes against Teshome's (1992) claim that there is no morphologically realized accusative marker in Harari. But this will not be at issue here. In this study however the element in question is considered as an accusative case marker.

no morphological marker at all. Consequently as mentioned above, the distinction between the definite and indefinite readings appears to be understandable on account of presence and absence of context, respectively.

Apart from this, in Harari definiteness is explicitly expressed by demonstratives as we shall see shortly below.

2.2.1.2.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives may refer to a specific person, a thing, a place or an event in their proximity terms of space or time from a speaker. In Harari, demonstratives include /**yi**/'this' and /**ya?**/'that'.

Accordingly, while /**yi**/'this' is used to refer to an entity that is close to a speaker, /**ya?**/'that' is employed when a referent is seen as distant in space or time from a speaker. Positionally, demonstratives occur preceding head nouns. The following examples may illustrate this.

22. (a) [**yi** **gar**] **gidir** **int – a**
 this house big be-3ms
 'This house is big'
- (b) [**yi** **wäldi**] **gudo:r** **int – a**
 this boy tall be-3ms
 'This boy is tall'
- (c) [**yä?** **gar**] **aman** **int – a**
 that house good be-3ms
 'That house is good'
- (d) [**yä?** **wäldi**] **nugdä - ze** **int – a**
 that boy guest – poss3s be-3ms
 'That boy was her guest'

Note that in the structures of (22) above, the head nouns in each of the bracketed NPs are specified as definite by their respective pronominal demonstratives. As stated earlier, /**yi**/'this' in (22a) and (b) identifies the heads /**gar**/'house' and /**wäldi**/'boy', respectively, as specific entities that are near to

the speaker. In contrast, /yǎʔ/ 'that', in (22c) and (d), specifies the same head-nouns as ones that are far from the speaker. Further more, it may be worth nothing that the demonstratives, /yi/ and /yǎʔ/, specify plural and feminine nouns within NPs by overtly showing number and gender agreements, respectively.¹¹

The following are the plural and the feminine counterparts of the singular demonstratives.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>feminine</u>
yi 'this'	iy – yač ¹² 'these'	yi – ttä 'this' (f)
yǎʔ 'that'	yǎʔ - ač 'those'	yǎʔ - ttä 'that'(f)

When the demonstratives occur with plural head nouns they take the suffix /-(y)ač/¹³. This is demonstrated by the following examples.

¹¹ Harari has a two way number distinctions; singular and plural. The singular form is not marked. But the plural form is indicated by attaching the suffix – (y)ač, a noun as in (i) (a) and (b).

- (i) (a) /gar/ – 'house', /gar –ač/ – 'houses',
 (b) /roji/ – 'thief', /roji –yač/ – 'thieves'

As regards gender, there are two genders in Harari; masculine and feminine. The masculine gender is unmarked, whereas the feminine is marked by attaching the affix –it to the masculine form. Compare the pair in (ii) (a) and (b).

- (ii) (a) /raga/- 'old man'
 /rag – it/- 'old woman'
- (b) /wānag/-'lion'
 / wānag-it/-'lioness'

Also, it can be said that the masculine gender is assigned to most inanimate nouns that are unspecified in terms of gender as in (20a) and (c). Furthermore, there exist nouns which are intrinsically female. These may not show an overt gender marking. See the following formal comparisons in (iii) below:

- (iii) (a) Feminine
 k'āhat –'girl'
- (b) Masculine
 wāldi –'boy'
- (c) Feminine
 gel –'friend (f)'
- (d) Masculine
 māri:n –'friend'

¹² It is assumed that the singular demonstrative /yi/ undergoes a metathesis and is changed to /iy-/ when the plural suffix –(y)ač is attached to it. This may be triggered by the following sound.

¹³ /-ač/ is considered as a plural marker, and /-yač/ is its allomorph which occurs with nouns ending with front high vowels.

23. (a) **[iy – yač gar – ač] gidi:r int – eyu**
 this-pl house-pl big be- 3pl
 'These houses are big'
- (b) **[iy – yač wäld – ač] ardäwiĵ -ač int – eyu**
 this-pl boy-pl student-pl be- 3pl
 'These boys are students'
- (c) **[yă? - ač gar – ač] aman int – eyu**
 that-pl house-pl good be-3pl
 'Those houses are good'
- (d) **[yă? - ač wäld – ač] nugdä – ač – ze nar – u**
 that-pl boy-pl guest - pl-poss.3fs be-pt-3pl
 'Those boys were her guests'

Corresponding to the structures in (22), each of the NP structures in (23) contains a plural specifier and a plural head noun. As can be observed, the number agreements is explicitly marked by the suffix **/(y)ač/** which is attached both to the demonstratives and head nouns.

On the other hand, when the demonstratives occur with feminine head nouns, they indicate the gender by the suffix **/-tta/**. The following examples suffice to illustrate the case in point.

24. (a) **[yi – ttä k'ähat] k'ora:m int – e**
 this-3fs girl beautiful be-3fs
 'This girl is beautiful'
- (b) **[yi – ttä wänag – it] rag – it int – e**
 this – (f) lion – (f) old – (f) be-3fs
 'This lioness is old'
- (c) **[yă(?) – ttä k'ähat]**
 that – (f) girl
 'that girl'

- (d) **[yä(?) – ttä** **wänag – it]**
 that – (f) lion – (f)
 ‘that lioness’

In the above structures, the feminine gender is indicated by both the demonstratives and heads by the markers – **ttä** and – **it**, respectively. This shows in Harari the feminine marker with demonstratives is formally different from the one with nouns. Unlike this as we shall see later adjectives and nouns indicate the feminine gender by the same marker, i.e. **-it**.

When the head nouns are intrinsically feminine, they do not take the feminine marker. For example, the head /**k’ähat**/ ‘girl’, as in (24a), is intrinsically marked for the feminine gender hence should not take the marker **-it**. Furthermore, if a feminine head noun is specified by a masculine demonstrative, the structure would be unacceptable as in (25):

25. (a) * **[yi** **k’ähat]**
 this (m) girl
 ‘this girl’
- (b) * **[yä?** **k’ähat]**
 that (m) girl
 ‘that girl’

The above structures therefore are unacceptable as there is no gender agreement between the demonstratives and head nouns they specify.

But unlike the structures in (25), a masculine noun can be specified by a feminine demonstrative within an NP. This particular co-occurrence indicates a diminutive reading. See the structures in (26).

26. (a) **[yi – ttä** **gar]**
 this (f) house
 ‘this (she) house’

- (b) **[yä(?) - ttä abba]**
 that (f) man
 'that (she) man'

In the above structures, the feminine demonstratives specify nouns that are grammatically masculine. Structures like these are used pragmatically to express a diminutive size as in (a) and negative attitude as in (b).

As stated earlier on, the position of demonstratives is always before head nouns; hence the reverse order is not acceptable. The ungrammatical (27) will demonstrate this.

27. (a) * **[wäldi yi]**
 boy this
- (b) * **[gar yä?]**
 house that

The demonstratives that have been discussed so far may specify nouns denoting entities in general; as definite in phrasal structures.

In addition to these, in Harari, there exist two distinct forms of demonstratives. These demonstratives exclusively specify singular nouns, which distinctively refer to humans within NPs. These are /**huwwa**/ 'this', for the masculine, and /**hiyya**/ 'this' for the feminine human nouns.¹⁴ Furthermore, these are akin to the earlier forms- /**yi**/ and /**yittä**/ - in one thing that they refer to a specific person who is closely visible in the vicinity of a speaker. Below are given some examples to illustrate this:

¹⁴ /**huwwa**/ and /**hiyya**/ - these could be analyzable as /**hu -wwa**/ and /**hi -yya**/. Their morphemic analysis calls for a further investigation.

28. (a) **[huwwä wäldi]** **?ih – zo** **(i)nt – a**
 this (m) boy brother-his be-3ms
 'This boy is his brother'
- (b) **[huwwä abba]** **aru:z** **int – a**
 this (m) man groom be-3ms
 'This man is (a) groom'
- (c) **[hiyyä k'ähat]** **fizbe** **t'äy** **int – e**
 this (f) girl very black be-3fs
 'This girl is very black'
- (d) **[hiyyä aru:z – it]** **k'orram** **int – e**
 this (f) bride-f beautiful be-3fs
 'This bride is beautiful'

As can be noted from the bracketed NPs in (28), the masculine form */huwwä/* as in (a) and (b) occurs with masculine nouns and the feminine form */hiyyä/* occurs with feminine nouns as in (c) and (d).

There is however, a strict co-occurrence restriction with the above demonstratives in that they do not occur with nouns which denote non-human entities. This can be evident from the following unacceptable structures:

29. (a) * **[huwwä bara]**
 this ox
- (b) * **[hiyyä lam]**
 this cow

Note that in (29a) */huwwä/* has occurred with the head */bara/* - 'ox'; and in (b) */hiyyä/* has occurred with the head noun */lam/* 'cow'.

Both the unacceptable structures of (29) seem to suggest that there is a semantic incompatibility between the demonstratives and the head nouns. In other words, the ill-formedness with (a) and (b) may result as when the demonstratives which are intrinsically marked for the human feature are specifying the head nouns which lack this feature.

Further, apart from their specifying functions as has been outlined thus far, the demonstratives may also function as pronouns. Hence, the same forms of the demonstratives without overt case markings may occur in the nominative or absolutive cases in sentences. The following examples may suffice to show this function of demonstratives.

30. (a) **[yä?-ač]** **ro:ǰ i -ač** **int - eyu¹⁵**
 that-pl thief-pl be-3pl
 'Those are thieves'
- (b) **[yi]** **lam-zat' hay** **int - a**
 this cow-gen milk be-3ms
 'This is (a) cow's milk'
- (c) **a:y - zo** **[yi-ttä]** **int - e**
 mother-poss-3ms this- f be-3fs
 'His mother is this'
- (d) **abba-ze** **[huwwa]** **int - a**
 father-poss.3fs that(m)be-3ms
 'Her father is that'

In the above examples, the bracketed forms serve as demonstrative pronouns. For example, /yä?-ač/ 'that-pl' in (30a) and /yi/ 'this' in (b), are in the nominative cases while /yi-ttä/ 'this-f' in (c) and /huwwa/ 'that' in (d) are in the absolutive cases.

In Harari, certain personal pronouns (of the same form) can also serve as specifiers in the same way as demonstratives do. It can be said that such

¹⁵ In such structures it is assumed that there is an implicit NP in the position following the demonstrative pronoun. Viewed in that light, (30a) could be interpreted as *Those people are thieves*; hence it may have the structure as:

[yä?-ač	[e]	ro:ǰ i -ač	int - eyu
that-pl		thief-pl	be-3pl
'Those are thieves'			

pronouns are similar both in function and distribution to demonstratives as they occur in prenominal positions and limit the reference of the head noun to anyone but the specific and identified entity. This may be illustrated in (31):

31. (a) **[iññ-ač azeb –ač]** **raʔi** **halä – na**
we -(pl) young-pl dream has impf-1pl
‘We youngsters have dreams’
- (b) **[azzo gar]** **k’ali** **int – a**
he house expensive be-impf-3ms
‘That house is expensive’
- (c) **[azz-e k’ähat]** **ardawiĵ** **int – e**
he (f) girl student be-impf-3fs
‘That girl is (a) student’
- (d) **[azzi-yač däw –ač]** **idde –be** **nar –u**
he- pl. goat –pl here-loc be pst-3pl
‘Those goats were here’

Each of the bracketed NPs in (31) above constitutes a preceding pronoun specifier and a head noun. Consequently, /iññač/ in (a) is the first person singular, and its occurrence here is to restrict the reference of its head noun /azeb-ač/ - ‘youngster-pl’ to the speaker(s). Likewise, /azzo/ in (b), /azze/ in (c), and /azziyač/ in (d) are third person pronouns for the masculine, the feminine, and the plural in the order mentioned and specify their respective head nouns as particular referents which could be close to the listener.

Here, one may notice an apparent functional isomorphism between the third person pronouns and those of the demonstratives. Comparing the examples in (22) (c) and (d) with those in (31) (b) and (c), and the ones in (23) (c) and (d) with (d) of (31) will suffice to show this.

Such a parallelism however, does not seem to be typical of Harari as this is also a well noticed feature in other Semitic languages such as Amharic (Cf. Baye, (1988)). The third person pronouns are often treated as demonstratives owing to their functions we have just treated. (Cf Lyons, 1979:639)

Within NPs, specifiers of head nouns may also be interrogative pronouns. In Harari, these include the personal /**ma:n**/ 'whose/who', the non-personal /**min**/ - 'what', and /**ay**/ 'which (one)' that has both personal and non-personal functions.

These too are pronominal specifiers of head nouns in NP structures, and have a role of limiting the reference of nominal heads. This function of the interrogative pronouns is demonstrated in the following examples.

32. (a) **yi** **[ma:n** **gar]** **int -a**
 this whose house be-3ms
 Whose house is this?
- (b) **[ay** **gamila]** **tä - sam** **- a**
 which camel pass-sell-pf- 3ms
 'Which camel has been sold?'
- (c) **[ay** **wäldi]** **di:ǰ - a**
 which boy come-pf-3ms
 'Which boy has come?'
- (d) **[min** **tä?ab]** **di:ǰe- be- ku**
 what problem come.pf-loc-2pl.
 'What problem has come to you?'

In (32), therefore, /**man**/ in (a), /**ay**/ in (b) and (c) and /**min**/ in (d) are interrogative pronouns which serve as specifiers of the head nouns that follow in their respective NP structures.

As stated earlier, the position of the interrogative pronouns is strictly preceding the head nouns. The reverse order leads to ungrammaticality as shown below.

33. * **[gar** **ma:n]**
 house whose

In summary, the demonstratives (specifiers) so far discussed may generally be conceived as having that role of identifying head nouns in NPs in terms of a deictic reference. Yet, head nouns can be specified as definite in terms of a possessive reference as we shall see shortly.

2.2.1.2.3 The Genitive NP of Possession

Within NPs, genitive NPs of possession may co-occur with head nouns and their function would be one of indicating definiteness by restricting the head noun to the one possessed. It is in this sense that we will discuss genitive NPs here as being specifiers.

In Harari, possession could be expressed by suffixal possessive pronominals or by possessive nominals which may appear with the genitive possessive /-zat'/ attached to the possessor noun (The form /-zat'/ is considered as the genitive marker in the language, it also indicates other genitive relations as will be discussed in the next chapter). We shall take up each case in turn below.

The possessive pronominals are suffixal elements referring to a possessor noun. These suffixal pronouns formally seem to be reduced forms of the independent pronouns except for the first person forms.¹⁶ Below are given some NP structures whose head nouns are specified as definite by the possessive suffixes attached

¹⁶ The possessive pronouns in Harari appear to be the reduced forms of the independent pronouns, except for the first person forms. (See Hetzron (1972:30) for details). This could be observed from the formal comparison given below.

<u>Independent pronouns</u>			<u>Possessive suffixes</u>		
1.	s	a:n	(?) - 1.	s	- e
	pl	iññač	(?) -	pl	-zina
2.	ms	axax	2.	ms	-xa
	fs	axaš		fs	-xaš
	pl	axaxač		pl	-xo
3.	ms	azzo	3.	ms	-zo
	fs	azze		fs	-ze
	pl	azziyač		pl	-ziyu

to them. But unlike all the other specifiers, these ones occur following the head nouns.

34. (a) **[gar – e]** **gidi: r** **int-a**
house my big be-3ms
'My house is big'
- (b) **[gar – zina]**
house –our
'our house'
- (c) **[gar – xaš]**
house- your (fs)
'your house'
- (d) **[gar – xo]**
house – your(pl)
'your house'
- (e) **[gar – ze]**
house –her
'her house'

All the structures in (34) show possession. In each case, the reference of the head noun /**gar**/ - 'house' is restricted to the one possessed by the respective person suffixes referring to possessor nouns. Furthermore, the possessive pronouns do not seem to have agreement of number with the head noun of an NP. See the structures in (35) below.

- (35) (a) **[gar – ač – e]**
house-pl. -my
'my houses'
- (b) **[k'ahat – ač – ze]**
girl -pl. her
'her girls'
- (c) **[gar – ač – zina]**
house-pl our
'our houses'

In the above structures, note that the possessives /-e/ as in (a) /-ze/ as in (b) and /zina/ as in (c) occur following the plural head nouns.

On the other hand, the possessive nominal in Harari can be optionally formed with or without attaching the suffixal genitive /zat'/ to the possessor nouns. In both cases the genitive NP occurs preceding a head noun within an NP. Look at the structures below.

36. (a) **[färid – zat'** **gar]** **gidi:r** **int – a**
 F - gen. house big be-3m
 'The house which belongs to Ferid is big.'
- (b) **[hayat - zat'** **gar]**
 H - gen. house
 'The house which belongs to Hayat'
- (c) **[färid** **gar]**
 F house
 'Ferid's house'
- (d) **[hayat** **gar]**
 H house
 'Hayat's house'

As in (36a) and (b), the genitive NP is indicated by /-zat'/, whereas in (c) and (d) the genitive NP is not marked by the genitive suffix. In the latter's case, the head and specifier relation is determined syntactically by their positions, i.e. the head must always follow the genitive possessive. The reverse order would otherwise be ungrammatical as shown below.

37. * **[gar** **färid]**
 house F

Each of the examples in (36) illustrates NP structures in which the common head noun is preceded by genitive NPs which specify it in terms of possessive

references. The supplied glosses in (36a) and (b) in each case are assumed to closely represent the sense in the original data.

The possessive pronominals in (34) and the possessive nominals in (36a) and (b) can also co-occur in the same NP structure for emphasis. Consider the following examples.

- (38) (a) [färid -zat' gar – zo]
 F - gen house-his
 'his house which belongs to Ferid
 'Ferid's house which is his (own)'
- (b) [a:n - zat' gar – e]
 I - gen house-my
 'my house which is mine'

Structures like in (38) could be acceptable owing to pragmatic needs, as when one tends to put focus on possession rather than on the possessed entity in actual discourse. Despite this however, semantically the genitive NP does not seem to make the head noun definite any more than it is made by the possessive suffix attached to it.

To conclude the sub-section of definite articles, we may note that all the functions of the specifiers - demonstratives and the genitive NPs - can be linked together in terms of definiteness marking. Positionally, except for the possessive pronominals which follow heads, they occur preceding heads.

It has also emerged from our discussion that all may serve as being pronominal specifiers within NPs and that there is a tendency for substitution rather than co-occurrence among specifiers in the same NP.

In Harari, an NP most commonly constitutes a single article preceding the head noun. This specifier could be a demonstrative or a genitive NP and its occurrence

Owing to the degree of specificity regarding the quantity of entities, quantifiers can be indefinite or definite in function.

2.2.2.1 Indefinite Quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers are forms which roughly or imprecisely specify quantity or amount of nouns in phrasal structures.

In Harari, such quantifiers may comprise /bājih/ 'many/much', /t'it'¹⁷/ 'a few', /t'ik'k'āšo/ 'some', /kullu/ 'all', and /ahadum/ 'none/no'. Within NPs - except /kullu/ 'all' which can occur either preceding or following heads - these forms may strictly occur preceding a head noun. Some examples are given below to show this:

42. (a) [bājih dāw -ač]
 many goat -pl
 'many goats'
- (b) [t'ik'k'āšo mi:]
 some water
 'some water'
- (c) [kullu ʔussuʔač]
 all men
 'all men'
- (d) [ʔussuʔač kullu¹⁸]
 men all
 'all men'

The precedence relation between the head nouns and the specifying quantifiers, as noted in (42), is strictly carried out in the language. Hence, the head noun

¹⁷ This is also an attributive adjective which signifies small size of an entity. It shows distinct grammatical relation as we shall see in the next chapter.

¹⁸ Unlike the other quantifiers this may occur preceding or following the head noun.

cannot precede the quantifier; otherwise the structure will be ill-formed as shown below.

43. (a) * [dāw – ač bājih]
 goat –pl many

When these quantifiers occur with articles in the same NP, their position is always following articles; otherwise the structure will be ungrammatical. Compare the following examples.

44. (a) [yā?ač bājih dāw – ač]
 those many goat- pl
 'those many goats'
- (b) * [bājih yā?ač dāw – ač]
 many those goat –pl

From the quantifiers mentioned above, while only /t'it/ - '(a) few' is restricted to [+COUNT] nouns, others tend to occur with both [+COUNT] and [- COUNT] nouns. We may start with the form that occurs with [+COUNT] nouns. Look at the following examples in (45).

45. (a) [t'it ardāwij –ač] di: ʃ –u
 few student –pl come pf -3pl
 '(A) few students have come'
- (b) [t'it k'ahat –ač]
 few girl –pl
 '(a) few girls'
- (c) [t'it dāw –ač]
 few goat –pl
 '(a) few goats'

Note that in (45) /t'it/ -'(a) few' occurs with [+COUNT] head nouns; /ardäwij/ - 'student' as in (a), /k'ähat/ -'girl' as in (b), and /däw/ -'goat' as in (c). This quantifier always occurs with nouns whose quantity is determined by direct counting, though it specifies the quantity by giving non-specific reference. Compare the following structures below.

46. (a) * [t'it hay]
 (a) few milk
- (b) * [t'it hangur]
 (a) few food

Evidently the above structures show that /t'it/ cannot occur with [-COUNT] nouns, hence the structures in (46) are semantically anomalous as the head nouns /hay/ -'milk' and /hangur/ -'food' in (a) and (b) respectively, cannot be quantified by direct counting.

Furthermore, since the quantifier in question signifies plurality, the nouns it occurs with as in (45) may show agreement in number. However, the quantifier may optionally occur with singular nouns as we can see from (47).

47. (a) [t'it ?ussu?] di:j -a
 (a) few man -plcome pf-3ms
 '(A) few men have come.'
- (b) [t'it däw] waxab- ku
 few goat buy-pf. 1s
 'I have bought a few goats'

Contrasting with (45), the above structures show that the indefinite quantifier can also occur with a singular head noun.

Corresponding to the above, /t'ik'k'äšo/ which may be glossed as 'little/ (a) few', occurs with [+COUNT] and [-COUNT] head nouns, and specifies amount of substance indefinitely relatively as less. We can consider its function in (48) below.

48. (a) i. [t'ik'k'äšo mi:] säč –ku
 little water drink-pf-1s
 'I have drunk little water'
- ii. [t'ik'k'äšo bäsär] waxäb –ku
 some meat buy-pf-1s
 'I have bought some meat'
- (b) i. [t'ik'k'äšo dāw –ač] a- deĵ –ku
 some goat-Pl caus.- bring-impf-1s
 'I have brought some goats'
- ii. [t'ik'k'äšo kitab - ač] hal –u
 some book-pl exist-3pl
 'There are some books'

In the structures shown in (48), /t'ik'k'äšo/ occurs with [-COUNT] heads as in (ai) and (a_{ii}), and with [+COUNT] heads, as in (bi) and (b_{ii}). It thus specifies amount and quantity of the head nouns respectively. But in all cases its reference to the amount or quantity is one of imprecisely or inexactly denoted.

As opposed to the forms /t'it/ and /t'ik'k'äšo/ which signify less number or amount of entity, (Cf examples (45) and (48) respectively, a large quantity or amount of entity is expressed by the form /bäĵih/. This may be glossed as 'many', or 'much' based on its occurrence with [+COUNT] or [-COUNT] nouns, respectively. Some examples are in order below.

49. (a) [bäĵih ʔussu? -ač] hal -u
 many man-pl exist-3pl
 'There are many people'

- (b) **[bäjih kitab] idde-be hal**
 many book(s) here-loc exist-3ms
 'There are many books here'
- (c) **azzo [bäjih ?išiš] sät'e –ñ**
 he much butter give-pf-me
 'He has given me much butter'
- (d) **ho:ji [bäjih dilaga] halä – ñ**
 today much work has –1s
 'I have much work today'

From (49), one may observe that /bäjih/ occurs with both types of nouns. For instance, in (49a), it quantifies the noun /ʔussuʔ/ -'man' which is [+COUNT], whereas in (c), it quantifies the noun /ʔišiš/ -'butter' which is [-COUNT]. Compare also (b) and (d). Moreover, analogous to /t'it/ in (47), it also occurs with singular heads like /kitab/ -'book' as in (b).

The specifiers /t'ik'k'äšo/ -'some' and /bäjih/ -'much'/'many' may also occur with [-CONCRETE] nouns. The use of these quantifiers with such noun types however, is not to express quantity but degree or intensity as illustrated in the structures below.

50. (a) **[bäjih wädäl- nät]**
 much fat - ness
 'much fatness'
- (b) **[t'ik'k'äšo gudo:r-nät]**
 less tall - ness
 'less tallness'

The above structures could be instances where the specifiers /t'ik'k'äšo/ -'some' and /bäjih/ -'much'/'many' encode intensity of the notions denoted by the state



nominals. The position these assume is the same position they occupied in the structures (48) and (49), respectively, i.e. preceding heads.

Related to (50), an expression of strong degree or intensity can be made by the form /ʔimälmana/ -‘excessive’. This also occurs only with abstract entities as illustrated in the following examples.

51. (a) [ʔimälmana išk’i]
 excessive love
 ‘excessive love’
- (b) [ʔimälmana rä:hab]
 excessive hunger
 ‘excessive hunger’

In the structures in (51), /ʔimälmana/ occurs preceding [-CONCRETE] nouns to express a strong intensity. This form however, unlike /bäjih/ and /t’ik’k’äšo/, does not express quantity when it occurs with [+CONCRETE] head nouns. Such structures instead are ungrammatical as we see from (52) below.

52. (a) * [ʔimälmana dāw –ač]
 excessive goat-pl
- (b) * [ʔimälmana mi:]
 excessive water

Pertaining to the indefinite quantifiers we have examined so far, a quantity that is expressed can be intensified by some degree words. Thus, one can employ /fizbe/ -‘very’ or /ʔo: rkut/ -‘very’, or both forms before a quantifier that precedes a head noun in an NP. Look at the structures below.

53. (a) **[[fizbe t'it] wäld – ač]**
 very few boy –pl
 'very few boys'
- (b) **[[ʔo:rkut t'it] dāw – ač]**
 very few goat –pl
 'very few goats'

As can be observed from the structures in (53), the occurrence of the degree word with the quantifier /t'it/ -'few' is chiefly to intensify the small quantity signified by the latter. However, the intensification does not alter the status of the quantifier, i.e. it still denotes an indefinite reference to quantity. Structurally the degree words are related to the quantifiers. It is also worth noting that the order of the degree words and the quantifier in the above examples is always as it appears; intensifier precedes quantifier followed by the head noun.

An even high degree of intensification may also be achieved when both /fizbe/ and /ʔorkut/ occur with a quantifier. But when this happens, the precedence relation between the two intensifiers is strict: /fizbe/ should precede /ʔo:rkut/ and not otherwise as we can see from the two structures in (54).

54. (a) **[[fizbe ʔo:rkut] t'it] wäld – ač]**
 very very few boy –pl
 'very very few boys'
- (b) * **[[ʔo:rkut fizbe] t'it] wäld – ač]**
 very very few boy –pl
 'very very few boys'

In structures like in (54a), the co-occurrence of /fizbe/ and /ʔo:rkut/ in the order present expresses a higher degree of smallness denoted by the quantifier /t'it/. But their order in (b) leads to ungrammaticality. Thus, on the evidence from (53) and (54a), it can be said that the degree words in question may substitute one another or may co-occur preceding a quantifier in the same NP.

In (55) below are given some more NP structures constituting, a degree word, a quantifier and a head noun, in the order mentioned. As shown in (a), this is the basic order in Harari and a change in it will lead to the ungrammatical (b). Moreover such structures may rarely accommodate demonstratives only in the position preceding both the degree word and the quantifier as given in (c). This order can not be altered hence (d) is unacceptable structure.

55. (a) **[[fizbe bǎjih] ʔussuʔ]**
 very many man
 ‘very many men’
- (b) * **[bǎjih fizbe] dǎw – ač]**
 very many goat –pl
 ‘very many goats’
- (c) **[yǎʔač [fizbe t’it] wǎld –ač]**
 those very few boy –pl
 ‘those very few boys’
- (d) * **[fizbe yǎʔač t’it wǎld –ač]**
 those very few boy –pl

Furthermore, we can now look at the indefinite quantifiers /**kull- u/** -‘all of’ and /**ahad-u-m/** -‘none of /no one of’ –the latter being a negative quantifier which occurs along with a negative marker. Formally, both quantifiers occur with affixes: the morpheme /**u/** in each case is assumed to encode the notion of *totality / entirety* and /**m/** in the latter case is considered as a negative marker.

Like the others, these too are prenominal specifiers. Positionally, /**kullu/**-‘all’ occurs preceding [**+COUNT**] nouns and /**ahadum/**-‘none/no’ may occur in the same position with both [**+COUNT**] and [**-COUNT**] nouns as illustrated below.

56. (a) **[kullu k’ǎläč’-ač’] idde –be hal –u**
 all child –pl here –loc exist -3pl
 ‘All of the children are here’

- (b) [kullu ʔussu? - ač] idde –be hal –u
all man-pl here-loc exist -3pl
‘All of the men are here’
- (c) [ahad- u- m ʔussu? - ač] al-di: ʔ-u-m
one- all-neg man -pl neg-come-3pl-neg
‘No one has come’
- (d) [ahad - u -m mi:] al- säč -ku - m
one all – neg water neg-drink-1s-neg
‘I haven’t drunk any water’

Note that in (56) /kullu/ -‘all’ occurs with **[+COUNT]** nouns as in (a) and (b) and it may specify quantity indefinitely by referring to the whole number of /k’äläč’ač’/- ‘children’ or /ʔussuʔač / ‘men’, respectively.

Similarly, /ahadum/ -‘no/none’ occurs with a **[+COUNT]** and **[-COUNT]** nouns as in (c) and (d) respectively and it specifies a quantity by making a reference to none from the entire amount of the nouns. Note also that this is a negative quantifier and occurs along with a negative marker as shown in the verbs in each case.

Corresponding to /ahadum/, the form /ahadšim/ ‘none/no’ is used to specify the amount of **[-COUNT]** nouns. Similar to /ahadum/, it can also be analyzed as being derived from the numeral /ahad/ ‘one’ by the affixes - šī which may express a notion like *tiny*, and - m which is a negative marker. Literally, it may have the sense of ‘not a tiny one/amount of’. The following examples will demonstrate its function as indefinite quantifier.

57. (a) [ahadšim mi:] al-säč-ku-m
no water neg-drink-1s-neg
‘I have not drunk any water’

(b) **[ahadšim** **mi:]** **elum**
 no water exist-neg
 'There is no water'

The form /**k'it't'e**/ -'all of' also has a function similar to /**kullu**/ -'all', in the language. The example given below will suffice to show this.

58. **[k'it't'e** **k'ähat -ač -u]**
 all girl -pl
 'all girls'

The three forms - /**kullu**/, /**ahadum**/, and /**k'it't'e**/ - might just as well be described as indefinite pronouns serving as quantifiers. In this case, they occur with the reduced form of the third person plural pronoun **-ziy**. Let's look at their functions and forms in the following example.

59. (a) **[kullu-ziy-u]** **di: ĵ -u**
 all -they -all come-pf-3pl
 Lit. 'Entirely all of them have come'
 'All of them have come'

(b) **[k'it't'e -ziy-u]** **di: ĵ -u**
 all - they -all come-pf-3pl
 Lit. 'Entirely all of them have come'
 'All of them have come'

(c) **[ahad -ziy- u -m]** **al-di: ĵ -u -m**
 one -they -all - neg neg-come-pf-3pl-neg
 Lit. 'No one of them (from a given 'all') has come'
 'None of them have come'

(d) **[ahad -ziy-u]** **di: ĵ - a**
 one-they - all come-pf-3ms
 Lit. 'One of them (from a given 'all') has come'
 'One of them has come'

So far was an account for the indefinite quantifiers. In conclusion, it could be said that the quantifiers we have examined are in general similar in function in that they all are used to specify entities by making an imprecise reference to their quantity or amount. Positionally, these are strictly prenominal specifiers that occur preceding nouns within NPs.

2.2.2.2 Definite Quantifiers

Definite quantifiers may refer to forms which quantify amount of entity denoted by nouns by direct counting or by units of measurement. Following the above, the discussion on definite quantifiers in Harari, includes numerals, measure phrases and classifier phrases. Like the indefinite quantifiers, these occur in prenominal positions within NPs.

2.2.2.2.1 Numerals

These refer to cardinal numerals. They occur with [+COUNT] nouns and specify them by making a definite reference to their quantity. Consider the following structures.

60. (a) [koʔot wäld –ač] tāt'emäs –u
 two boy –pl disappear-3pl
 'Two boys have disappeared'
- (b) [ahad¹⁹ dāw] wäxäb –ku
 one goat buy-pf-1s
 'I have bought one goat'
- (c) [šišt gar –ač] hal –eñ
 three house-pl has-1s
 'I have three houses'

¹⁹ Similar to the case in example (17b), the form may also have an indefinite reading in the same structure. See Note 7.

(d) [koʔot dāw] wāxāb –ku
 two goat buy-pf-1s
 'I bought two goats'

(e) [koʔot wāldi] tāt'emäs –a
 two boy –pl disappear-3ms
 'Two boys have disappeared'

In (60), the cardinals precisely quantify the amount of the head nouns by direct counting. As can be observed the numerals can occur with both plural heads as in (a-c) singular heads as in (d) and (e). Note also that the numerals occur in the prenominal position within the above NPs. The ungrammatical (61) demonstrates that numerals can not follow their heads.

61. * [gar –ač šišť]
 house-pl three

Numerals can not quantify [-COUNT] nouns. A construction like this is semantically ill-formed as we can see from (62).

62. * [koʔot mi:]
 two water

The ill-formedness of the above structure may arise when the [-COUNT] noun is oddly quantified by direct counting. However structures like (62) can be possible if the interpretation is understood as *two cups/ bottles of water* from the context.

NP structures as in (60), though definitely specified in terms of quantity, they have indefinite readings regarding identity. Thus, demonstratives can occur with numerals in the same noun phrase to make the referent of the NP definite as shown in (63).

63. (a) [yāʔač koʔot wāld –ač]
 those two boy –pl
 'those two boys'

(b) [a:n-zat' šišť dāw -āč]
 I -gen three goat -pl
 'my three goats'

In such cases where there are two specifiers – an article and a quantifier – within an NP, as in (63), there is a strict precedence between the specifiers. Articles should always be the first element followed by quantifiers. This being the basic order, a change in it would result in the ungrammatical (64) below.

64. * [koʔot yäʔač wäld -āč]
 two those boy-pl

The reason for the above ungrammatical structures is the wrong precedence of the two specifiers in relation to the head noun.

Numerals and the indefinite quantifiers we have seen earlier on only substitute each other and do not co-occur in the same NP structure. The following examples will demonstrate this.

65. (a) [koʔot wäld -āč]
 two boy-pl
 'two boys'

 (b) [bäjih wäld -āč]
 many boy-pl
 'many boys'

 (c) * [koʔot bājih wäld -āč]
 two many boys

Moreover, unlike indefinite quantifiers, and adjectives as we shall see in the next chapter, numeral quantifiers do not occur with degree words. This can be evident from the following ungrammatical structure.

66. * **[fizbe** **koʔot** **wäld -ač]**
 very two boy-pl

Here, it may be noted that though not as a quantifier, an ordinal numeral also occurs with a noun within an NP. But its occurrence could be correlated with a function of restricting the reference of a noun to one that appears in a specific order in relation to others. This function of an ordinal numeral can be clearly observed in (67).

67. (a) **[ahat -tañ** **gar]**
 one -ord house
 'the first house'

- (b) **[suʔut -tañ** **lij i:]**
 eight -ord son
 'the eighth son'

The structures in (67) illustrate an ordinal numeral as a structural constituent of an NP. In distribution, it precedes the head noun.

Finally, we shall consider here the function of numerals in augmentative and diminutive expressions in Harari. Consider the following examples.

68. (a) **[alf** **ʔussuʔ]** **di: j - a**
 thousand man come-pf.-3ms
 Lit. 'Thousand people have come'
 'A great number of people have come'

- (b) **[ahad - koʔot** **ʔussuʔ]** **di: j - a**
 one - two man come-pf.-3ms
 Lit. 'One-two people have come'
 'A very small number of people have come'

In (68a) the numeral /alf/ 'thousand' can have an augmentative function; hence may express a large number or enormous quantity of the entity which the head denotes. In contrast, in (b), the numerals /ahad - koʔot/ 'one-two' are used to make a diminutive expression denoting a very small number or quantity. However, unless it is clear from a given context, the numerals in (68) can create ambiguities between their quantifying uses on one hand and their augmentative and diminutive functions on the other hand.

2.2.2.2.2 Measure Phrases

A definite reference to amount of mass nouns may involve the use of certain measure phrases. Such nouns are usually, if not necessarily, [-COUNT] and are not precisely quantifiable by numerals (Cf example (60)); instead these can be expressed by using certain units of measurement or by other measuring devices as we shall see.

Below, we shall consider nouns denoting liquid substances that may be quantified by units of measurement or by other devices such as containers.

69. (a) **sozit** **[[ahad** **liter]** **hay]** **säč -ti**
 S one liter milk drink-pf-3fs
 'Sozit has drunk a liter of milk'
- (b) **[[koʔot** **k'uluʔ]** **mi:]**
 two calabash water
 'two calabashes of water'
- (c) **[[ahad** **geb²⁰]** **k'ahwa]**
 one cup tea
 'one cup of tea'

²⁰ /geb/ is a cup made of clay often used to serve tea.

- (d) [[**šišt** **širimiri**²¹] **hay**]
 three can milk
 'three cans of milk'

In the above NP structures, the innermost brackets contain the measure phrases. These are NPs themselves. Their function is to specify the amount of liquid substances that the head nouns denote.

The measure phrases, except in (69a) which is a unit of measurement, refer to containers that are said to be commonly utilized for the purpose described here.

The position of the measure phrases is commonly preceding head nouns as in the above NP structures. However, the reverse order may also be acceptable for pragmatic reasons. Consider the examples below.

70. (a) [**hay** [**ahad** **liter**]] **sáč-ku**
 milk one liter drink pf-1s
 'I have drunk one/ (a) liter of milk'
- (b) [**k'ahwa** [**koʔot** **geb**]] **sáč-ku**
 tea two cup drink pf-1s
 'I have drunk two cups of tea'

Thus, in (70), /**hay**/ -'milk' in (a) and /**k'ahwa**/ -'tea' in (b) are head nouns in their respective structures. They occur preceding the measure phrases. This particular ordering however is employed to put focus on the head noun; it may follow that, for instance, (a) could have the reading as 'only milk' and not other things that the speaker said had taken, given the quantity described. Furthermore, such structures seem to exhibit a noticeable pause following the head when they are uttered. This may accompany the ordering to pass on an intended focus. It should be noted that this is also the case when the ordering under consideration applies on other NP structures containing measure phrases. This correlates with

²¹ /širimiri/ is a nickel can used in the area to measure amount of milk, butter and rarely coffee beans.

- (d) **[[šišť** **širimiri²¹]** **hay]**
 three can milk
 'three cans of milk'

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 'I have drunk one/ (a) liter of milk'
- (b) **[k'ahwa** **[koʔot** **geb]** **sáč-ku**
 tea two cup drink pf-1s
 'I have drunk two cups of tea'

Thus, in (70), /hay/ -'milk' in (a) and /k'ahwa/ -'tea' in (b) are head nouns in their respective structures. They occur preceding the measure phrases. This particular ordering however is employed to put focus on the head noun; it may follow that, for instance, (a) could have the reading as 'only milk' and not other things that the speaker said had taken, given the quantity described. Furthermore, such structures seem to exhibit a noticeable pause following the head when they are uttered. This may accompany the ordering to pass on an intended focus. It should be noted that this is also the case when the ordering under consideration applies on other NP structures containing measure phrases. This correlates with

²¹ /širimiri/ is a nickel can used in the area to measure amount of milk, butter and rarely coffee beans.

the same function outlined above. Nonetheless, the basic order of measure phrases is always assumed to be preceding the head noun as indicated in (69). Correspondingly, it is also apparent from (69) that the measure phrases in each case are NP structures where the head noun is the final element preceded by specifying numeral. Functionally, the head noun of measure phrases may be conceived as a conventionally established unit of measurement.

Measure phrases occur following demonstratives when both appear in the same NP structures. This precedence is tight that it can not be changed as the structures below demonstrate.

71. (a) [**yä?** **[ko?ot** **k'ulu?**] **mi:]**
 that two calabash water
 'that two calabashes of water'
- (b) * **[[ko?ot** **k'ulu?**] **yä?** **mi:]**
 two calabash that water

The position of the measure phrases is always following demonstratives as the grammatical (71a) demonstrates. But the ill-formed (b) indicates that these can not occur preceding demonstratives.

We now look at the use of measure phrases with head nouns denoting solid items like grain and others. Consider the following structures:

72. (a) **[[ko?ot** **kilo]** **hulbät**
 two kilo fenugreek
 'two kilos of fenugreek.'
- (b) **[[ahad** **huri²²]** **tumbaxo**
 one buri tobacco

²² /huri/ -is an accessory for a hubble-bubble which is used to contain tobacco.

'(a) buri of tobacco'

(c) **[[šišt tanika] ?ixiy]**
three can sorghum
'three cans of sorghum'

(d) **[[suʔut gonfa] dinniča]**
eight sack potato
'eight sacks of potato'

(e) **[[ahad tal] ruz]**
one tray rice
'(a) tray of rice'

(f) **[[koʔot moye²³] č'at²⁴]**
two moye chat
'two moyes of khat'

In each case in (72), the constituents in the innermost brackets form measure phrases, and these as a unit specify the head noun that follows. Like in (69), the first element of the measure phrases is a numeral followed by a head noun, denoting at large, different containers used as units of measurement.

Apart from these, amount is also expressed in terms of the means of transport used for objects. Look at the pair of structures in (73).

73. (a) **[[ahad mākīnā] afār]**
one lorry – load soil
'(a) lorry-load of soil'

(b) **[[koʔot wāčāra] inč'i]**
two donkey-load wood
'two donkey – loads of wood'

²³ /moye/ - a container in which č'at is ground and minced so that it could be consumed by old people who have lost their teeth and are not able to chew.

²⁴ č'at/ - a plant whose leaves are chewed for their stimulating effect.



As can be seen from (73) (a) and (b), the amount is expressed by a lorry and donkeys respectively.

A point worth mentioning here is that unlike the quantifying numerals (Cf. examples 60 and 63, the numerals within the measure phrases, in all cases, do not occur with a plural head. This restriction can be observed from the ill formed structure below.

74. * **[[koʔot]** **geb -a č]** **k'ahwa]**
 two cup-pl tea

The structure in (74) is ill-formed because it contains a quantifying measure phrase which is headed by a plural noun, i.e. /**geb- ač**/ 'cups'.

Moreover, note that from the structures in (69), (72) and (73), neither the numerals nor the head nouns in the measure phrases occur alone and function as specifiers as the following ungrammatical structures show.

75. (a) * **[[ahad]** **hay]** **sáč -ku]**
 one milk drink pf-1s

 (b) * **[[koʔot]** **ruz]**
 two rice

 (c) * **[[geb]** **k'ahwa]**
 cup tea

 (d) * **[[tanika]** **šunkurta]**
 can onion

In (75a) and (b), only numerals occur with head nouns, and in (c) and (d), the heads of measure phrases occur in similar structures. Nonetheless, these may be possible structures in appropriate contexts. It can be said that the numeral

and the head of the measure phrase should form a syntactic unit and serve as a specifier.

For example, (75c) and (d) could be possible structures provided that the amount 'one' is implicitly assumed. Given this assumption, therefore, the examples (75a) and (b) could be paraphrased as in (c) and (d) of (76) respectively.

76. (a) **[[koʔot tanika] ruz]**
 two can rice
 'two cans of rice'
- (b) **[[šišt geb] k'ahwa]**
 three cup tea
 'three cups of tea'
- (c) **[[tanika] ruz]**
 can rice
 '(a) can of rice'
- (d) **[[geb] k'ahwa]**
 cup tea
 '(a) cup of tea'

Still we shall pursue the discussion on definite quantifiers further. The next subsection will finalize it with the topic on classifier phrases.

2.2.2.2.3 Classifier Phrases

Like measure phrases, classifier phrases are noun phrases comprising a head noun and a numeral specifier. But unlike the heads of measure phrases, the heads of classifier phrases tend to distributively itemize individual members, pieces or parts constituting a whole.

To this end, within NPs, classifier phrases may occur as being specifiers of collective nouns that serve as heads. Hence, the function of such specifiers would be to restrict the collective reference of the head nouns to the members making them up.

In Harari, the use of classifier phrases can be illustrated in the following examples.

77. (a) **[[koʔot firi] bun]**
 two piece coffee bean
 'two individual pieces of coffee beans'
- (b) **[[šišt ʔurus] šunkurtä]**
 three head onion
 'three heads of onions'
- (c) **[[ahad guffät] ʔaynäb]**
 one stem grape
 'one individual grape tree'
- (d) **[[koʔot ʔala] ʔaräb – ixiy]**
 two stem (Arab-sorghum) maize
 'two individual maize plants'

Note that in (77), in the inner most brackets are classifier phrases which constitute a numeral and a head noun. The numeral occurs preceding the head. Similarly, in each case the classifier phrase specifies the head nouns in the main NPs by occurring in the prenominal positions, i.e. preceding the head.

The head nouns of the main phrases in the above structures /**bun**/'-coffee' as in (a), /**šunkurtä** /-'onion' as in (b), /**ʔaynäb** /-'grape' as in (c), and /**ʔaräb – ixiy** /-'maize' as in (d) are collective nouns which by the virtue of their nature denote mass of individuated pieces. Respectively, the classifier head nouns /**firi** /-'seed/piece', /**ʔurus** /-'head', /**guffät** /-'stem', and /**ʔala** /-'stalk' occur with the above nouns in order to limit the reference of the mass to the individual pieces comprising it.

Thus, the numerals enumerate the individual entities of the mass as itemized by the classifier head nouns. But it is not the case that neither the head noun nor the numeral within the classifier phrases alone can occur with the head nouns of (77). This may be evident from the paraphrased (77a) and (b) in (78a) and (b) respectively below.

78. (a) * **[firi bun]**
 bean coffee
- (b) * **[šišt šunkurtä]**
 three onion

In (78), both structures are ungrammatical as neither the classifier head /firi/ - 'piece' as in (a) nor the numeral /šišt/ - 'three' as in (b) alone can serve as specifier of the collective nouns /bun/ - 'coffee' and /šunkurtä/ - 'onion' respectively. Moreover, (78a) suggests that the numeral is an obligatory element of the classifier phrases. But the reverse order of the nouns in (78a) is of some importance for our discussion in the next chapter. For the moment, it may be enough to mention that if the collective noun /bun/ precedes the classifier noun /firi/ as shown in (79), it would show a source-head relationship; hence the structure would be acceptable.

79. **[bun firi]**
 coffee bean
 '(a) bean of coffee'

Regarding the heads of classifier phrases, Baye (1986:290) states "... the head of the classifier phrase is limited to a set of nouns whose referents are similar, literally or figuratively in shape to the thing to be measured."

Viewed in that light, it could be stated that distributionally heads of classifier phrases in Harari are sensitive to the types of entities they individuate and enumerate.

While the above statement on the one hand accounts for the distribution of the classifier head nouns, it may also suggest a restriction which is justified in the examples we shall see shortly below.

80. (a) **[[ahad firi] arab- ?ixiy]**
 one seed maize
 'one individual piece of maize'
- (b) **[[ahad ?urus] arab-?ixiy]**
 one head maize
 '(a) cob of maize'
- (c) **[[ahad ?ala] arab-?ixiy]**
 one stalk maize
 'one individual stalk of maize'

In all the structures in (80), note that the noun **/arab-?ixiy/** -'maize' is specified by classifier phrases. But in each case different individual parts that constitute the whole are separately or disjointedly enumerated by distinct forms of classifier head nouns.

Accordingly, the noun **/firi/** -'piece' as in (a) is used to disjointedly individuate the grains of the maize disregarding other entities constituting the mass. Similarly, the noun **/?urus/** -'head' as in (b) singly enumerates the cob of the maize and **/?ala/** -'stalk', as in (c) is used to refer to the individual plant of maize as a whole.

As stated earlier, the function of these classifier heads seem to be limited to the types of individuated entities as shown in (80).

Hence, they may not be used to individuate pieces related with other collective nouns like 'grape'. Consider the following instances corresponding to (80).

81.	(a)	[[ahad one 'one individual grape'	firi] piece	?aynāb] grape
	(b) *	[[ahad one	?urus] head	?aynāb] grape
	(c) *	[[ahad one	?ala] stalk	?aynāb] grape

As can be observed from (81), it is only (a) that is a grammatical structure. Because /**firi**/ is not restricted to singly refer to an individual grape, disregarding other parts of the collective noun. In contrast, the uses of the nouns /**?urus**/ - 'head' as in (b) and /**?ala**/ - 'stalk' as in (c) will make the structures ungrammatical. The reason for this could be that of a semantic incompatibility between the classifier head nouns and the entities to be individuated. For example, one can hardly find similarities between 'a cob of maize' and 'a bunch of grapes'; hence, /**?urus**/ - 'head' is restricted from referring to 'a bunch of grapes' as in (c). By the same token, /**?ala**/ - 'stalk' is restricted to refer to an individual grape plant thus becoming out of context since an individual /**?ala**/ - 'stalk' is distinctive of the component of the plant –maize and not grape.

The ungrammatical (b) and (c), however, can be recovered by using the appropriate forms: /**gummä**/ - 'bunch', and /**guffät**/ - 'stem', thus giving the structures in (82a) and (b) when paraphrased.

82. (a) **[[ahad gummä] ?aynāb]**
 one bunch grape
 ‘a bunch of grapes’
- (b) **[ahad guffät ?aynāb]**
 one stem grape
 ‘one individual grape vine’

Within the structures of (81a), (82a) and (b) the classifier heads occur with the same noun/**?aynāb/**, but in each case they distinctively individuate and characterize parts from a whole. Thus, in (81a) **/firi/** -‘piece’ identifies a single grape from the bunch; in (82a) **/gummä/** -‘bunch’ singles out a bunch of grapes from an entire grape tree (vine), and in (82b) **/guffät/** -‘stem’ individuates the entire grape tree. In other words, the sub-parts from the parts, the parts from the whole, and finally the whole as a unit are distinctively referred to and individuated.

Consider below additional examples of classifier phrases demonstrating a similar function with another collective noun.

83. (a) **[ahad ?in] č’at¹⁹**
 one eye chat
 ‘a single leaf of chat’
- (b) **[ahad ?ingir] č’at**
 one leg chat
 ‘a single twig of chat’
- (c) **[ahad guffät] č’at**
 one stem chat
 ‘one individual tree of chat’

In (83), the classifier head nouns **/?in/** -‘eye’ as in (a), **/?ingir/** -‘leg’ as in (b), and **/guffät/** -‘stem’ as in (c) separately enumerate individual pieces namely, the leaf, the twig, and the individual plant, respectively, forming the collective noun - **/č’at/**.

The structure of classifier phrases so far discussed are limited to a set of collective nouns referring to plants. It may be the case that, as in other languages, such phrases occur with **[+ANIMATE]** collective nouns within phrases. Even then, the function of classifier phrases is enumeration and individuation.

In Harari, however, it does not seem that the same structure exists to individuate **[+ANIMATE]** nouns. But this may not suggest the noun type in question is less individuated. For example, the noun /**agäbäri**/ -'cattle' collectively refers to most domestic animals that feed on grass. One may find it difficult to individuate this mass noun in similar structure as done for **[+PLANT]** nouns. But there are forms which collectively individuate the sub-classes of the above; namely /**mäwaši**/ and /**däbbä**/. Respectively, these are collective names for 'horned' and for those with 'manes'. Further, the members forming each sub-class are individuated by common nouns.

Owing to the above, it turns out that the account for the classifier phrases is limited to the structure demonstrated so far as being connected to collective nouns referring to plants.

But before putting the present issue to an end, we shall pursue it a little further so that it can be recapitulated.

In the present sub-section classifier phrases are discussed as part of definite quantifiers in particular and as specifiers in general. Functionally, they appear to have that role of enumerating and individuating entities rather than simply quantifying their amount.

Classifier phrases constitute an NP comprising a head noun that has the above function and a numeral. The numeral is an obligatory element so cannot be dropped as shown in (78a). In addition, we have also noted that neither of the

constituents of the classifier phrases can occur alone with head nouns within NPs.

As regards distribution, classifier phrases like the other specifiers strictly occur preceding a head noun. The reverse order is subject to ungrammatical structures as can be seen from (84).

84. * [aynāb [ahad firi]]
 grape one piece

As to the class of quantifiers in general, it can be said that in the absence of any other specifier, only one quantifier is allowed in the same NP structure. This means, a strict adherence to substitution and not co-occurrence is followed.

Hence, (85a) but not (b) is grammatical from the structures given below.

85. (a) [suʔut wäld –ač] di: ʔ –u
 eight boy –pl. come pf-3pl.
 ‘Eight boys have come’

 (b) * [kullu suʔut wäld –ač] dj: ʔ –u
 all eight boy –pl. come pf-3pl.

Finally in this chapter, worth mentioning would be general remarks regarding the number of simple nominal specifiers that can be allowed to specify a head noun in an NP. Compare the following structures:

86. (a) [yäʔač koʔot däwač]
 those two goat –pl.
 ‘those two goats’

 (b) [yäʔač koʔot a:n -zat’ däwač]
 those two I – possgoat –pl.
 ‘those two goats of mine’

(c)	[yäʔač	a:n -zat'	koʔot	däwač]
	those	I – poss	two	goat –pl.
	‘those two goats of mine’			
(d) *	[kullu	yäʔač	koʔot	däwač]
	all	those	two	goat –pl.
	‘all those two goats’			

From the evidence in (86), in Harari, an NP may freely contain one article and one quantifier. This can be illustrated by the co-occurrence of the demonstrative /yäʔač/ and the numeral /koʔot/ in (a).

But, two articles and one quantifier may also occur in an NP. Thus, the structure in (b), which contains the articles /yäʔač/ and /a:n -zat'/ and the quantifier /koʔot/, in the order present, is acceptable. It is also assumed that this is the common order of the three specifiers when these occur in the same NP. Given this however, the quantifier and the genitive possessive can occur exchanging their positions as in (c).

On the other hand, the occurrence of two quantifiers in an NP is not permitted. This can be evident from the ungrammatical (d), which contains the quantifiers /kullu/ and /koʔot/.

Based on the account of the above facts, it is possible to state the constraint on the number of specifiers in an NP. In Harari, an NP may contain at most two articles and one quantifier.

Regarding the positions of specifiers in an NP, except for the possessive suffixes, both articles and quantifiers are described as prenominal specifiers i.e. they occur preceding a head noun in an NP.

Chapter Three

3. Complements

3.1 Simple Nominal Complements

This chapter mainly accounts for the other constituents of an NP that may be referred to as complements. Regarding simple nominals, complements comprise phrasal or clausal categories that occur with a head noun in an NP. Functionally, these may modify or limit the sense of the head noun. We shall begin with phrasal complements and take up clausal complements later on.

3.1.1 Phrasal Complements

In this subsection we shall consider adjectival and some nominal phrasal structures which function as modifying complements of a noun.

3.1.1.1 Adjectival Phrases

Adjectival phrases (APs) can modify a head noun in NPs. In Harari, these strictly occur preceding head nouns as the examples below illustrate.

1. (a) [yi [gidi:r gar]]
this big house
'this big house'
- (b) [azze [k'oram k'ähat]]
that beautiful girl
'that beautiful girl'
- (c) [yittä [t'äy'-it dāw]]
this black-f goat
'this black(f) goat'
- (d) [yi [aman wäldi]]
this good boy
'this good boy'

In each of the above structures, the first element in the inner brackets is an adjective modifier and the last is a head noun. For example, in (1a), the adjective /**gidi:r**/ 'big' occurs as a modifying complement and restricts the reference of the head to only that attribute which it denotes. There is a restriction in the precedence relation of the AP modifiers and their heads. Thus, adjectives cannot occur following heads as we can observe from below.

2. (a) * **[gar gidi:r]**
 house big
- (b) * **[k'ähat k'oram]**
 girl beautiful

The structures in (2) are ill-formed and suggest that the head should always be in final position.

In Harari, adjectives may have overt markers which indicate the number and gender features of the head nouns with which they occur in NPs. Like nouns, adjectives do not inflect for the singular number and the masculine gender morphologically (See Note (11) in chapter two for number and gender markings of nouns). But they overtly indicate the plural number and the feminine gender.

Unlike nominals which indicate number by affixation, adjectives typically express plurality by reduplicating themselves as demonstrated below.

3. (a) **[k'eh k'eh gar -ač]**
 red red house -pl
 'red houses'
- (b) **[t'it' t'it' k'äläč -ač']**
 small small child -pl
 'small children'
- (c) **[raga raga ʔussuʔ -ač]**
 old old man -pl
 'old men'

As the structures in (3) show, the reduplicated forms of the adjectives encode plurality and agree with the plural number of their heads expressed by the suffix /- ač/. For

example, in (3a), the adjective /k'eh k'eh/ 'red-(pl.)' modifies its plural head /gar -ač/ 'house (pl)'.

It is apparent in (4) that singular adjectives (the single forms) are not allowed to occur with plural heads.

- 4
- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) * | [k'eh
red | gar -ač]
house -pl. |
| (b) * | [t'äy
black | bara -ač]
ox -pl. |
| (c) * | [wädäl
fat | bara -ač]
ox -pl. |

In (4), the adjectives /k'eh/ 'red' as in (a), and /t'äy/ 'black' as in (b), and /wädäl/ 'fat' as in (c) are singulars and do not share the 'plural' feature of their respective heads ; therefore making the structures ungrammatical.

On the other hand, adjectives express the feminine gender of heads by the suffix /-it/.¹ Consider the examples below:

- 5.
- | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------|
| (a) | [t'äy -it
black -f
'(the) black cat' | adurru]
cat |
| (b) | [gudo:r -it
tall -f
'(the) tall girl' | k'ähät]
girl |

In the above structures, the adjectives indicate the gender of the head nouns by the suffix /-it/. But it is the case that the gender in question can be indicated only by the adjective as in (5) or only by the head noun as can be seen shortly from (6a). That is, unlike number marking, if both the adjective and the head are marked for the feminine gender, the structure will be unacceptable. This may be evident from (6b) below.

¹ Adjectives and nouns express the feminine gender by the same suffixal morpheme /-it/.

6. (a) **[t'äy adurr –it]**
 black cat –f
 'black cat (f)'

(b) * **[t'äy-it adurr –it]**
 black –f cat –f

In (6 a), the gender is only indicated by the head noun. But in (b) both the adjective and the head are marked for the feminine gender. Therefore, (a) is grammatical but (b) is not.

From the discussion so far, it is generally assumed that in Harari, adjectives immediately precede the head nouns they modify; and also may overtly express the number and gender of heads as in (3) and (5), respectively. The following structure demonstrates that adjectives do not occur following their heads.

7. * **[adurru t'äy]**
 cat black

Within an NP, the AP modifier may consist of an adjective and a degree word and occurs preceding a head noun. The structures in (7) will show this.

8. (a) **[[fizbe gidi:r] gar]**
 very big house
 'a very big house'

(b) **[[fizbe zuruf] zinab]**
 very heavy rain
 'a very heavy rain'

In each of the structures in (8), in the inner bracket is contained an AP, which comprises an adjective preceded by a degree word, thus modifying the head noun in the outer bracket. Structurally, the degree word is related to the adjective.

In the end, we may look briefly at the occurrences of more than one adjective with a single head noun in the same NP. Compare the structures in (9) below.

9. (a) **[ahad hač'ir wädäl t'äy wäldi] di:ǰ –a**
 one short fat black boy come-pf-3ms
 'A short, fat, black boy has come'

- (b) [ahad wädäl hač'ir t'äy wäldi] di:ǰ –a
 one fat short black boy come-pf-3ms
 'A fat, short, black boy has come'
- (c) [ahad t'äy hač'ir wädäl wäldi] di:ǰ –a
 one black short fat boy come-pf-3ms
 'a black, short, fat boy has come'
- (d) [ahad hač'ir t'äy wädäl wäldi] di:ǰ –a
 one short black fat boy come-pf-3ms
 'A short, black, fat boy has come'
- (e) [ahad wädäl t'äy hač'ir wäldi] di:ǰ –a
 one fat black short boy come-pf-3ms
 'A fat, black, short boy has come'

Each of the structures in (9) contains three adjectives of which two express size and the other color denoting in the same NP. Adjectives depicting features of the same category commonly occur in series but uncommonly they may also tend to allow the intrusion of other adjectives describing different features between them.

Thus in (a), (b), and (c) the adjectives /**hač'ir**/ 'short' and /**wädäl**/ 'fat' which describe size, occur together either preceding or following the adjective /**t'äy**/ 'black' which denotes color. In Harari, the order of adjectives in these structures is more common than in (d) and (e) where the intrusion of the color denoting adjective between those expressing sizes is illustrated. Despite this however, if adjectives describing for instance only size occur, they may freely exchange their positions in the same NP. Compare the positions of /**hač'ir**/ and /**wädäl**/ in (a) and (b).

3.1.1.2 Genitive NPs

The term 'genitive' is often used to refer to a wide range of nominal relations such as possessives, sources, locatives, and others. Recall that in the preceding chapter, the genitive of possession was described as a specifier for it has a function similar to other specifiers. In the present section, the other genitives types in the language, namely the

source, purposive, locative and temporal genitives are recognized as complements of a simple nominal head; and hence will be discussed here.

But before proceeding to the main theme, a general remark on the genitive formation in the language is in order.

In Harari, the form /-zat'/ is considered as the genitive case marker. Like the case in other languages, in this language, it may commonly occur with simple nominals as a suffix to express various genitive relations. It can be said that when genitives appear as the only complement in NPs, except for the temporal genitive, the occurrence of this element with the genitives of source, purpose, and location is rare. Rather, most commonly, the NPs of these genitives are formed by strings of two nouns where the first noun (without being overtly case marked) serves as the genitive complement of the second noun which is the head. In contrast, in case of temporal genitives, the case marking should be morphologically realized.

Furthermore, it should nonetheless be clear that in general the genitive case marking is obligatorily phonetically realized when two or more genitives appear in the same NP structure. In this case, the genitive case marker is always attached only to the most left genitive complement. Again, when external elements may intrude between the genitive and its head, the case marking should be overt.

The citation of the individual data should now be comprehensible in keeping with the above annotations.

3.1.1.2.1 Source Genitives

These refer to genitive NPs which express the material source an entity denoted by a noun is made. In Harari, the genitive of source defines a head noun by occurring in the prenominal position. Below are given some examples.

10. (a) **[[hašär] k'ahwa²]**
 husk-gen tea
 'tea made of husk'
- (b) **[[inč'i] gar]**
 wood-gen. house
 'a house made of wood'
- (c) **[[hašär-zat'] k'ahwa]**
 husk-gen tea
 'tea made of husk'
- (d) **[[inč'i-zat'] gar]**
 wood-gen house
 'a house made of wood'

In each case in (10), the source genitive occurs as a complement and modifies the head noun in terms of its material source. As mentioned earlier, the genitive relation is commonly expressed by a sequence of two nouns where the first is the genitive modifier followed by the head. Thus, the genitive NPs /**hašär**/ 'husk-(gen)' as in (a), and /**inč'i**/ 'wood-(gen)' as in (b) show the material source of their heads /**k'ahwa**/ 'tea' and /**gar**/ 'house', respectively. Though not common, the above genitives can also appear with the case marker /-**zat'**/ attached to them as shown in (c) and (d) in the order present.

In the above structures, if we exchange the positions of the source genitives and the head nouns, the reversed syntactic position may encode a purposive genitive relation. This could be observed in (11a) and (b) below given as paraphrases of examples (9a) and (b), respectively.

11. (a) **[[k'ahwa] hašär]**
 tea-gen. husk
 'husk for tea'
- (b) **[gar] inč'i]**
 house-gen. wood
 'wood for house'

² This specifically refers to a kind of tea made of dry outer covering of coffee seeds.

The above examples are purposive structures resulting from those in (10) by reversing the order of the source genitives and their heads. Consequently, what was a head in (10) serves as a complement in (11), and vice versa. But here the complement is a genitive of purpose and modifies the head in terms of its function. This relationship is typical of the source and purposive genitives; other genitive types, as we shall see later, do not exhibit this phenomenon. Similar characteristics can also be observed in other languages such as Oromo and Koorete (cf. Baye, 1986 and Biniyam, 2002 respectively). We shall not however pursue genitives of purpose further until the next subsection.

Positionally, the source genitives should occur close to their heads and they may not be separated from their heads by intrusion of other elements like adjectives. This can be observed from the structures in (12), below.

12. (a) [**wi?** [**gamila** **hay**]]
hot camel-(gen) milk
'a hot milk of camel'
- (b) * [**gamila** **wi?** **hay**]
camel-(gen) hot milk
- (c) [**t'it-t'it** [**t'a:f** **?ukat**]]
small-pl. t'eff-(gen) injera
'a small (*pieces of*) injera of t'eff'
- (d) * [**t'a:f** **t'it-t'it** **?ukat**]
t'eff-(gen) small-pl. injera

In (12), the structures contain source genitives and adjectives. In such structures the position of adjectives is strictly preceding source genitives. Note that in (12a) and (c), the adjectives /**wi?**/'hot' and /**t'it-t'it**/ 'small-pl.' occur before the source genitives /**gamila**/ 'camel-(gen)' and / **t'a:f** / 'teff-(gen)' , respectively. But as marked from (b) and (d) the adjectives can not occur separating the genitives from the head nouns; thus making the structures ungrammatical. The above examples reveal that the genitive at issue can not freely swap its position with adjectives since it appears to be tightly attached with its head.

Consequently, the above analysis may suggest that structurally the source genitives and adjectives may not occupy the same position.

Given the above assumption however, adjectives may rarely possibly appear in the positions as in the ill-formed (12b) or (d) for pragmatic reasons. Even then, the genitive case marking should be phonetically realized for the structure to be acceptable. Thus, (12b) and (d) are paraphrased in (a) and (b) of (13) to show this, respectively.

13. (a) **[gamila -zat'** **wi?** **hay]**
 camel - gen hot milk
 'a hot milk of camel'
- (b) **[t'a:f -zat'** **t'it-t'it** **?ukat]**
 t'eff-(gen) small-pl. injera
 'a small (*pecies of*) injera of t'eff'

Similarly, when source genitives appear with possessive genitives (specifiers) in the same NP, they always occur following the possessives or near to the head as in (14a) and (b), below. The reverse order will lead to ungrammaticality as example (c) demonstrates.

14. (a) **[a:n -zat'** **[inč'i** **gar]]**
 I - gen. wood-gen. house
 'the wooden house of mine'
- (b) **[ferid - zat'** **[t'ut'** **gännafe]]**
 F. - gen. cotton-(gen) trousers
 'the cotton trousers of Ferid'
- (c) * **[inč'i- zat'** **a:n** **gar]**
 I - gen. wood-(gen.) house

As stated earlier when two genitives occur in the same structures, the genitive marker is only attached to the one which occupies the extreme left position. This can be apparent from the structures in (14), above in which the marker is attached only to the possessive genitives but not to the source ones. In contrast, the occurrence of the genitive marker with both the genitive constituents is not allowed as demonstrated by the following ungrammatical structures.

3.1.1.2.2 Purposive Genitives

Purposive genitives modify a noun by expressing its purpose. Like source genitives they occur preceding the heads in NPs. Below are given some examples.

17. (a) **[[hay]** **lam]**
milk-(gen) cow
'a cow for milk'
- (b) **[[gar]** **inč'i]**
house-(gen) wood
'a wood for house'
- (c) **[[k'ahwa-zat']** **geb]**
tea-gen cup
'a cup for tea'
- (d) **[[amir-zat']** **nädäba]**³
king-gen platform
'a platform for kings'

In each case in (17) the first element is a genitive of purpose and modifies the following head noun by expressing its purpose. For example, in (a) / **hay**/ 'milk' occurs as a complement and modifies the head noun /**lam**/ 'cow' in terms of a function the cow is used for. Analogues to the source genitives, purposives may also optionally show an overt case marking as can be observed from examples (c) and (d).

Note that the string of nouns in (17a) and (b) constitute the purposive structure only in the order they appear. The reverse order gives the source-head structure. Thus, (17a) and (b) are paraphrased in (18a) and (b) to show this.

18. (a) **[lam** **hay]**
cow-(gen) milk
'a milk of cow'

³ *nädäba* is a characteristic feature of the Harari cultural household. It exhibits platforms of various size, height and position for people to lie on and chat, rest, etc... The *nädäba* is built in the house in such a way that a pecking order based on age, religion, power, etc...is observed and respected.

- (b) **[inč'i gar]**
 wood-(gen) house
 'a house of wood'

From examples (11) and (18), it can be said that the structure of purposive genitive NPs can be derived from the NPs of source genitives, and vice versa, by inverting the syntactic positions of complement and head nouns in each case. Nevertheless, this is possible only when the genitive morpheme is omitted. When the genitive complement is morphologically case marked and exchange its position with the head, the structure will not show the expected structure. Compare the following structures given corresponding to the above (18a) and (b).

19. (a) **[hay-zat' lam]**
 milk-gen cow
 'cow for milk'
- (b) **[lam hay-zat']**
 cow milk-gen
 'cow for milk'
- (c) **[gar-zat' inč'i]**
 house-gen wood
 'wood for(construction of) house'
- (d) **[inč'i gar-zat']**
 wood house-gen
 'wood for(construction of) house'

Evidently from (19), putting the case marked genitives of purpose as in (a), and (c) following their heads as in (b) and (d), respectively does not form source-head structures. But it shows a possible purposive structure which conveys focus. In structures like these, there is always a pause separating the head from the following genitive.

Moreover, the relationship between the NPs of source and purposive genitives as observed in examples (11) and (18) is kept only between two semantically compatible nouns. Compare (a) and (b) of (20) below.

20. (a) **[bäläčču mäkinä]**
 wedding-(gen) car
 'a car for wedding'

- (b) * **[mäkinä bäläčču]**
 car-(gen) wedding
- (c) **[dus mi]**
 honey-(gen) water
 'honeyed water'
- (d) * **[mi dus]**
 water -(gen) honey

In (20a), the nouns /**bäläčču**/ 'wedding-gen.' and /**mäkinä**/ 'car-gen.' in the order present constitute a purposive structure. But the reverse order in (b) does not show the expected source-head structure, rather it is unacceptable since the structure is semantically anomalous. Similarly, the grammatical source-head structure in (c) would become ill-formed as in (d) when put in the reverse order.

Like source genitives, purposive genitives appear to be tightly bound to their heads and can not be separated from its heads by other modifiers such as adjectives. This may be demonstrated by the following examples.

21. (a) **[k'eh [bäläčču mäkinä]]**
 red wedding-(gen) car
 'a red clothe for wedding'
- (b) * **[bäläčču k'eh mäkinä]**
 wedding-(gen) red car
- (c) **[gidi:r [k'ahwa geb]]**
 big tea-(geb) cup
 'a big cup for tea'
- (d) * **[k'ahwa gidi:r geb]**
 tea-(geb) big cup

Note that in (21), adjectives can only occur before the purposive genitives which occur close to heads as in (a) and(c). But their presence between the genitives and their heads will make the structures ungrammatical as in (b) and (d). This suggests that parallel to source genitives; purposive genitives assume the same position in such structures as (21). In other words, both genitives should occur close to their heads. Hence, adjectives can only occur in the position preceding these genitives. In this respect, it can be said

that source and purposive genitives on one hand and adjectives on the other, can be treated as distributionally distinct complements occupying structurally independent positions.

Finally, we shall consider the precedence relation between source genitives and purposive genitives within the same NP. Consider the following examples.

22. (a) **[bäläčču –zat’ [t’ut’ iraz]]**
 wedding –gen cotton-gen clothe
 ‘cotton clothe for wedding’
- (b) * **[t’ut’ –zat’ bäläčču iraz]**
 cotton –gen wedding-gen clothe
- (c) **[bäläčču –zat’ [bara bäsär]]**
 wedding –gen ox-gen meat
 ‘a meat of ox for wedding’
- (d) * **[bara –zat’ bäläčču bäsär]**
 ox-gen. wedding meat

The examples in (22) show that the two types of genitives can not freely exchange their positions as the linear order is strict. Source genitives should occur close the head and purposive genitives assume the position preceding the source genitive. For example, the source genitive /t’ut’/ ‘cotton-gen’ in (a), occurs following the purposive/ **bäläčču–zat’**/ ‘wedding-gen’; hence the structure is grammatical. But its occurrence preceding the purposive genitive as shown in (b) will make the structure ungrammatical.

The structures in (22) may also accommodate adjectives, but these can only occur preceding the purposive and source genitives, in the order present. This can be evident from (23) below.

- 23 (a) **[yä? k’ali bäläčču–zat’ [t’ut’ iraz]]**
 that expensive wedding-(gen) cotton-gen clothe
 ‘that expensive cotton clothe for wedding’

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| (b) * | [bläčču-zat'
wedding-gen | k'ali
expensive | [t'ut'
cotton-(gen) | iraz]
clothe |
| (c) * | [t'ut' -zat'
cotton-gen | bäläčču
wedding-gen. | k'ali
expensive | iraz]
clothe |

As shown in (23a), the adjective /k'ali/ 'expensive' can only occur preceding the purposive genitive/ **bäläčču-zat'**/ 'wedding-gen.' and the source genitive /t'ut'/ 'cotton-gen.' ; hence the structure is grammatical. Whereas the occurrence of the adjective between the purposive and source genitives in (b), on one hand and its being close to the head in (c) on the other, will make the structures ungrammatical.

3.1.1.2.3 Locative Genitives

Locative genitives modify head nouns with regard to their location or place of origin. Like the other genitives described so far, these occur in the prenominal positions in NPs. Look at the examples given below.

24. (a) **[gey⁴ bun]**
Harar-(gen) coffee
'coffee from Harar'
- (b) **[gey -zat' bun]**
Adere-gen. coffee
'coffee from Harar'
- (c) **[fädis⁵ šunkurtä]**
Fedis-(gen) onion
'onion from Fedis'
- (d) **[fädis- zat' šunkurtä]**
Fedis- gen. onion
'onion from Fedis'

⁴ The term may refer to the Harari people or the city Harar.

⁵ This is a small town in the vicinity.

- (e) **[haräwwe⁶ muz]**
 Harawe-(gen) banana
 'banana from Harewe'
- (f) **[haräwwe-zat' muz]**
 Harawe-gen banana
 'banana from Harewe'

In (24), /**gey**/ 'Harar-gen.' in (a), /**fädis**/ 'Fedis-gen' in (c), and /**haräwwe**/ 'Harewe-gen.' in (e) are locative genitives. Their function is one of modifying following heads in terms of the location or origin in their respective structures. Corresponding to these, structures (b), (d) and (f) are given to show the optional occurrence of the genitive marker.

Locative genitives should always precede heads. The reverse order, unlike the case with source and purposive genitives, is subject to ungrammaticality. This may be indicated in (25a) and (b) as paraphrases of (24a) and (c), respectively.

25. (a) * **[k'ähat gey]**
 girl Harar-(gen)
- (b) * **[šunkurtä fädis]**
 onion Fedis-(gen)

The above structures are ungrammatical as the locatives occur following their heads.

We shall now consider the positions of locative genitives in relation to adjectives on one hand and source and purposive genitives on the other, in separate NP structures.

When locative genitives occur with adjectives in the same NP the order is fairly free; hence they can exchange their positions. The following instances suffice to show this.

26. (a) **[aman harewwe [muz]]**
 good Harewe-gen. banana
 'a good banana from Harewe'
- (b) **[harewwe-zat' aman [muz]]**
 Harewe-gen. good banana

⁶ This is a village near the city, Harar.

'a good banana from Harewe'

The above examples reveal that adjectives can occur either preceding or following locative genitives. For instance in (26a), the adjective /aman/ 'good' occurs before the locative genitive /harewwe/ 'Harewe -gen'. But as shown in (b), the adjective occurs after the genitive; either way the structure is grammatical. This fact may suggest that locative genitives and adjectives may occupy the same structural position in the language. This may reveal that, unlike the source and purposive genitives, locative genitives are not tightly bound to their heads.

On the other hand, when locative genitives combine with source or purposive genitives they assume a position preceding these genitives. Below are given some examples to demonstrate this.

27. (a) **[gey -zat'** **[bara** **bäsär]]**
 Harer -gen ox (-gen) meat
 'meat of ox from Harer'
- (b) * **[bara -zat'** **gey** **bäsär]**
 ox -gen Harer(-gen) meat
- (c) **[čaina -zat'** **[wij** **iraz]]**
 China-gen child-(gen) clothe
 'a clothe for child from China'
- (d) * **[wij -zat'** **čaina** **iraz]**
 child-gen China -(gen) clothe

As the grammatical structures in (27) show, the position of the locative genitives /**gey - zat'**/ as in (a) and /**čaina -zat'**/ as in (b) is preceding the source genitive and the purposive genitive respectively. The occurrence of the locatives following these genitives as in (b) and (d) will make the structures ungrammatical. The ungrammatical structures show that locative genitives should always occupy the position preceding these genitives. As stated earlier, source and purposive genitives are tightly bound to their heads; consequently they can not be separated from their heads by intrusion of adjectives. Similarly, example (27) suggests that when locative genitives occur with

source or purposive genitives; they occupy the same position as that taken by adjectives (cf. examples (12) and (21)). This may lead to the assumption that locative genitives and adjectives occupy the same structural position.

Further evidence supporting the above assumption may emerge from (28).

28. (a) **[čaina -zat'** **wiĵ** **t'ut'** **iraz]**
 China-gen. child-gen cotton-gen clothe
 'a cotton clothe for child from China'

(b) * **[wiĵ** **čaina -zat'** **t'ut'** **iraz]**
 child-gen China-gen. cotton-gen clothe

The above structures contain locative, purposive and source genitives. In such structures as the one given in (28a), locatives precede the other genitives with which they occur. If, on the contrary, the above order is not maintained, the structure becomes ungrammatical as we can see from (b). The position occupied by the locative genitive in (a) is also the same position adjectives take when they occur with purposive and source genitives as we saw in the structures in (23a).

In this respect, the difference in distribution between locative genitives and adjectives on one hand, and source and purposive genitives on the other, may suggest that these could be treated as complements that assume different structural positions in the projection of head nouns.

When both adjectives and locative genitives occur with source or purposive genitives in the same NP, the precedence relation between the two is loose since it is possible for either of these to occur preceding or following the other. This can be demonstrated by the following examples.

29. (a) **[aman** **čaina -zat'** **[wiĵ** **iraz]]**
 good China-gen child-(gen) clothe
 'a good clothe of child from China'

- (b) **[čaina -zat'** **aman** **[wiǰ]** **iraz]]**
good China-gen child-(gen) clothe
'a good clothe of child from China'
- (c) **[aman** **čaina -zat'** **[t'ut'** **iraz]]**
good China-gen cotton-(gen) clothe
'a good cotton clothe from China'
- (d) **[čaina -zat'** **aman** **[t'ut'** **iraz]]**
good China-gen cotton-(gen) clothe
'a good cotton clothe from China'

The structures in (29) may attest to the fact that the co occurrence of adjectives and locatives with purposive genitives as in (a) and (b) and with source genitives as in (c) and (d),

The other genitive which may also be considered as a complement parallel to the locative genitive and adjective is temporal genitive, which we will discuss below.

3.1.1.2.4 Temporal Genitives

These refer to genitives of time which modify a noun by giving a specific reference to time. In Harari, unlike the genitives of source, purpose and location, genitives of time are obligatorily formed by the suffixal genitive */-zat'/*. Temporal genitives occur preceding a head noun in an NP. Below are given some examples to show this.

30. (a) **[hoǰi -zat'** **[lak'än]]**
today -gen lunch
'today's lunch'
- (b) **[tayna -zat'** **[fäk'är]]**
yesterday -gen song
'yesterday's song'
- (c) **[so:za -zat'** **[?ir]]**
morning -gen sun
'a morning sun'

Each of the above structures illustrates a genitive of time modifying a head noun that follows. The genitives are expressed by attaching **/-zat’/** to the nouns denoting time. Recall that the suffix element is commonly dropped with the other genitives we have discussed so far. Its obligatory occurrence here is typical of temporal genitives. The above structures can not be grammatical unless the genitive marker is phonetically realized. This may be evident from the examples given below corresponding to (30a) and (b).

31. (a) * **[hoji lak’an]**
today lunch
- (b) * **[tayna fak’ar]**
yesterday song

Temporal genitives strictly occur preceding heads. This could be observed by reversing the orders of the genitives of time and the heads in example (30) resulting in the ill formed (32) below.

32. (a) * **[lak’an hoji -zat’]**
lunch today -gen
- (b) * **[fak’ar tayna -zat’]**
song yesterday -gen
- (c) * **[?ir so:za -zat’]**
sun morning -gen

Akin to locative genitives, temporal genitives are not tightly bound to their heads in that it is possible for adjectives to occur between them. Consider the structures in (33).

33. (a) **[hoji -zat’ zuruf zinab]**
today -gen heavy rain
‘today’s heavy rain’
- (b) **[tayna -zat’ wi? bun]**
yesterday -gen hot coffee
‘yesterday’s hot coffee’

The linear order in structures as (33), however, is very strict that reversing the positions of the genitive and the adjective will give unacceptable structures as in (34).

34. (a) * **[zuruf** **hoji –zat'** **zinab]**
 heavy today –gen rain
- (b) * **[wi?** **tayna –zat'** **bun]**
 hot yesterday –gen coffee

The above structures are unacceptable because the adjectives occur preceding the temporal genitives. This clearly shows that, unlike the genitives of source, purpose, and location, temporal genitives should always occur preceding adjectives.

Temporal genitives can also occur along with locative genitives in the same NP. The following grammatical structures illustrate the case in point.

35. (a) **[tayna –zat'** **gey** **išiš]**
 yesterday –gen Harar-(gen) butter
 'yesterday's butter from Harar'
- (b) **[hoji –zat'** **haräwwe** **burtukan]**
 today –gen harewe-(gen) orange
 'today's orange from Harewe'

Similarly, like the adjectives of (34), locatives cannot precede temporal genitives. This can be evident from paraphrasing (35a) giving the ungrammatical (36).

36. * **[gey –zat'** **tayna** **išiš]**
 Harar –gen yesterday-(gen) butter

Following the observations made in (34) and (36), it can be said that, temporal genitives occupy the left peripheral position when co occurring with adjectives and locative genitives. In other words, an incorrect structure would result if the temporal genitive takes up any other position.

Similarly, temporal genitives may occur along with source or purposive genitives in the same NP. Compare the following instances.

37. (a) [**hoji –zat'** [lam hay]]
today –gen cow-gen milk
'today's milk of cow'
- (b) * [lam –zat' hoji hay]
cow –gen today-(gen) milk
- (c) [**hoji –zat'** [k'ahwa geb]]
today –gen tea-gen cup
'today's cup for tea'
- (d) * [k'ahwa –zat' hoji geb]
tea –gen today-(gen) cup

In such structures, temporal genitives occur preceding source and purposive genitives as in (a) and (c). Their occurrence following either the source or purposive genitives makes the structure ungrammatical as in (b) and (d). The above instances also demonstrate that the position occupied by the temporal genitives is the same as that taken by adjectives as in (12) and (21) and locative genitives as in (27). In the type of structures under consideration, adjectives as well as locative and temporal genitives appear to hold the same position.

In general, it can be concluded that within an NP, temporal genitives occur closer to heads on the condition that adjectives and the other genitives are not present in that structure. This also holds true for adjectives and locatives in cases where source and purposive genitives do not constitute the structure of an NP.

However, if adjectives and other genitives constitute part of an NP, temporal genitives assume a peripheral position. Likewise, adjectives and locatives also occupy a peripheral position with respect to source and purposive genitives within an NP.

Finally, the phrasal modifiers of a noun discussed in the present section – source and purposive genitives on the one hand and adjectives, locative and temporal genitives on the other – can be described as complements that hold different structural positions. The precedence relation of these can be given as follows:

((temporal gen) + (adj.) / (locative gen.)) + ((purposive gen) / (source gen.)) + Head

3.1.2 Clausal Complements

This section accounts for the clausal candidate for simple nominal complements.

3.1.2.1 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are discussed here as being modifiers of nominal heads within NPs. But before proceeding to the main theme, we shall briefly comment on RCs in Harari in general regarding types and relativizable positions in the language. This will be appealing as it, on one hand, shows the limit of discussion and on the other makes the citation of individual piece of data more comprehensible.

Regarding their functional properties, RCs may fall into two groups: those having a restricting effect on their heads or called restrictive relative clauses (RRC) and those without such effect on nouns or known as non-restrictive relative clauses (NRRC).

The former is assumed to have presupposed information to identify the referent of an NP, and the latter is believed to simply present new information assuming that the referent can already be identified (Comrie, 1981:132).

This amounts to saying that a RRC defines the referent of a noun it occurs with whereas a NRRC occurs strictly with a noun of delimited reference and does not identify a referent but rather adds up a piece of information to it.

In Harari, both RRC and NRRC can be distinguished with the distinct function ascribed for each above. This may be demonstrated in the following examples.

38. (a) [[wäldi –u zi-mähat’-t-a] k’ähat] di:y –ti
 boy –acc. RM-hit-pf-3fs(S)-3ms(O) girl come-pf-3fs
 ‘the girl who has hit the boy has come’

- (b) [**gar-u** **zi – däläg- e - w**] **bäkri** **di:ǰ-a**
house-acc. RM-build-pf-3ms(S)–3ms(O) B come-pf-3ms
‘Bekri, who built the house has come’

In (38), the innermost brackets contain RCs, and these occur with following head nouns. The RC /**wäldi –u zi-mähat’-t-a** / ‘who (f) hit the boy’ in (a) modifies the head /**k’ähat**/ ‘girl’ by restricting the referent ‘girl’, otherwise which could be unidentified. Hence, the structure illustrates a RRC. On the other hand, in (b), the RC /**gar-u zi – däläg-e-w**/ ‘who (m) has built the house’ has a role of providing additional information about the head /**bäkri**/ ‘Bekri’. Note that the head is a proper noun and has a definite referent. The RC is then assumed to be a NRRC since it only gives additional information about an already identified referent otherwise referred to as having an appositive function.

Based on the above discussion, the RRC and NRRC in Harari can be considered as being distinct in function. Despite this however, formally the two clauses exhibit the same structure that they may not be easily distinguished.

Consider below as the RRC in (38a) above is used to modify the head noun in that of (b) and (38b) in that of (a).

39. (a) [**gar-u** **zi –däläg-t-a**] **k’ähat**
house-acc RM-go-pf-3fs(S)-OM girl
‘the girl who has built the house’
- (b) [**wäldi –u** **zi-mähat’-e –w**] **bäkri**
boy –acc RM-hit-pf-3ms-OM B
‘Bekri, who has hit the boy’

The structures in (39) reveal the formal similarity between the clauses in question. Thus, the RC described as RRC in (38) serves as NRRC in (39), and that of NRRC appears here as RRC. The distinction seems to be triggered by the type of nominal that the RC may occur with or, an RC may have a role of NRRC when it appears with an already defined head noun such as proper nouns. In this respect, the RCs in (39a) and in that of (b) above, have a restrictive and an appositive function, respectively.

Moreover, the element *zi*, which is attached to the verbal constituents of both types of RCs as observed in the above structures, is considered as the relative marker in the language. It is found that this element has similar form and function as the relative marker in Tigrinya (Cf. Bender, 1976).

In Harari, though the use of NRRC does not appear to be common, it could be distinguished from that of RRC as when it occurs with proper nouns as in (38b) and (39b) ,above. But that of RRC is common.

In relation to this when the two RC types occur with a single head in the same NP, it is observed that positionally as well as intonationally a distinction - as to which RC has a restrictive or non-restrictive roles - can be made as we shall see shortly below. This may be compared with similar facts in other languages. For example, in English, RRCs are distinguished from NRRCs by pronouns - in most instances *that* - the latter being identified intonationally from the main clause (Cf. Comrie, 1981:132); or distributionally NRRC always occurs at the right of RRC (Cf. Jackendoff, 1977) Similarly, in Silt'i, a distinction is made in terms of syntactic positions, i.e. NRRC occurs at the left of the RRC which is always close to the head; moreover the latter is accompanied with a distinctive loudness (Cf. Rawda, 2003:13)

On account of the above view, the following examples will illustrate the case in Harari.

40. (a) **[[gey - be zi - di:] - a] , [k'ähät-u zi-mähät'-e] wäldi]**
 Harar -loc RM-come-pf-3ms(S) girl -acc. RM-hit-pf- 3fs(O) boy
 'the boy who came from Harar, who has hit the girl'
- (b) **[[kil -gey zi-let'-u] , [axa silk zi- aš -u] ?ussu?- ač]**
 loc-Harar RM-go-pf-3pl(S) now phone RM-make-pf-3pl man- pl
 'the men who have now phoned, who went to Harar'

Note that in the structures in (40), two RCs occur with a single head noun. But in structures such as these, a perceptible pause is assumed to separate and identify the RRC from the NNRC. The restrictive RC may form a single pause group with the head; hence separating the appositive RC. Thus, one of their differences can be attributed to

In (42a), and (b) the direct object positions are relativised. As can be observed in each RC the relativised object positions are phonetically empty. The missing NP in (a) is recovered from the object marker **-a** '3ms (O)' attached to the relative verb. This occurs following the subject marker **-t** '3fs(S)'. In (b), the affix **-o** '3ms (O)' identifies the object NP. This is attached to relative verb following the subject marker **-k** '1pl(S)' and preceding the case marker **-u** 'acc.'.

Furthermore, we can observe relativizations of a noun in the dative case in (43).

43. (a) **abba** **wäldi -le** **kubba** **wäxäbä -le -w**
 man boy -dat. ball buy-pf- dat.-(O)
 'A man has bought a ball to (the) boy'
- (b) **[[abba [e] kubba zi-wäxäb -ä - le -w] wäldi]**
 man ball RM-buy-pf. -3ms(S)- dat-3ms(O) boy
 'the boy to whom a man bought a ball'

The position of indirect objects in Harari sentences is commonly preceding the direct objects, as that occupied by the NP / **wäldi -le** / 'boy-dat.' in (43a). Thus, in the RC in (b) the indirect object position is relativised. This position is phonetically empty as indicated by [e]. The missing NP however can be recovered from its person, number, gender and case features shown in the inflections of the relative verb / **zi-wäxäb-** / 'RM-buy-'. This is indicated by the object marker **-w** '3ms (O)' and the case marker **-le**, which identifies its role as indirect object. These are preceded by **-ä** '3ms(S)', which is the subject marker.

As can be observed from the above structures, the contents of the relativised subject and object NPs can be identified from the person, number, gender and case features indicated by the affixes attached to the relative verb of the RC. However, it is assumed that other nominal features such as definiteness and the nominative case are not phonetically realized.

The genitive NPs of possession, source, purpose, location and time can also be relativised. The following examples will demonstrate this.

44. (a) **[[zi- näsä - k- o] azze-zat' mähalläk']**
 RM- buy-pf.-1s(S)-3ms(O) she-gen. money
 'her money, which I have taken'
- (b) **[[zi- wäxäb- k- o] inc'i gar]**
 RM- buy-pf. 1s(S)-3ms(O) wood-gen. house
 'house of wood which I have bought'
- (c) **[[zi- asem- t- a] gar inc'i]**
 RM- sell-pf.-3fs(S)-3ms(O) house-gen. wood
 'wood for house, which she has sold'
- (d) **[[zi- let'- a] gey wäldi]**
 RM- go-pf.3ms(S) Harar-(gen.) boy
 'the boy from Harar who has gone'
- (e) **[[zi- t'eneb- ne - w] tayna-zat' fäk'är]**
 RM- listen-pf.-1pl(S)-3ms(O) yesterday-gen. house
 'yesterday's song, which we have listened to'

In relation to the above, the heads of the genitive NPs of, source, purpose, location and time can be relativised. The following examples illustrate this and the relativization of instrumental nominal, which is not expressed by the genitive structure.

45. (a) **[[inc'i-be zi-ddäläg- a] dufan]**
 wood-mat. RM-make-3ms-(O) bed
 'a bed which is made from wood'
- (b) **[[bīrät-be zi-däläg-x-a-u] kätämbä ri]**
 metal- mat. RM-make-pf.2ms(S)-3ms(O)-acc. gate
 'the gate that you have made from metal'
- (c) **[[gar-zat' zi- xan-a] inc'i]**
 house-gen. RM- be- -3ms(S) wood
 'a wood which is used for house(building)'
- (d) **[[bun-zat' zi- xan-a] geb]**
 house-gen. RM- be- -3ms(S) cup
 'a cup which is used for coffee'
- (e) **[[dufan-be zi-al- ti] k'ähät]**
 shope - loc RM-exist-3fs(S) girl
 'the girl who is from the shop'

- (f) **[[gar- be zi- al- Ø] wäldi]**
house -loc. RM-exist-3ms(S) boy
'the boy who is from the house'
- (g) **[[tayna-zat' zi- t'eneb- ne - w] fäk'är]**
yesterday-gen. RM- listen-pf.-1pl(S)-3ms(O) song
'yesterday's song, which we have listened to'
- (h) **[[tayna-zat' zi- hej- ku - o] filmi]**
yesterday-gen. RM-see-pf.-1pl(S)-3ms(O) film
'yesterday's film, which I have seen'
- (i) **[[zi-kätäb -u - b -o] k'äläm]**
RM- write-pf.-3pl-inst.-3ms(O) pen
'the pen with which they have written'
- (j) **[[zi-kätäb -ti - b -a] k'äläm]**
RM- write-pf.-3fs-inst.-3ms(O) pen
'the pen with which she has written'

In the above structures, the RCs in (a-b) modify the heads in terms material sources. This is expressed by attaching the affix *be-* to the nouns denoting the source in the RCs. In(c) and (d), the RCs' modify the head nouns by expressing function. As can be observed, the purposive genitives occur preceding the relative verbs which have the sense of 'which is used for '. In (e) and (f), the RCs express locations of head nouns. It could be said that the same affixal form is employed to indicate the source and locative relations. In this case *be-* is attached to the locative NP preceding the relative verbs which denote the notion 'which exist'. Similar to the RCs expressing purpose, the RCs in (g) and (h) contain temporal genitives before the relative verbs and modify the head nouns in terms of time.

Unlike all the above, when nouns that may be used as instrument are relativised, the relative verb indicates the instrumental relation by affixation. In (i) and (j) the relative verbs show this nominal feature by the affix **-b-** which occurs following the subject and preceding the object markers. This morpheme could be analyzed as the reduced form of **-be** which was observed in the above RCs which express source and location. In this connection, Eshetu (2000) states 'in this language, the morpheme /be-/ indicates the material case, the locative case, and the instrumental case.'

In addition, as the relative verb indicates the person, number, gender and certain case features of the head noun by its inflections, the relative clause can optionally occur with its head dropped. Compare the structures below.

46. (a) **[[mähalläk' zi-roj-a] wäldi] yi -tgeräf-al**
 money RM-steal-pf-3ms(S) boy 3ms-punish-impf-aux.
 'The boy who has stolen the money will be punished'
- (b) **[[mähalläk' zi-roj-a] [e]] yi -tgeräf-al**
 money RM-steal-pf-3ms(S) 3ms-punish-impf-aux.
 'The boy who has stolen money will be punished'

As shown in (46a), the RC /mähalläk' zi-roj-a/ 'who(3ms) has stolen the money' occurs with its following head /wäldi/ 'boy'. But in (b) the head is dropped and the RC occurs without its head; yet the structure is grammatical.

The RC construction as in (46b) is formally alike to the structure of certain clauses which may function as nominals. We shall see below some examples of nominal clauses in Harari in relation to RCs, for their structure appears to be parallel to that of the RC when it occurs without its head. Consider the following examples.

47. (a) **[zi- säbär-e- w] manzär- e- u int-a**
 RM-break -3ms(S)-3ms(O) eye glasses-my-acc. be- 3ms
 'What he has broken, is my eye glasses'
- (b) **[zi- säč- t- a] summi int- a**
 RM-drink- 3fs(S)-3ms(O) poison be-prs.-3ms(O)
 'What she has drunk, is poison'
- (c) **[zi- gezäm-k- o] bored-a**
 RM- wish- 1s(S)-3ms(O) reach-pf-3ms(O)
 'What I dreamt ,has come'
- (d) **[zi- a- dij- x- o] kisara int-a**
 RM-caus.-bring-pf.-2pl(S)-3s(O) loss be-prs.-3ms(O)
 'What you have brought, is loss'

The above examples illustrate the function of nominal clauses as an NP. Note also that the structure of these is comparable to the structure of the RC in (46b).

Finally, a brief account regarding the interaction of aspect and relativization will be in order.

As mentioned earlier on, the relative clause is introduced by the prefix **zi-** which is attached to the relative verb. In Harari, the element **zi-** appears as a prefix with perfective relative verbs.⁷ Corresponding to this, the relative marker that appears with the imperfective relative verbs is considered to be **-z-**. Formally, **-z-** could be analyzed as the reduced form of **zi-**, but it assumes a different position in the imperfective relative verbs. Consider below the construction of RCs with imperfective and perfective relative verbs.

48. (a) **[[(azzo) yi- wudd- e- z- al- Ø] k'ähät]**
 he 3ms(S)-like-impf-3fs(O)-RM-aux-3ms(S) girl
 'the girl whom he likes'
- (b) **[[(azze) ti- wudd- a- z- a- t] wäldi]**
 she 3fs(s)-like.impf-3ms(O)-RM-aux-3fs(S) boy
 'the boy whom she likes'
- (c) **[[(azzo) zi- wädäd- e] k'ähät]**
 he RM-like-pf- 3ms(O) girl
 'the girl whom he liked'
- (d) **[[(azze) zi- wädäd- t- a] wäldi]**
 she RM-like-pf-3fs(S)- 3ms(O) boy
 'the boy whom she liked'

In (48a) and (b), the verbal constituents of the RCs **/yiwuddezal/** 'whom(3fs) he likes' and **/tuwuddazat/** 'whom(3ms) she likes' respectively are in the imperfective aspect. The affix **-z-** in these verb forms functions as a relative marker. Positionally, it occurs following the object marker and preceding the auxiliary affix attached to each verb. In contrast, in the perfective relative verbs **/ziwädäde/** 'whom (3fs) he liked' and **/ziwädädta/** 'whom (3ms) she liked' as in (c) and in (d) respectively the prefix **zi-** is attached and serves as a relative marker.

⁷ The imperfective and perfective forms can be identified by the canonical forms given below.

-CVCC -	Imperfective
CVCVC -	Perfective

3.1.2.1.1 Restrictive Relative Clauses

As mentioned earlier, the function of RRC is one of modifying a noun by delimiting its reference. Within NPs, RRCs occur as a complement before a head noun. Look at the structures in (49).

49. (a) **[[zi –let’ –a] wäldi] hač’ir int –a**
 RM-go-pf-3ms(O) boy short be-prs-3ms
 ‘the boy who has gone is short’
- (b) **[[gar zi –wäxäb-ti] ragit] diy –ti**
 house RM-buy-pf-3fs(O) old woman come-pf-3fs
 ‘the old woman who bought a house has come’
- (c) **[[izer –e zi –sä’t’e –ññ] mähalläk’] t’ik’k’äšo nar-a**
 uncle-poss.1s. RM-give-pf-1s(O) money little be-pst-3ms
 ‘the money that my uncle gave me was little’

The above structures show that the position of RCs in relation to heads is parallel to the position taken by the phrasal complements examined earlier on.

As regards to the position of RCs in relation to phrasal complements in the same NP, the remarks are made as follows:

In relation to the source and purposive genitives, RCs assume the same position where adjectives and the other genitive complements are found. Consider the following structures.

50. (a) **[[zi-säč-k-o] [hašära k’ahwa]]**
 RM-drink-pf-1s-OM husk-(gen) tea
 ‘the tea made of husk that I have drunk’
- (b) * **[hašära-zat’ zi-säč-k-o k’ahwa]**
 husk-gen. RM-drink-pf-1s-OM tea
- (c) **[[munir zi-däläg-e-w] [buči gar]]**
 M RM-make-pf-3ms(S)-(O) dog-(gen) house
 ‘the kennel that Munir has made’

(d) *	[buči-zat'	[munir	zi-däläg-e-w]	gar]
	dog-gen.	M	RM-make-pf-3ms(O)	house

The structures in (50a) and (c) show that RCs may occur as modifying complements preceding the source and purposive genitives, respectively. Thus, RCs can not occur between these genitives and their heads as shown in the ungrammatical (b) and (d). This may suggest that an RC can not exchange its position with the source and purposive genitives hence assumes a different structural position as opposed to the genitives in question, but parallel to the position taken by adjectives, and locative and temporal genitives. In this respect, it may be possible to consider adjectives, RCs, locative and temporal genitives on one hand, and source and purposive genitives on the other, as complements that may hold structurally distinct positions. The former group always occurs preceding the latter, which is always close to the head. In other words, hierarchically, the former group may assume a higher position than the latter in the projection of the head.

There is however a strict precedence relation when RCs occur with adjectives or locative and temporal genitives in the same NP. Compare the following structures.

51. (a) **[zi-wäxäb-k-o** **täy** **iraz]**
 RM-buy-pf-1s(S)-(O) black clothe
 'a black clothe, which I have bought'
- (b) * **[täy** **zi-wäxäb-k-o** **iraz]**
 black RM-buy-pf-1s(S)-(O) clothe
- (c) **[zi-asek-k-o** **gey-zat'** **bara]**
 RM-sell-pf-1s(S)-3ms(O) Harar-gen. ox
 'the ox from Harah which I have sold'
- (d) * **[gey-zat'** **zi-asek-k-o** **bara]**
 Harar-gen. RM-sell-pf-1s-3ms(O) ox

As we can see from the structures in (51), an RC occurs preceding adjectives and locative genitives as in (a) and (c), respectively. But it can not occupy the positions

following these as is evident from the corresponding unacceptable structures in (b) and (d).

On the other hand, an RC may separate the genitive of time from its head and the two modifiers can freely exchange their positions as shown in the following examples:

52. (a) **[tayna-zat' zi-t'eneb-ne-w fäk'är]**
 yesterday-gen. RM-listen-pf-1pl(S)-3ms(O) song
 'yesterday's song that we listened to'
- (b) **[zi-t'eneb-ne-w tayna-zat' fäk'är]**
 RM-listen-pf-1pl(S)-3ms(O) yesterday-gen. song
 'yesterday's song that we listened to'

In (52a), the RC **/zi-t'eneb-ne-w/** 'that we listened to' occurs separating the time genitive **/taynazat'/** 'yesterday's' and the head **/fäk'är/** 'song'. But in (b), the RC precedes the time genitive.

This reveals that the RCs and the time genitives can exchange their positions. Such peculiarities may lead to the conclusion that both assume the same structural position in the language.

From the comparison of (51) and (52) above, it may emerge that RCs and temporal genitives always occur preceding adjectives and locative genitives.

53. (a) **[zi-gor-ne-w tayna-zat' wädäl gey bara]**
 RM-slaughter-pf-3pl-OM yesterday-gen. fat Harar-(gen.) ox
 'yesterday's fat ox from Harar that we slaughtered'
- (b) **[tayna-zat' zi-gor-ne-w gey-zat' wädäl bara]**
 yesterday-gen. RM-slaughter-pf-3pl-O Harar-(gen) fat ox
 'yesterday's fat ox from Harar that we slaughtered'
- (c) * **[tayna-zat' wädäl zi-gor-ne-w gey bara]**
 yesterday-gen. fat RM-slaughter-pf-3pl-O Harar-(gen) ox
- (d) * **[tayna-zat' wädäl gey zi-gor-ne-w bara]**
 yesterday-gen. fat Harar-(gen) RM-slaughter-pf-3pl-O ox

The structure in (53a) comprises an RC, a temporal genitive, an adjective, and a locative genitive. The RC can only occur as the first element as in (a) or following the temporal genitive as in (b) followed by the adjective, the locative, and the head in the order present. The occurrence of the RC between the adjective and the locative as in (c), or between the locative and the head as in (d), results in an ungrammatical structure.

In such possible structures, the basic order of the precedence of the constituents under consideration can be given as follows:

[((Temporal genitive) / (RC) + (Adjective) / (locative)) + head]

Refer to the following examples for further insight on the positions of source and purposive genitives most commonly found close to heads.

54. (a) **[tayna-zat' zi-sáč-t-a wi? hašāra k'ahwa]**
 yesterday-gen RM-drink-pf-3fs(S)-(O) hot husk (gen) tea
 'yesterday's hot tea of husk that she drank'
- (b) **[zi-wäxäb-k-o gidir čaina-zat' k'ahwa geb]**
 RM-buy-pf-1s-3ms(O) big China-gen. tea (gen.) cup
 'the China made big tea cup, which I have bought'

The general linear order with regard to the NP constituents in (53) and (54) above can be give as:

[((Temp. genitive) / (RC) + (Adj.) / (locative)) + ((purposive) + (source)) + head]

In conclusion, within an NP, the position of simple nominal complement in relation to those of specifiers is always close to heads. This can be illustrated below.

55. (a) **[yä?aç ko?ot tit' tit' k'ahwa geb-ač]**
 those two small-pl tea-gen cup-pl
 'those two small tea cups'

(b) [yätta ʔu-wudda-z-a-t gudo:r kähat]
that 1s-like-impf-RM-aux-3fs(O) tall girl
'that tall girl whom I like'

CHAPTER FOUR

4. CONCLUSION

Thus far, the study has accounted for the structure of the NP of Harari in some detail. The present chapter will bring a closing to the overall discussions made by recapitulating the major issues raised in the preceding two chapters that constitute the body of this study.

Chapter two has begun with the identification of nominals in Harari. It has been indicated that nominals may form distributionally distinct lexical categories and serve as heads in NP structures. The simple nominal and derived nominals have also been considered as subdivisions of the category of nominals in the language. Of these, the former proved indispensable to the scrutiny of the main theme of this study.

In the same chapter, exhaustive discussion on specifiers has also been made. Here, the class of articles and quantifiers, each with its own subclasses, has been discussed as comprising simple nominal specifiers in the language. Articles, which denote entity, subsume indefinite and definite articles. Indefiniteness in Harari is commonly expressed by the forms /**k't't'e**/ 'any', and the numeral /**ahad**/ 'one' serving as indefinite pronouns. With regard to definiteness, in Harari, nouns may have a definite reading. However, there is no phonetically realized morphological affix that indicates their definiteness. It is therefore assumed that definiteness is determined from a non-linguistic context. Nonetheless, nouns can explicitly be specified as definite by demonstratives and the genitive NPs of possession.

Similarly, quantifiers are split in two – indefinite and definite. In Harari, the forms /**bäjih**/ 'many/much', /**t'it**/ 'a few', /**t'ik'k'äšo**/ 'some', etc. are identified as indefinite quantifiers. In distribution, with the exception of /**t'it**/, most of the indefinite

quantifiers specify the amount or quantity of both countable and uncountable nouns. Under definite quantifiers, the study recognizes numerals, measure phrases, and classifier phrases. In the Harari language, the first two are used to give a definite reference to the quantity or amount of countable and mass nouns. Classifier phrases, on the other hand, serve the purpose of enumeration and individuation with reference to collective nouns.

The basic order of the simple nominal specifiers examined in this study, except for the possessive suffixes, is preceding the head and cannot strictly occur otherwise.

The specifier constraint which was proposed in this study has suggested that, in Harari, an NP may accommodate at most two articles and one quantifier in the same NP structure. Articles always occur at the peripheral position preceding the specifying quantifier.

In the third chapter, the phrasal and clausal complements of an NP (both occur in prenominal positions) were examined. One component of phrasal complements is the adjectival phrase which is considered as a modifying complement. It optionally occurs with a head noun and may form a syntactic unit. It is also observed that adjectives indicate the number and gender features of the head noun by overt agreement markers.

The other components of the phrasal complements are nominal phrases comprising mainly of the genitive NPs excluding the possessive genitive which was described as a specifier. The type of genitive NPs examined as complements include the genitives of source, purpose, location, and time. Syntactically, the source and purposive genitives are described as complements that always assume the position closest to the head. Moreover, the two genitives are so tightly bound to their heads that they may not be easily detached from them by the intrusion of other modifying constituents. On the other hand, locative and temporal genitives (including adjectives) were observed to assume the same

position as opposed to source and purposive genitives. Consequently, they are described as modifying complements and always occur preceding or dominating the source and purposive genitive complements in the projection of the head noun. Regarding the precedence of all the phrasal complements, it is also observed that temporal genitives take precedence over the others by occupying the most peripheral structural position.

Finally, the discussion on clausal complements has dealt with relative clauses. But prior to this, a brief remark has been made regarding various relativizable positions in the language and the interaction of aspect and relativization. And still, an attempt has also been made to observe the structure of certain nominal clauses in relation to relative clauses. This section has made a distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in the language. The latter, which have an appositive function, are found to be quite rare in the language and focus has been allotted to restrictive relative clauses.

Restrictive clauses are described as modifying complements that occupy the same structural position as that occupied by adjectives, and locative and temporal genitives.

To sum up, when both specifiers and complements occur in the same NP, as has been observed in this study, their linear order is that of specifiers preceding complements. The fact that both specifiers and complements occupy a prenominal position may strongly suggest that Harari is a head final language.

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DECLARATION

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

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