ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY

NON-SUBJECT AGREEMENTS IN AMHARIC RELATIVE CLAUSE: OBJECT, DEFINITE OR FOCUS MARKERS?

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

AA: Addis Ababa dialect

acc: Accusative

AgrOp: Agreement of object phrase

AgrPP: Agreement of prepositional phrase

AgrPstPrt: Agreement of past participle

AgrSp: Agreement of subject phrase

art: Article

asso: Associative

aux:past: Past tense auxiliary

aux:prs: Present tense auxiliary

bn: Benefactive

cnt: Contigent aspect

CO: Cognate object

DCOM: Direct cognate object marker

comp: Complementizer

CS: Cognate subject

dat: Dative

DCO: Direct cognate object

DCOM: Direct cognate object marker

def: Definite

dim: Diminutive

DM: Definite marker

DO: Direct object

DOM: Direct object marker

echo.foc: A kind of Focus Marker in Lavukaleve language

fem: Feminine

FM: Focus marker

foc: Focus

gen: Genitive

GG: Generative Grammar

GM: Gojjam dialect

GR: Gondar dialect

h: Honorific

HN: Head noun

ICO: Indirect cognate object

impf: Imperfect

ing: Gerund

inst: Instrument

IO: Indirect object

IOM: Indirect object marker

loc: Locative

man: Manner

mas: Masculine

ml: Malfactive

MP: Minimalist program

n.d: No date

NP: Noun phrase

OM: Object marker

pas: Passive

pf: Perfective

pl: Plural

pop: Postposition

poss: Possessor

prg: Progressive

pros: Prospective

purp: Purpose

RC: Relative clause

rec: Recipient

refl: Reflexive

SA: Shoa dialect

SU: Subject

tim: Time

UG: Universal Grammar

WO: Wollo dialect

Abstract

The objective of the study is to examine the nature and function of non-subject agreement elements in structures of RCs that contain transitive, intransitive, and passive verbs and show the derivation of such clauses. Works of some scholars and other theoretical literatures related to the study have been reviewed. Data have been mainly introspective. Some data taken from existing literatures and from native informants have also been used. These data have been described in the framework of MP.

According to the study, the non-subject agreement elements which were termed as AgrO (or Type A agreement elements) are OMs that mark pro or NPs that are DOs and DCOs in transitives and passives, but only DCOs in intransitive verbs. They are not DMs nor FMs. This is supported by the fact that they appear preceding DMs and FMs. However, they refer only to definite NPs and usually denote contrastive topics.

Agrpp (or Type B agreement element) is composed of the semantic role assigners (applicatives) /-ll-/ or /-bb-/ and OMs. /-ll-/ renders benefactive and recipient, whereas /-bb-/ licenses semantic roles like malfactive, instrumental, locative, source, and manner. These elements sometimes become null. The OMs following these elements mark IOs (except when used in intransitives) or oblique objects. It is these OMs that show agreement.

RCs originate in the complement position of N and always move to the spec of DP. DOs or DCOs are base generated in the complement position of V and the verb renders acc case to them. IOs are in the spec of VP. /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ head a thematic or expletive projection just above VP. The former introduces a new DP (or PP) in its spec, whereas the later assigns semantic role to IOs and trigger movement of IOs to its spec. /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ always trigger the verb to move up and adjoin them. DO, PP, AspP, and vP may later move to the spec of TopP or FocP.

Chapter one

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

There is a relationship between constituents in a sentence. This may be a modifier-modified relationship, a possessor-possessed relationship, etc. (Van Valin 2001:4). Agreement is also one of such kinds of relationships (Adger 2003:3). Radford (1997:492) states that we say two words or expressions are in agreement relation if they have the same value for certain feature(s). This includes gender, number, person, etc. Adger (2003:24-41) considers these morphosyntactic features and claims that they must only refer to syntactic relations, not semantic ones. However, this is rejected by Corbett (2006:1-4) who claims that agreement is a matter of, not only syntax, but also of morphology, semantics, lexicology, and pragmatics.[1]

Agreement relations may hold between words of different lexical categories. One such relation is between verbs and nouns. There are two kinds of verb-noun phrase agreements. A verb agrees with its subject and object and may show subject agreement elements (AgrS) and or object agreement elements (AgrO) (Chomsky 1995: 147).

Amharic has direct (DO) and indirect object (IO) agreements or non-subject agreements (Girma 2003: 4). In relative clauses (RCs), for instance, verbs agree in gender, person, and number with the head noun (HN) of the clause. There is an object suffix pronoun on the verb (direct and indirect) (Girma 2001: 201, Baye 2008:375). It is also strongly claimed by Baye (2008:135) that such agreements exist between transitive verbs and objects. Intransitive verbs do not show such affixes. This

[1] See chapter two, page 24, for discussion.

is because, as Adger (2003:80) explains, such verbs have only one Θ – role (theta role), such as agent, to assign. Though Chomsky (1995:147) assumes that non-transitives may show object agreement, he does not take the issue further and determine the nature of such-affixes. Passives, with the exception of some languages like French, do not assign accusative (acc) case to their object and they do not have a thematic role for subject. Instead, the object of a transitive verb becomes subject and shows nominative case (Adger 2003:229-232). Saeed (1997:159) further says that in a typical passive construction "the Agent is demoted from subject position, a non-Agent role is promoted to subject, and the verb shows a distinct form which agrees with the promoted subject". The Amharic case is not different; Baye (2008:340) states that we know the subject of a passive clause by its position (the subject position) and by its affix on the verb which comes next to the verb stem. Thus, there is belief among scholars that intransitive and passive verbs do not show object agreement.

However, Amharic shows a striking feature that seems to contradict the above claims. Consider the following:

1.(a) ɨyyə - məɪ'ɪ`- u yə - nəbbər - u - ɪ lɨǰ - očč

prg - come -3plS comp – aux:pst -3plS - ? child – pl

'The children who were coming'

(b) yə - ɨmm[2] - ɨtɨ[3] - k'əllɨd - aččəw k'əld - očč

comp – cnt - 3fsS - joke:impf - ? joke – pl

'The jokes that she used to joke'

(c) lɨ - yi - hed yə - nəbbər - ə - w məngəd

Pros -3msS - go comp – aux:pst - 3msS - ? journey

'The journey he was about to go'

[2] /ɨmm/ is glossed as 'cnt' (contigent aspect) by Baye (forthcoming:67)

[3] /tɨ-/ can also be read as '2msS'.

(d) yə - tə - k'at'ť'əl - ku - t/ññ səw

comp - pas - burn:pf - 1s - ? man

'The man who is burned'

What /-w/, /-t/, /-ññ/, and /-aččəw/ are referring to is not clear. /-w/ resembles the definite marker (DM) and the object marker (OM) (3msO) in form. Consider the following:

2. yonas anbəssa - w - n gəddəl - ə - w[4]

J. lion - def - acc kill:pf - 3msS - 3msO

'Jonas killed the lion (emphasis on *the lion*)'

Girma (2003:66)

/-t/, /- ññ/, and /-aččəw/ are formally similar to the OMs 3msO, 1sO, and 3plO, respectively, as the following data taken from Mullen (1986:79) illustrate[5].

	O-set	B-set	L-set
1so	- ññ*[6]	- bb-iññ	- ll-iññ
2mso	- h*	- bb-ih	- ll-ih
2fso	- ʃ *	- bb-iʃ	- ll-iʃ
2ho	- wo (-wot)	- bb-iwo	- ll-iwo
3mso	- w*;-t	- bb-ət	- ll-ət
3fso	- at	- bb-at	- ll-at
3ho	- aččəw	- bb-aččəw	- ll-aččəw
1plo	- n*	- bb-in	- ll-in
2plo	- aččihu	- bb-aččihu	- ll-aččihu
3plo	- aččəw	- bb-aččəw	- ll-aččəw

[4] The phonetic transcriptions and morphemic parsing with page numbers for some illustrative examples throughout this paper are mine.

[5] Object affixes are considered as pronominal object clitics.

[6] The vowels /ə/ and /i/ serve as connecting vowels when the starred (*) O-clitics occur after a consonant

There is also an assumption that some non-subject elements might be focus markers (FMs). This is claimed by Girma (2001, 2003)[7] (see review of previous works below).

3. ... yə - tə - barrər – ku – t ...
comp – pas – fire:pf – 1sS – foc
'...that I was fired...' (2001:197)

This puts the whole object paradigm into question. This study is an attempt to investigate the nature and function of Amharic non-subject agreement elements in transitive, intransitive, and passive clauses.

1.2 Statement of the problem

It is shown that non-subject agreement affixes in Amharic intransitive and passive clauses resemble DMs, OMs, and FMs. There is no linguistic work that mainly focuses on such object-like agreement affixes found in Amharic intransitive and passive clauses. The present research is about the nature of non-subject agreements as a whole in structures of RCs where their reference is easier to see. Though there are different kinds of RCs recognized in the literature, this research focuses only on regular RCs.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study is to describe the non-subject agreements in Amharic RCs.

Specific objectives

The specific objectives are:

1. to examine the non-subject elements both in transitive, intransitive, and passive RCs and determine their functions.

[7] See review of previous works page 9 and chapter 3, page 57, for discussion.

2. To show the derivations of such clauses.

1.4 Review of previous works

There are a great number of linguistic works on Amharic compared to other Ethiopian languages. However, only those related to the research will be reviewed.

To begin with, non-subject agreement elements have been discussed by different scholars differently. Starting from terminology, such elements have been termed as "object pronominal suffixes" (direct object pronominal suffixes and prepositional pronominal suffixes)" by Getatchew (1971, 1972); "set O, set B, and set L" (the latter two are called prepositional object pronouns) by Mullen (1986) as shown above; and "non-subject agreement elements" by Girma Awgichew (2003, 2006) who argues that such elements are not restricted to marking objects.

Besides, Mullen (1986) and Girma Halefom (1994) treat them as clitics. Mullen (1986) discusses about what she calls "pronominal object clitics". She lists the differences between agreement affixes and clitics and considers only the subject markers as agreement affixes. Clitics are assigned a referential index in syntactic structures and may receive case and Θ – role. Girma H. (1994) also says that affixes associated with objects are Clitics. He believes that they are base-generated in the complement position of V. However, Girma A. (2003, 2006) and Baye (2004) argue against the claim that object affixes are clitics. For example, Baye (2004) says that the object affixes violate some of the characteristics of clitics and hence they are more of agreement affixes than clitics[8].

[8] I found this argument convincing and, thus, follow it in this paper.

Mullen (1986) deals with the role of pronominal clitics in Amharic RCs and believes that their role is to create a link between the relativized NP and the HN and also to show the grammatical function of the HN within the clause. Set-B prepositional object clitics or prepositional suffix pronouns identify locative, instrumental, and malfactive DPs, while set-I identify goal and benefactive DPs. Girma A. (2006) says that AgrO (object agreement element) marks both DOs and IOs. Agrpp (prepositional phrase agreement element) is of two types: one has a preposition like element -ll- with phi-features (e.g. ll-ət) and the other type takes -bb- with phi-features (e.g. bb-ət)[9]. -ll- and -bb- themselves are considered as case agreement features because it is the absence or presence of these elements that brings about semantic differences. Unlike AgrO, which can also mark a dative object, Agrpp denotes a newly introduced applied argument.

Baye (2008, forthcoming) also deals with these /ll-ət/ and /bb-ət/ elements. He says that these elements refer to prepositional phrases. The first elements /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ refer to a prepositional head. /-ll-/ is used only for a benefactive semantic reading, while /-bb-/ is used for all semantic functions, except the benefactive. Elements like /-ət/ are prepositional object agreement suffixes which refer to the complement of the preposition head. Besides, he states that the malfactive phrase which is identified by the /-bb-/ element is usually null, but if it is overt, it becomes the topic of a clause.

Non-subject agreement elements are optional. This fact is noted by Getatchew (1971, 1972), Baye (2004), and Girma A. (2006). Girma A. (2006) says that, except in verb-to-have and impersonal verb constructions, AgrO and Agrpp are optional.

[9] Girma used a single /-l-/, but I believe there is gemination.

We also find some facts about the form of agreement affixes. To mention some, the third person honorific object marker is similar in form to the third person plural object suffix /- aččəw /, while the second person honorific object marker is a distinct form /-wo/ (Mullen 1986:79). In this respect, as Kapeliuk (1991:495) states, Amharic is one of the modern Ethio-semitic languages (the only Semitic languages) which express this pragmatic effect by using linguistic means (i.e. morphology). Baye (2004) says that the 3msO marker /-t/ is a variant of /-u/ found in stems that end in back vowels. Mullen (1986) also states that 3msO becomes /-w/ after a non-round vowels and /-t/ following a round vowel[10]. /-t/ is not present in possessive construction, but appears in prepositional suffix pronouns as in /-bb-ət/, in violation of the above phonological constraints. She suggests that maybe its origin goes back to the classical Ethiopic pronoun or maybe the lexicon specifies the object clitic to attach to a C (consonant) slot in case of prepositional suffix pronouns[11]. However, Getatchew (1971) simply states that /-ət/ in /-bb-ət/ and /-ll-ət/ is just a variant of -(ɨ)w (3msO).

Baye (2004) again says that affixes like [aččəw] can be split into /ačč-/, /-ə-/, and /-u/, the historical nominal plural, the third person, and plural markers, respectively. /-u/ is a number marker for non-first persons (it becomes /-w/ after a vowel as in ačč-ə-u [aččəw] (3pl)). Getatchew (1971) further notes the confusion of differentiating the direct object pronominal suffixes from the prepositional pronominal suffixes because of the deletion of the preposition (i.e. /-bb-/ or /-ll-/) in the verb. In the following structure, /-bb-at/ is reduced to /-at/.

4. leba – u[w]	almaz - in	gənzəb	səRRək'	- ə - at
thief – def	A. - acc	money	steal:pf – 3msS – 3fsO	

'The thief stole money (from) Almaz' (p104)

[10] o' and u' are both back and round vowels in the language.
[11] See chapter three, page 46-47, for discussion.

These agreement elements, other than showing agreement between a noun phrase (NP) and a verb, are also believed to possess additional functions. For instance, Getatchew (1971) tries to show that such elements (including subject affixes) are associated with topic NP of a sentence. This may mean that the subject is always topic, since subject affixes are always present, unlike object affixes which are optional. He notes this and says that the problem is solved by the word order, i.e. the non-topicalized subject gets demoted to the second or third order positions (their unmarked order is SU-DO-IO) and the topicalized DOs and IOs are placed before the sentence[12].

Getatchew (1971) states that any topic has to be definite and these agreement elements may lead to a definite reading. Mullen (1986) also claims that the pronominal clitics additionally possess [+ definite] feature and prohibit the overt realization of the definite article.

On the other hand, Girma A. (2003, 2006) says that non-subject agreement elements are sometimes encoded with focus-like features in that they are used to render object NPs a focus reading. When an object is realized phonetically in regular verb constructions, they show the pragmatic function of contrastive focus[13]. The movement of this focused object to the focus position in syntax is covert, since no word order difference is observed between sentences which have focused and non-focused NPs. However, it is difficult to say that AgrO and Agrpp are contrastive focus markers, since this interpretation is absent in some constructions like possessives. He finally proposes that the object agreement elements are not realizations of AgrOp (a functional projection which is responsible for structural acc case assignment of DOs)

[12] See the discussion in chapter 3, page 83.
[13] This is also dealt with in chapter 3, page 65-66 and chapter 4, page 83.

and cannot be invoked for heading a focus projection. He just shows that they are more than simple agreement elements.

The occurrence of non-subject agreement markers or non-subject agreement-like elements in intransitive and passive clauses is also noted by Hailu (1972), Mullen (1986), and Girma A. (2001). Hailu (1972) considers the non-subject element /-t/ in the following intransitive clause as a DM.

5. [hed -əw yə - nəbbər – u – t] liǰ - očč tə - məllə̀s – u
go:pf – 3plS comp – aux: pst – 3plS – def boy – pl md – return – 3plS
'The children who had gone returned' (p 499)

/-t/ is again considered as an object affix that refers to a deleted complement of a prepositional phrase in cleft sentences like the following[14].

6. [innə - iss – u yə - hed – u - t] bə - fərəs nə - ə - w
asso – head – 3ms comp – go:pf – 3plS – 3msO by – horse be – 3msS – 3msO
'It is by a horse that they went' (p 503)

Mullen (1986) also states that these agreement markers (or clitics) take case feature from transitive verbs, but are not themselves "spell-outs" of a case feature. That is why they are found in intransitive verbs which have no case feature to be spelled-out. Girma A. (2001) further speculates that the non-subject affix /-t/ in the following passive structure maybe a FM.

7. (a) ... yə - tə - barrər – ku – t ...
comp – pas – fire:pf – 1sS – foc
'...that I was fired...' (p197)

[14] See chapter 3, page 53-54, for an alternative argument on this.

Regarding the object NPs referred to by the agreement elements, Weldu (2004) argues that there is correlation between definiteness and object marking because it is only when an object is definite that an object affix appears on a verb. Similarly, Baye (2004) says that the function of non-subject agreements is just to identify [+ definite] object arguments. Getatchew (1971) even states that objects must be, not only definite, but also limited, specific, and concrete in order to take the agreement affixes. However, Kapelliuk (1994) defines a relative verb as a nominal form (because it takes the definite article, the acc marker, and the elements /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ (or "prepositions" in her terminology) and argues that a relative verb with an object suffix pronouns (both direct and prepositional) may be considered indefinite, unless it carries the acc marker /-n/. Girma A. (2006) shares this idea, since he claims that the definiteness of the object and the presence of the acc case marker /-n/ (though not for all constructions, since it is absent in verb-to-have constructions and optional in impersonal constructions) are the necessary conditions for the appearance of AgrO[15]. This correlation of OMs with acc case of objects is rejected by Baye (2006). Baye (2006) says that agreement affixes do not specify the case type of an argument of a predicate.

Talking about objects, we find Hailu (1972) dealing with constructions like the following.

8. leba – očč - u yə - mulu - n dəbtər - očč k'əmm – u - at
   thief – pl - def poss – M. - acc note-book - pl rob:pf – 3plS – 3fsO
   'The thieves robbed Mulu of her note-book" (p 115)

Hailu calls "Mulu" a pseudo-object and claims that the object suffix /-at/ does not refer to it, since it is just the possessor of /dəbtər – očč/. However, /-at/ refers to some

[15] See chapter 3. page 62-63. for an argument on this.

other non-direct object phrase, "Mulu", which is coreferential with the head of the possessive phrase "yə - mulu" but which has been deleted. The ambiguity is that "mulu" is both the possessor of /dəbtər – očč/ and the one robbed by the thieves. It seems the sentence had the following structure before the non-direct object phrase is deleted.

9. leba – očč - u mulu – n yə - mulu - n dəbtər - očč k'əmm – u - at
thief – pl - def M. – acc poss – M. - acc note-book - pl rob:pf – 3pS – 3fsO
'The thieves robbed Mulu of her note-book"

We also find woks on the DM. Mullen (1986) says that it takes the form /-w/ for 3ms, /-u/ for 3ms and plural, /-wa/ for 3fs (/-itu/ in some dialects). It is realized as /-t/ after [+ round] vowels. Kapelliuk (1994) considers /-u/ as the unmarked definite article. It changes to /-w/ after non-back vowels and relative verbs, and to /-t/ after relative verbs which have the verbal endings /-u/, /-o/, or /-əw/. For feminine gender, she further recognizes /-it"ua /. Baye (1996, forthcoming) says that there is the suffix /-u/ for masculine and a following /-a/ for feminine. It is realized as /-t/ after back vowels.

If a noun is modified by two or more adjectives or RCs, the definite article may appear more than once. This is noted by Mullen (1986) and Baye (forthcoming). Baye (forthcoming) asserts that it occurs with both the verbal head of the clause and the first non-relative modifier. However, Mullen (1986) argues that its position is determined by the content of the NP, no phrase structure rule is involved in the derivation[16].

[16] See chapter 4, page 72, for the derivation of double DMs.

Dikken (2006), on his part, claims that the morphological definiteness markers are inflectional suffix morphemes that originate, not in D, but on their host word and check their features against an abstract D-head specified for the feature [DEF].

The DM and the third person genitive possessive suffix are phonetically identical. This is discussed by Mullen (1986) and Baye (1996, 2004). They say that we can identify them easily since only the DM appears on modifiers, while the possessive one is always attached to the HN. Baye (forthcoming) also says that the other feature of D is that it does not normally occur with other markers of definite reference like demonstratives and pronouns, unless there is a modifier and the definite suffix /-u/ is attached to it.

The function of the definite article, Kapelliuk (1994) states, is to give a definite and focus reading to nominals, to let adjectives function as nouns, to help speakers add precision to their statements, to help a word displace easily within a sentence, and to give a "one...another" interpretation. However, Baye (1996) makes a critic on her work in that she considers different morphemes as DMs just because they are identical, realized as /-u/. The form /-u/ is not only restricted to denoting definiteness and possession, but also functions as pronominal (one 3ms), partitive (which refers to one or more of the members of a definite class of entities), and FM.

The FM /-u/, unlike the definite, the possessive, and the partitive, does not change its form for agreement and can be found with pronouns, contrary to the DM. The pronominal /-u/ can co-occur with the DM /-u/ in headless RCs and, unlike when it occurs in simple NPs, it shows no agreement with the HN as in the following.

10. [tinant yə - mət't' - u - t (-u)] innə- man nə -ə -ačč əw

yesterday comp-come-perf -3plS -def (-one) asso - who be – 3msS – 3plO

'Who are the one(s) that came yesterday?' (p58)

We have already met a FM /-u/ above. Baye (1996) and Girma A. (2006) also give another FM /-inn/ or /-n/as in

11. (a) yih - inn - in

this - foc - acc

'THIS' (Baye 1996:71)

(b) yih – n - n

this - acc – foc

'This particular one (not the other one)' (Girma A. 2006:247)

Baye (forthcoming) further lists some FMs such as /-a/, /-ɨkko/, /-ss/, and /-wa/. For example, /-ɨkko/ occurs with any of the lexical categories of the language. Furthermore, FMs are believed to be complementary with diminutive features and generally occur as the right most inflectional element of a head. It is important to note that in their recent work, Girma A. and Meyer (2007:26, 31) treat /–ss/ as a contrastive topic marker, but add another contrastive FM /-mm/.

As far as RC is concerned, a much earlier work is Hailu (1972) who makes a number of claims regarding the derivation of Amharic RCs. He believes that relativization is a kind of nominalization and rejects the idea that the particle /yə-/ is a relative pronoun (but a relative marker (rm)) claiming that Amharic genitive phrases originate from RCs. He treats the "yə-clause" in subject position in cleft sentences, like the following, as RC with an unspecified element as its head.

12. [ɨññə yə - mətt - an – əw] almaz – n nə - ə - w

we comp – hit:pf – 1plS – 3msO A. – acc be – 3msS -3msO

'It is Almaz that we hit' (p502)

Mullen (1986) claims that the relativized verb cannot be taken as a non-verbal category and in the process of the derivation, it moves to comp because of the complementizer or relational marker /yə-/. However, this movement is not a requirement of pronominal clitics.

Girma H. (1994) argues that RCs, like adjective phrases (APs) and genitive nouns, are base-generated in the spec of NPs. Contrary to this, Girma A. (2001) claims that Amharic N-final RCs are complements of a HN which move to the functional Agr category (AgrdP) to check the definiteness feature.

Ouhalla (2004) argues that Amharic RC is N-final and a DP which occupies the genitive position of a HN. Correspondingly, the prefix /yə-/ is treated as a genitive case marker. He claims that the definite article attached to the relative verb is the head of the RC to its left rather than the head of the outer DP which the RC modifies. Dikken (2006) criticizes this argument and says that Amharic RCs are complementizer phrases (CPs) which are base-generated at the right of the head NP (as predicates) and raise to an A-specifier position, via predicate inversion. And the linker /yə-/ is just the bi-product of the application of predicate inversion, not a genitive case marker. He argues, referring to Chomsky (1986), that a RC is not an argument and thus ineligible for structural case assignment. Baye (forthcoming) also believes that a RC is a CP and states that when there is an overt D, the CP moves to the spec of D.

Apart from this argument about the derivation of RCs, Mullen (1986), Kapelliuk (1994), and Ouhalla (2004) agree that when a relative verb is a compound one, the object suffix attaches to the main verb, whereas the definite article follows the auxiliary. Mullen (1986), for example, says that the morpheme /-u (w)/ in the following sentence, is a DM, not an affixal pronoun.

13. liǰ - u gəɗl - o - t yə - nəbbəɾ - ə - w ɨbab
boy -def kill:impf – 3msS – 3msO comp – aux:pst – 3msS - def snake
'The snake that the boy had killed' (p383)

Furthermore, Kapelliuk (1994) states that in relative verbs which themselves (or the suffix pronouns attached to them) mark a feminine gender, the feminine definite article is mostly replaced by its unmarked counterpart, i.e. /-u/.

Let us now see works on agreement. Baye (2004) presents the facts of verbal and nominal agreements, the different agreement affixes, and their hierarchical order. Under verbal agreement, the two gerund types - verbal and nominal –are discussed. One of their differences is that it is only the verbal gerund that maintains overt agreement relation with its definite object as is shown below.

14.(a) kasa ɨne – n mə - sdəb - u tə - awk' – o nəbbəɾ
k. I – acc ing – insult – 3msgen pas – know – 3msO aux:pst
'Kasa's insulting of me had been/was known '

(b) kasa ɨne – n sədb - o - ññ - al
k. I – acc insult:impf – 3msgen – 1sO – aux:prs
'Kasa has insulted me' (p323-324)

Regarding the hierarchy of the functional categories, he believes that AgrOp (object agreement phrase) dominates AgrSp (subject agreement phrase) which is against the

universal claim that AgrSp is higher than AgrOp. The ordering of the different verbal agreement affixes also contradicts the mirror principle (which states that "morphological derivation reflects syntactic derivation (and vice versa)" (Damonte 2007:337). Amharic is an S-O-V language, but the ordering of affixes is V-S-O. And in the derivation, the economy principle seems to fail, since an object DP skips two spec positions (spec of VP and AgrSp) while moving to the spec of AgrO for feature checking. He then suggests that the economy principle may not be violated if there is no feature to be checked from the skipped categories. Besides, DP and CP are different in only tense which is found in the latter. He finally urges the need to adopt a split Agr-system to handle agreement relations and problems. Baye (forthcoming), Citing Shlonsky (1997), shows how agreement splits into person, number, and gender in Semitic languages. Person, number, gender, and definiteness are categorized as core nominal features, whereas focus and other features are grouped under peripheral or secondary features.

Baye (2006) says that since agreement is a formal (not a semantic) requirement of verbs, it can be dispensed with from verbs, not DPs.

We also find works specially on auxiliary verbs. Baye (2006) states that auxiliaries are functional elements. They show inflections for person, gender, and number (person being obligatory and followed by gender or number). These agreement features interact with aspect, tense, and modal. The auxiliary /nə-/ is assumed to take an invariable 3msO marker /-u/ which refers to a "null pleonastic" subject.

Getatchew (1972) tries to investigate why this problematic auxiliary (copula) takes object pronominal suffixes that refer to subjects like the /-w/ below.

15. iss - u nə - w

head – 3ms be – 3msO

'It is him' (p140)

The result shows that the copula is a kind of impersonal transitive verb like the following.

16. bəɾrəd - ə - at

made-cold – 3msS- 3fsO

'She felt cold'

Such kinds of verbs have an invariable subject referred to by /-ə/ '3msS', but which is not morphologically realized. It is rather the object which is 'promoted'. The copula has the bare form /n-/ and becomes /nə/ when it is tensed (perfective). The 3msS /-ə/ is affixed after this stem. Thus, the suffix /-w/ above does not refer to the subject, but the object. The subject NP is abstract (dummy) which has no morphological realization.

Finally, Zelealem (2007) deals with dialectal variations in Amharic. He discusses the peculiar phonological, morphological, and lexical features. Regarding morphology, he says that the relative marker is realized as imm- in GM (Gojjam), GR (Gondar), and WO (Wollo)[17]. The benefactive marker /-ll-/ may not appear in GM and GR just as the malfactive marker /-bb-/ is in AA (Addis Ababa) and SA (Shoa). And more importantly, he states that words like the following are common in GR, and /– hu/ '1sS' and /- əññ/ '1sO' are double person markers (may be because two different subject and object affixes are jointly used to refer to a first person subject).

[17] Note also that Girma A. (2001:203) treats /imm-/ and /yəmm-/ as variants of the relativizer used in the imperfective form.

17. sɔ̀mm – ahu - t - ɔ̀ññ

listen:pf – 1sS – 3msO – 1sO

'I heard him'

This same argument is maintained by Bliese (1979:138) who treats the object suffix /-ññ/ '1sO' as part of the subject suffix /-hu/ '1sS' together forming /-huññ/ '1sS'[18].

Generally, the above works on Amharic deal with issues related to the present study. They consider the non-subject agreement elements as OMs, DMs, or FMs. And so, detailed discussions on these markers have been made. Besides, we have seen the different kinds of analyses on the nature of RCs and agreement.

1.5 The present study

The present study is similar to the above works in the sense that it deals with the nature of non-subject agreement elements (or DMs, OMs, and FMs), agreement phenomena, RCs and their derivation in Amharic. But it is somewhat different in that it especialy deals with the non-subject agreements in intransitive and passive verbs of RCs. The derivation of the RCs which show such elements is also its concern.

1.6 Significance of the study

It is the researcher's hope that the result of this study will increase our understanding of the non-subject agreements in intransitive and passive clauses. Furthermore, it serves as a point of departure for future research on the language.

1.7 Research methodology and procedures

First, descriptive and theoretical works related to the study have been reviewed in chapters one and two. Introspection has been used as a main source of data. The data

[18] See chapter 3, page 66-68 for an argument on this.

from existing literatures and from native informants have also been used. Then the data have been described in light of the Minimalist Program (MP) and the findings have been reported in chapters three and four. Chapter three discusses the nature and function of non-subject agreement affixes in transitive, intransitive, and passive RCs, while chapter four deals with the derivation of such clauses. And chapter five summarizes the whole study.

Chapter two

Literature Review

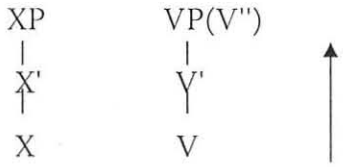
In this chapter, attempt is made to review some relevant theoretical literatures on the fundamental linguistic notions mentioned above which include agreement, RC, object, definiteness, and focus. For a thorough understanding of the terms, different views of different scholars regarding each will be discussed, with subsequent discussions on their place and role in light of MP. It is essential to look at the basic assumptions of MP, first.

2.1 Minimalism

To begin with, there is controversy on the very nature of PM. For Radford (1997:515) and Van Valin (2001:203), it is a theory of grammar formulated by Chomsky (1995b). However, Epstein and Hornstein (1999:ix) and Cook and Newson (1996:311) treat MP as a "research program" or a continuation of work started in Chomsky's earliest work, i.e. Generative Grammar (GG), since its goal is investigating the nature and function of the human language faculty (UG).

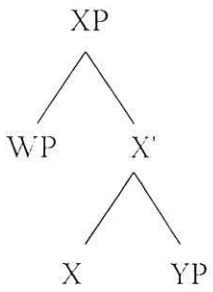
The basic assumption of MP is that UG is simple and general. It employs minimal set of representations and processes in deriving structures. So, it must be described in a way as much simple and economical as possible. Cook and Newson (1996:312) say that "if the linguistic system needs to be as economical as possible, in terms of both how it represents and generates structures, clearly the smallest possible set of devices to account for language phenomena should be used". It is from this assumption that MP got the term "minimalist".

In MP, the derivation of structures starts in the lexicon (a mental dictionary). The lexicon lists lexical items with their phonetic, semantic, and syntactic information. Lexical items are also listed with all their inflectional properties (like case and agreement) (Cook and Newson 1996:316-319, Haegemon et al. (1997:11-12). Here, the word "lexical" is not used only to refer to content words, but also function words (Radford 2006:37). This list or set of lexical items is known as numeration. It is from this set that the structure building process "computational system" gets lexical inputs. The computational system uses lexical information to build structures in the syntax. And as Radford (2006:35) states, structures (phrases and sentences) are derived in a bottom-up fasion. A lexical item X projects to X' and also to X" or XP. XP consists of X' and X' consists of X. lexical information moves from X to XP. For instance, if the category is a verb, this lexical information [+v] moves from X upto XP, like the following.



(Cook and Newson 1996:164-165)

X is the label (head) and XP is the projection an element can go up the tree (maximal projection). If an element cannot project, X will be both the head and the maximal projection. X' is an intermediate projection (Cook and Newson 1996:342-343). Other lexical information will also have a projection. For example, a subcategorization in the lexical entry of an element (say a verb) requires it to have a complement and a specifier, these will have a position in the structure: complements are sisters to heads and specifiers are sisters to head bars (X') (Cook and Newson 1996:166,171). I show this below where YP is the complement and WP is the specifier.



Haegeman et al. (1997:11-12) states that there are no empty positions. Positions are created to be filled by elements like the complement and specifier in the above tree.[19] Similarly, Van Valin (2001:204) says that "only the nodes actually utilized in a sentence are represented in a tree".

The computational system is composed of two operations, i.e. merge and move. Merge is an operation which "involves building individual trees from lexical items...and then combining these at some point to form a larger tree" (Cook and Newson 1996:323). This means that trees that are formed by merge operation are also used as input for another merge operation. Merge builds structures in a binary fasion: two constituents at a time. This is called "binarity principle". And the label of the combined set will be the label of the existing structure (Cook and Newson 1996:339-340, Radford 2006:31).

The other operation is move. Things move up in the structure. Heads move to head positions and specs move to spec positions. Elements move smallest number of steps and shortest distances as much as possible. This is known as "Shortest Movement Condition" (Haegeman et al. 1997:13).

[19] Syntactic structures may be presented using tree diagrams (like the one used above) or by using labeled bracketing ([]) (Radford 2006:31).

What is the basic motive of these two operations? It is said earlier that lexical items are listed in the lexicon with their inflectional features. It is an already inflected element that is directly inserted into its position in the syntax. It later needs to check grammatical features with the corresponding inflectional head. This is done by merge and move operations (Haegemon et al. 1997:12. Epstein and Hornstein 1999: ix). So, as Cook and Newson (1996:324) and Van Valin (2001:204) assert, it is the morphological features that drive the two syntactic operations, i.e. morphology drives syntax.

Move is a "greed" operation. That is to say that an element moves only if the movement satisfies some of its properties. Haegemon et al. (1997:13) also states that move is a "last resort". That is it only takes place for feature checking purposes. After the checking is done, an element does not move any further. And lastly, there is no movement to Θ –postions. Θ – roles do not need to be checked and so trigger movement (Haegemon et al. 1997:13, Epstein and Hornstein 1999: xiv).

Language is an interface between sound and meaning. The syntactic structure formed by the syntactic computation operations must be interpreted both phonetically and conceptually. According to Radford (2006:242), syntactic structures are built up in phases. There are two phases: CP (complementizer phrase) and vP (little v phrase). Syntactic computation operations build a phase and send it to semantic and PF components of the grammar which convert it into semantic representation (representation about its meaning) and PF representation (representation about its phonetic spellout), respectively. Once a phase is sent to the two representations, it will be inaccessible to further structure building operations. This is known as Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). The semantic and PF representations also interface with two other systems: semantic representation with thought systems and PF

representation with speech systems (Radford 2006:13). The following diagram shows this process.

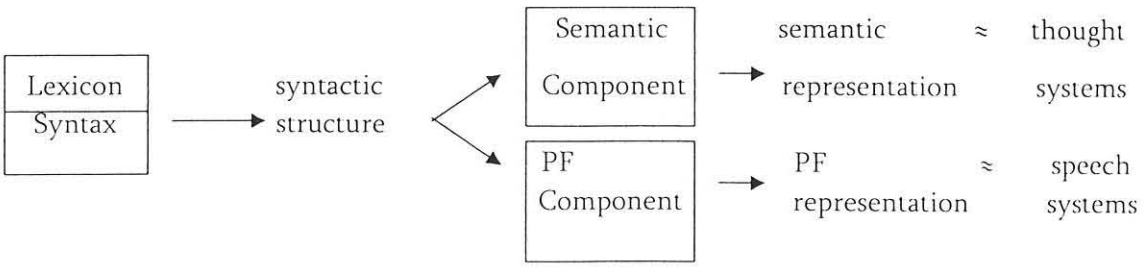


Diagram 1: The Minimalist framework

No phonetic information is allowed to exist at semantic representation (LF), nor any semantic information at PF. If the above conditions are met (or if objects at PF get a phonetic interpretation and objects at LF get a semantic interpretation) the derivation "converges". However, if they are not met, the derivation "crashes". This is known as "the principle of full interpretation". If there are still unchecked features, the derivation crashes at LF. Hence, the structure becomes ungrammatical. The above derivational processes are basically the same for all languages, except lexical differences (Cook and Newson 1996:321-321, Haegeman et al. 1997:12, Van Valin 2001:204, Radford 2006:13).

2.2 Agreement

In natural languages, there exists a process where a word takes grammatical information which belongs to another word. The two words engage in agreement relation with regard to the grammatical feature(s). Corbett (2001:191) defines agreement as "the covariance or matching of feature specifications between two separate elements, such as subject phrase and verb".

Agreement touches different domains of linguistics (Corbett 2006:1-4, 155). It plays a role in syntax because the syntactic role and form of linguistic elements involved are essential. Consider the following example.

1. The committee has decided

Sometimes meaning plays a role in agreement relations, which brings semantics into the picture.

2. The committee have decided.

These two are termed as syntactic and semantic agreements. Syntax has the upper hand over semantics, since it determines the domain in which semantic agreement takes place. Agreement must be marked on a word through affixation, suppletion, or any other means. Hence it is said that agreement is a matter of morphology. It is also a matter of lexicology, since some elements are specially specified in the lexicon for agreement purpose (e.g. "be" is the only verbal element in English which is specified to show agreement in the past tense). Finaly, pragmatic elements such as "respect" or honorificity can influence agreement. Corbett (2006:3) gives the following Russian data where a maid uses plural verbs for the singular subjects (her mistress and master) only to show her respect.

3. "mamen'ka pla – ut ʃepnu – l – a ona vsled uxodivʃ - ej elene a
mother cry – 3p whisper – pst – fs she after leaving – fs.dat E.dat and
papen'ka gnevaj – ut – sja..."
father be.angry - 3p–refl

'Your mother is crying', she whispered after Elena, who was leaving, 'and your father is angry'

Agreement has five elements. These are controller, target, domain, feature, and condition. As the term indicates, controller is the one that controls or determines the agreement. Target is the element that changes its form in relation to the controller. The syntactic environment, say a clause, in which agreement takes place is the domain. The grammatical information (e.g. gender) that holds between the controller and the target and which maintains a matching relation is called an agreement feature. Sometimes, other factors, like word order, may have an effect on the presence/absence of or on the kind of agreement. These factors are called conditions. The five elements are shown below.

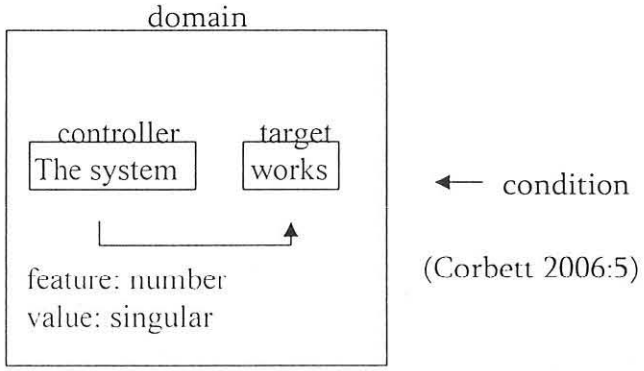


Diagram 2: Agreement elements

Regarding controller, Corbett (2001:191-2) states that it may be absent in a construction or present, but underspecified. There is a probability for a controller to be syntactically dependent and for its syntactic head to bear agreement morphology.

Linguistic items that can be targets include verbs, nouns, adjectives, articles, demonstratives, numerals, possessives, complementizers, adpositions, adverbs, pronouns, and FMs (Somali FM agrees with the subject). Targets may have one or more (four is the maximum) agreement slots/positions to agree with a single or more controller(s) with respect to the same or different feature(s). However, it is not

possible for a target to have slots for two or more controllers which have the same syntactic position (e.g. two subjects) in the same construction (Corbett 2001:199-201).

There is a good discussion about agreement features in Corbett (2006:15, 125-141). Gender, number, and person are taken as main agreement features. Under "the less clear agreement features" category, we find case and definiteness. For example, a Hungarian verb agrees in definiteness. There are other "unclear agreement features" which include respect (honorificity), tense, aspect, mood, and polarity. He gives a verb's agreement in 'respect' in Maithili or mai (a Bihari language spoken in NE India) and the preposition's agreement in tense in Malagasy as examples. Saeed (1997:154-155) provides agreement relations in theta-role. In Lakhota (a North American Siouan language), pronominal verbal prefixes agree in theta-role (e.g. Agent, Patient).

The condition that is sometimes required to specify agreement involves different factors. Corbett (2006:194-203) lists grammatical relations, case, topic, definiteness, specificity, and focus as conditions. For instance, in Somali, the presence of full or reduced agreement depends on focus. Besides, different agreement elements, like target and feature, serve as condition. Sometimes, the part of speech of a target determines agreement. Even under the same word class, variations exist. In some languages, some kinds of verbs show agreement, while some others do not. And in Russian, agreement in gender appears only in the singular; the plural does not show agreement in gender. Here, number feature is a condition (Corbett 2006:78-79).

Morphologically, agreement is realized mostly through inflectional affixes: infix, suffix, or prefix. But sometimes it is difficult to decide whether we are dealing with inflection or clitic (Corbett 2001:196). For instance, Corbett (2006:75) says that in Skou, clitics function as obligatory agreement markers.

At last, it is necessary to state the place of agreement in syntactic theory. Belletti (2001:491-502) gives a historical account about agreement projections. There used to be at least some three agreement projections: AgrS, AgrO, Agrpstprt (agreement of past participle). Besides, agreement projection is assumed to be present in DP, CP, and small clauses. And Agr and clitic pronouns were taken as "heads" for the projections. However, after Chomsky (1995b), this claim is no more maintained by everyone. Belletti (2001:502) says:

> *The phi-features contained in Agr are considered [-interpretable] since they simply express a morphosyntactic relation (an "agreement" relation). They are thus erased once the checking operation with the phi-features of a DP in spec/Agr is completed. They do not play any role in LF, unlike the nominal phi-features, which are treated as [+interpretable] as they directly determine crucial aspects of the interpretation of DPs.*

These [- interpretable] features do not have any syntactic position, since they do not have any place in LF. Hence no Agr projection appears in clause structures.

In a recent work, Radford (2006:255-256) states that "non-phasal heads enter the derivation carrying only interpretable features, and that they inherit their uninterpretable features from the phase heads". Bundle of agreement and case features from C and little v (phase heads) "percolate" down to T(ense) and big V (instances of non-phasal heads), respectively. Agree takes place between T and the subject in the spec of TP and V and the object in the complement position of V. Case and phi-features are valued and deleted – nominative (nom) case for the subject and acc case for the object. The other point is that

uninterpretable features, like agreement, are not visible in syntax and LF, but in PF where they are pronounced.

2.3 Relative clause

RC is a dependent clause that modifies a noun (Payne 1997:325, Van Valin 2001:46). RC may appear following or preceding the noun it modifies. Van Valin (2001:136) uses the term right - branching (e.g. English) and left - branching (e.g. Huallaga Quechua) for those clauses which follow and precede the noun, respectively. Payne (1997:326) uses the terms prenominal and postnominal for left - branching and right - branching RCs and gives two additional classifications: internally headed and headless RCs. In the former case, the noun occurs inside the RC (e.g. Bambara (a Mande language spoken in Mali)) and in the latter case, there exists no noun. This is possible provided that the referent is pretty clear. This is related to what Radford (2006:148) calls free RCs. Free RCs contain wh-pronouns which are "antecedentless" – which does not refer back to any other constituent in the sentence. Consider the following.

4. What you say is true.

RCs have also other categorization. The following are some of the RCs recognized in the literature: restrictive, non-restrictive (appositive), participial , and regular RCs (Haegomon et al. 1997, Newson et al. 2006:264, Payne 1997:327, Radford 2006:148). For instance, restrictive RCs restrict the entity referred to in the sentence to a certain class. The following is a good example.

5. I saw the man [(who/that) they arrested] on TV.

Appositive RCs are used to give additional (not basic) information or "parenthetical comment" to an entity as the following example shows.

6. Yesterday I met my bank manager, who was in a filthy mood.

Regular relatives are finite clauses (tensed-clauses), while participial RCs are non-finite clauses (non-tensed clauses) like "fallen" in the following sentence (Payne 1997:327).

7. Eser sat on a [[fall-en] log]

The noun which is modified by the RC is called a HN. A RC does not have an overt NP in the position of relativization and the HN fills the gap of the missing NP (Van Valin 2001:46). Payne (1997:330) says that a HN has a coreferential (NP rel) within the RC. The NP rel expresses what syntactic role the HN plays within the RC, because the role of the HN within the RC and in the main clause may not be identical. For example, in the following sentence, the HN "the alligator" is subject in the main clause, but object within the RC (the NP rel is not realized phonetically)

8. The alligator [that I saw] ate Alice.

Van Valin (2001:46) states that the HN may take the role of subject, DO, IO, possessor, or object of the comparative "than" within the RC.

Most RCs contain a relativizer that shows that the clause in question is a RC (Inada 2007:2-3). Relativizers are of two types: relative particles like the English *that* and relative pronouns like *who*. In Germanic and Romance languages, Relative particles are taken from complementizers and prepositions. That is why Payne (1997:332-333) says that a relativizer is often treated the same way as a complementizer. He further states that relative pronouns take two functions: as pronouns, they refer to NP rel (they reflect the properties of the NP rel) and as a relativizer, they mark a RC. There may be movement of the relative pronoun inside the RC (Andrews 2004:13-14). In English, it obligatorily moves to the beginning, whereas it is optional in others like Hebrew, and even forbidden in German. Adger (2003:41) states that a relative pronoun may establish an agreement relationship with a HN (e.g. Dutch). There is also another possibility for a RC to be introduced without a relativizer. Languages like

English manifest these three possibilities as the following examples illustrate (Inada 2007:2-3).

9. a. The man [*that* you saw] is her uncle (by a relative particle)
   b. The man [*who* stands at the corner] is her uncle (by a relative pronoun)
   c. The boy [you saw] (no relative pronoun/relative particle)

The element "NP rel", we have been discussing so far, is known as PRO (big PRO) and pro (little pro) in MP. They are treated as empty (covert or null) categories: "categories which have no overt phonetic form, and hence which are inaudible or silent" (Radford 1997:131). PRO is a null element which appears in non-finite clauses. It receives Θ-role, but is controlled by the matrix subject (Adger 2003:304-309). On the other hand, pro appears in finite clauses and is licensed by agreement features. It is usually found in languages which have rich inflectional system (Cook and Newson 1996:55-61).

Adger (2003:371) (proponent of MP) takes a similar view with Radford (1997:307) in considering RCs as CPs. Inada (2007:6) also says that relative particles like *that* are heads of a RC (C^{o}) and relative pronouns are positioned in the spec of CP. In a recent work, Radford (2006:209-216) gives a more comprehensive account of split-CP. He believes that relative particles like *that* head the top most hierarchical projection, i.e. Force phrase (ForP).

Regarding the derivation of RCs, Adger (2003:371) states that they are adjuncts which are "incorporated into a sentence, but not via the checking of selectional features" (Adger 2003:111). This is to say that the operation involved is adjoin, not merge. Like any other adjunct, they are sisters of phrasal nodes, i.e. they are assumed to be attached at little nP level. However, "adjunction" is only one alternative analysis. Inada (2007:25, 39) discusses

previous analyses (in Germanic and Romance languages) that consider RCs as adjuncts and complements. He provides a hybrid analysis: RCs introduced by that-relatives (relative particles) are complements and RCs that are introduced by wh-relatives (relative pronouns) are adjuncts.

2.4 Object

Radford (1997:519) defines object as a complement of transitive verbs (as in "help me") or transitive prepositions (as in "for me"). Newson et al. (2006:73) uses the term "prepositional objects" for objects that come following prepositions. Radford (1997) also says that for a DP to be called an object, it must bear objective case. This distinguishes object complements (nominals and pronominals) from non-object complements such as that-clauses. If a verb has two objects, the first is called DO and the second IO. If it has only one object, that must be a DO.

However, the situation is a bit complex. Collinge (1984:11-22) lists ways of discovering DOs one of which is coding properties. Under this, we get means of using a DO marker on the nominal itself (e.g. Latin), marking by adpositions (e.g. Jazguljami), using a special position in a clause (e.g. English (after the verb)), and using a DO marker on the verb (e.g. Basque).

Gil (1984:88-90) raises another important point about DOs. According to him, a DO cannot be defined in terms of subjects. This is because languages (e.g. Mandarin) may have a DO, but not a subject. He even argues against treating grammatical relations as universal features, since there are languages (e.g. Tagalog (an Austronesian language spoken in Philippine islands)) that do not differentiate between subject and object.

The case with IOs is not so clear. Semantically, they have the property of coding the recipient argument of a ditransitive verb. However, we cannot define them using structural or morphosyntactic properties. In some sentence constructions, like in dative shift or in applicatives, it is difficult to distinguish between DOs and IOs. It seems it is because of these problems that IOs are considered irrelevant in some linguistic theories like Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) (Van Valin 2001:67-68, 184).

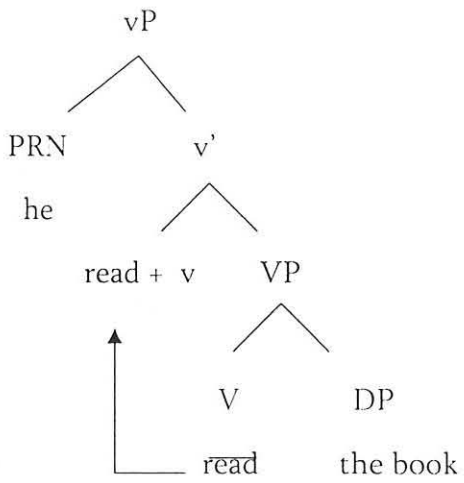
Anderson (1984:34) tries to give a cross-linguistic account about objects and says that objecthood is not itself a case relation, and no case relation can be expressed as an object. This is because no case relation is uniquely expressed by an object. Van Valin (2001:37, 59) holds the same claim. He deals with these grammatical relations, i.e. DO and IO (along with subject) and says that DOs and IOs bear acc and dative cases, respectively. But this correlation is not always true. They both maybe in acc case (e.g. Korean) or they may have a different kind of case (e.g. Icelandic).

Van Valin (2001:23, 29) also states that grammatical relations should be treated without strict correlation with theta-role. A grammatical relation can be associated with more than one theta-roles. For instance, a DO can be theme, patient, experiencer, source, etc. Payne (1997:51) gives reasons for why this is so. According to him, one reason why semantic or theta – roles do not correlate directly with grammatical relations is that the former are conceptual notions, while the latter are morphosyntactic.

Giving a syntactic explanation for how a DO is derived, Radford (2006:224-227) says that a transitive verb carries abstract agreement properties (case and phi-features) or uninterpretable features (which are handed down from little v). The DO has an

already valued phi-feature (interpretable features) and an unvalued case feature (uninterpretable feature). Then, the verb agrees with the phi-feature of the DO and assigns acc case in its c-command domain: the DO base-generates in the complement position of V. This structure is shown below, simplified somehow.

10. He will read the book.



There has been a long held understanding that it is only transitive verbs (or prepositions) that can have object arguments. However, Newson et al. (2006:182-183) state that intransitive verbs can take objects, i.e. a cognate object (CO). "a smile" in the following sentence is considered a CO.

11. Sam smiled a smile

Pham (n.d:227-228) further says that COs are found in Vietnamese transitive verbs and take a direct and indirect grammatical relations. Hence, they are termed as direct cognate objects (DCOs) and indirect cognate objects (ICOs).

As mentioned above and as Van Valin (2001:2) states, a verb changes its form or takes inflectional elements to show grammatical relations. Gossner (2004) states that the verb of a RC may require pronominal object agreement with the HN. In some

languages, this is always true (e.g. Dakelh, Koyukon), while in others, it is determined by some other factors. For example, Dogrib shows pronominal object agreement when the HN is external to the RC[20]. It is also said that Dakelh pronominal object agreement markers further denote definiteness in object NPs.

2.5 Definiteness

Definiteness or identifiability is treated as a type of "pragmatic status" by Payne (1997:261). Pragmatic statuses are ways that speakers use to "adapt" their utterances (or contents of their linguistic expressions) to context.

There is, however, no clear agreement on the true nature of definiteness. It is usually considered as a special property of NPs. Some scholars associate it with "uniqueness" or "uniquely identifiable" (Stump 2001:27). The term "uniqueness" is first forwarded by Russell (1905) and it means that we say there is definiteness when we observe "the existence of one and only one entity meeting the descriptive content of the noun phrase". Note the following.

12. I met the owner of El Azteco

Declerck (1986:29) also agrees with this idea when he says that the referent of a definite description is uniquely defined for the speaker and is uniquely identifiable to the addressee through the definite description or the contextual/situational knowledge.

A more appealing and recent argument states that (in)definiteness has got to do with "familiarity". According to this claim, a description so as to be definite, its referent must be familiar with the hearer (Adger 2003:248). This is not free from criticism.

[20] These languages are members of a northern Athapaskan language (a family of an American Indian language) spoken in Canada.

There are definite expressions that do not need to be mentioned earlier, and thus be familiar with the hearer. Consider the following (Abbott 2006:394).

13. Mary asked the oldest student in the class to explain every thing.

Proponents' of this idea reply that, in such a construction, hearers probably accept the definite description if they think they can discover the referent.

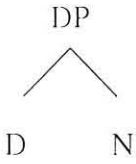
A final point to raise is Declerck's (1986:29) inclusive and exclusive interpretation. Inclusive (reference-to-all) interpretation is for the definite NPs, while exclusive (reference-to-not-all) interpretation is for indefinite NPs.

14. (a) Please call in the children (inclusive: all children are included)
    (b) please call in some children (exclusive: not all children are included).

How are NPs marked for definiteness? Languages usually use pronouns, proper names (nouns), and NPs with demonstrative determiners or with definite articles (Adger 2003:248, Abbott 2006:395). Payne (1997:263) and Abbott (2006:396) also state that NPs that are associated with possessive determiners have a definite reading. Other than this, some languages like Chinese and Russia use word order to signal definiteness (Abbott 2006:398).

Payne (1997:262) states that there is correlation between definiteness and grammatical relations like subject and object. He says "in languages that have a well-grammaticalized subject category, subjects tend to be identifiable, given and already available in memory. Direct objects are either given or new in about equal proportions".

Regarding the place of definiteness in syntax, Adger (2003:244-248) says that DMs (like *the* and *this*) are termed as determiners which have a D-feature. They are heads which take NP as their complement.



Though it is believed that definiteness is an inherent inflectional category of nouns, adjectives and verbs may also inflect for (in)definiteness. This is possible because of the agreement relation they have with the NP.

There are some facts that seem to pose problems in our conception of definiteness (Abbott 2006:394, Declerck 1986). To mention some:

1. Definite referents may not be explicitly identifiable

   E.g. my uncle wrote some thing on the wall (the question is which wall).

2. Some NPs require a definite article to have a definite reading, while others do not.

   E.g. I heard it on the radio Vs I heard it on TV). Similarly, generic indefinite NPs may function as definite, semantically.

3. Definite descriptions may have an indefinite reading.

   E.g. there was this strange note on the blackboard; there were the same nominees on both ballots (linguistic descriptions that occur in a locative existential are assumed to have a definite reading)).

Declerck (1986:31) tries to handle this problem by positing two kinds of definiteness, i.e. formal and semantic. He states that formal (in)definiteness does not automatically imply semantic (in)definiteness.

2.6 Focus

There is no straight forward definition for the term "focus". It is taken as an increment of information in a sentence, which is claimed to be a clause internal pragmatic function (Taha 1990:23-24). Corbett (2006:201) cites Lambrecht (1994:213) in defining focus as "the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition". We get a comprehensive discussion of the term in Payne (1997:267-268). He provides three different definitions given by different scholars. For some scholars, focus is a term given to some morphosyntactic elements whose function is vague. Others say focus is new or asserted information. A clause is assumed to be an answer for a question and focus is the part of a clause that gives the requested information like the following.

15. A: Who Pushed Johnny off the porch?
    B: Bolly pushed Johnny off the porch[21].

Yet, others view focus as a special kind of pragmatic function (mostly termed as "contrast") which is the property of only some clauses or their constituents.

Perhaps the list of the functions of focus given by Miller (2006:511) may help us understand the term well. It is said that focusing on constituents of a clause/sentence helps

> *to highlight the information they carry, to contrast one piece of information with another, to introduce new information, to reintroduce information that has already been mentioned but dropped, to shift the listener's attention to another entity or topic of conversation, or to emphasize a piece of information.*

[21] Focused elements may be indicated by a capital letter or by underscore.

This statement seems to bring the above definitions into agreement, except the one which claims that focus is a morphosyntactic element with vague function.

Payne (1997:268) deals with the scope of focus, i.e. part/parts of a sentence that is are under the focus domain. He argues that focus may be TVF (truth value focus) in which the whole sentence is in focus or CF (constituent focus) in which any part of a sentence is in focus. Sometimes focus may not be associated with an entire word, but with its certain components. In the following sentence, the feminine component is focused.

16. Well, this Beverley is a SPINster, YES.

How do languages mark focus? Marking focus involves phonology, morphology, and syntax. It maybe marked by intonation (high pitch or strong stress), cleft constructions, focus particles or markers, using special kind of word order, or by a combination (Miller 2006:512-517). Corbett (2006:53) further says that there can be two FMs in the same sentence. Lavukaleve (a Papuan language of the Solomon Islands) is given as an example. These FMs have a special feature of showing agreement. Look at the following data.

17. aira	la	feo	fo'sal	na	a	– u – a	heo
woman(fem)	art.fs	foc.3fs	fish(mas)	art.ms	3msO – eat – fs		echo.foc.3fs

'THE WOMAN ate the fish' (answers: 'who ate the fish?')

Focus has a place in Minimalist syntax. Radford (2006:209) states that there is a Focus phrase projection (FocP) headed by FMs (Foc) and focused constituents are contained within this projection. Regarding the position of FocP, Radford (2006:211) and Newson et al. (2006:273) believe that it is in the left peripheral region following the topic phrase (TopP). In the following English example, "in the room" is a topic that precedes the focused constituent "potatoes".

18. I said that, in this room, POTATOES I would not store.

The above theoretical discussions, especially on the notions of object, definiteness, and focus, are essential for the problem at hand. They give us insight on the "what" of non-subject agreement elements on intransitive and passive verbs. We now know that there may be agreement in focus and definiteness. Besides, intransitive verbs can take cognate objects. Therefore, we are left with three alternatives: the non-subject agreement elements in intransitive and passive verbs maybe either definite, focus, or cognate object markers. This is the concern of the next chapter.

Chapter three

Non-subject agreement elements in Amharic relative clauses

In this chapter, I deal with the different non-subject agreement elements in Amharic RC. The objective is to show that non-subject agreement elements exist in RCs which have transitive, intransitive, and passive verbs and to determine their function. I begin with RCs of transitive verbs.

3.1 Non-subject agreement elements in transitive Relative clauses

Non-subject agreement elements are found in transitive RCs. Since their function is not yet uncovered, I call them type A and type B agreement elements just for easy reference. Let us first look at type A agreement elements.

3.1.1 Type A agreement elements in transitive Relative Clauses

Elements shown in the table below are examples of this type.

	singular	Plural	Honorific
1	- ññ	- n	-
2 m f	- h - ʃ	- ačči hu	- wo
3 m f	- w,-t - at	- ačč∂w	- ačč∂w

Table 1: Type A agreement elements

Examine the following RCs which show such agreement elements.

1.(a) [[ɨññə yə - arrəd - n - əw] bəre]

we comp[22] – slaughter:pf - 1plS – 3ms? ox

'The ox that we slaughtered'

(b) [[ɨññə yə - bəll – an - aččəw] muz – očč]

we comp – eat:pf – 1plS – 3pl? banana – pl

'The bananas that we ate'

(c) [[k'ɨddim yə - ayy – əhu – ɪ] bet]

earlier comp – see:pf – 1sS – 3ms? house

'The house that I saw earlier'

The HN /bəre/ 'ox' functions as a DO inside the RC. That is, pro in the above structures is a DO. And type A agreement elements identify it. They can also appear when pro is a subject, but do not agree with it. Consider the following.

2.(a) [[almaz – ɨn yə - sədddəb – u – at] lɨj – očč]

A. – acc comp – insult:pf – 3plS – 3fs? boy – pl

'The boys who insulted Almaz'

(b) [[tɨnant ɨññə - n yə - gəlaməd' -ə - n] səw]

yesterday we – acc comp - glare at:pf - 3msS - 1pl? man

'The man who glared at us yesterday'

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[22] /yə-/ is an invariable relativizer which can be categorized as a relative particle, not a relative pronoun like English who, which, etc. It may be originated from a complementizer as Girma A. (2001:196) argues. Consider the following.

saba work'-u -n yə- ʃəɪ'ɪ' -əčč-ɨw yɨ-məsl-al

S.(fem) gold-def-acc comp-sell:pf-3fsS-3msO 3msS-seem aux:prs

'it seems that Saba sold the gold'

This suggests that Dikken's (2006) claim that /yə-/ is just a result of predicate inversion is not correct. /yə-/ may also originate from a preposition (it resembles the possessive marker /yə /). However, to be consistent with most previous analyses, I label it /comp/.

/-at/ in 2(a) agrees with /Almaz/ and /–n/ in 2(b) with /ɨññа/ 'we', which are both DOs. Thus, we may say that these elements mark DO pros. They have also other functions in ditransitive verbs. Consider the following.

3.(a) [[lə - ɨne yə - nəggər - ʃ - ɨññ] set]
to - me comp – tell:pf – 2fsS – 1s? woman
'The woman who told me'

(b) [[ɨnnəsu - n dəbtər yə - sərrək' – ə - ačč əw] təmari]
they – acc exercisebook comp – steal:pf– 3msS – 3pl? student
'The student who stole them an exercisebook'

(c) [[sɨnde yə - ləggəs – n - ačč əw] agər - očč]
barley comp – donate:pf– 1plS – 3pl? country – pl
'The countries that we donated barley'

In 3(a), pro is subject and is marked by /-ʃ/ '2fsS', whereas, /-ɨññ/ '1s?' agrees with the IO /ɨne/ 'me', which is a complement of the preposition /lə-/ 'to'. Similarly, the IO /ɨnnəsu – n/ 'they' in 3(b) which is marked for the acc case is referred to by /-ačč əw/ '3pl?'. Recall that we have shown earlier that acc case is not only associated with DOs[23]. In 3(c) pro is IO and takes one of the type A agreement elements /-ačč əw/ '3pl?'. Therefore, it seems that type A agreement elements in transitive verbs are direct object markers (DOMs) and indirect object markers (IOMs). The fact that Amharic verbs do not show both DOMs and IOMs avoids the ambiguity that may arise when an element occurs for DO and IO[24]. Let us observe the following examples.

4. (a) [[sələmon yə – k'əbb –a - u|w]] mɨrt' k'ɨb]
S.(mas.) comp – paint:pf – 3msS – 3ms? nice paint
'The nice paint that Solomon has painted'

[23] See page 49-50 for an argument on this.
[24] The same is true in Tigrinya (Tesfaye 2002:113).

(b) [[tə̆č'č'awačč – u yə – mətt – a - ačč̆əw] t'ənkara mɨt – očč]

player - def comp – hit:pf – 3msS – 3pl? strong hit – pl

'The strong hits that the player hit'

(c) [[almaz lə – ɨne yə – sət't' - ə̆čč – at] sɨt'ota]

A.(fem.) to – me comp – gift:pf – 3fsS – 3fs? gift

lit. 'The gift (fem) that Almaz gifted me'

4(a) has a mono-transitive verb that requires two arguments: a painter and a painted object (like a window). However, the 3ms form /-w/ is not referring to any of such elements, but to pro which is coreferential with /mɨrt' k'ɨb/ 'nice paint'. This is also true in 4(b). /-ačč̆əw/ '3pl?' marks pro which is coreferential with /t'ənkara mɨt – očč/ 'strong hits', not the ball which is hit by the player. Besides, these DPs are very much linked semantically to the verbs. This fact forces us to accept the claim made by pham (n.d:227-228) that transitive verbs may take DCOs or ICOs. Here, the mono-transitive verbs take DCOs. So, it seems a mono-transitive verb can have three arguments: a subject, a "normal" DO, and a DCO. That means we can have sentences like the following.

5. sələ̆mon mə̆skot – u – a [wa]– n t'ɨru k'ɨb k'ə̆bb - a – at

S.(mas.) window – def – fem – acc nice paint paint:pf – 3msS – 3fsO

'Solomon painted the window a nice paint' [25]

The case with 4(c) is not different. /sɨt'ota/ 'gift' is semantically related to the verb /sət't'-/ 'gift'. It is not a "normal" DO like "book" or "car". Sentences like 4(c) urge us to assume that ditransitive verbs can have four arguments. It is possible to find a sentence that includes all of these. The following is one.

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[25] Similar constructions are also found in Vietnamese:

ti da hien [mot da].

Ti kick Hien a kick

'Ti kicked Hien a kick' (Pham (n.d:2))

6. almaz mɔ̀s'haf – u – a [wa] – n lɔ̀ - ɨne sɨt'ota sɔ̀t'ɪ' – ɔ̀čč - ɨñ̃ñ̃

A. (fem) book – def – fem - acc to - me gift gift:pf– 3fsS – 1sO

'Almaz gave me a book as a gift' lit. 'Almaz gifted me a book gift'

Thus, we can finally say that type A agreement elements in transitive verbs mark pro which is "normal" DO, DCO[26], and IO. Or in other words, they are DOMs, DCOMs (direct cognate object markers) and IOMs. Note that all are objects, which makes it plausible to call type A agreement elements "object markers" (OMs), at least in transitive RCs.

3.1.2 Type B agreement elements in transitive relative clauses

These are of two kinds. One is composed of /-ll-/ and object agreement elements, while the other is composed of /-bb-/ and object agreement elements. Their list is given below.

	Singular	Plural	Honorific
1	-ll- ɨñ̃ñ̃	- ll-ɨn	-
2 m	- ll-ɨh	- ll- aččɨhu	- ll- ɨwo
f	- ll-ɨʃ		
3 m	- ll-ɔ̀t	- ll- aččɔ̀w	- ll- aččɔ̀w
f	- ll-at		

Table 2 (a) /-ll-/ - set agreement elements

[26] This shows that objects do not need to be concrete in order to take the agreement affixes, which is contrary to what Getatchew (1971) has said.

	Singular	Plural	Honorific
1	-bb- iññ	- bb- in	-
2 m	- bb-ih	- bb-ačči hu	- bb-iwo
F	- bb- iʃ		
3 m	- bb-ət	- bb- aččəw	- bb- aččəw
f	- bb-at		

Table 2 (b) /-bb-/ - set agreement elements

One may wonder why the 3msO type B agreement element is not composed of /-ll-əw/ or /-bb-əw/. This is the kind of problem that concerned Mullen (1986) and Getatchew (1971). In object agreement, /-u/ is the unmarked 3msO marker and it becomes /-t/ after a round vowel as in the following.

7.(a) səbbər - ə - u [w]

break:pf – 3msS – 3msO

'He broke it'

(b) səbbər - u - t

break:pf – 3plS – 3msO

'They broke it'

However, this is not the case with the type B 3msO agreement marker: It takes only /-t/, despite the fact that there is no round vowel preceding it. So, how do we explain this fact? Hetzron (1969:108) states that in contrast to other Semitic languages and even to proto-Semitic, Ethiopian Semitic languages have developed a special "final-t" element in 3msO suffix. For example, proto-Gurage had *-wt/-nt. We may assume the Amharic /-t/ belongs to this special element.

One may also give a synchronic analysis. The reason why /-u/ changes to /-t/ after /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ may be accounted for in terms of phonological process called

dissimilation. First, consider the distinctive features of the vowel and consonants involved.

/l/= voiced, alveolar, lateral approximant

/b/= voiced, bilabial, plosive

/u/= voiced, approximant

/t/= voiceless, alveolar, plosive

/u/ and /l/ are both voiced and approximant. But when /u/ follows /l/, it loses these features. Similarly, /u/ and /b/ are alike in voice. However, the variant /-t/ does not maintain this feature. However, this phonological analysis is not reliable because it is possible to find the 3msO marker /-u/ attached to other words that end in /b/ or /l/ as in /tɨ - sdəb – u [əw]/ 'let her insult him'. Thus, Hetzron's explanation is more appealing[27].

Let us now see the functions of type B agreement elements in transitive verbs.

8. (a) [[wənbər yə – sərr - an - ɨll -at] arog – it]
chair comp –work:pf– 1plS – ? -3fsO old woman – fem
'The old woman that we made a chair (for her benefit)'

(b)[[lə - arog –it - u – a[wa] wənbər yə – sərr - an - ɨll-at]
to - old woman –dim –def -fem chair comp-work:pf –1plS–?-3fsO
səw - očč]
man- pl
'The people who made a chair for the old woman (for her benefit)'

(c)[[lɨj – u lɨbs - aččəw - ɨn yə - ʃet'ɪ' - ə - bb-aččəw)] səw - očč]
boy– def cloth – 3plposs – acc comp - sell:pf – 3msS - ?-3plO man – pl
'The people whom the boy sold their cloth (for their disadvantage)

[27] Baye (p.c) believes that /t/ is not a variant of /u/, but the third person prepositional and verbal object affix.

(d)[[sɔw - očč –u - n libs- aččɔw - n yɔ - ʃet't' - ɔ - bb-aččɔw] lij]

man – pl - def-acc cloth-3plposs-acc comp - sell:pf – 3msS - ? -3plO) boy

'The boy who sold the peoples' cloth (for their disadvantage)'

pro and /arog–it – u - a/ 'the old woman' in 8(a) and 8(b) and pro and /sɔw - očč – u-n/ 'the peoples' in 8(c) and 8(d) have different roles, i.e. the former are benefactive of the action of the verb, while the latter are malfactive. In other words, they have benefactive and malfactive theta-roles (semantic-roles or thematic-roles). Thematic-roles are "the roles that participants play in message world situation" (Payne 1997:47). These roles maybe force, instrument, experiencer, recipient, destination, agent, patient, proposition, location, direction, purpose, time, and manner (Newson et al. 2006:23, Payne 1997:47-51). The latter five are mainly for oblique objects: optional participants or non-arguments.

Payne (1997:54) also says that languages may express thematic-roles by using a special marker on the verb. So, we can say that the above benefactive and malfactive roles are encoded by /-ll-/ and /-bb-/, respectively. This is because no other item in the construction can render this interpretation[28]. /-at/ '3fsO' and /-aččɔw/ '3plO' are there just for the agreement purpose: they mark complements of prepositions to which these semantic roles are associated. Let us see more data.

9.(a) [[inč'ɔt yɔ – fɔllɔt' - ɔčč - ibb -ɔt] mɔt'rɔbiya]

wood comp - split:pf- 3fsS – inst -3msO axe

'The axe that she split the wood'

[28] I agree with Girma (2006) who correctly states that it is the absence or presence of /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ that brings about semantic differences, but do not accept his claim that they are "case agreement features" (see page 50-51).

(b) [[bə - mət'rəbiya – u [w] inč'ət yə – fəllət' - əčč -ibb - ət] lij]

by - axe - def wood comp - split:pf- 3fsS – inst -3msO girl

'The girl who split the wood by the axe '

(c) [[mabət'əriya – u[w] –n s'əgur– u – a [wa] –n yə -abət't'ər - əčč -ibb -ət]

comb – def – acc hair–def – fem –acc comp–comb:pf–3fsS–inst -3fsO

set]

woman

'The woman that combed her hair with the comb'

(d) [[mist – u – n yə - gabbəz - ə - bb- aččəw] hotel – očč]

wife – 3msposs – acc comp – invite:pf – 3msS – loc-3plO hotel – pl

'The hotels in which he invited his wife'

(e) [[lə - sənayit məs'haf yə - məlləs - ə - ll - at] təmari]

to – S. (fem) book comp- return:pf - 3msS – rec-3fsO) student

'The student who returned a book to Senait'

In 9(a), (b), and (c), /-ət/ '3msO' refers to pro, / mət'rəbiya–u/ 'the axe', and /mabət'əriya – u–n/ 'the comb' which have an instrumental semantic role. /-aččəw/ '3plO' in 9(d) refers to pro which has a locative semantic role. Finally, in 9(e), /-at/ '3fsO' refers to /sənayit/ which has a recipient semantic role.

Note that there is /-n/ in /mabət'əriya – u–n/ 'the comb'. Baye (2008:263) considers it as a postposition (pop) used in place of prepositions like /bə-/ as in the following.

10 (a) aster bə-biʔir - u dəbdabe s'aff - əčč – ibb - ət

A. (fem) by – pen – def letter write:pf – 3fsS – inst – 3msO

'Aster wrote a letter with the pen'

(b) aster bɨʔɨr - u - n dəbdabe s'aff - əčč – ɨbb - əṭ

A. (fem) pen – def-pop latter write:pf – 3fsS – inst – 3msO

'Aster wrote a letter with the pen'

I rather assume /-n/ to be the acc case marker. Recall that acc case is not only for DOs. The preposition /bə-/ 'by' may assign acc case to its complement because prepositions can license idiosyncratic case (Woolford (n.d: 2)). But where does the preposition go? This is not a new phenomenon in Amharic. Case markers, like the genitive /yə–/ in the following sentence, can be deleted after assigning case (Baye p.c).

11. (a) sɨlə yə – kasa guday

about gen – K. (mas) matter

'About Kassa's matter'

(b) sɨlə Ø – kasa guday

about gen – K. (mas) matter

'About Kassa's matter'

This correlates with Van Valin's (2001:160-162) explanation that semantic roles may or may not correspond to grammatical cases. For instance, the grammatical dative case is usually associated with the semantic recipient role. However, in Lazgian language, experiencer is given a dative case.

In the above example, /-bb-/ and /-ll-/ are in agreement with the prepositions: /-ll-/ with /lə-/ 'to' or 'for' and /-bb-/ with /bə-/ 'by', 'with', or 'in', etc. Looking at this, one may say that /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ are prepositional agreement markers. However, this is not correct. Consider the following example where the element is /-bb-/, while the preposition is /lə-/ 'for' in 10 (b).

10 (a) lə – alama bet sərr - an

for - purpose house build:pf – 1plS

'We built a house for purpose'

(b) [bet yə - sərr – an – ibb - ət] alama]

house comp - build:pf – 1plS – purp – 3msO goal

'The purpose for which we built house'

Thus, we can say that type B agreement elements in transitive verbs are composed of two elements; /-ll-/ or /-bb-/ and OMs. The former are semantic role assigners. /-ll-/ renders benefactive and recipient semantic roles, while /-bb/ marks malfactive, instrumental, locative, and other semantic roles. OMs that come following these elements mark pro or NP which is IO or oblique object complement of prepositions. Thus, they can be called IOMs or oblique object markers.

To summarize, both /-ll-/, /-bb-/, and OMs are found in transitive verbs. /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ render semantic roles. OMs identify pro which is DO, IO, and DCO, hence DOMs, IOMs, DCOMs. However, when used after /-ll-/ and /-bb-/, they refer to an IO or oblique object pro.

3.2 Non-subject agreement elements in intransitive relative clauses

So far, we have seen the nature and function of type A (OMs) and type B agreement elements in transitive verbs. These elements also exist in intransitive verbs. This section is about the nature and functions of these elements.

3.2.1 Type A agreement elements in intransitive relative clauses

We find in the literature that the class of intransitive predicates includes all verbs that have one Θ – role to assign (Adger 2003:80). This includes unergative and unaccusative predicates which have agent and theme arguments, respectively. Other

scholars, like Newson et al. (2006:182), considers "intransitive verb" only those which take agent or experiencer arguments. In this paper, I focus on the unergative intransitive verbs.

We have found out earlier that type A agreement elements are OMs that identify DOs, DCOs, and IOs. What roles do they play in intransitive verbs? Let us see some examples.

1. (a) [[lɨǰ - u yə - k'əllədd – ə - at] assɨk'iññ k'əld]
boy - def comp – joke:pf -3msS – 3fs? funny joke
'The funny joke that the boy joked'

(b) [[yə - anəbb – a - ʃ] ɨnba][29]
comp – tear:pf – 3msS – 3fs? tear
'The tear (fem) that he teared'

(c) [[ɨne yə - azzən - ku - aččəw] məɾir hazən – očč]
I comp –mourn:pf – 1sS -3pl? bitter mourn – pl
'The bitter mourns that I mourned'

(d) [[s'addɨk' – u yə - mott – u – t] mot]
saint – def comp – die:pf – 3hS – 3ms? death
'The death that the saint died'

The verb in 1(a) and 1(b) have agent subjects, while verbs in 1(c) and 1(d) have experiencer subjects. The subjects are identified by the agreement markers which immediately follow the verb stems. Type A agreement elements identify pro which is coreferential with the HNs. We expect pro to be neither DO nor IO in the above clause, since intransitive verbs require only one argument which is a subject. What are they then?

[29] This sentence is essentially pragmatic in nature.

As we have seen in the literature review part, Newson et al. (2006:182) state that intransitives can take "cognate objects". COs, unlike other "normal" objects that are found in transitive verbs, have a restricted semantic relationship with their verbs. Observe the following English sentences.

2. (a) Jerry danced a merry dance.
   (b) Richard died a tragic death.

The scholars claim that the underlined COs are not just meaningless repetitions of the verbs, but they are predicate elements in the sentences. Pham (n.d) and Felser and Wanner (2001:29) state that unergetives are just like transitives. They take COs. COs are arguments (they are Θ – marked by the verb) and grammatically function as DOs[30]. I believe that type A agreement elements in Amharic intransitive verbs are OMs that refer to pro or DP which is a CO[31].

Before moving to other issues, it is necessary to deal with Hailu's (1972) claim regarding /-t/ in intransitive verbs. He says that /-t/, in the following construction, refers (underlyingly) to the abstract 3msO of a deleted complement of the preposition /bə/ 'by' that is to / fərəs/ 'horse'.

3. [[ɨnnə-ɨss-u yə – hed – u - t] bə - fərəs nə - ə - w]
   asso-head-3ms comp – go:pf – 3plS – 3msO by - horse be -3msS – 3msO
   'It is by horse that they went'

[30] Pylkkänen (2000:7) also argues that unergetives can indeed assign case. Consider the following examples: (1) I ran a mile.
(2) I laughed him out of the room.

[31] This fact is not attested in the closest sister language Tigrinya. As Tesfaye (2002:113) states, object pronominal suffixes can be attached to intransitive verbs, but always have malfactive function. Consider the following.
zəmədd (nɨ ʔana) moytu – nna
relative to – us die:pf - 1pl
'our relative has died'

He provides two arguments for this claim. First, an intransitive verb cannot take a simple object suffix. Second, since there is no definite NP, the element in question cannot be a DM. However, we have seen earlier that intransitive verbs take COs. I argue that this 3msO element refers to a CO pro as its reference is clearly shown in 4(a) below, with its parallel transitive verb construction in 4(b).

4.(a) [[ɨnnəsu məngəd – u – n[32] yə - hed – u – t] bə - fərəs
they journey – def – acc comp – go:pf– 3plS – 3msCO by – horse
nə -ə -w]
be -3msS-3msO
lit. 'It is by horse that they went the journey'

(b) [[ɨnnəsu aləmu – n yə-məttu – u – t] bə - dulla
they A.(m.) – acc comp – hit:pf - 3plS - 3msO by - stick
nə -ə -w]
be -3msS -3msO
'It is with stick that they hit Alemu'

However, most speakers do not use /məngəd – u – n/ 'the journey' in a sentence like 4(a), while it is neccesary to use /aləmu – n/ in 4(b) (if the reference is to be clear). I assume that it is because the HNs have a tight relation with the verb and speakers believe that hearers can abstract them from the verbs alone. This is also true in English. Note that sentence 5(a) can be restated as 5(b) (Newson et al. 2006:182).

5. (a) He smiled a smile.
(b) He smiled.

Felser and Wanner (2001:11) relate this with the principle of economy. They believe that COs do not have "substantial" contribution to the semantics of clauses. They

[32] Recall that the relationship between COs and their verbs is basically semantic in nature, not obligatorily formal.

"usually" must be informationally rich (modified) in order to be spelled out. Thus, any realization of a tautological bare noun (CO) will result in an unnecessary repetition of information, hence in violation of the principle of economy.

Generally, Type A agreement elements are found in intransitive verbs. They refer to a DCO pro, hence DCOMs. So, it is appropriate to call such elements OMs in intransitive as well as in transitive clauses.

3.2.2 Type B agreement elements in intransitive relative clauses

Type B agreement elements are found in intransitive verbs. We will evaluate the functions of both /-bb-/ and /-ll-/-set agreement elements. Consider the following.

6.(a) [[liǰ – it – u yə - sak'k' – əčč – ɨll-aččəw] wənd – očč]
girl – fem – def comp – laugh:pf – 3fsS – ? -3plO man – pl
'The men to whom the girl laughed (for their advantage)'

(b) [[lə - wənd – očč - u yə - sak'k' – əčč – ɨll-aččəw] liǰ]
to – man - pl - def comp – laugh:pf – 3fsS – ?-3plO girl
'The girl who laughed for the men (for their advantage)'

7. (a) wəndɨmm – e kə – bet wət't' - a
brother-1sposs from – house get.out:pf – 3msS
'My brother got out of the house'

(b) [[wəndɨmm – e yə - wət't' - a – bb - ət] bət]
brother-1sposs comp- get.out:pf – 3msS – ? - 3msO house
'The house that my brother got out of'

In 6(a), /-aččəw/ '3plO' refers to pro which is coreferential with /wənd – očč/ 'men'. This is clearly shown in 6 (b) where it is in agreement with /wənd – očč – u/ 'the men', which is the benefactive complement of the preposition /lə-/ 'for'. It is only the element /-ll-/ that gives the benefactive reading to the noun in 6(a). And in 7(a), the

preposition is /kə-/ 'from', while the source semantic role is rendered by /-bb-/. This confirms that /-bb-/ (and also /-ll-/) is not an agreement marker. /-bb-/ may also render other semantic roles of prepositional complements. For instance, it marks the malfactive role in 8(a), instrumental in 8(b), locative in 8(c), manner in 8(d), and time in 8(e).

8.(a) [[liǰ - u - a [wa] yə - alək'k'əs- ə - bb -at] innat]
boy - 3sposs -fem comp – cry:pf – 3msS - ml -3fsO) mother
'The mother whose son has cried (for her disadvantage)'

(b) [[yə - zəffən - ə - bb -at] maykrofon]
comp – sing:pf - 3msS – inst -3fsO microphone
'The microphone that he sang with'

(c) [[yə - nor – u – bb -aččəw] agər – očč]
comp –live:pf – 3plS – loc -3plO country – pl
'The countries that they lived in'

(d) [[yə - addəg – əčč – ibb -ət] fit'nət]
comp – grow:pf – 3fsS – man – 3fsO speed
'The speed that she grew'

(e) [[yə - k'əzzək'k'əzz - ə - bb -ət] gize]
comp – cool:pf – 3msS – tim – 3msO time
'The time that it cooled down'

We can thus say that type B agreement elements in intransitive verbs are composed of the semantic role marker /-bb-/ or /-ll-/ and an OM. It is the OM that shows agreement. /-ll-/ renders benefactive role (and recipient role), while /-bb-/ is associated with semantic roles like source, instrument, and manner. The OMs that come following these elements refer to oblique object complements of prepositions.

To conlude, both the elements /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ and OMs exist in intransitive verbs. /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ are semantic role markers, while OMs refer to a DCO which is pro. However, they refer to oblique object complements of prepositions when they come following the elements /-ll-/ and /-bb-/. With this, we move on to look at non-subject agreement elements in passive relative clauses.

3.3 Non-subject agreement elements in passive relative clauses

We have examined the nature and function of non-subject agreement elements in transitive and intransitive RCs. It is now time to see their role in passive verbs, beginning with type A agreement elements as usual.

3.3.1 Type A agreement elements in passive relative clauses

Though it may sound strange, it is a fact that type A agreement elements are found in passive verbs as well. The question is what are they referring to? We have mentioned earlier that Girma (2001:197) claims that the element /-t/ in the following passive verb is a focus marker. The whole sentence is given for convenience.

1. sɨ – al – ʔɨ – at'əfa kə – sɨra yə – tə – barrər – ku – t
   while– neg – 1sS – make fault:pf from–job comp – pas – fire:pf –1sS– foc?
   tɨzz yɨ – al – əññ – al
   remember 3msS – say:pf – 1sO – aux:prs
   'I remember that I was fired from (my) job while making no fault'

The person who is making the above utterance is not an agent because the first pronoun in the gloss, i.e. 'I', has the object form /– əññ / '1sO' in the structure. Then what is / yɨ-/ '3msS' referring to? It is the CO pro that is coreferential with /məbbarər/ 'firing' which is referred to by /-t/ '3msCO' in the passive verb. Thus /-t/ is not a FM. This is true because the sentence gives sense when we add the HN of the RC in 2.

2. [[[sɨ – al – ʔɨ – at'ədfa kə – sɨra yə – tə – barrər – ku – t]

while – neg – 1sS – make fault:pf from–job comp – pas - fire:pf –1sS- 3msO

məbbarər] tɨzz yɨ – al – əññ – al]

firing remember 3ms S– say:pf – 1sO – aux:prs

'I remember (the firing) that I was fired from (my) job for no fault'

Look at also the following examples.

3. (a) [[məskot – u - a [wa] yə – tə – k'əbb - ačč – ɨw] k'ɨb]

window – def - fem comp – pas – paint:pf – 3fsS – 3msCO paint

'The paint that the window painted'

(b) [[s'adɨk' - u yə – tə – gərrəf - u - aččəw] gɨrfiya – očč]

saint – def comp – pas – flagellate:pf – 3hS – 3plCO flagellate – pl

'The flagellates that the saint flagellated'

(c) [[dɨngət yə – tə – nəkkəs – ku – at] yə – wuʃʃa - nɨkkɨʃa]

suddenly comp – pas – bite:pf – 1sS – 3fsCO gen – dog – bitting

'The dog bite that I got bitten suddenly'

The above type A agreement elements refer to CO pros which are coreferential with the HNs. The subjects are referred to by their subject affixes which appear next to the stem.

In ditransitive passive verbs, type A agreement elements refer to pro which is either a "normal" DO, DCO, or IO; hence DOMs, DCOMs, and IOMs. This is shown below in 4(a), 4(b), and 4(c), respectively.

4.(a) [[bə – dɨrɨjjit – u yə – tə – sət't' – ən - aččəw] məs'haf – očč]

by – organization – def comp – pas – give:pf– 1plS – 3plO book - pl

'The books that we are given by the organization'

(b) [[beti yə – tə – sərrək'– əčč - ɨw] mɨst'irawi sɨrk'ot]

B. (fem) comp – pas – steal:pf – 3fsS – 3msCO mysterious stealing

'The mysterious stealing that Beti got stolen"

(c) [[kompiyutər yə – tə – ləggəs - ə - aččəw] tɨmɨrt-bet – očč]

computer comp – pas – donate:pf – 3msS – 3plO school – pl

'The schools that computer was donated to'

Generally, type A agreement markers in passive verbs refer to pro which is a "normal" DO, DCO, or IO. Thus, it is appropriate to call them OMs (DOMs, DCOMs, IOMs).

3.3.2 Type B agreement elements in passive relative clauses

Both /-ll-/-set and /-bb-/-set type B agreement elements are found in passive RCs as in the following:

5.(a) [[məs'haf – u yə - tə – məlləs - ə - ll - aččəw] profesər]

book - def comp – pas – return:pf – 3msS – ? – 3hO professor

'The professor that the book is returned to'

(b) məs'haf – u lə - profesər – u tə – məlləs - ə - ll - aččəw

book – def to - professor – def pas – return:pf– 3msS – ? – 3hO

'The book is returned to the professor'

6(a) wədə - amerika tə - sədddəd - ə

to – America pas - immigrate:pf– 3msS

'He has immigrated to america'

(b) [[yə - tə – sədddəd - ə - bb - ət] agər]

comp – pas - immigrate:pf– 3msS - ? – 3msO] country

'The country he has immigrated to'

/-ačč∂w/ '3hO' in 5(a) refers to the recipient pro which is coreferential with the HN /profes∂r/ 'professor'. This reference is clearly shown in 5(b). /-ll-/ renderes a recipient semantic role to the complement of the preposition. Note that, in 6(b), the locative semantic role marker /-bb-/ is not in agreement with the preposition /w∂d∂ -/ 'to'. Further examples are listed below.

7.(a)[[sahin – u b∂ – almaz l∂ – inat – u –a[wa] y∂ - t∂ – s∂t'ɪ' - ∂

dish – def by – A. (fem) to – mother – 3sposs - fem comp –pas –give:pf- 3ms

-ll - at] liǰ]

bn -3fsO girl

'The girl, to whose mother Almaz gave the dish'

(b) [[libs – wo y∂ - t∂ – k'∂dd∂d - ∂ -bb-iwo] baltet]

dress – 2hposs comp – pas – tear:pf – 3msS –ml-3hO old woman

'The old woman (you) whose dress is teared apart'

(c) [[k'∂ld – u y∂ - t∂ – k'∂ll∂d - ∂ - bb -∂t)] gize]

joke – def comp – pas – joke:pf – 3msS – tim- 3msO time

'The time that the joke is joked'

Earlier, we have claimed that COs in Amharic are DOs. This claim is further supported by the fact that COs take the subject place with their corresponding subject affix in passive RCs[33]. As Pham (n.d:235) states, passivization is one feature of DCO. This is true for all kinds of passive verbs as in the following.

8.(a) assik'iññ ruč'č'a t∂ – rot'ɪ' - ∂

funny ran pas – ran:pf – 3msCS (cognates subject)

'A funny ran was run'

(b) t'iru k'ib t∂ - k'∂bb – a

nice paint pas - paint:pf – 3msCS

'A nice paint was painted'

[33] This is not a valid criterion, since we will see later on page 94, that IOs can take this position too.

(c) sɨt'ota tə - sət't' - ə

gift pas – gift:pf – 3msCS

'A gift was given'

But this is not possible if there is an already "normal" DO as in mono-transitives.

9.(a) * mɨrt' – u – a[wa] k'ɨb məskot – očč – u - n tə – k'əbb – ačč – aččəw

nice – def - fem paint window – pl – def -acc pas – paint:pf – 3fsCS – 3plO

'The nice paint is painted on the windows'

(b) məskot – očč – u mɨrt' – u – a[wa] - n k'ɨb tə – k'əbb – u – at

window – pl – def nice – def - fem -acc paint pas – paint:pf – 3plS –3fsCO

'The windows are painted the nice paint'

Besides, COs are not referred to by IOMs or oblique object markers that come following /-ll-/ and /-bb-/. The following are ungrammatical because the COs are referred to by oblique object markers. Thus, we confirm that COs in Amharic are DCOs, not ICOs or oblique objects[34].

10.(a)*[[səw - očč – u yə – tə – gəddəl – u - ll-aččəw] yə – gɨf gɨddɨya – očč]

man –pl– def comp–pas – kill:pf – 3plS–bn -3plO gen - unjust killing –pl

'The unjust killings that the people killed for (for the *killings'* sake)

(b) *[[təmari – u[w] yə – tə – sət't' - ə - bb -aččəw] sɨt'ota – očč]

student – def comp – pas – gift:pf – 3msS - ml- 3plO gift – pl

'The gifts that the student is given (for the *gifts'* disadvantege)'

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[34] However, we may find cases where COs sometimes function as **oblique objects**. The following is one.

[[tarik-u yə – tə – s'af -ə -bb- aččəw] s'ɨhuf- očč]

story -def comp- pas-write:pf-3msS-inst-3plO writing-pl

'The writings that the story is written'

(Dr. Getahun Amare (p.c))

Thus, type B agreement markers appear in passive RCs. It is only the OM that shows agreement. /-ll-/ or /-bb-/ are invariant semantic role assigners: /-ll-/ renders recipient and benefactive semantic roles and /-bb-/ licenses malfactive, instrumental, and other semantic cases. The OMs that come following these, mark an IO or oblique object pro, not DCO pro.

We can finally conclude that /-ll-/ or /-bb-/ and OMs exist in passive verbs. /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ render different semantic roles. OMs are in agreement with pro which is DO, IO, or DCO, but when preceded by /-ll-/ and /-bb-/, they only mark IOs or oblique object complements of prepositions.

3.4 Notes on some common features

At this level, it is essential to discuss some common features which are observed in RCs with transitive, intransitive and passive verbs regarding OMs and compound-tense constructions. We first discuss the claim made by scholars that OMs are associated with the pragmatic features of definiteness and focus. Then, we deal with compound-tense constructions.

3.4.1 Marking definite NPs

Kapelliuk (1994) says that a relative verb with non-subject agreement elements maybe considered indefinite, unless it takes the acc case marker. First of all, I do not call a relative verb a "noun" just because it takes the definite article, the acc case marker, and the semantic role assigners (which she calls "prepositions"). Note that adjectives also take definite articles and acc case markers. We have also discussed that a RC is a CP, not a DP[35]. Secondly, a HN, to be definite, does not require a relative

[35] Note also that I do not follow Ouhalla's (or Hailu's) claim that RCs are DPs.

verb to take acc case marker. In the following sentence, the HN /mɔ̀kina/ 'car', is definite without an overt acc case marker /-n/ appearing on the verb.

1. [[ɨne yɔ̀ - ʃɔ̀t' – ku – at] mɔ̀kina]
   I comp – sell:pf– 1sS – 3fsO car
   'The car that I sold'

On the other hand, Mullen (1986) and Getatchew (1971) suggest that OMs have an additional [+ def] feature. That is to say that they can define NPs. But this does not hold true as the following examples given by Girma A. (2006:257) citing Yabe (2001:4) show.

2. (a) aster doro – u – a [wa] – n arrɔ̀d – ɔ̀čč - at
   A. hen – def - fem - acc butcher:pf– 3fsS – 3fsO
   'Aster slaughtered the hen'

   (b) aster doro arrɔ̀d – ɔ̀čč - (*at)
   A. hen butcher:pf – 3fsS – (*3fsO)
   'Aster slaughtered a hen'

Baye (2004), Weldu (2004), and Girma A. (2006) correctly state that these agreement elements mark definite objects. /-ačč̀ɔ̀w/ '3plO', in the following example, refers to the definite NP /tɔ̀mari – očč - u - n/ 'the students'.

3. [[tɔ̀mari – očč - u – n yɔ̀ - gɔ̀rrɔ̀f - ɔ̀ - ačč̀ɔ̀w] mɔ̀mhɨr]
   student – pl – def – acc comp - whip:pf - 3msS – 3plO teacher
   'The teacher who whipped the students'

One may find data like the following where /-ačč̀ɔ̀w/ '3plO' is used to refer to the nouns (oblique objects) /nɔ̀ggade – očč/ 'merchants' in 4(a) and /tɔ̀mari – očč/ 'students' in 4(b) which have no DM and conclude that OMs can also refer to indefinite NPs. However, these NPs are not indefinite. They are indefinite only in

form, but are definite in meaning. Both NPs are known by the speaker and the hearer either because they are previously mentioned or are common knowlegde[36].

4. (a) ɨne lə - nəggade - očč azzən - ku – ll -aččəw

I to – merchant – pl sorrow:pf – 1sS – bn -3plO

'I have sorrowed for the merchants'

(b) təmari – očč bər tə – zəgg - a – bb - aččəw

student - pl door pas – close:pf– 3msS – ml - 3plO

'A door is closed against the students'

We have so far shown that OMs refer to definite NPs, but they do not define an NP. That is to say that they are not DMs. This is supported by the fact that a DM can appear following these elements. Consider the following.

5.(a) [[ɨne yə - səbbər - ku - t - u] tillɨk' - u ɨnč'č'ət]

I comp – break:pf– 1sS – 3msO - def big – def stick

'The big stick that I broke'

(b) [[nɨgus – u yə - dənəggət' - ə - u -u[w]] tallak'-u dɨnɨggat'e]

king - def comp – fright:pf – 3msS – 3msCO-def great -def fright

'The great fright that the king got frightened'

(c) [[yə- rot' – ku – bb -ət – u] səffi - u [w] meda]

comp – ran:pf– 1sS – loc -3msO) – def wide - def field

'The wide field that I ran through'

(d))[[məskot – u - a [wa] yə – tə – k'əbb - ačč - ɨw - u - n[37]]

window –def - fem comp – pas – paint:pf – 3fsS – 3msCO – def – acc

harif - u - n k'ɨb]

nice – def - acc paint

'The nice paint that the window has been painted'

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[36] Getahun Amare (p.c) states that IOs do not require a DM to have OM.

[37] See page 93-96 for the argument that passive verbs assign acc case to their complements.

3.4.2 Additional [+contrast] feature

Girma A. (2003, 2006) says that OMs have a contrastive focus feature. Consider the following regular verb constructions.

6. (a) [[liǰ – u adkami guzo – očč – u - n tə - gʷaz - ə
boy - def tiresome journey – pl - def -acc md-journey:pf – 3msS
'The boy journeyed the tiresome journeys'

(b) [[liǰ – u adkami guzo – očč – u - n tə -gʷaz - ə - aččəw
boy - def tiresome journey – pl -def - acc md-journey:pf – 3msS -3plCO
'The boy journeyed the tiresome journeys'

7. (a) səmay – at lə - anči tə – kəffət – u
sky – pl to – you (fem) pas – open:pf -3plS
'Skies opened for you'

(b) səmay – at lə - anči tə – kəffət – u – ll - iʃ
sky – pl to – you (fem) pas - open:pf -3plS - bn-2fsO
'Skies opened for you'

There is a clear semantic difference between 6(a) and (b) and 7(a) and (b) because of the absence and presence of the OMs /-w/ '3msO' and /iʃ/ '3fsO', respectively. For example, in 6(a) there is no additional pragmatic feature rendered to /adkami guzo–očč–u-n/ 'the tiresome journeys'. However, in 6(b), there is a contrastive interpretation. Contrast, as Neeleman et al (n.d: 3) states, involves selection from a set. He further says that both focus and topic can be interpreted contrastively. 6(b) has an interpretation that can be restated as "the boy journeyed those tiresome journeys and not other ones". Girma A. (2003, 2006) argues this belongs to focus. We will raise this issue later on in the derivation part.

But now, I want to emphasize that OMs may have the additional contrastive feature of focus or topic, but they are not themselves contrastive focus (or topic) markers. This is because, as Girma A. (2006) puts it, the contrastive interpretation is absent in verb-to-have and in impersonal verb constructions, and in cases where there is no overt NP to be referred to by the markers. Besides, true FMs come following these OMs. Let us consider this using the FMs /-ikko/ and /-mm/ given by Baye (forthcoming) and Girma A. and Meyer (2007), setting aside the controversial /–ss/.

8(a) [[sələmoɲ yə – k'əbb – a - u – u [w] – n -ɨmm] mɨrt' k'ib]
S.(m.) comp – paint:pf – 3msS – 3msCO – def – acc - foc nice paint
'The nice paint that Solomon PAINTED'

(b)) [[dabbo yə - gəzz - aʃ - ɨll -ət - ikko] tɨnniʃ – u lɨj]
Bread comp -buy:pf – 2fsS – bn -3msO – foc little –def boy
'The little kid that you BOUGHT him bread (for his advantage)'

(c) [[lɨǰ – u yə - alək'k'əs - ə - ll -at - ɨn - ɨmm] set]
boy – def comp – cry:pf – 3msS – bn -3fsO – acc – foc woman
'The woman that the boy CRIED for (for her advantage)'

(d) [[ɨññа yə – tə – səṭ't' – ən - ačč̌əu –u[w] -n - ɨmm] məs'haf – oč̌č̌]
we comp – pas – give:pf – 3plS – 3plO -def –acc - foc book – pl
'The books that we are GIVEN'

(e) [[ɨne yə – tə – səbbər – ku - bb -ət – ɨn - ikko] asfərri bota]
I comp – pas –break:pf – 1sS – loc -3msO – acc – foc terrifying place
'The terrifying place that I got INJURED'

In connection to this, I would like to discuss the element /-ññ/. Formally, this element is identical to '1sO'. As we have seen earlier, Zelealem (2007) attaches it with the '1sS' marker /-ku/ (or /-hu/) and treats the combination as double person marker; /-ku- ññ/ 'I'. Bliese (1979:138) also takes /- ññ/ '1sO' as part of the first person subject

suffix /-hu/ or /-ku/. However, this element is not only related to first person. Consider the following.

9 .(a) [[yə - bəll - aʃ - at - iñ̃ñ̃] liǰ]
comp – eat:pf -2fsS – 3fsO - ? girl
'The girl (you) who ate it (fem.)'

(b) [[yə - bəll - u - t - iñ̃ñ̃] liǰ - očč]
comp – eat:pf - 3plS – 3msO - ? boy - pl
'The boys who ate it'

We now know that this element is invariable across all persons. This stops us from accepting the claim that it is a double person marker for first person singular. Furthermore, it has a [+ focus] feature as shown in the following RC and cleft structures.

10.(a) [[yə - səbbər – ku - t] bɨrč'ik'o]
comp – break:pf – 1sS – 3msO glass
'The glass that I broke'

(b) [[yə - səbbər - ku - t - iñ̃ñ̃] bɨrč'ik'o]
comp – break:pf – 1sS – 3msO- foc glass
'The glass that I BROKE'

(c) [[[yə - bəll - u – t] ɨnnəssu] nə - ə - aččəw]
comp – eat:pf - 3plS – 3msO they be - 3msS – 3plO
'It is they who ate it'

(d) [[[yə - bəll - u – t - iñ̃ñ̃] ɨnnəssu] nə - ə - aččəw]
comp – eat:pf - 3plS – 3msO - foc they be – 3msS – 3plO
'It is they who ATE it'

The above constructions prove that /-(ɨ)ñ̃ñ̃/ is not a double person marker, but a FM that is used to render verbs a focus reading. However, except in constructions that

involve 1sS, this FM is not frequently heard in standard Amharic. It is typical of GM and GR. Besides, as it is shown below, this element can co-occur with other FMs. In this case, we say two FMs are allowed in one construction to give a much stronger focus reading to the verb[38].

11. (a) [[yə - mot – ku – t - iññ] asazzañ mot]
comp – die:pf – 1sS – 3msCO – foc disappointing death
'The disappointing death that I DIED'

(b) [[yə - səbbər - ku - t - iññ - ikko] birč'ik'o]
comp – break:pf– 1sS – 3msO– foc1 – foc2 glass
'The glass that I BROKE'

3.4.3 Compound-tense constructions

So far, we have not dealt with compound-tense constructions that involve auxiliary verbs. In such constructions, OMs are found on the main verb referring to pro or to other NPs which are DOs, DCOs, IOs (except in intransitives) or oblique objects. The DM appears on the auxiliary[39]. Only FMs are allowed to occur either on the main or on the auxiliary verb depending on the focused constituent. This is true for all verb types as shown below.

12(a) [[wənbər iyyə - sət't' - əhu - ačč əw yə - nəbbər - u – t – in – ikko]
chair prg –give:pf – 1sS – 3hO comp – aux:pst – 3hS–def– acc - foc
abat]
father
'The father that I WAS giving chair to'

[38] This is similar to Lavukaleve case discussed earlier in the literature review part.
[39] Note that this is also noted by Mullen (1986), Kapelliuk (1994), and Ouhalla (2004) as discussed in literature review part.

(b) [[bəlay liǰ – u -n li -yi - məṭ - a – bb - əṭ - ikko

B. (mas) child–3msposs-acc pros-3 – hit:impf –1sS–inst -3msO-foc

yə - al -ə - u [w]–n] dulla]

comp-aux:prs-3msS-def -acc stick

'The stick with which Belay is ABOUT TO HIT his child'

(c)) [[almaz ti - dənnis - ačč̌əw - ikko yə - nəbbər –u –t – in

A. (fem) 3 – dance:pf - 3plCO – foc comp- aux:pst-3plS-def-acc

mirt' dans - očč]

nice dance - pl

'The nice dances that Almaz had DANCED'

(d)) [[wuʃʃa – w li - yi – c'oh – ibb - ačč̌əw yə – nəbbər

dog - def pros – 3msS – bark:pf – ml – 3plO comp – aux:pst

– u – t – in – mm] his'an – at]

- 3plS – def – acc – foc child - pl

'The children the dog WAS about to bark at'

(e)) [[t'iru yə - č'inəṭ məkina iyyə - tə – səṭ't' - əčč – ačč̌əw - ikko

good gen – freight car prog - pas –give:pf – 3fsS – 3plO - foc

yə - al – u – t] səw – očč]

comp – aux: prs – 3plS – def man – pl

'The people, a good freight car is BEING GIVEN to '

(f))[[mobayil – u –a[wa] tə – nəṭ'k' – o - bb - at yə – nəbbər-əčč -iw -n- imm]

mobile – 3sposs-fem pas–snatch:pf–3msS–ml-3fsO comp–aux:pst–3fsS–def–acc-foc

set]

woman

'The woman whose mobile HAD been snatched'

We have had discussions on non-subject agreement elements in transitive, intransitive, and passive RCs. Type A agreement elements are OMs. In transitive and passive verbs, they refer to pro which is DO, DCO, or IO, but only DCOs in intransitive verbs. Thus, they are DOMs, DCOMs, and IOMs. Type B agreement elements are composed of the two elements: /-ll-/ or /-bb-/ and the OMs. The former invariably render different semantic roles: /-ll-/ renders a benefactive and recipient role and /-bb-/ licenses malfactive, instrumental, locative, and other semantic roles. On the other hand, the OMs are in agreement with an IO (except in intransitives) or in oblique object pro, not with any DCO.

OMs appear preceding the DMs and FMs. They do not define NPs, but render contrastive semantics to NPs. However, they cannot be called FMs (topic markers). In compound-tense constructions, they are found in main verbs. Except the FM, the DM is found only on the auxiliary. Then, the next task is looking into the derivation of RCs which show these agreement elements in their verbs.

Chapter four

Derivation of relative clauses that have verbs which show non-subject agreement elements

In chapter three, we have discussed the nature and function of non-subject agreement markers in transitive, intransitive, and passive RCs. In this chapter, I will try to show the derivation of RCs which have the above type of verbs, beginning with transitive clauses. For this purpose, I make use of some data selected from the previous discussions.

4.1 Derivation of transitive relative clauses with non-subject agreement elements.

In what follows, I first deal with the derivation of RCs which have transitive verbs that show DOMs, DCOMs, and IOMs. Observe the following.

1. [[ɨne yə - səbbər - ku - t - u] tɨllɨk' - u ɨnč'č'ət]
   I comp – break:pf – 1sS – 3msO - def big – def stick
   'The big stick that I broke'

In the above construction, there are two elements that modify the HN /ɨnč'č'ət/ 'stick'. These are the RC /ɨne yə - səbbər - ku - t – u/ 'that I broke' and the adjective phrase /tɨllɨk' - u/. We have seen earlier that Inada (2007:25, 39) considers RCs introduced by relative particles (that-relatives) as complements and RCs that are introduced by relative pronouns (wh-relatives) as adjuncts. Consequently, I assume the Amharic RCs are CPs that take the complement position of N, since they are introduced by a complementizer. This is in accordance with the claim made by Dikken (2006), Girma A. (2001), and Baye (forthcoming). I do not get any relevant analysis that supports

Ouhalla's (2004) and Girma Halefom's (1994) argument that RCs generate in the spec of NP.

There is no agreement on the derivation of attributive adjectives. They have been considered as adjuncts, specifiers, reduced RCs, and as combination of some of these[40] (Pysz (n.d), Radford 2004:369-71, Cinque and Rizzi 2008:47). Each analysis has its own strength and weakness. In this paper, I follow the assumption that attributive adjectives are specifiers[41]. This analysis divides adnominal adjectives into two: modifying and thematic (thematically related to nouns) adjectives (Pysz (n.d):62-64, Radford 2006:109-110). Modifying adjectives occupy the spec of a certain functional projection (FP) between DP and NP, whereas thematic adjectives are in the spec of NP (e.g. Italian invasion of Albania). Since the adjectives used throughout this paper are modifying ones, they are believed to be generated in the spec of FP.

Note that there are two DMs attached to each modifier. Following Newson et al. (2006:147), I assume there to be multiple determiners heading their own projections[42]. The pre-determiner determiner (the first D) has an nP complement with an empty N. The RC and the AP move to the spec of the top and lower DP, respectively[43].

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[40] For instance, Pysz (n.d:78) follows a mixed analysis considering adnominal adjectives as both adjuncts (prenominals) and reduced relatives (postnominals). Cinque and Rizzi (2008:47) strongly believe that the functional status of adjectives is a universal property, but whether they are heads or specs is a language particular fact.

[41] This is because it specialy favoures the principles of UG. It is compatible to Cinque's (1999) analysis of adverbs, Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric theory, and Chomsky's (1995) checking theory. The agreement relation between adjectives and nominal heads is easily accounted for by this type of analysis (Pysz (n.d):69-70).

[42] Dikken's (2006) account of overt DMs as inflectional suffix morphemes that originate on their host word and check their features against an abstract D head specified for the feature [DEF] may be plausible provided that definiteness is a feature for nouns. However, he does not show how this takes place, especially in double definite marking. Besides, how are we going to account for the RC movement to the front position?

[43] This is in accordance with Girma Awgichew's (2001) claim that RCs move up to check their definiteness feature. The difference is that in the analysis I follow, the target of movement is spec DP, not spec of some AgrdP projection.

Let us now look at the internal structure of the RC in (1). It has a mono-transitive verb /sðbbðr/ 'broke' which needs a subject and an object. The subject /ine/ 'I' moves from the spec of little vp to TP to check and erase the uninterpretable Nom case with T or to satisfy the EPP (extended projection principle) feature on T which requires a clause to have a subject. On the other hand, pro, which is a DO, is in the complement position of the verb (Radford 2006:224-227, Felser and Wanner 2001:15, Woolford (n.d) :6)[44]. It is, thus, assigned acc case by the verb. According to Radford (2006:225), little v is a strong affix and attracts big V. The agreement elements /-ku/ '1sS' and /-t/ '3msO' do not have any projection, since they are uninterpretable features of the verb. They are deleted after the checking is done, but are visible at PF.

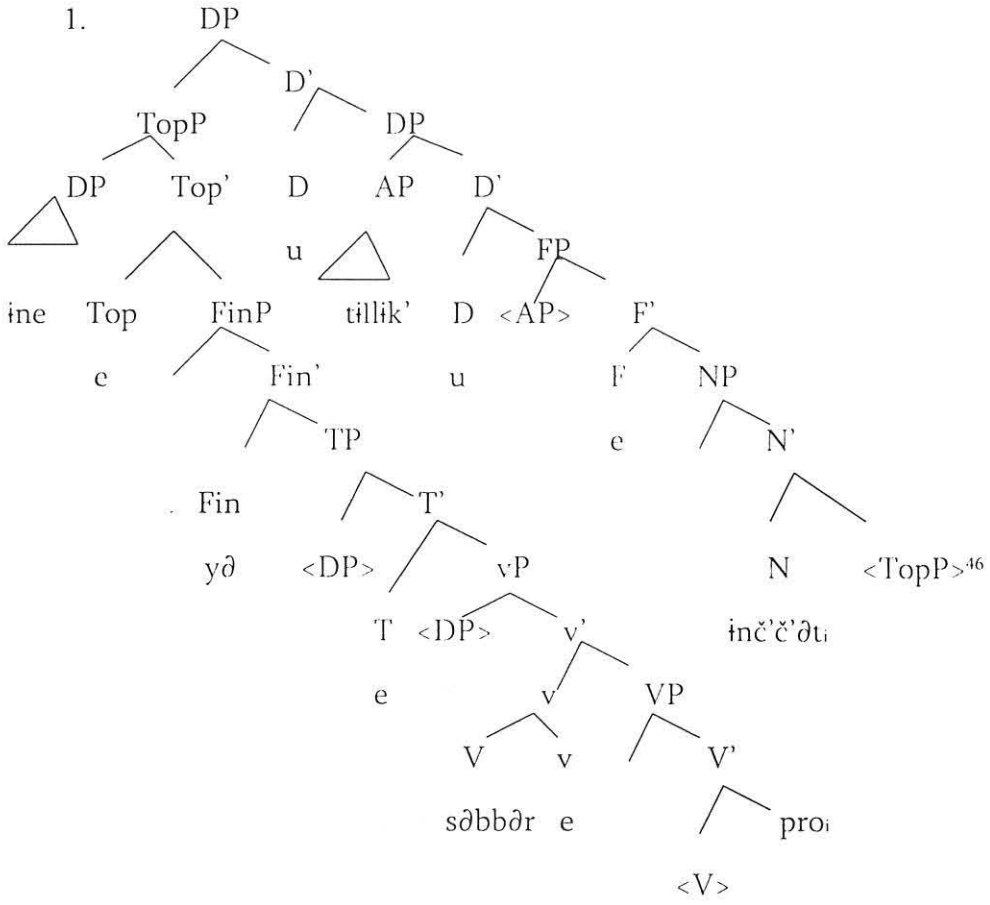
Radford (2006:209-216) discusses about a "split CP hypothesis" in which the former CP is split into four different projections, namely: Force Phrase (ForP), Topic Phrase (TopP), Focus Pharse (FocP), and Finite Phrase (FinP). He further states that complementizers like /yð-/ are force markers that head a ForP projection. This force feature maybe considered as the one that introduces a RC. This is in accordance with Adger's (2003:371) statement that the C head of the RC has an interpretable [Rel] feature, just like wh-questions have [Q] feature.

However, note that in the above construction, the subject precedes the complementizer /yð-/. We don't expect the subject to occupy the spec of ForP, but TopP. Besides, I don't see any reason for the subject to move to the spec of ForP. This is because, as Radford (2006:142-146) explains, the spec of ForP is reserved for relative pronouns (like who and whose) which are moved up to this spec by the edge feature of Force. The word order problem is best analysed if we assume /yð-/ as

[44] See Adger (2003:211-222) for an alternative analysis which puts DOs in the spec of big VP. It gets acc case from little v. Look at also Radford (2004:365) for an argument that it is an independent transitive phrase (TraP) that lisences acc case to DOs.

heading FinP. That means it also marks a clause as finite or infinite. This dual function of complementizers (force and (in) finiteness marker) is also attested in other languages like English. Radford (2006:8) calls *that* a finite declarative complementizer, *if* a finite interrogative complementizer, and *for* an infinitival irrealis complementizer. Citing Rizzi (1997), he later argues (p214) that *for* occupies the head Fin position, whereas *that* heads a ForP projection. This makes it plausible to consider /yə-/ as a finite relative complementizer which heads a FinP projection[45]. We expect the structure to be like in (1).

[45] we have seen in the review of previous works that Mullen (1986) claims that the verb moves to the comp head /yə-/. As Georgala et al. (2008:184) citing Kayne (1994) and Baker (1996) states, head adjunction is to the left. If this analysis is correct, we expect the verb to be positioned in front of yə/, which is contrary to the fact. So, Mullen's (1986) analysis cannot account for the word order problem.



Let us also see the derivation of the following structure with a CO.

2. [[sələmon yə – k'əbb – a - u – u [w] – n - mm] mɨrt' k'ɨb]

S.(m.) comp – paint:pf – 3msS – 3msCO – def – acc - foc nice paint

'The nice paint that Solomon PAINTED'

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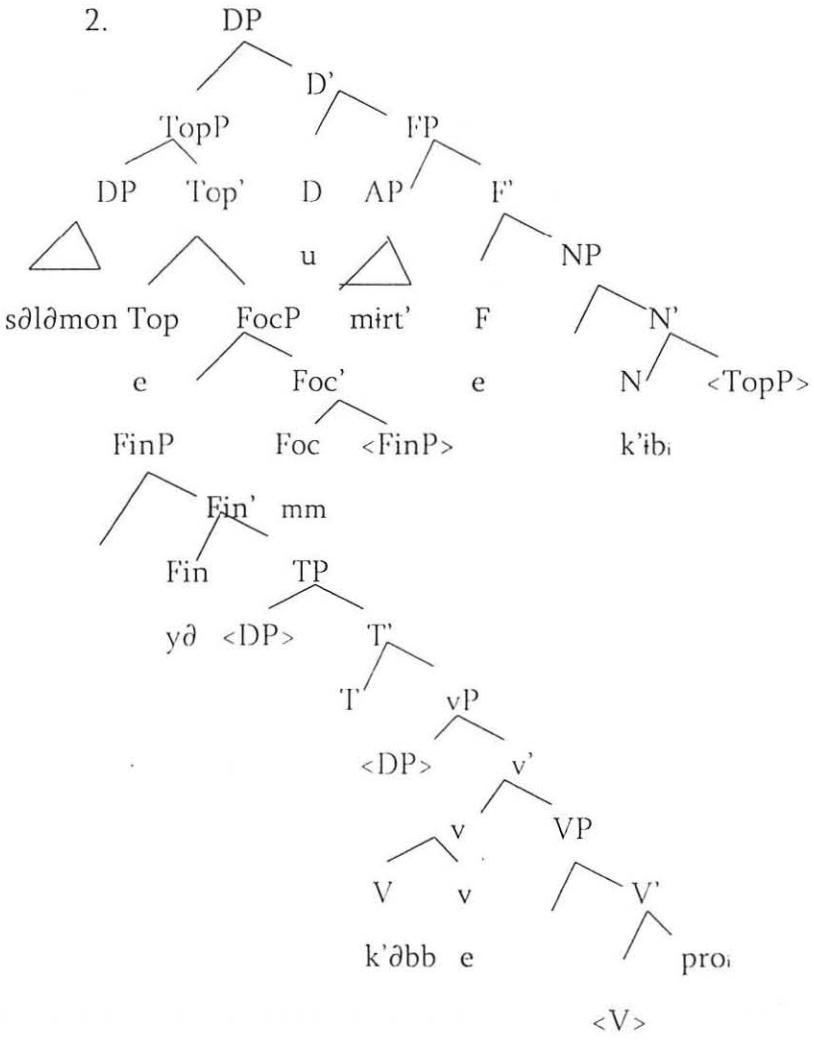
[46]Adger (2003:134) calls <TopP> and <AP>, which are enclosed in angle brackets, "ghosts" of the moved elements TopP and AP. They are usually called traces. Radford (1997:219-220) says that they are empty categories which differ from the moved elements (antecedents) in that they are phonetically null. They possess the same grammatical features as their antecedents, but are governed (bound) by the antecedents. The two elements (links) form a movement chain in which the antecedent is "head" and the trace is "foot".

This structure has a CO pro which is coreferential with the HN. The subject /sɑlɑmon/ moves from spec vP to spec TP and TopP. The verb /k'ɑbb/ 'painted' moves to little v. We find a FM /-mm/. So, we expect a FocP. This FocP is for the verb. However, it is the whole FinP that moves to the spec of FocP. I assume this is because of Pied-Piping. Pied-Piping is "A process by which a moved constituent drags one or more other constituents along with it when it moves" (Radford 2006:299). So, the verb moves to FocP along with /yɑ-/ in order to ensure convergence. Nom and acc case features are uninterpretable (Adger 2003:53). So, the acc case marker /-n/ cannot head a projection; it is just the spell-out at the interface level of PF. The clause has the following structure.

2.



Let us observe the following example that involves an auxiliary verb.

3.[[wənbər ɨyyə - sət'ṭ' -əhu - aččəw yə - nəbbər - u – t – ɨn – ɨkko]
chair prg –give:pf – 1sS – 3hO comp – aux:pst – 3hS –def– acc - foc
abat]
father

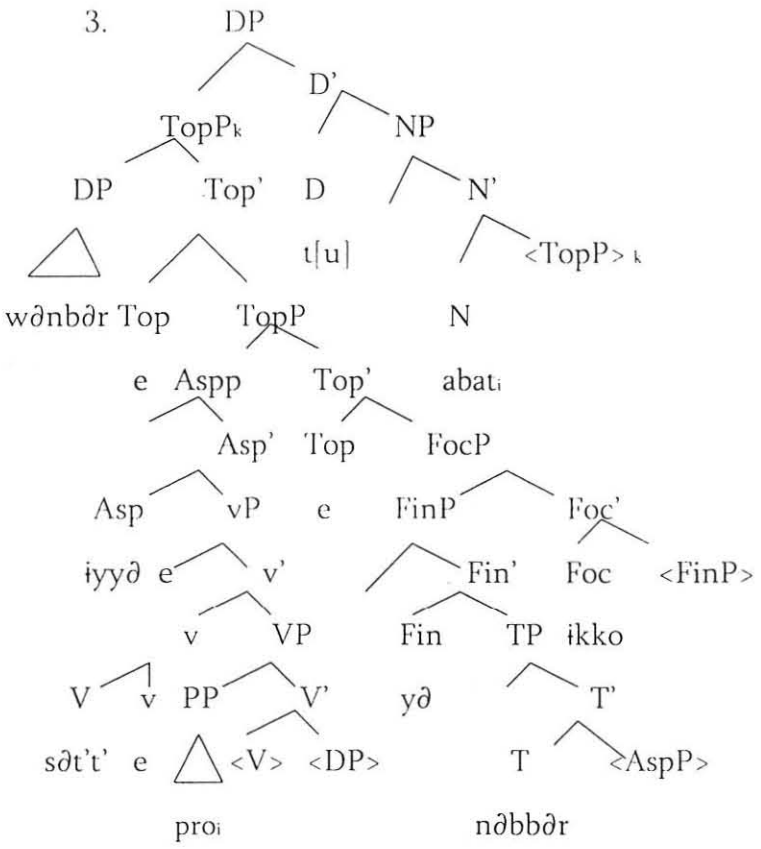
'The father that I WAS giving chair to'

In this construction, there exists one modifier RC. It moves to the spec of DP. The verb is ditransitive that needs a subject /1sS/, a DO /wənbər/ 'chair', and an IO /pro/ which is coreferncial with the HN /abat/ 'father'. Following Adger (2003:174), Radford (2006:217-219), and Cinque and Rizzi (2008:53), I assume /ɨyyə-/ heads an aspect phrase (AspP), just below TP. The past tense auxiliary /nəbbər/, which is under focus, heads TP.

Note that both the DO /wənbər/ 'chair' and the aspect phrase /ɨyyə-sət'ṭ'-əhu– aččəw/ 'I was giving him (honorific)' are positioned above it. What position do they take? Radford (2006:212), Cinque and Rizzi (2008:52), Hartmann and Zimmermann (2005:8), and Collins and Essizewa (2007:200) tell us that there is only one focus phrase projection in natural languages. Thus, the DO and AspP cannot be in the spec of other FocPs, maybe in their respective TopP because multiple TopP is possible. This coincides with Girma A. and Meyer's (2007:25, 35) statement that in Amharic, topic-hood is expressed via fronting (with a topic marker or not) and that there could be more than one TopP in the left periphery of a sentence. So, first the DO moves to the spec of TopP and then the AspP follows[47]. Later on, /yə/ is pied-piped along with T to the spec of FocP. Radford (2006:224-227) states that PPs (which include IOs) are

[47] Girma A. (2005:232) states that a DO in Amharic moves to the spec of little (light) vP. However, I will not follow this analysis because of the following two reasons. First, I take big V, not little v, as the one responsible for the checking of acc case of a DO and so there is no way the DO moves to the spec of vP. Second, it is not clear to me how a DO moves to a position which is basically for an agent subject.

generated in the spec of big VP when there is a DO, but in the complement position when there is no DO or when the verb is intransitive.[48] Consequently, the IO pro is in the spec of big VP because there is DO /wənbər/ 'chair'. The structure looks the following.



Here, I want to question the relative order of TopP and FocP. So far, we have seen that TopP is positioned higher than FocP. However, we may come across with data like the following, where the topics /wənbər/ 'chair' and /iyyə-sət't'-əhu– aččəw/ 'I was giving him (honorific)' are positioned below FocP.

[48] I follow this only for the time being. For an alternative analysis, see the next example which involves the semantic role assigners.

4.[[ɨne- ɨkko wənbər ɨyyə - sət'ɩ' - əhu – aččəw yə - nəbbər - u - t – n] abat]
I – foc chair prg – give:pf – 1sS – 3hO comp – aux:pst – 3hS – def – acc father
'The father that I was giving chair to'

We can say that there is no strict ordering between FocP and TopP in Amharic. Support for such account comes from Cinque and Rizzi (2008:53) who state that "there is no general scope property enforcing a particular order". They provide evidence from languages like Hungarian and Italian which have a topic > focus and a focus > topic ordering, respectively. More importantly, Neeleman et al. (n.d:25) states that topic and focus positions are free in Dutch.

We now see the derivation of RCs which have transitive verbs that have /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ (type B agreement elements) which assign semantic role to IO and oblique objects, beginning with the following data.

5. [[dabbo yə - gəzz - aʃ - ɨll -ət - ɨkko] tɨnnɨʃ – u lɨj]
bread comp -buy:pf – 2fsS – bn -3msO – foc little – def boy
'The little kid that you BOUGHT him bread (for his advantage)'

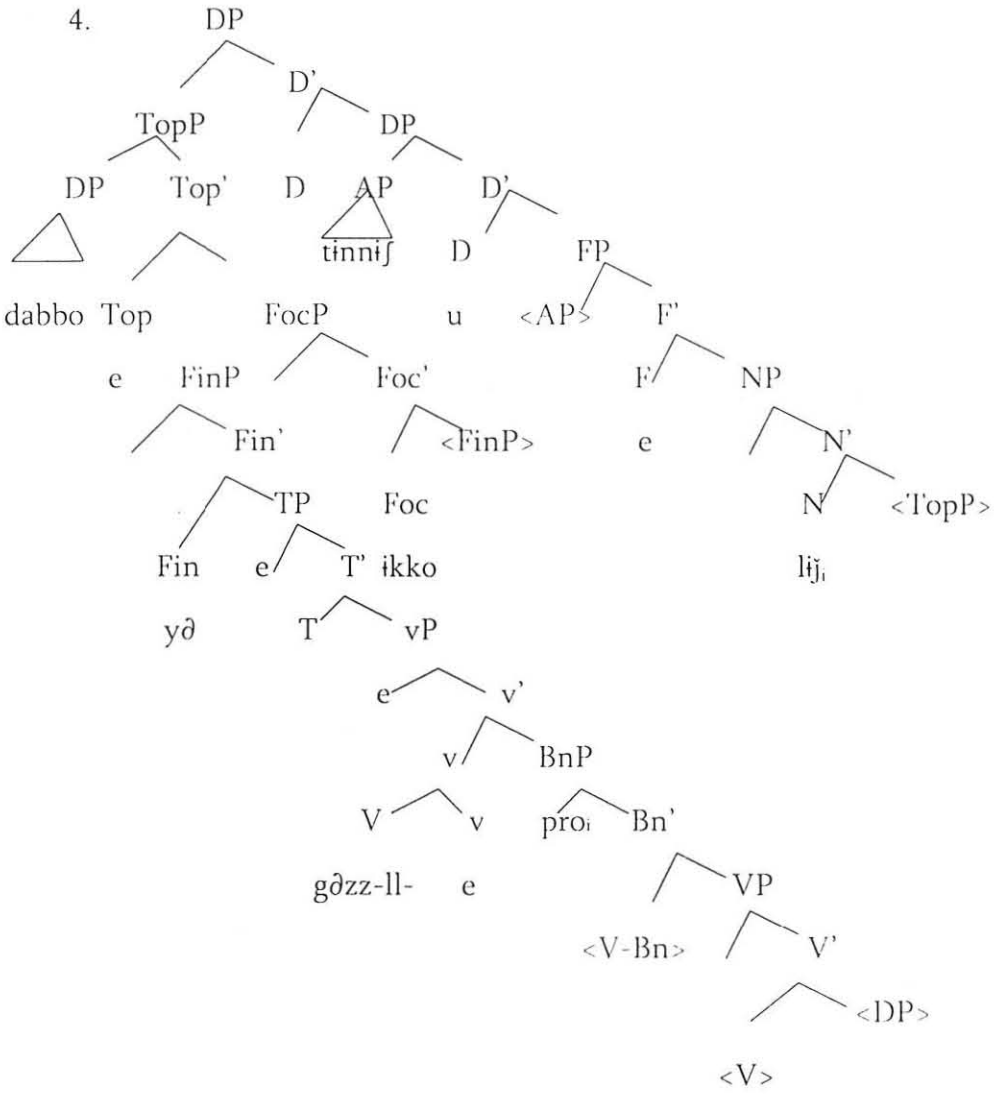
There are two modifiers, RC and AP. The AP moves from spec of FP to the spec of the lower DP. It is clear to see that the RC moves from the complement position of N to a higher level and positioned above the AP, though there is no overt D. I believe the RC moves to the spec of the higher DP. So, D always attracts a RC whether it is overt or covert. This is in contradiction with the statement made by Baye (forthcoming).

Looking at the RC itself, it is headed by the ditransitive verb /gəzz/ 'bought' which is under focus. It requires a subject /2ms/, a DO /dabbo/ 'bread', and an oblique object /pro/ which refers to the benefactive /lɨj/ 'boy'. The subject is in the spec of little vP and the DO is in the complement position of V. /yə-/, /gəzz/ 'bought', and /-ɨkko/ head FinP, VP, and FocP projections, respectively. How is the semantic role assigner

/-ll-/ derived? Damonte (2007:341-356) discusses about "Thematic Functional Projections Hypothesis". In short, the idea is that theta-roles (semantic cases) are represented in syntax. Elements like /-ll-/ are called "Verbal Extensions" (because they extend or change the lexical meaning of the verb). They head the relevant thematic projection such as benefactive phrase (BnP) and instrumental phrase (InstP) above VP. Benefactive or instrumental DPs (or PPs) are base-generated in the spec of the thematic projections. Thus, I assume pro is base generated in the spec of BnP headed by /-ll-/[49]. The object moves to the spec of TopP. The verb adjoins Bn and little v. It picks up the semantic role assigner /-ll-/ on its way up. FocP is just below TopP and FinP moves to its spec as shown below.

[49] As we have seen earlier, Radford (2006:224-227) states that PPs are generated in the spec of big VP when there is a DO, but in the complement position when there is no DO or when the verb is intransitive. This particular analysis is minimal in generating PP in a single position. However, as we will see later on page 98, it does not take rec and other IOs into consideration ,which are arguments of ditransitive verbs.

4.



6. [[mabət'əriya – u[w] –n s'əgur– u – a [wa] –n yə-abət't'ər -əčč -ɨbb-ət]
comb – def –acc hair–def – fem –acc comp–comb:pf–3fsS–inst-3fsO
set]
woman

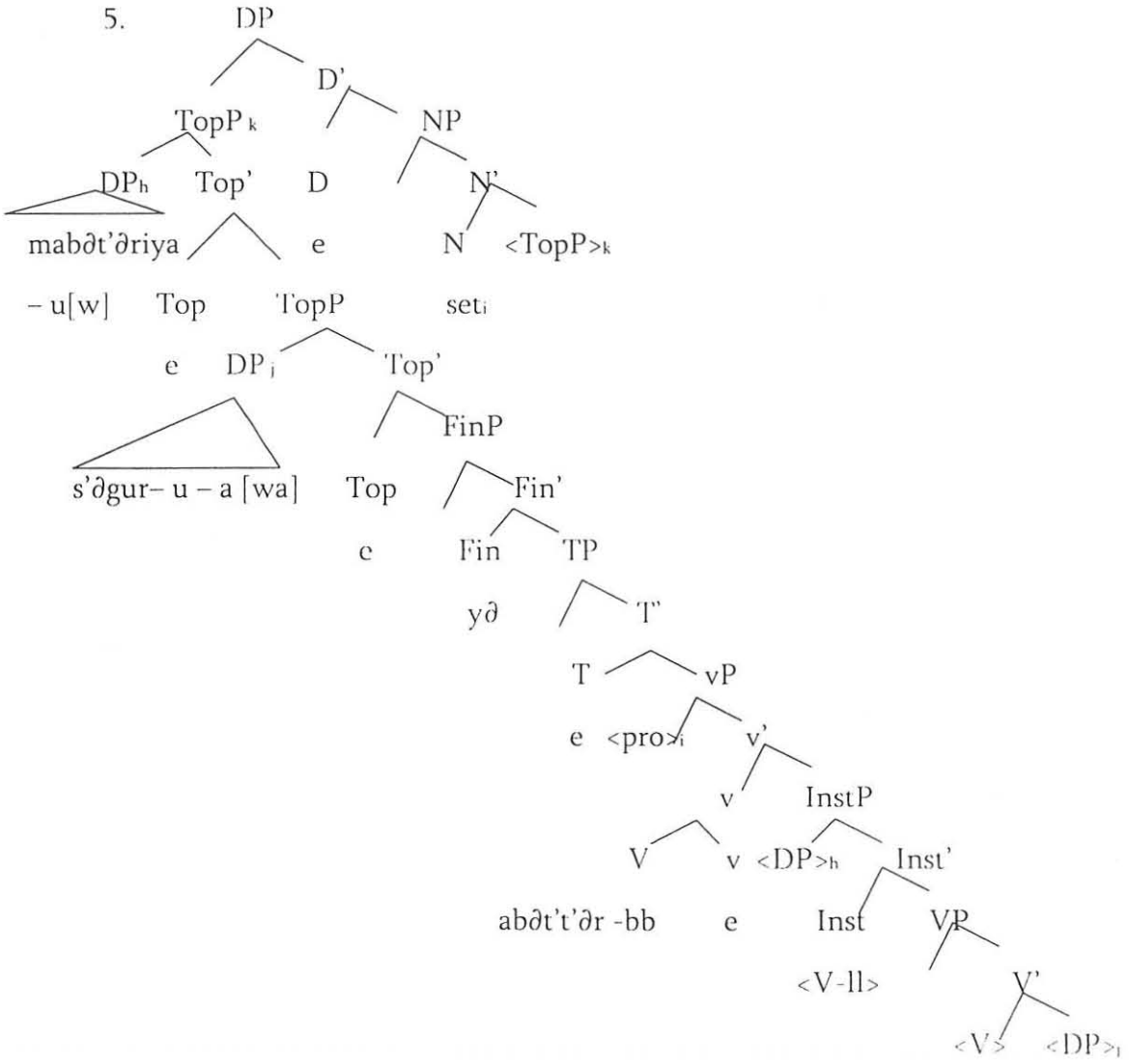
'The woman who combed her hair with the comb'

In this construction, there is no overt DM on the RC, but the RC is in the spec of DP. The RC involves a subject /3fs/ (pro), a DO /s'əgur/ 'hair', and an instrumental oblique object /mabət'əriya–u[w]–n/ 'the comb'. /-bb-/ heads the InstP. The theme argument

is marked by the acc case marker /-n/. The instrumental NP is also inflected for the acc case. As we have discussed earlier, it is the preposition /bə-/ 'by' which assigned this case to the noun and deleted afterwards. I assume that the reason for this is to give the oblique object (the third party in the message world) a more participatory role by rendering an acc case to it, which is usually a case for DOs.

The verb adjoins to Inst and v step by step. The DO gets acc case in situ from the main verb and the instrument NP is in the spec of InstP. pro is in the spec of the little vP, an agent position. The oblique object and DO later move to the spec of their respective TopP as in the following.

5.



There is one point we haven't discussed yet. It is noted earlier that OMs give additional contrastive feature to NPs. Neeleman et al (n.d:25) argues that there is no contrast projection, but contrast co-projects either with focus or topic. Girma (2003, 2006) claims that it is a contrastive focus and movement of a contrastively focused element is covert, i.e. in situ. However, the NP /mabɗt'ɗriya–u/ 'the comb' which is referred to by the OM /-ɗt/ has overtly moved up and positions itself above TP. Where does it move to? It cannot be to the spec of FocP because we still find movement of this element eventhough there is a true focused constituent (recall that there can only be one focus phrase projection per clause in natural languages). This is shown below.

7. tɨnant -ɨkko sɗnayit mabɗt'ɗriya – u[w] –n s'ɗgur– u – a [wa] –n
   yesterday-foc S. (fem) comb – def –acc hair–def – fem –acc
   ɨyyɗ-abɗt't'ɗr -ɗčč –ɨbb -ɗt nɗbbɗr
   prg–comb:pf–3fsS–inst -3fsO aux:pst
   'YESTERDAY, Almaz was combing her hair with the comb'

Data like the above one rather support Hailu's (1971) claim that these agreement elements mark topics of sentences. But they cannot be called "contrastive topic markers". This is because, if a FM is attached to an NP which is referred to by OMs, the NP in question occupies spec of FocP, not TopP. Taking "additional" pragmatic features seems to be a special character of OMs (for example, we have seen earlier that, in Dogrib, OMs further denote definiteness in object NPs).

Let us now look at the derivation of the following structure which involves an auxiliary verb.

8. [| bəlay liǰ – u -n li -yi - mət - a – bb - ət - ikko

B. (mas) child–3msposs-acc pros-3 – hit:impf –1sS–inst -3msO-foc

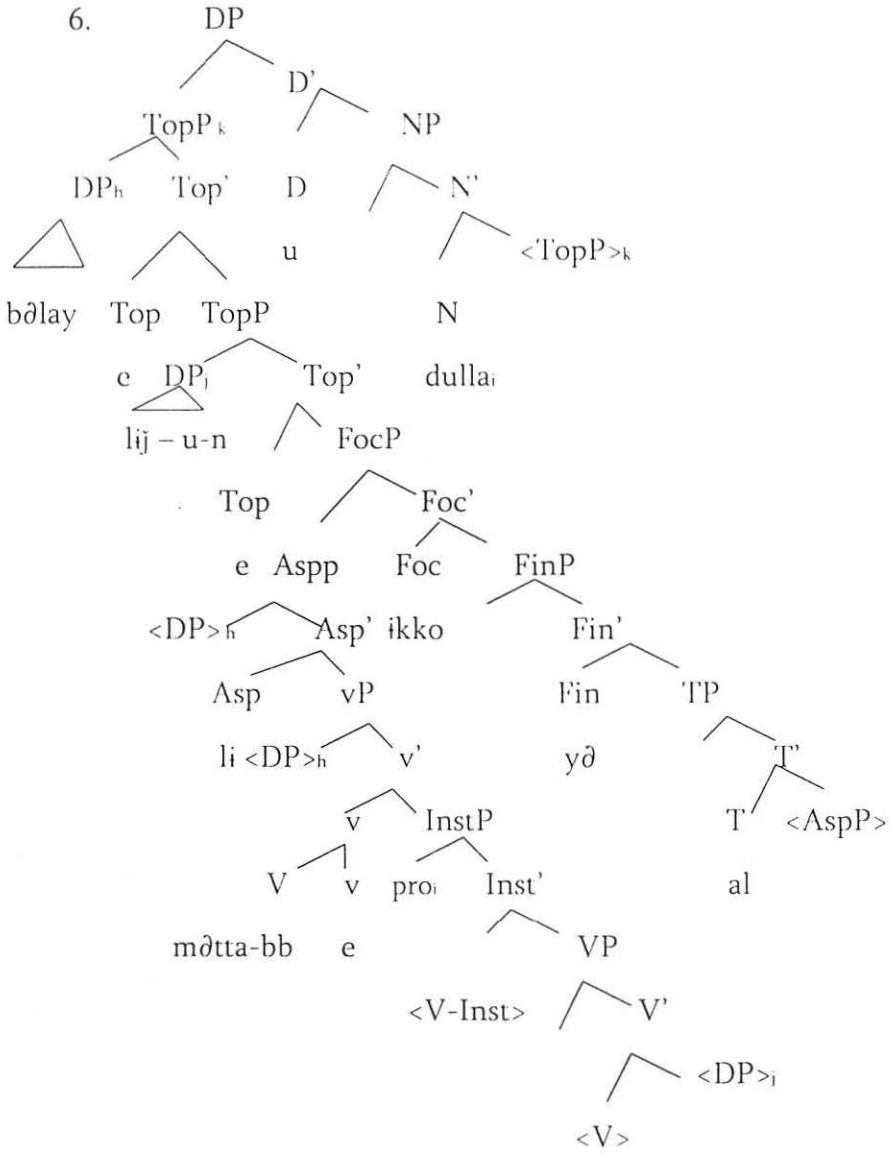
yə - al -ə - u [w] – n] dulla]

comp-aux:prs-3msS-def -acc stick

'The stick with which Belay is ABOUT TO HIT his child'

The RC has two auxiliaries /al/ and /li/ which head a tense and aspect projections, respectively. Girma A. (2005:220-227) convincingly argues that TP is not the only projection that checks nom case. AspP can also perform this function. And "if both temporal projections exist in a clause, it is always the case that uNom case of SU is checked in the lower temporal projection, but not in the higher temporal projection" (ibid). Thus, in the above construction, first the subject /bəlay/ moves to the spec of AspP and then to TopP. This is followed by the object /liǰ–u-n / 'his son' moving to the spec of the lower TopP. pro is in the spec of InstP. The FM /-ikko/ is for the AspP. The verb adjoins to Inst and little v and moves to the spec of FocP along with AspP. The derivation looks like this.

6.



So far, we have attempted to see the derivation of RCs headed by transitive verbs that show non-subject agreement elements in simple as well as in compound-tense constructions. We have mainly applied a "multiple DP hypothesis" which states that there can be multiple projections. CPs originate in the complement position of N and always move to the spec of the higher DP, while APs base-generate in the spec of FP and move to the spec of the lower DP when there is one. DOs are complements of Vs and get acc case from the transitive verb. Subjects get nom case either from TP or AspP, depending on the co-occurence of these projections. PPs base-generate in the

spec of a thematic functional projection like InstP and BnP. This is known as "thematic functional projections hypothesis". There can also be multiple TopP in the left peripheral region and DOs, PPs, or AspP (AspP always comes preceding TP) move to the spec of their respective TopP. Besides, it is shown that there is no strict order in the position of FocP and TopP. The OMs usually denote a contrastive topic NP. The complementizer /yə-/ is assumed to take the head FinP position. Let us now move on to the derivation of RCs that are headed by intransitive verbs.

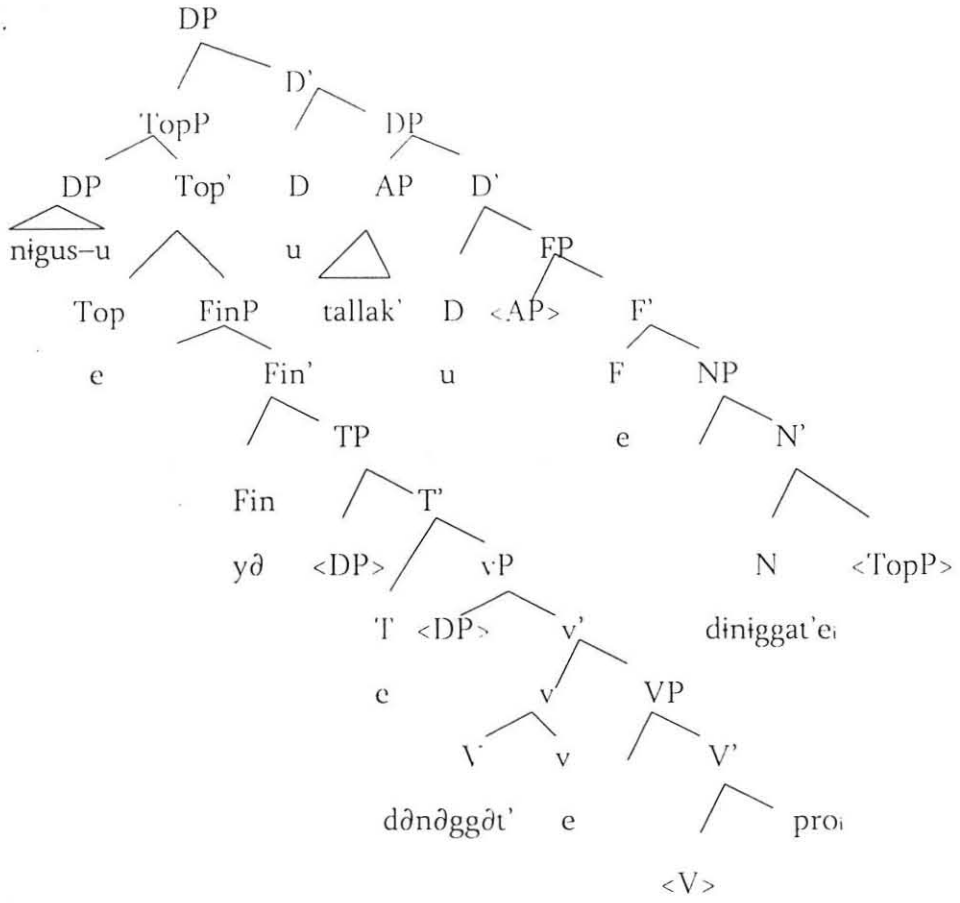
4.2 Derivation of intransitive relative clauses with non-subject agreement elements.

I first deal with the derivation of RCs which have intransitive verbs that show DCOMs, beginning with the following data.

1. [[nigus – u yə - dənəggət' - ə - u -u[w]] tallak'-u diniggat'e]
king - def comp – fright:pf – 3msS – 3msCO -def great -def fright
'The great fear that the king got frightened'

The RC and the AP are marked for definiteness. So, like the previous analysis, I assume the RC moves to the spec of the higher DP and the AP to the lower one. Newson et al. (2006:182) says that intransitive verbs have one argument, but unlike unaccusatives their argument is an agent or experiencer DP in the specifier position of a light verb. We have discussed earlier that unergetives take a CO. COs are internal arguments which get a theme (patient) theta-role from the verb and gramatically function as DOs. Thus, the experiencer subject /nigus–u/ 'the king' takes the spec of little vP, while the DCO pro which is corefererntial with the HN /diniggat'e/ 'fright' is generated in the complement position of V. The subject moves to the spec of TP for nom case and then to TopP. The verb also adjoins little v, resulting in the correct word order.

1.



Let us also see the derivation of the following structure.

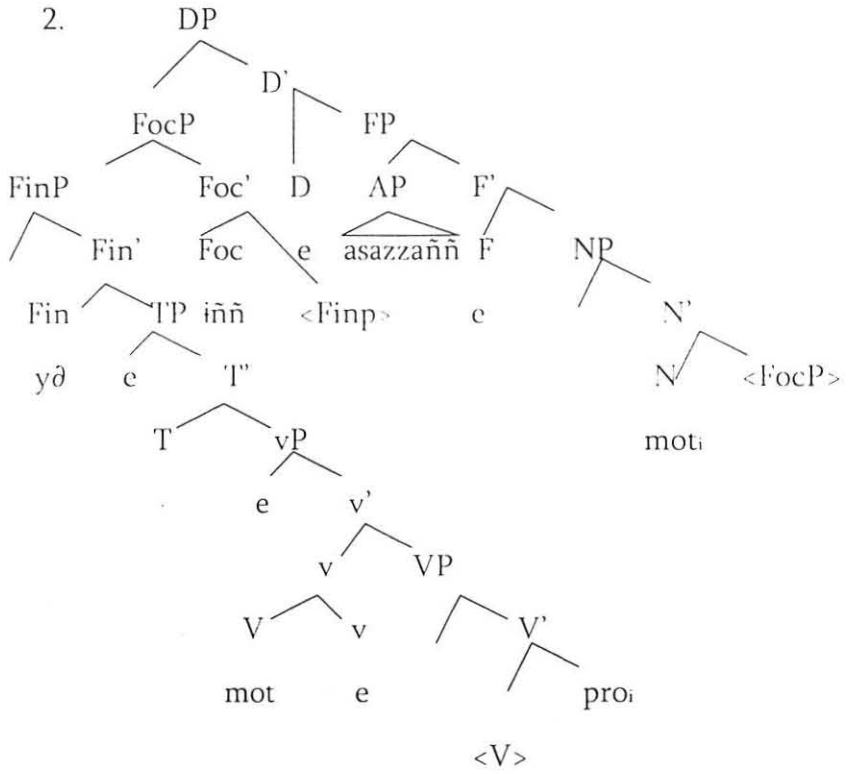
2. [[yə - mot – ku – t - ɨññ] asazzañ̃ñ mot]

comp – die:pf – 1sS – 3msCO – foc disappointing death

'The disappointing death that I DIED'

The RC moves to the spec of the higher DP, but the AP /asazzañ̃ñ/ 'disappointing' stays in situ - in the spec of FP. The verb /mot/ 'die' has no overt agent. We just know from the agreement marker /-ku/ that it is '1sS'. The DCO pro is in the complement position of V. The focused verb adjoins to little v and the comp /yə-/ is pied-piped along with the verb towards the spec of FocP which is headed by /-ɨññ/.

2.



We finally observe the derivation of the following RC that has a compound-tense:

3.[[almaz ti - dənnis - ačč̌əw - ɨkko yə - nəbbər –u –t – ɨn]

A. (fem) 3 – dance:pf - 3plCO – foc comp - aux:pst-3plS-def-acc]

mɨrt' dans - očč̌]

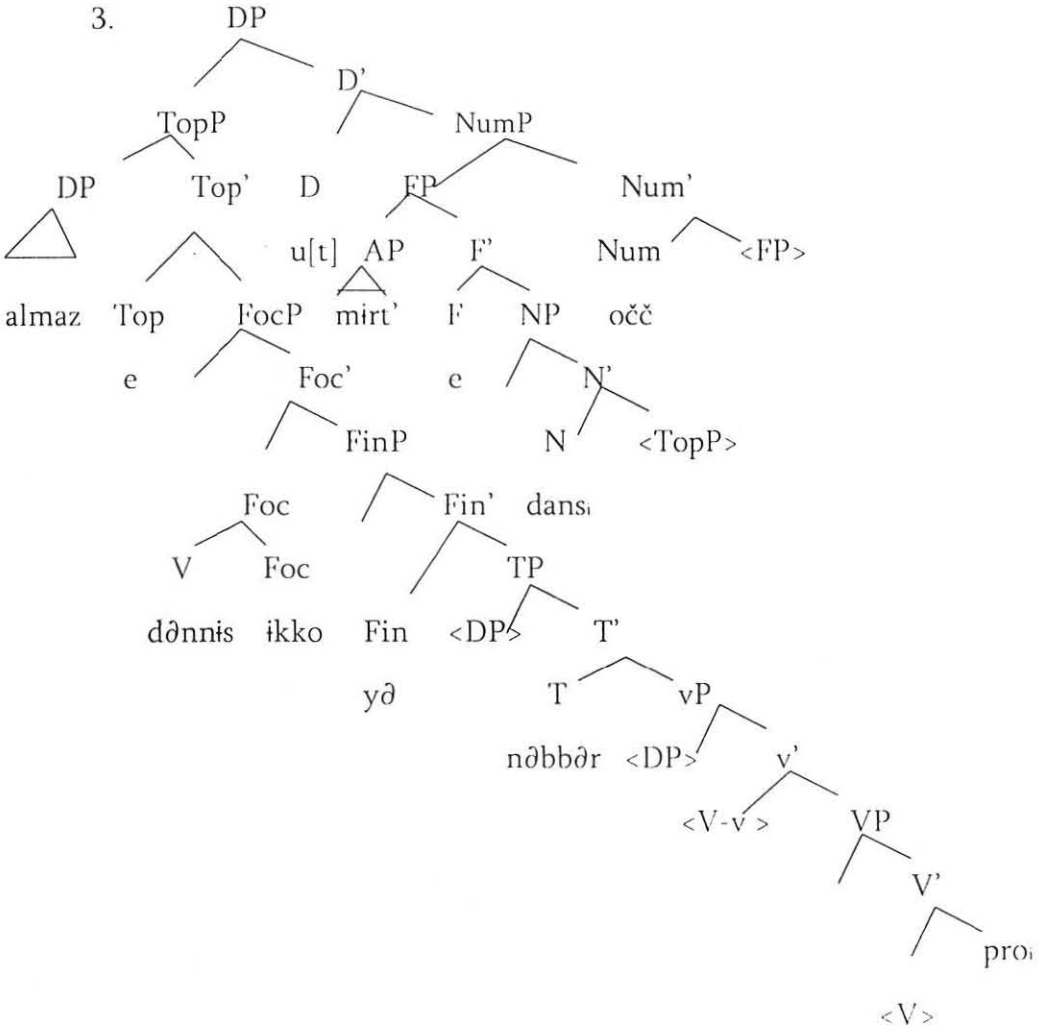
nice dance - pl

'The nice dances that Almaz had DANCED'

The HN /dans/ 'dance' is modified by the RC and the AP /mɨrt'/ 'nice'. The RC moves from the complement position of N to the spec of DP as shown by the encliticization of the DM /-t/ to the auxiliary verb. There is the plural marker /-očč̌/. Radford (2004:371) states that there is a number phrase (NumP) projection positioned between DP and FP. Thus, /-očč̌/ is the head of this projection. And Num has a strong feature (or an edge feature) that triggers movement of the whole FP towards its spec as it is evidenced by the HN positioned before it. The verb needs two arguments an agent

subject /almaz/ and a DCO pro. The subject moves from spec of vP to TP and TopP, whereas pro is in the complement position of V. The focused verb adjoins to little v and then to Foc.

3.

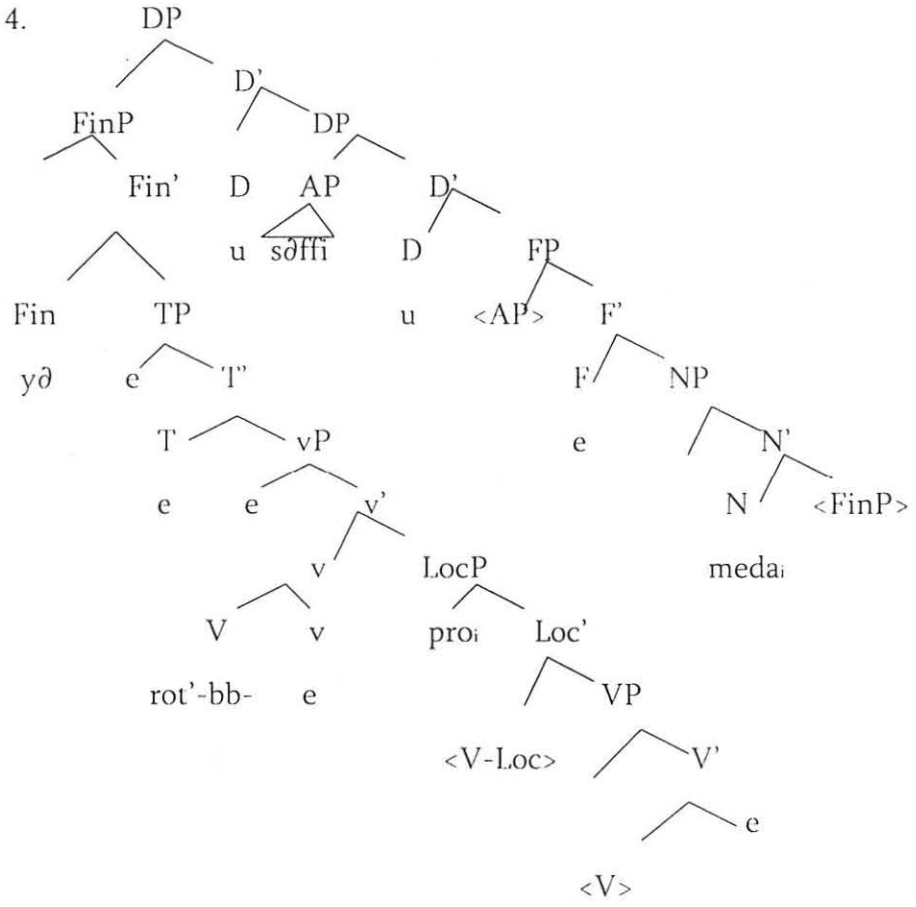


We now move on to the derivation of RCs which have intransitive verbs that show the elements /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ with a following OM.

4. [[yə- rot' – ku – bb -ət – u] səffi - u [w] meda]
comp – ran:pf– 1sS – loc -3msO – def wide - def field
'The wide field that I ran through'

The RC and the AP /sɔffi/ 'wide' show the definiteness feature which confirms that they have moved to the spec of the higher and the lower DP, respectively. The verb requires a '1sS' subject realized as /-ku/, but this is optional. There is not also any argument to fill the complement position of V, a position for DOs or DCOs. pro is coreferential with the locative meda/ 'field'. So, pro is in the spec of LocP which is headed by the Loc /-bb-/. The verb adjoins to Loc and little v step by step as it is illustrated below.

4.



Let us also see the following derivation.

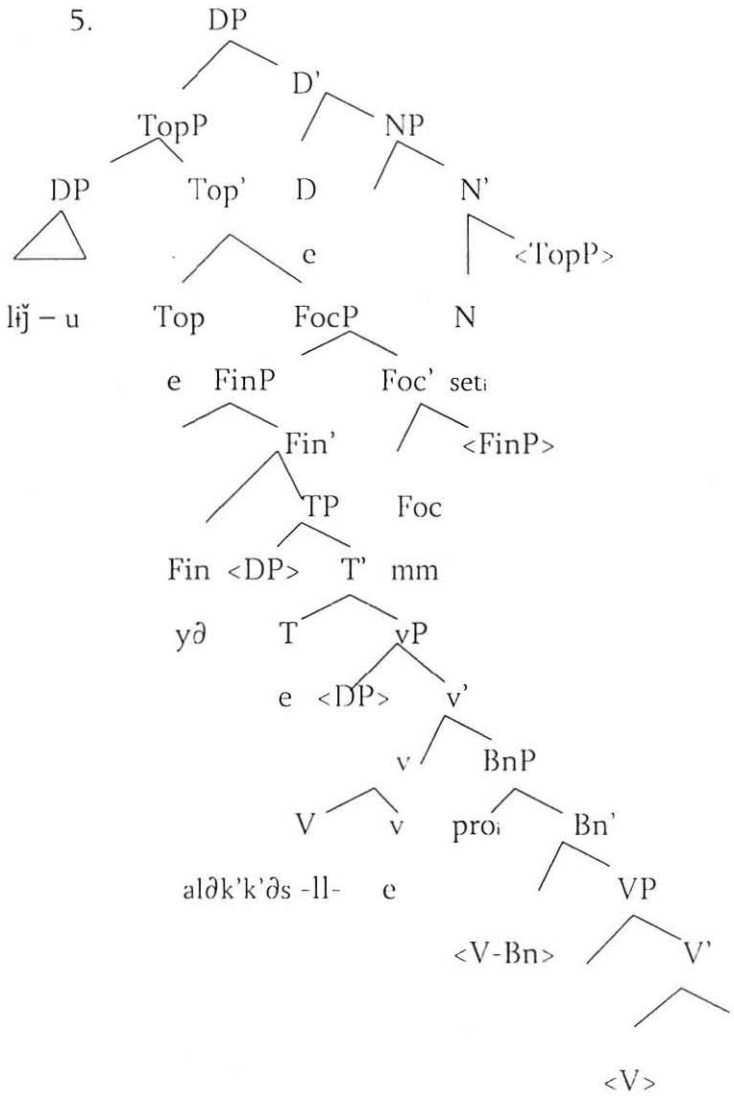
5. [[liǰ – u yɔ - alɔk'k'ɔs - ɔ - ll -at - in - imm] set]

boy – def comp – cry:pf – 3msS – bn -3fsO – acc – foc woman

'The woman for whom the boy CRIED'

The RC which is in the complement position of N moves to the spec of DP. The subject /liǰ–u/ 'the boy' moves first to the spec of TP and then to TopP. The verb adjoins to Bn /-ll-/ and little v. And finaly, /yə-/ is pied-piped along with the verb towards the spec of FocP which is headed by /-mm/. This is shown below.

5.

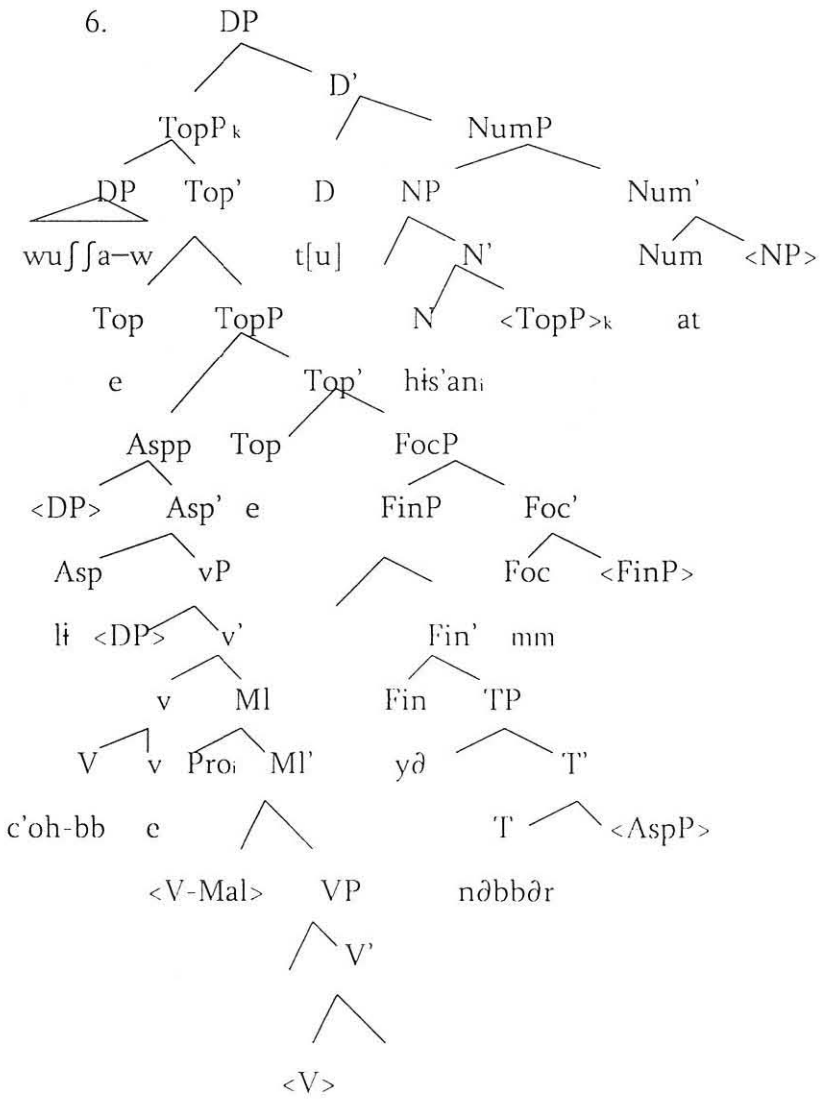


6. [| wuʃʃa – w li - yi – c'oh – ibb - aččəw yə – nəbbər
dog - def pros – 3msS – bark:pf – ml – 3plO comp – aux:pst
– u – t – in – imm] his'an – at]
- 3plS – def – acc – foc child - pl

"The children the dog WAS about to bark at'

This is a compound-tense construction. The RC moves to the spec of DP. There is also a NumP just below DP headed by /-at/. I assume NP moves to the spec of NumP to check its number feature. When we examine the internal structure of the RC, we find that it possesses a TopP. The subject /wuʃʃa–w/ 'the dog' moves from spec vP to AspP and later to TopP. The main verb adjoins to ml and little v. The AspP headed by /ɬi/ 'pros' moves to the spec of a lower TopP. FinP is pied-piped along with the focused tense auxiliary /nəbbəɾ/ 'pst' to the spec of FocP, creating the following complex structure.

6.



We have just seen the derivation of RCs which have intransitive verbs. Especially, we note that the DCO pro is generated in the complement position of V and gets acc case from the verb. Elements like /-bb-/ and /-ll-/ head thematic projections like MlP and BnP and oblique objects generate in the spec of the relevant thematic projection. We have also seen that the head Num has a strong feature that attracts FP or NP to its spec. Let us now move on to the derivation of RCs with passive verbs.

4.3 Derivation of passive relative clauses that show non-subject agreement elements.

Passive RCs may show OMs (DCOM, DOM, IOM) or semantic role assigners with OMs (IOMs or oblique object markers). As usual, we first see the derivation of those that show OMs only, beginning with the following example.

1. [[mɔskot – u - a [wa] yɔ – tɔ – k'ɔbb - ačč - ɨw - u - n[50]]
   window –def - fem comp – pas – paint:pf – 3fsS – 3msCO – def acc
   harif - u - n k'ɨb]
   nice – def - acc paint
   'The nice paint that the window is painted'

The RC involves a passive verb. This is shown by the passive marker /tɔ-/ prefixed to the verb. Adger (2003:229-232) considers a passive marker as an auxiliary (a functional head) that projects its own passive phrase that takes little vP as its complement. In English, this head moves to 'I' and checks its tense. However, having an extra projection won't be minimal, since we have a distinct passive light verb projection. Newson et al. (2006:175) states that a passive light verb "does not assign a

[50] The acc case marker -n belongs to the HN k'ɨb/ paint. It appears on the verb because of "percolation" or "case attraction" (Baye (p.c)).

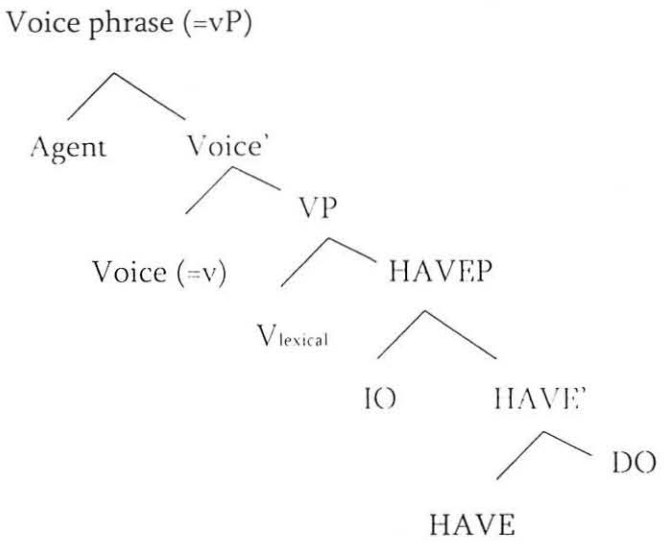
Θ – role to its subject, it will not be able to assign case to the theme ... and hence this argument [the theme] will have to move to subject position".

However, in the above example, the CO pro has a non-nom case, most probably an acc case. This is clearly shown by the 3msCO marker /-ɨw/ on the verb (recall that COs in Amharic are DCOs). The claim that there exists acc case in passives is further supported by the fact that in some languages, like Finnish, the object can (optionally) remain accusative in impersonal passives. More importantly, passive counterparts of English double object constructions provide good evidence (Sim 2006:518, 527-528). Observe the following.

2. (a) Yoda gave us a book
   (b) We were given a book. (American English)
   (c) A book was given us. (British English)

In 2(b), the IO is in the subject position, whereas the DO which has an acc case is in situ. In 2(c), the DO is in the subject position, whereas the IO which has an acc case is in situ. This shows that Subjects of passives may not always base-genarate in the complement position of V as Radford (2006:166, 234) would like to argue. Sim (2006:527) provides the following structure in order to account for the presence of acc case in passives[51].

[51] Here, I only like to show the mechanism Sim (2006) used to account for the presence of acc case in passives, but will not discuss it in detail (e.g. the nature of this HAVEP projection). The reader is advised to go to the original work. See the next example, though, for the derivation of IOs in ditransitive verbs.

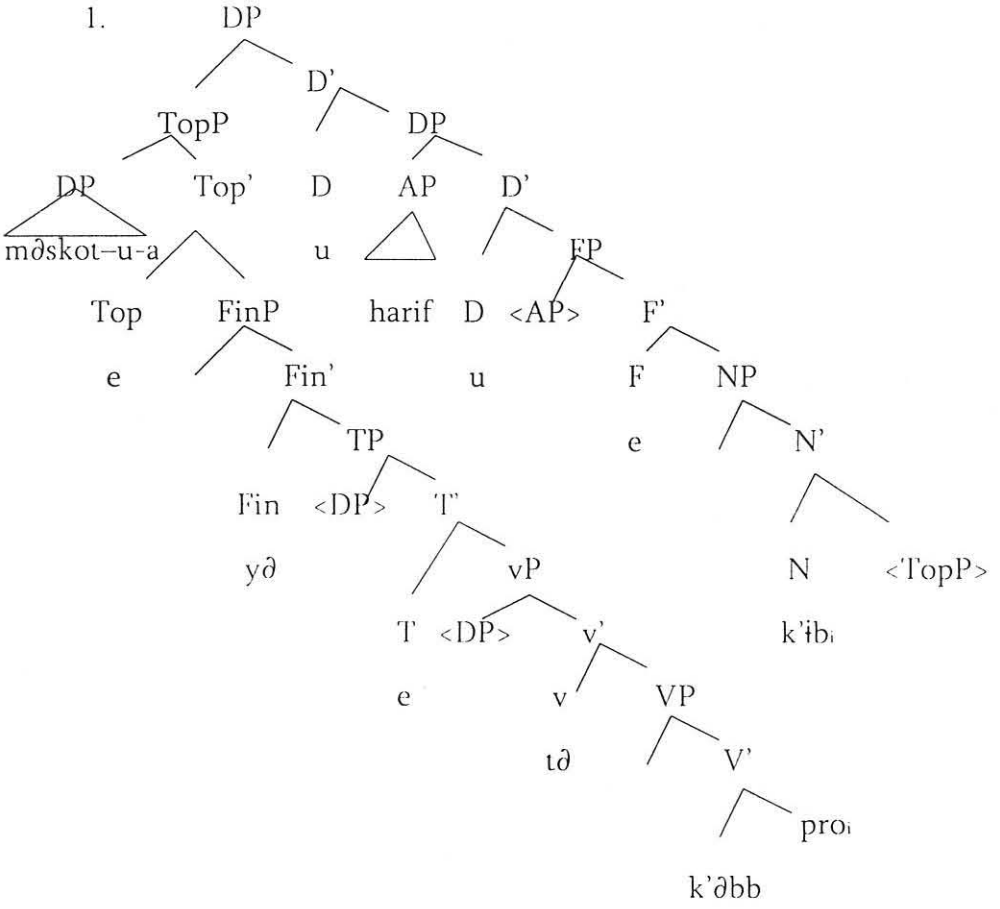


Citing Chomsky (2001:8-9), Sim (2006:521-528) states that if little v is Φ-complete (an active voice head), it selects V which is Φ-complete (a verb that contains the uninterpretable person, number, and gender features of its complement). This V agrees with and assigns acc case to the IO and HAVE assigns acc case to the DO, as in 2(a) above. However, if little v is Φ-incomplete (a non-active voice head, i.e. passive), it only selects a defective or Φ-incomplete V (except in impersonal passives). V cannot assign case and the IO moves up and gets nom case, whereas the DO is assigned acc case insitu by HAVE as in 2(b). And if head movement takes place before case assignment, HAVE moves and adjoins V and the complex head (HAVE+V) assigns acc case to the IO and the DO moves up to satisfy the "case filter" as in 2(c).

However, the above Amharic sentence has a passive verb which is Φ-complete (- ɨw '3msCO'), though it is not an impersonal passive. So, little v must be Φ-complete. This makes it plausible to take the passive verb as the one that assigns case to its internal argument. Thus, sim's (2006) analysis cannot account for the Amharic data either.

It is clear that there is a passive light verb which "handovers" a case feature to V to help it assign acc case to its object, but which does not introduce an agent argument in its spec. It would be good if we assume passive subjects (IOs or DOs) to move to the spec of this light vP, perhaps because of the EPP feature of v. Thus, in the above Amharic data (1), /tə-/ is the head of this passive light v projection. The 3msCO pro is in the complement position of V. And the passive subject, i.e. the normal DO /məskot–u-a[wa] 'the window' moves up to the spec of vP, TP (to satisfy the EPP feature of T), and later to TopP [52].

The passive marker /tə-/ has also another feature, i.e. it does not trigger a passive verb to move up and take a position infront of it. The derivation looks like the following.



[52] I believe that both the DO /məskot–u-a[wa] 'the window' and the DCO pro are base-generated below VP, but will only show the DCO pro as taking the complement position of V. Pham (n.d:228) states that such kind of constructions involve complicated operations and leaves it for further research. I will not go into the syntactic status of these two DPs either.

Acc case is an instance of structural case (Girma A. 2005:208). And as Woolford (n.d:7-8) states, arguments may change their structural case in case of A-movement (passive, rasing). This is what is observed above where the DO changes its acc case to nom case (note that it lacks the acc case marker /-n/).

Let us also see the derivation of the following passive structure with focus.

3. [[ɨñña yə – tə – sət'ť – ən - aččəu –u [w] -ɨn - ɨmm] məs'haf – očč]

we comp – pas – give:pf – 3plS – 3plO –def –acc - foc book – pl

'The books that we are GIVEN'

The HN /məs'haf/ 'book' is plural and so I assume NP moves to the spec of NumP which is headed by Num /-očč/. The RC moves from the complement position of N to the spec of DP. The RC it self has a passive verb. The DO pro is in the complement position of V. The passivized DP /ɨñña/ 'we' is the recipient argument of the verb /sət'ť/ 'gave'. Where does it get this interpretation if there is no semantic role assigner? The fact is best explained if we follow Getatchew (1971) in assuming a null /-ll-/ or /-bb-/ element. As discussed in literature review part, Getatchew (1971:104) states that /-bb-at/ in the following structure is reduced to /-at/.

4. leba – u[w] almaz - in gənzəb sərrək' - ə - at

thief – def A. (fem) - acc money steal:pf – 3msS – 3fsO

'The thief stole money (from) Almaz'

So, this predicts that there is a covert semantic role assigner that comes preceding all type A (or AgrO) IOMs in transitive and passive verbs. The recipient role assigner in 3 above is /-ll-/ as shown in the following structure.

5. [| mɔ̈s'haf – u yɔ̈ - tɔ̈ – mɔ̈llɔ̈s - ɔ̈ - ll - ačč̈ɔ̈w] profesɔ̈r]

book - def comp – pas – return:pf – 3msS – rec – 3hO professor

'The professor that the book is returned to'

Note that /ɨññа/ 'we' is an IO. It is participant in the event denoted by the verb /sɔ̈t'/ 'gave'. That means the covert semantic role assigner is not adding an argument here. This issue is not discussed by Pylkkänen (2000)[53] and Damonte (2007). Georgala et al. (2008) divides elements like /-ll- and /-bb-/ (applicatives) into two as thematic and expletive. The former introduces an additional benefactive, malfactive, locative, or instrumental argument, whereas the latter introduce no additional argument, but assign recipient or other roles to the IO[54]. These two heads are positioned above VP. Arguments like the benefactive are base generated in the spec of the relevant thematic projection. IOs are base generated in the spec of VP where they get the primary goal role and later move up to the spec of the expletive projection by the EPP feature of the expletive head[55]. Thus, /ɨññа/ 'we' is generated in the spec of VP and moves to the spec of RecP. It later moves to the spec of vP (to satisfy the EPP feature of the passive little v), TP, and TopP. The derivation looks like this[56].

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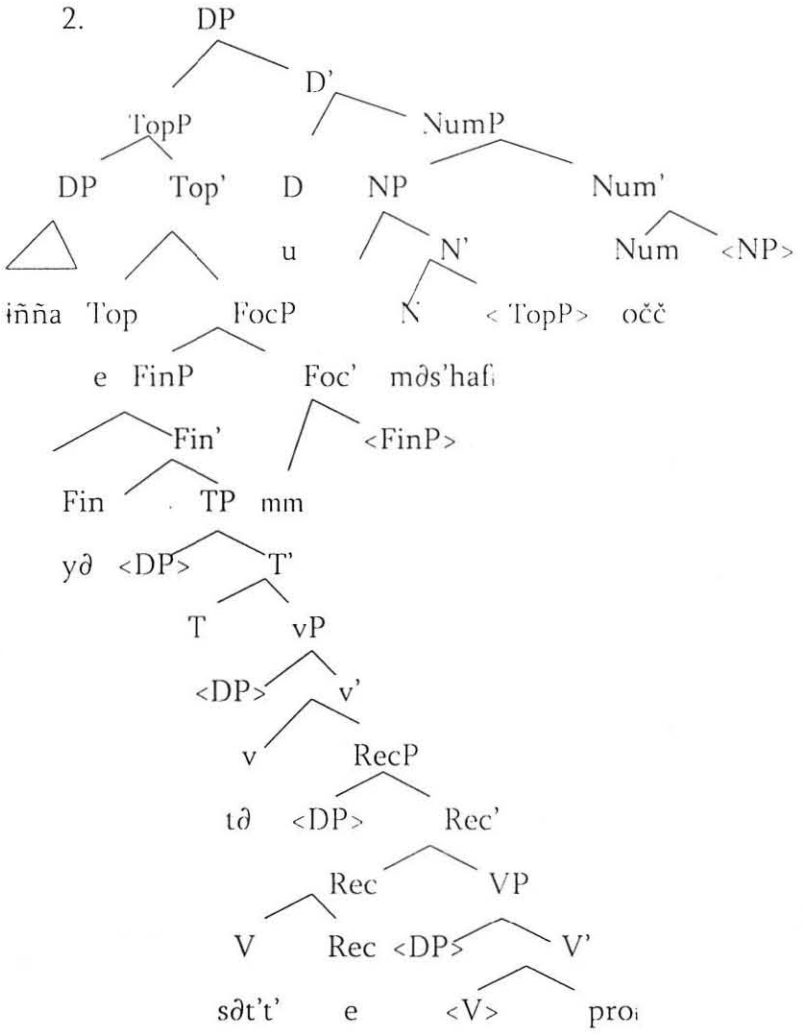
[53] Pylkkänen (2000) states that applicative affixes (or "verbal extensions" in Damonte (2007) terminology) add an argument to the verb. She divides applicatives into two: high and low. High applicatives relate an event and an individual, whereas low applicatives relate two individuals. High applicatives take a position above VP. Low applicatives are below VP. I will not pursue on this.

[54] Georgala et al. (2008:188) further considers the expletive head as the one that licenses the DO. However, in the analysis we follow so far, it is big V that licenses the DO.

[55] Georgala et al. (2008:188) makes distinction between primary and secondary roles. Under primary roles, goal and theme are included, whereas secondary roles include roles like recipient (e.g. recipient goal) and experiencer.

[56] To account data like 2(a) above, I assume there to be a null preposition that gives acc case to the IO.

2.



Let us further see the following structure.

3.[[t'iru yə - č'inət məkina iyyə - tə – sət't' - əčč – aččəw - ikko

good gen – freight car prog - pas –give:pf – 3fsS – 3plO - foc

yə - al – u – t] səw – očč]

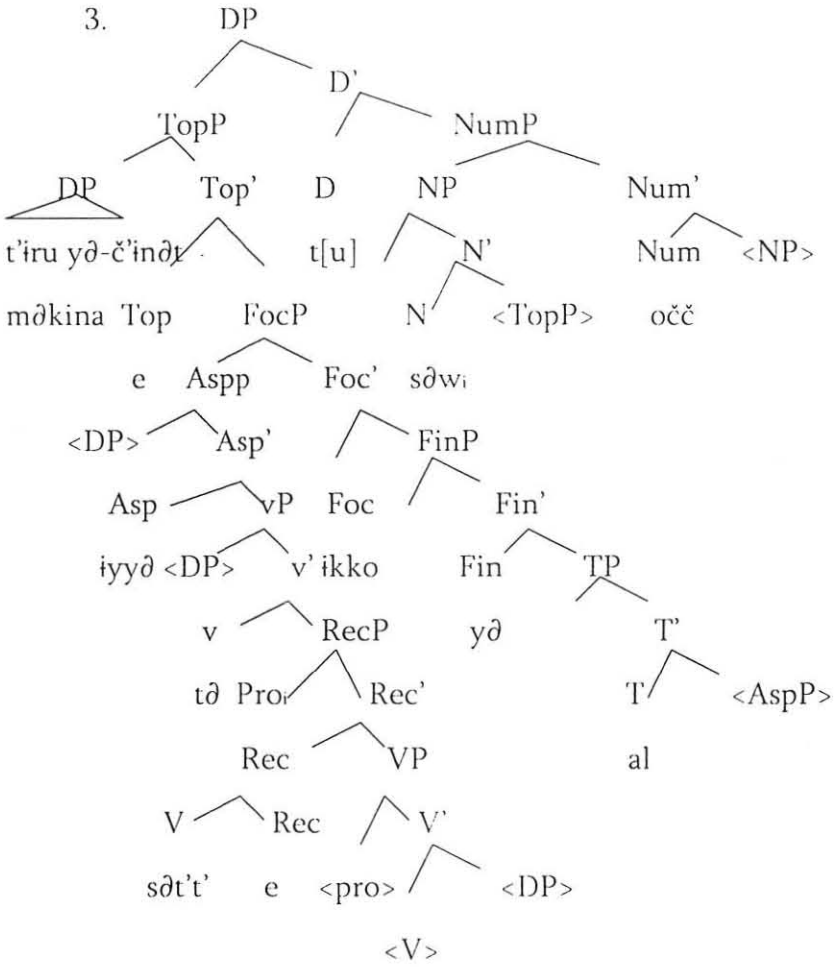
comp – aux: prs – 3plS – def man – pl

"The people, a good freight car is BEING GIVEN to'

The RC moves to the spec of DP and the NP to the spec of NumP. /t'iru yə-č'inət məkina/ 'a good freight car' is a subject which moves from the complement position of V to the spec of vP, AspP and later to TopP. The IO pro, which is the recipient, is

in the spec of a RecP. The verb /sət't'/ 'give' adjoins the null Rec affix. The whole AspP which is headed by /ɨyyə/ moves up to the spec of FocP. The structure looks like this.

3.



With this, we move on to see the derivation of RCs which have passive verbs that show the semantic role assigners /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ with OMs, Beginning with the following simple-tense construction.

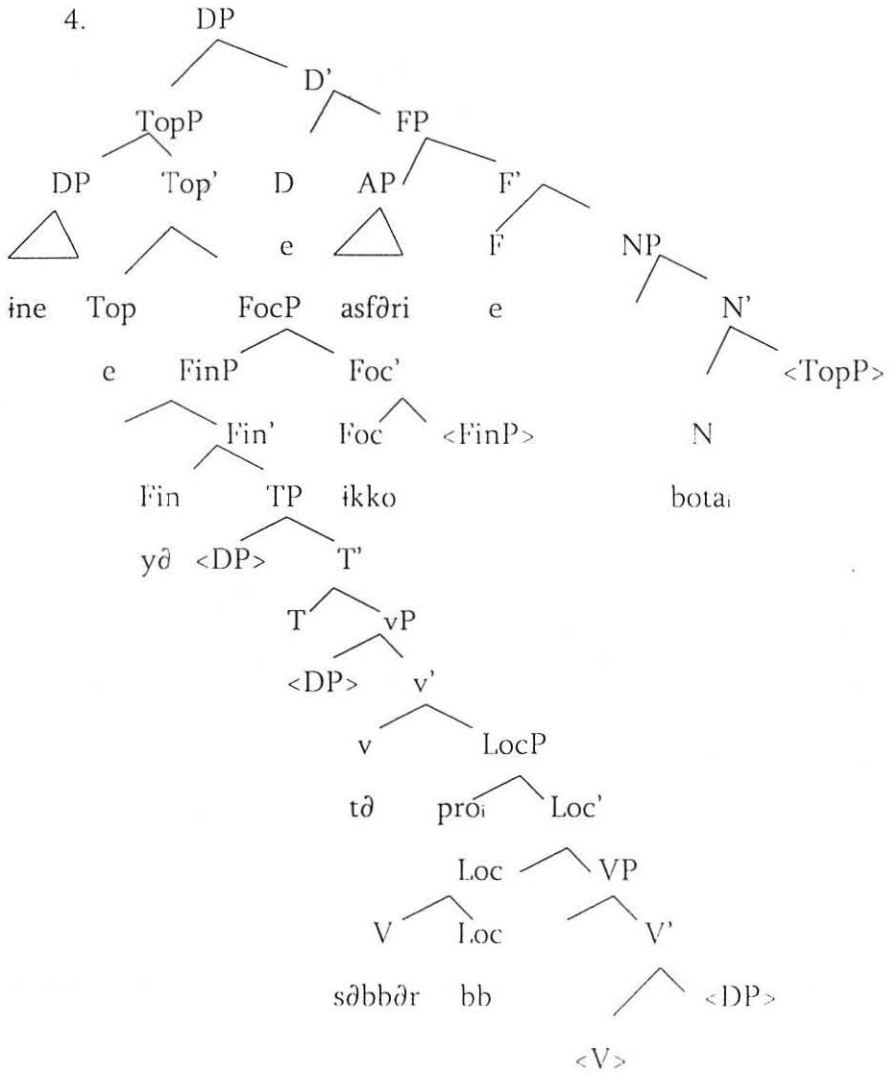
4. [[ɨne yə – tə – səbbər – ku - bb -ət – ɨn - ɨkko] asfəri bota]

I comp – pas –break:pf – 1sS – loc -3msO – acc – foc terrifying place

'The terrifying place that I got BROKEN'

The HN is modified by the RC and the AP /asfəri/ 'terrifying'. The RC moves to the spec of DP, while the AP stays in situ in the spec of FP. The passivized subject /ine/ 'I' moves from the complement position of V to spec vP, TP, and TopP. The locative pro is in the spec of LocP headed by /-bb-/. The verb adjoins /-bb-/ and the FinP is pied-piped along with the verb towards the spec of FocP as it is shown below.

4.



5.[[sahin – u bə – almaz lə – inat – u –a[wa] yə - tə – sət'ı' - ə

dish – def by – A. (fem) to – mother – 3sposs - fem comp–pas –give:pf - 3msS

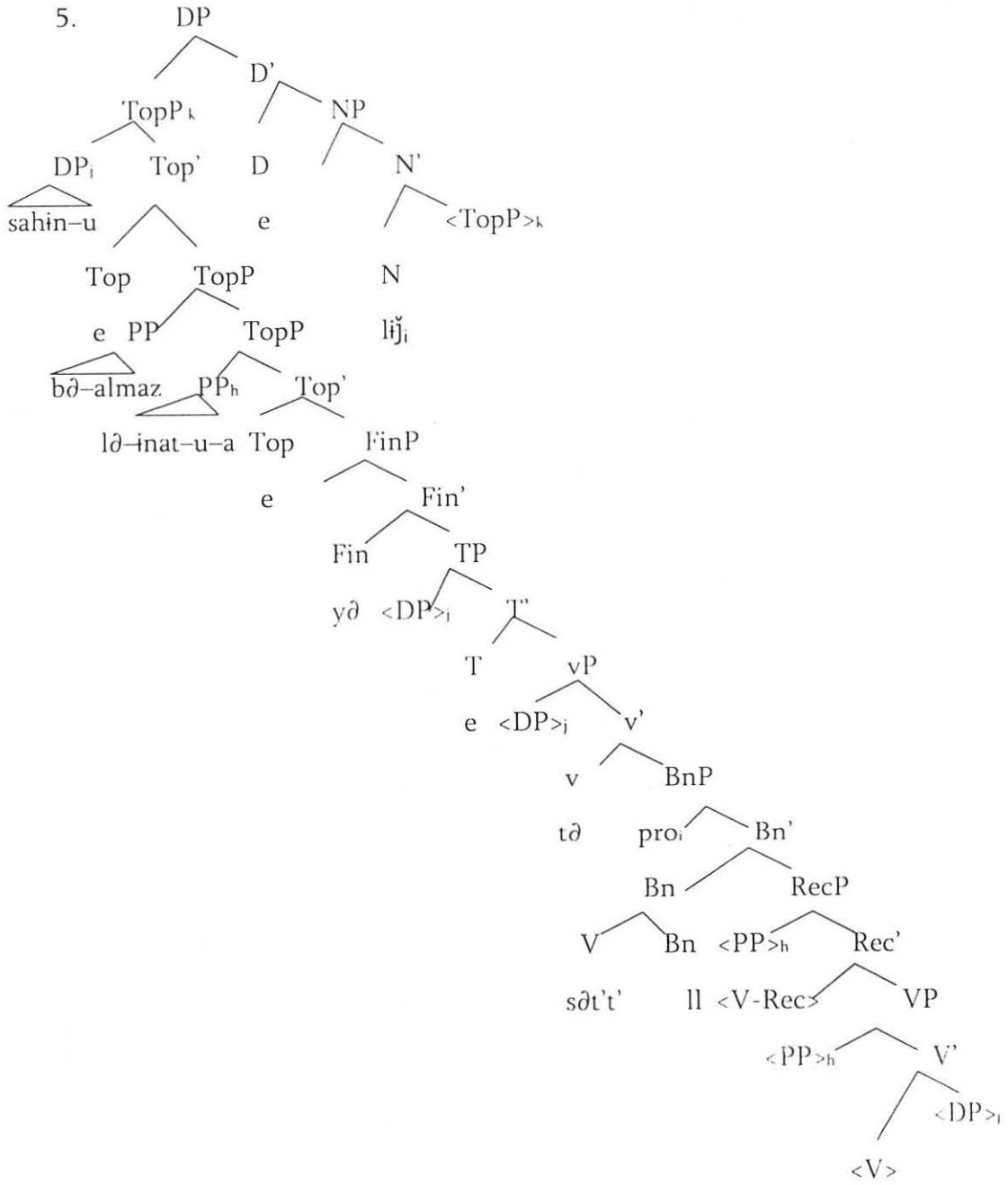
-ll - at] lij]

bn -3fsO girl

'The girl, to whose mother Almaz gave the dish'

The RC moves from the complement position of N to the spec of DP. The complexity of the structure becomes clear when we examine its internal structure. /sahin–u/ 'the dish' is a passivized subject that starts its life in complement position of V and later moves to the spec of vP and TP and resides in spec of TopP. There are also two DPs /almaz/ and /inat-u-a 'her mother' that appear as a complement to the prepositions /bə-/ 'by' and /lə-/ 'to'. /inat–u–a/ 'her mother' is a recipient and pro is a benefactive. So, it means we have two theta-role projections: RecP and BnP. How are these ordered in the syntax?

We may not get a straight forward answer from the above data because Amharic shows only one verbal extension (applicative) attached to the verb. However, a possible explanation comes from languages like Pular (Damonte 2007:350-351). In pular, the head of the BnP takes the last position in relation to other verbal extensions. Cinque and Rizzi (2008:46) say that the relative order of morphemes that appear to the right of acertain lexical category is usually the mirror image of the syntax: the right most element in the verb is the one that takes the top hierarchical level in the syntax. The lexical category is positioned in front of the verbal extensions because of movement operations. So, BnP is higher in the hierarchy in Pular. Cinque and Rizzi (2008:45) further state that "if some language provides evidence for the existence of a particular functional head (and projection), then that head (and projection) must be present in every other language, whether the language offers overt evidence for it or not". Thus, I assume the BnP is higher in Amharic too. /lə–inat–u–a[wa]/ 'to her mother' moves from spec VP to RecP and later to spec of a lower TopP. There is also a by-phrase /bə – almaz/ 'by Almaz'. Sim (2006:516), citing Chomsky (1981), and Woolford (n.d:8) state that the doer of the action (the external argument of a verb) in passive structure is an adjunct. Thus, I assume /bə – almaz/ 'by Almaz' is an adjunct inserted between the two TopPs. We can draw the tree like this.



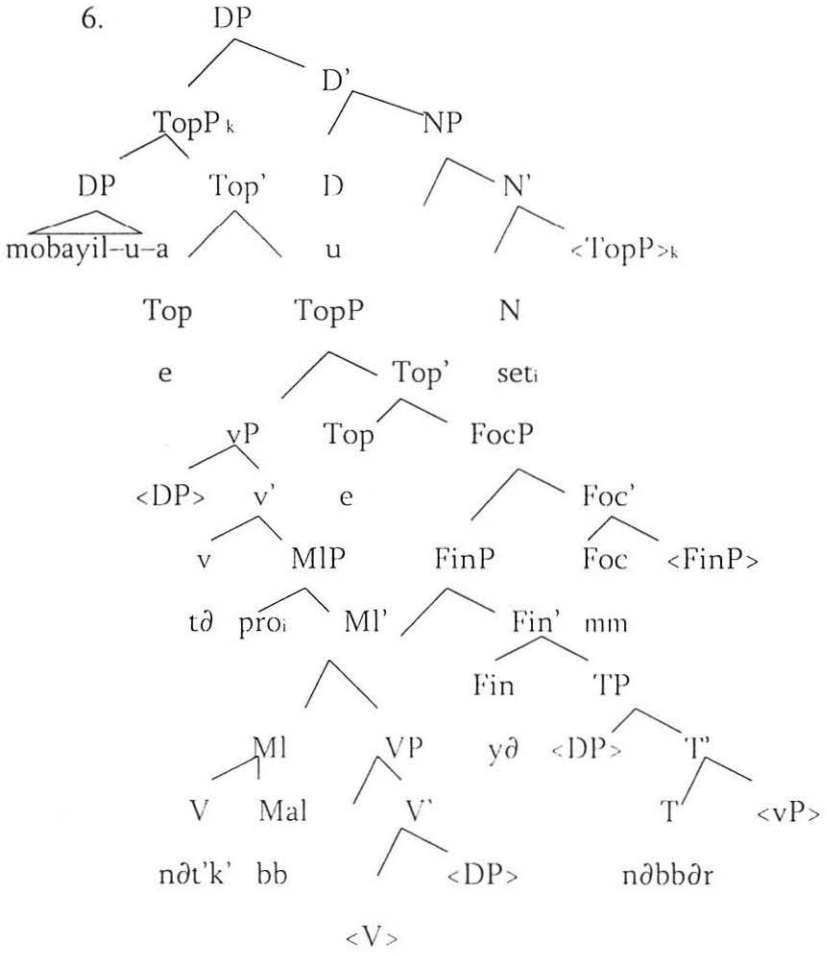
We finally see what the derivation of the following RC that involves a compound-tense construction looks like.

6. [[mobayil – u –a[wa] tə – nəṭ'k' – o - bb - at yə – nəbbər-əčč -iw –n- imm]
mobile – 3sposs-fem pas –snatch:pf–3msS–ml-3fsO comp–aux:pst–3fsS–def–acc-foc
set]
woman

'The woman whose mobile HAD been snatched'

The passivized subject of the above structure which is referred to by /-o/ '3msS' is /mobayil–u–a/ 'her mobile'. It moves out of the complement position of V to spec vP, TP and TopP. pro has a malfactive semantic role and originates in the spec of MlP. FinP is pied-piped along with the focused T /nəbbər/ 'past' towards the spec of FocP headed by Foc /-mm/. Note that vP is positioned above FinP. It must be in the spec of a lower TopP. The structure looks like this.

6.



So far, we have seen the derivation of RCs which have passive verbs that show OMs and the semantic role assigners /-ll-/ and /-bb-/. Semantic role assigners (applicatives) are divided into two: expletive and thematic. The former is for IOs, whereas the latter introduce new arguments IOs originate in spec VP and move to the spec of this expletive projection. Oblique objects are base generated in the spec of the thematic projections. IOMs in type A agreement elements are believed to possess a null semantic role assigner. Passive verbs are believed to project a distinct vP. Little v lets the passive verb assign acc case to DCOs or DOs, but does not trigger the verb to adjoin it. And passivized subjects always move to the spec of vP. This vP may go up to the spec of TopP or FocP. By-phrases (which are the thematic agents) are adjuncts. We have also seen that there could be more than one theta-role projection. With this, we move on to the last chapter that summarizes the main points raised in the previous chapters.

Chapter five

Summary

The basic motive for conducting this research was the occurence of non-subject agreement elements in intransitive and passive verbs, which were supposed to appear only in transitive verbs. The nature and function of these elements in the above three verb types was one objective of the study. I chose to study this in structures of RCs where their reference is easier to see. The second objective is to show the derivation of such clauses.

Works of some scholars and other theoretical literatures related to the study have been reviewed. They suggest that the non-subject agreement elements could be either object, definite, or focus markers. Data have been mainly introspective. Some data taken from existing literatures and from native informants have also been used. The data have been described in light of the MP and the following findings have been recorded.

The non-subject agreement elements which were termed as AgrO (or Type A agreement elements) are OMs. They mark pro or NPs that are DOs and DCOs, but only DCOs in intransitive verbs. The assumption that COs are DCOs is supported by the fact that they can be subject of passive clauses, and more importantly, they cannot be complements of prepositions. Agrpp (or Type B agreement element) is composed of the invariable semantic role assigners /-ll-/ or /-bb-/ plus OMs. /-ll-/ renders benefactive and recipient, where as /-bb-/ licenses other semantic roles like malfactive, instrumental, locative, source, and manner. These elements sometimes become covert. The OMs following these elements mark IOs (except in intransitives) or oblique objects. It is these OMs that change their form for agreement.

OMs are not definite or focus markers. This is supported by the fact that they appear preceding DMs and FMs. However, they mark only definite (formally or semantically) NPs (or pro). Besides, they also refer to contrastive topics. In compound-tense construction, /-ll-/ or /-bb-/ and OMs appear on the main verb, while DMs attach to the tense auxiliary. FMs can optionally appear on the main or auxiliary verb, depending on the focused element.

Regarding the derivation of RCs, it is known that they originate in the complement position of N. Adjectives are in the spec of FP. There are multiple DPs and the RC moves to the spec of a higher DP (whether D is overt or null), while AP takes the spec of a lower DP. Num has a strong feature which attracts NP or FP towards its spec.

DOs or DCOs are base generated in the complement position of V and get assigned acc case by the verb. This is also true for intransitive and passive verbs. However, in structures where they both appear, it is not clear how they are derived. /-ll-/ and /-bb-/ head a semantic role projection like BnP, ManP, LocP, etc. They are divided into thematic and expletive semantic role assigners (applicatives). Thematic heads introduce new DPs (or PPs) in their spec, whereas expletives license semantic roles to IOs and have EPP feature that triggers movement of IOs from spec VP to the spec of the relevant expletive projection. These semantic role assigners always trigger the verb to adjoin them. In passive verbs, there is a special little vP headed by /tə-/. This little v does not introduce an agent; the agent is an adjunct. Besides, it does not trigger verb movement. It has a strong EPP feature and triggers movement of passivized subjects to its spec. Note also that there could be more than one semantic role projection. There could also be more than one TopP in the left periphery, but only one FocP. There is no strict rule in their ordering. DOs, PPs, AspP, and vPs move to the spec of these projections. Finally, the comp /yə-/ is assumed to head a FinP projection.

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Declaration

This thesis is my original work and all source of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our proposal as university advisors.

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