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Verb Complements in Dawro - A descriptive Approach

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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

- abl: Ablative case
- acc: Accusative case
- caus: Causative
- COMP: Complementizer
- cop: Copula
- dat: Dative case
- def: Definiteness
- f: Feminine
- fut: Future
- impf: Imperfective
- inf: Infinitive
- int: Interrogative
- m: Masculine
- nom: Nominative
- NPS: Noun phrases
- neg: Negation
- pas: Passive
- pl: Plural
- prep: Preposition
- s: Singular
- SOV: Subject-object-verb word order
- 1: First person
- 2: Second person
- 3: Third person
- // :Phonemic symbol
- :Becomes
- []: Phonetic symbol
- *: Ungrammatical sentences

Abstract

The general objective of this study is to examine Dawro verb complements. To achieve the intended objective, various literatures have been referred. Data have been collected from informants and existing literatures. Consequently, all the of the data were collected from the informants during field trip. The method used for data collection was elicitation. Then the data have been phonetically transcribed and finally described.

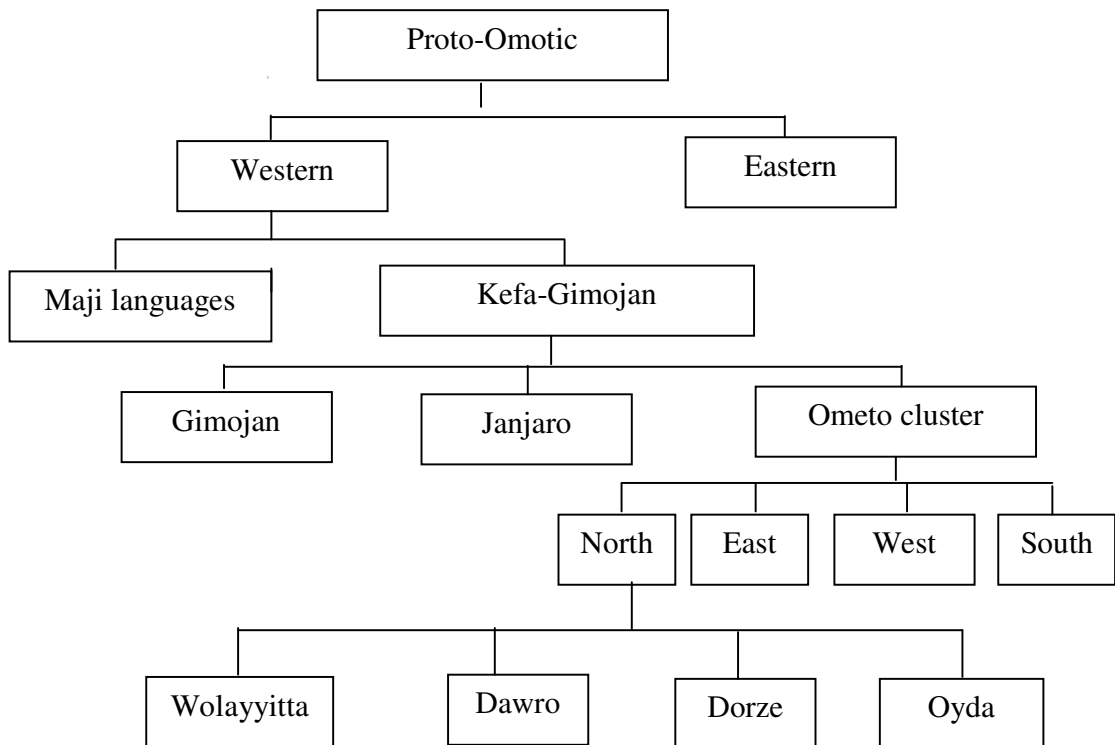
The finding of the study shows that in Dawro verbs can be classified into two: those, which take phrasal complements and those, which selects clausal complements. The verbs that select phrasal complements are classified into three groups according to the number and type of complement they select. They are classified as type one, type two and type three verbs.

Regarding clausal complements, issues related to complementizers, higher predicates, syntactic variation and tense distinction in complement clauses are discussed. Five comlementizers are identified based on the syntactic function and semantics of complement clauses. Furthermore, higher predicates which take finite, non-finite, both finite and non-finite clausal complements were also discussed. In addition, passive higher predicates and copulas that take clausal complement were investigated. In discussing syntactic variations, the order of constituents of the complement clause within the clause itself and in relation to the constituent order in the matrix clause was explored. The positions of complement clauses in relation to the matrix clause were also assessed. In addition, subject marked and unmarked complement clauses were identified.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Dawro and Its Genetic Classification

Most scholars argue that satisfactory works on Omotic languages did not begin until 1980's. As a result, Omotic languages have received little attention by researchers. Hayward (1990:3) claims that Omotic language family separated from Cushitic and gained its distinct name before twenty years ago based on the study of lexical comparison. The classification of these languages is not widely acceptable since Omotic speakers were very little known for many years and reside on an area dominated by Cushitic speakers (Fleming 1976:305). Hence, the genetic classification of Omotic languages is subjected to ongoing debate for many years. The main family of Omoto cluster consists of various languages, which are spoken in South Western part of Ethiopia. Dawro (can also be written by scholars as Dawuro, Dauro, Dawaro) is one of the languages that belongs to the Omotic subfamily, which is the new subdivision of Afro-Asiatic phylum. Consider the following family tree model adapted from Fleming (1975:47).



As can be seen from the above classification, genetically Dawro is classified under the northern branch of Omoto cluster. Regarding the relation of Dawro to other Omotic languages, Azeb (1994:1121) states that Dawro has very close linguistic relationship with other Omoto languages such as Basketo, Male, and Korete. She also describes that most of the classification of Omotic languages was based on lexical comparison. On the other hand, Fleming (1976:48) emphasizes that since they are mutually intelligible, Omoto languages shall be considered as Wolayyitta type. Furthermore, Lewis (2009) in Ethnologue describes that there is 76% lexical similarity between Dawro and Gofa languages. Similarly, Hirut (2007:74) writes that there is more than 80% lexical similarity among the languages Wolayyitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro. From this, we can infer that Dawro has very close linguistic ties and genetic relationship with other Omoto languages such as Wolayyitta, Gamo and Gofa.

The language is spoken in Dawro Zone in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The area is bordered by Wolayyitta and Kembata to the East, Kefa to the West, Gamo and Gofa to the South, Jimma to the North West, Debub Omo and Borena to the South (Behailu and Data 2003:194).

Another concern about the language is its dialects. The language has three dialects: Gene, Waka and Jimma (Allan 1976:324). Hirut (2007:72) on the other hand, suggests two regional dialects of Dawro: meša and Gok'a. This leads for further sociolinguistic investigation on the dialects. However, as my fieldwork and personal communication shows, there is negligible difference (lexical difference) of the language in five woredas of Dawro zone. However, the people do know that there is dialectal difference among the lowland and highland area dwellers. The people who reside around Omo valley are lowlanders while others are highlanders. As the speakers believe, the lowlanders are under the influence of Wolayyitta and use some Wolayyitta lexical items mixing with Dawro. On the other hand, the highlanders are believed to speak wholesome Dawro-according to the speakers.

There is no such significant difference between the dialects. The data for the present study collected from Mareka woreda, which is the highlanders' variety. The language has no written script until 1991. But after 1991, Dawro has developed into written form in connection with the country's major political and language development change (Hirut, 2007:72). Thus, previously the language was not used as a medium of instruction in schools. Nevertheless, later it has been used as a medium of instruction in primary schools by using Latin orthography. In the first cycle of primary schools, all subjects except Amharic and English are taught in Dawro. In the second cycle of primary school, the language has been taught as a subject.

Since there is no any dictionary in the language, it is difficult to continue further grade level education—according to the idea of the head of zone education bureau. The head of zone education bureau also told me that there is a plan to change the contents of the language's text books. Since the language did not extend to higher education, language teachers are not professionals in the language. They are simply assigned to teach the language by taking short-term trainings, which makes the task so challenging. Now the zone education bureau is on the way to prepare dictionary in order to continue teaching the language to the next grade levels. The language is also the working language of the Dawro Zone occasionally together with Amharic.

The people call their language 'Dawrotsua'. Previously the language was used to be called by the derogatory name 'Kullo' but later Dawro becomes the official name of the language and the people (Behailu and Data, 2003:202).

1.2 Dawro People

Until 1984, 'Kullo', which is believed to be originated from the name of a certain place called 'kuilii', was the name of Dawros' and their language (Hirut, 2007:72). However, later by their own preference, 'Dawro' is the name of the language and at the same time the name of the people. Terefe eta'1 (1995) cited in Data (1997:12) writes that Dawro means an impregnable, powerful and heroic people. Behailu and Data (2003:94) also writes about the people as follows. "During the 19thc, Dawro was a centralized kingdom

until it was reduced to a tributary status by the armies of Menilek in 1891 when it was incorporated into the Ethiopia State". As far as my personal communication is concerned, a few speakers of Dawro are found to be bilingual in speaking Amharic, Wolayitta or Oromo in addition to Dawro.

Almost all of the speakers of Dawro are natives of Dawro and relatively small number of non-Dawro people speak the language as their first language. There are also few Dawros who do not speak the language as their mother tongue. These people speak either Oromo or Wolayyitta as their first language. According to Central Statistics Authority (2008), the number of Dawro speakers is estimated to be 543, 148. Currently, the people live in Mareka, Loma, Gena, Isera, and Tocha woredas of Dawro zone and one city administration, Tercha, which is their capital. The capital is 512km from Addis Ababa.

Most speakers are agriculturalists who grow crops and raise livestock. A few of them are traders. They have linguistic and cultural ties with Wolayyitta, Gamo and Gofa. In religion, as Behailu and Data (2003:210) write, Dawro are followers of Orthodox and Protestant but there are Dawros who practice traditional religion until now.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Dawro is one of the least studied languages in the Omotic family. There are only a few linguistic works done on the language. The available materials on the syntax of the language are very scanty if not nil. There is no work done hitherto on the verb complements. The present study, therefore, aims at filling this gap. Thus, it focuses on description of type of verbs in relation to the type of complement they select.

1.4 Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to provide description of Dawro verb complements. The study particularly focuses on the following points.

1. Identify phrasal complement taking verbs
2. Identify clausal complement taking verb
3. Identify complementizers in the language and stating their syntactic and semantic status.
4. Show syntactic variation and tense distinction in complement clauses

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

This study focuses on the description of verb complements of Dawro. Hence, it discusses phrasal and clausal verb complements. In the case of clauses, it touches only simple embedded complement clauses but not multiple embeddings. Based on this, verbs are classified according to the type of complements they take. It does not include theoretical issues, as the study is exclusively descriptive. Moreover, the study does not go beyond verb complements.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study will have the following significances.

1. It helps to offer general information about verb complement in Dawro.
2. It helps to broaden the present linguistic knowledge in Dawro in particular and Omotic languages in general.
3. It provides paramount significance for the preparation of teaching material in the language.
4. The findings of the present study may be used as a springboard for further studies in the language.

1.7 Methodology

The data were collected from primary sources. Since the researcher is not the native speaker of the language, data collection was based on elicitation from the informants from two longer fieldworks to Dawro zone. The data were collected from Mereka woredas. The source language used during elicitation was Amharic. Therefore, different structures and questions were pre arranged in Amharic. The informants elicited for the equivalent form in the target language. All the collected data were recorded in electronic media to check accuracy of the phonetic transcription and the tone of the language. Then, the data are transcribed phonetically in the analysis. All the informants are bilingual speaking Amharic and some of them speak English as well.

1.8 Review of Previous Works on the Language

Indeed, there is no much work done on the language that has direct relation to the present study. Nevertheless, a few studies with different degree of emphasis have been found on Dawro, which includes books, articles, MA theses and Senior Essays. The studies may be divided into three based on the focus area: phonology, morphology and syntax.

Allan (1976) writes an article entitled 'Kullo' that appeared in the book "Language in Ethiopia" (Bender ed.). In the article, he has dealt with the phonology, morphology and syntax of Dawro with limited amount of data. He claimed that the study focuses on Jimma dialect of the language but the data he took is extended to all dialects of the language.

In the phonology part, he identifies vowel and consonant phonemes. In addition, he roughly assesses vowel length, diphthong, gemination and syllable structure.

In the morphology part, Allan (1976) deal with noun modifiers, possessives, numerals, plurals, noun derivation, verb inflection and pronouns in a narrow sense. In the syntax part, he has describes phrase and clause (sentences with copula, commands, comparatives, embedded clauses, verb complements and relative clauses) structures. His work on the verb complement is very narrow in that he did not use more than ten

sentences of the language. However, it is the only work on the language, which is directly related to the present study. He assesses complement clauses and identifies three complementizers, [-naw]; when the subject of the embedded clause is the same as the subject of the matrix clause, [-ewa]; when the subject of the embedded clause is different from the subject of the matrix clause, [-wa]; in free variation with [-ewa] when embedded clause function as the subject of the sentence.

Alemayehu (1981) in his unpublished MA thesis 'Omotic and Cushitic Verb Markers: A Possible Isogloss' and Zaborsky (1984) in his article 'Remarks on the Verb in Omoto' have also some linguistic data on morphology of the language.

Hiwot (1988) in her Senior Essay entitled "Kullo Verb Morphology" writes the verb morphology of the language. She focuses on analysis of verb inflection for tense, aspect, mood and derivation. The data was from 'Gene' dialect.

On the other hand, Siseraw (1989) in his Senior Essay entitled "The Noun Morphology of Kullo" studies noun inflection and derivation in the language. In noun inflection, he discussed gender system, number, determiner, and case whereas in noun derivation, he attempted to describe how nouns could be derived from other parts of speech. His analysis was also based on 'Gene' dialect.

Azeb (1994) in her article "Omoto Verb Derivation: the Case of Basketo, Male, Korete and Kullo" tries to show the similarities and differences of the languages based on the derivations and inflections. As she notes, in Basketo, Male and Dawro the causative verb is formed by suffixation of [-iss] to the main verb.

Another study on the language is Bender's (2000) work. In his book "Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages", he deals with some aspects of the North West Omotic languages. He attempts to analyze verbal system of these related languages. He also tries to assess nominal derivatives, copulas of the languages: Wolayitta, Dawro and Gamo.

Hirut (2005) also undertakes an applied linguistics type study in her article "The Orthography for Wolayitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro: Problems and Recommendations". She tried to raise some orthographic issues on the four related Omotic languages. According to her, the acronym WOGAGODA at the very beginning was used to refer to the joint political organization of the four groups but later it was extended to refer to the instructional and working language of the zone formed out of Wolayitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro. Hence, the acronym now is used to refer to the languages found in the northern Omo Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Regional State. In her work, Hirut has dealt with the main problems of the orthography and provided recommendations on how to solve the existing problems.

Hirut (2007) also writes another article on the language entitled "Some Aspects of the Phonology and Morphology of Dawuro". In the phonology part, she discusses the sound system of the language, diphthongs, gemination, syllable structures and common morphophonemic processes. On the other hand, on the morphology part, she discusses word classes of the language. As a result, she discussed the inflection of nouns and verbs, pronouns and adjectives.

1.9 Note on the Phonology of the Language

For ease of understanding of description of data, the consonant and vowel phonemes, tone, syllable structure and common morphophonemic processes in the language are briefly summarized here.

1.9.1. The Consonant and Vowel Phonemes

Different scholars described the consonant and vowel phonemes of the language. Accordingly, Allan (1976:326) identifies twenty-six consonant and five vowels phonemes of the language. Hirut (2007) on the other hand, identifies twenty-five consonantal and five vowel phonemes. In describing vowels, both scholars are similar while they differ in describing consonants. The phonemes /ts/, /tʰ/, /B/ and /f/ are described by Allan but not by Hirut whereas the phonemes /p/, / pʰ/, /s/, and /c/ are identified by Hirut but not by Allan. The variation in the description of number and type of consonant

phonemes of the two scholars may be due to the variation in the dialect that each scholar deals with. The following consonant chart is adapted from Hirut (2007: 74).

Chart 1 Consonantal phonemes of the language.

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	Palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	p b		t d		k g	ʔ
Nasal		m		n		
Fricative		f	s z	š		h
Affricates			ts	c j		
Implosives				d̥		
Ejectives	p'		s'	c'	k'	
Flaps				r		
Glides		w		y		
Lateral approximate				l		

Note: all segments on the right side of each column are voiced while segments on the left side are voiceless. In the above chart, the consonant phonemes /f/ and /ts/ are mine since the phonemes have observed in the data.

Allan (1976:327) identified consonant gemination in the following few pairs of words distinguished by consonant doubling as [tama] 'fire' and [tama] 'ten', [assa] 'to pass' and [asa] 'man'. Hence, gemination is phonemic in the language.

Both Allan (1976:326) and Hirut (2007:74) described five contrastive vowel phonemes in the language as shown below. The vowel chart is taken from Hirut (2007: 75)

Chart 2: Vowel phonemes of the language

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		o
Mid	e		u
Low		a	

The Language has five short vowels (i, e, a, u, o). Vowel length causes meaning change as can be observed from example (1).

1. a/ [ùšá] ‘drink’ [ùšáá] ‘alcohol’
b/ [tama] ‘fire’ [táámàà] ‘weak’
c/ [mátà] ‘near’ [máátà] ‘grass’

Allan (1976:324) also discussed diphthong in the language. According to him, diphthong in Dawro is a result of juxtaposition of vowels belonging to different morphemes. The following are some of Dawro diphthongs described by Hirut (2007:75).

2. a. [ai/ay] [naʔa-y] ‘The boy’
b. [oa/owa] [kapowa] ‘The bird’

1.9.2 Tone

“Tone language is a language in which the pitch of the voice can change the meaning of the word” (Yip, 2006:761). However, Carlos (2004:27) states that stress, accent, tone and intonation have interconnected concepts. Hence, it is difficult, although not impossible, to differentiate one from the other. Researches on Dawro reflect this difficulty to identify tone of the language. There is variation among scholars regarding the tone. Some are skeptical to categorize the language as tone language while others say that it is tonal.

can deduce that tone is lexical in Dawro. The following examples also show that tone is grammatical in the language.

6. a. [zòʔó] ‘red’ b. [pùnnà] ‘some thing blown’
 [zóʔò] ‘red things’ [púnná] ‘blew’

In example (6a) due to a difference in tone, singular adjective changes to plural, which is grammatical. In (6b) on the other hand, due to tone difference there occurs derivational grammatical change.

From the discussion made so far, it is possible to consider Dawro as a tone language. However, the tone of the language needs further investigation.

1.9.3 Syllable Structure

Hirut (2007:78) also discusses the syllable structure of the language. According to her, the following are the possible syllable structures in Dawro.

7. V	a-guntsaa	‘thorn’
VV	aa-bba	‘father’
VC	aip-ia	‘eye/seed’
VCC	ind-datta	‘old women’
CV	ba-dálaa	‘maize’
CVV	laa-tamu	‘twelve’
CVC	cuc'-cedda	‘he caught’
CVVC	c'ooš-ša	‘vomiting’
CVCC	galb-ba	‘skin’

1.9.4 Morphophonemic Processes

Morphophonemic process is a process, which takes place when different morphemes undergo certain inflectional and derivational changes. In Dawro assimilation, glide insertion and vowel deletion are the common morphophonemic processes.

Consider the following example.

8. a. /wònbórá / → [wòmbórá] ‘judge’
b. /àsná/ → [àzná]

In example (8a), due to the bilabial sound [b], the alveolar nasal /n/ changes to the bilabial nasal [m]. Hence, it is labial assimilation. In (8b) voiceless alveolar /s/ changes to voiced alveolar [z] when it occurs before voiced nasal /n/.

Glide insertion is the other morphophonemic process in the language. It is the insertion of glide /y/ and /w/ in a sequence of sounds just like vowel insertion. Hirut (2007:79) discusses Dawro glide insertion. According to her explanation, the glide /y/ is used as an epenthetic element when accusative case marker {-a} is affixed to noun stems ending in a front vowels /i/ or /e/. In such a case /e/ is probably raised to /i/. On the other hand, if the stem final vowel of nouns is a back vowel, the glide /w/ occurs before the accusative case marker suffix {-a}. The following illustrations shows glide insertions taken from Hirut (2007:79).

9. a. [mole] + {-à} → [mòlíya] ‘The fish’
b. [k'ànpé] + {-à} → [k'àpíya] ‘The tongue’
c. [hare] + {-à} → [hàríya] ‘The donkey’

In Dawro, the mid front vowel /e/ is deleted in nouns ending in vowel /e/ when the nominative morpheme {-i} is suffixed to them as shown in the following illustrations.

10. a. [gòllé] + {-i} → [gòlli] ‘the house’
b. [bààllé] + {-i} → [bààlli] ‘the feather’
c. lààgé + {-i} → [lààgì] ‘the friend’

1.10 Word Order of the Language

The basic word order in Dawro is SOV (subject-object-verb). Consider the following examples.

11. ádàná-tt-á kápò-tt-ó m-áá-dd-ù
cat-def:f bird-def:f-acc eat-3fs-past-3fs

‘The cat (f) ate the bird (f).’

12. táání már-à zál?-áá-dd-ì
I:nom calf-acc:m sell-1sg-past-1sg

‘I sold the calf.’(m)

13. í á šòc'-èè-dd-á
he:nom she:acc hit-3ms-past-3ms

‘He hit her.’

Dawro is a pro-drop language. The head occurs in most phrases and clauses in final position.

Chapter Two

2. Verb Complements

Spencer and Sadler (2001: 208) discuss that verbs will have some number of optional or obligatory syntactic dependents. Hence, verbs can be merged with optional or obligatory constituents¹ of a language. The optional constituents do not affect the basic meaning of the sentence if they are deleted from the structure. Obligatory elements, on the other hand, cannot be deleted from the structure without leading the structure to ungrammaticality and hence they cannot be avoided from the structure. Verb complement is then an obligatory constituent of a verbal head and it could be either a phrase or a clause. Verb complement is an obligatory argument of a verb (Lyons, 1968: 345 and Kack, 1978:53). However, though it is the obligatory constituent of the verb, complement may be optional like complements of semitransitive verbs which can be omitted without a difference of meaning.

Verb complement is a constituent used to make the verb meaningful syntactically and semantically. It is, therefore, required to complete the syntactic and semantic structure of a verb. Miller (2002:49) points out that a verb that needs obligatory argument gets both syntactic and semantic completion by its complement. For instance, the English sentence, “*He sent”, is ill formed and hence needs complement to be meaningful. Syntactically the sentence needs object (complement) whereas semantically it needs theme or patient argument.

The verb and its complements tend to occur close each other, with the adjuncts pushed towards the end of a clause. As Speas (1990:130) suggests, structurally objects are closer to the verbs than other constituents are, and they follow or precede the verb. Having said, this let me discuss complement taking verbs².

¹ Constituent is groups of words which function and behave as a single unit (Adger, 2004:62).

² In this study, the terms ‘verbs’ and ‘predicates’ used interchangeably.

Verbs differ in the constituents that they combine with or the complement that they take. Borsley, R (2004:80) states that sub classification of verbs is based on the complement they take. Noonan (2006:696) also notes that the choice of complement is determined by the predicate. Therefore, the selection of complement is based on the properties of the head verbs. As a result, a verbal head determines how many complements and what type of complements such as noun phrases, adjective phrases, prepositional phrases or clausal complement occur with it. This implies that verbs bear a close semantic and syntactic relation with its complement. Verbs can be classified into groups according to the number and type of complement they take.

Generally, verbs can be classified as phrasal and clausal complement taking predicates. There are also predicates selecting phrasal and clausal complement complements at the same time. However, since phrasal and clausal complements are discussed, it is quite clear about the nature of predicates, which selects phrasal and clausal complement taking predicates. Phrasal complement taking predicates are also classified as type one, type two and type three³. Type one verbs include unaccusative and passive verbs. Type two verbs include motion, directional and copular verbs. Type three contains semitransitives, monotransitives and ditransitives.

2.1 Phrasal Complements

Some verbs take phrase as their complements while others select clause as their complements. There are also verbs, which take either phrasal or clausal complements. Phrasal complement taking predicates can be further classified into the following groups: type one, type two and type three.

³ Verbs are grouped in types for the sake of analysis.

2.1.1 Type One Verbs

Type one verbs include verbs, which have internal argument but do not have external argument⁴. Hence, their complements become their subject. Such predicates include an unaccusatives and passives. In what follows we shall take up each.

2.1.1.1 Unaccusatives⁵

Verbs which have no external argument and which do not assign accusative case to their objects are known as unaccusatives. They have only an internal argument. Their internal arguments move to the empty position of external argument in search of case (Baye, 1994:1131). Scholars agreed that unaccusatives take complement. Unaccusatives are verbs whose non-thematic subject becomes their complement (Radford, 2004: 482). Dawro verbs such as [késs-] ‘appear’, [dènd-] ‘arise’ and [àtt-] ‘remain’ can be considered as unaccusatives as shown below.

14. wálássá-y késs-èè-dd-á
conflict-nom appear-3ms-past-3ms
‘There appeared a conflict.’

15. métù dènd-èè-dd-á
problem arise-3ms-past-3ms
‘There arose a problem.’

⁴ External argument is the subject (specifier) of the sentence whereas an internal argument is referred to as complement (Radford, 1997:493).

⁵ Unaccusatives are general name for passive, raising, existential and stative verbs (Burzo 1986 cited in Baye 1994). Radford (2006:162-167) on the other hand, claimed that passives and unaccusatives are different. According to him, passive subjects are merged as the thematic complement of the verb while unaccusative subject do not become thematic complement to the verb (it is a complement but not assigned theta role). He also emphasized that passives and unaccusatives are similar in that both do not assign accusative case to their object. I treat them differently and analyze their complement based on the idea of Radford (2006).

16. lààfá támàrì-tùù àtt-éé-dd-ìnnò

a few student-pl remain-3pl-past-3pl

‘There remained a few students.’

In examples (14), (15), and (16) above, the unaccusative verbs have no external arguments (no thematic subject). The phrasal constituents [wálássá-y] ‘the conflict’, [métù] ‘hunger’ and [lààfá támàrá-tùù] ‘a few students’ are the noun phrase complements of the unaccusatives. The complements are in the subject position and not marked accusative. The complement in (14) receives nominative case. This strengthens the idea of Radford (2006:162). According to him, in languages, which have rich number of case system, unaccusative complements may receive nominative case.

2.1.1.2 Passives

Passives are structures whose external argument positions are empty due to the effect of passive morphology (Baye, 1994:1131). In surface structure, the object of passive predicate becomes the subject. Like unaccusatives, passive verbs do not assign accusative case to their complement. However, unlike unaccusatives, in passives the constituent in subject position becomes the thematic complement of passives. In the sentences below, the arguments in the subject position become complements of passive verbs.

17. gòll-ì gùd-étt-èè-dd-á

house-nom burn-pas-3ms-past-3ms

‘The house was burned.’

18. máyù wù?-étt-èè-dd-á

cloth steal-pas-3s-past-3s

‘The cloth has been stolen.’

19. nàʔà-ná-y šòc'-étt-éé-dd-ìnò

boy-pl-nom hit-pas-3pl-past-3pl

'The boys were hit.'

In the above illustrations, [gòll-ì] 'the house', [má'yù] 'cloth' and [nàʔà-ná-y] 'the boys' are the noun phrase complements for the passive verbs [gùd-étt] 'be burnt', [wùʔ-étt] 'be stolen', and [šòc'-étt] 'be hit' in (17), (18) and (19) respectively. The complements are in a subject position and they do not receive accusative case. In addition, they are thematic complements, which either receive theme or patient theta role.

2.1.2 Type Two Verbs

Type two verbs include motion, locative and copular verbs, which have external arguments. These verbs select phrasal complements.

2.1.2.1 Motion Verbs

Motion verbs select adpositional phrasal complements. The adpositional phrases⁶ function as adverbs of direction or goal. The following are examples of such structures.

20. í bàrè gòllé-kkó wótss'-èè-dd-á

he:nom self home-prep run-3ms-past-3ms

'He run into his house.'

21. í šíík'ùwà-ppè k'és-èè-dd-á

he:nom meeting-abl leave-3ms-past-3ms

'He left out from the meeting.'

⁶ Adpositional phrase is a phrase subsuming prepositional and postpositional phrases (Radford, 2006:276).

In sentences (20) and (21) above [bàrè gòllé-kko] ‘into his house’ and [Šíík'ùwà-ppè] ‘from the meeting’ are adpositional phrasal complements of the verbs [wótss'-] ‘run’ and [k'és-] ‘leave’. Unless there is sufficient support from the context or discourse, motion verbs typically require complement of place, direction or destination for a complete meaning.

2.1.2.2 Locative Verbs

These types of verbs also select adpositional phrasal complements. The adpositional phrases will be locative as shown in the following examples.

22. bítàní-ì gìsú bòllá gís-èè-dd-á

man-nom bed on lie-3ms-past-3ms

‘The man lay on the bed.’

23. í k'ámmà-à háwání àk-èè-dd-á

he:nom day-acc here spent-3ms-past-3ms

‘He spent all the day here.’

In the above examples, [gìsú bòllá] ‘on the bed’ in (22), and [k'ámmà-à háwání] ‘the day here’ in (23) function as locative adverbial phrases.

2.1.2.3 Copulas

Copulas are special type of verbs used to link a subject to a verbless predicate (Radford, 1997:500). Sometimes copulas are considered as dummy grammatical elements. Bloor and Meriel (1995:281) states that copulas do not have semantic content by themselves but shows relation of subject with the complement. However, Crystal (1997:93) describes that copulas have a little independent meaning and their function is to relate subject and complement. Copulas require complements where their complement refers back to the subject (penny Ur, 1988:83). Haileleul (1991:20) also justifies that copulas are verbs that

link their external and internal arguments. Their complement includes adjectival phrases, noun phrases, prepositional phrases and clauses⁷.

Based on the semantic function, copulas can be classified in various ways such as predication, specification, identification and identity. However, Bender (2000:38) states that Dawro copulas could be classified into identity/attribution and existence/possession based on Allan (1976). Allan (1976:338-331) identifies three Dawro copulas: zero copula, [-šin] and [gidana⁸]. According to him, zero copulas are used in the affirmative present tense whereas [-šin] and [gidana] are used for past and future tense respectively. Consequently, Dawro copulas can be classified into three: zero copula, [-šin] and [gìd-]. In Dawro, zero copulas function in affirmative present tense and take noun phrase, adjectival phrase or postpositional phrasal complements. The following constructions illustrate zero copulas with the complement.

24. tááni támàrì

I:nom student

‘I am a student.’

25. í lóʔó àsá

he:nom good man

‘He is a good man.’

26. ógì-ì ààkùwà

road-nom wide

‘The road is wide.’

27. nàʔá-y àdùssáá

boy-nom long

‘The boy is long.’

⁷ Clausal complements of copulatives are discussed in chapter three (section 3.5).

⁸ The root of the copula [gidana] is [gìd-]. [-ana] is future marker.

28. nàʔá-y gòllé gársàn

boy-nom house inside

‘The boy is inside the house.’

In examples (24) and (25), zero copula select nominal complement [támàrì] ‘student’ and [lóʔó àsá] ‘good man’. On the other hand, in (26) and (27) zero copulas take adjectival phrasal complements [ààkùwà] ‘wide’ and [àdùssáá] ‘long’. In addition, zero copula take postpositional phrasal complement [gòllé gársàn] ‘Inside the house’ in (28). In the above sentences, nonetheless the copula is phonetically empty. However, with zero copulas the language can elicit grammatical sentences. Conversely, without the adjectival, nominal and postpositional phrases the sentences will be syntactically incomplete. The phrases complete the sentence syntactically. Hence, the copulas are phonetically empty in the above sentences and the adjectival and nominal phrases are complements.

The second copula is [-šìn]. It functions in the past tense and affixed to the adjectival phrasal complements as demonstrated below.

29. nàà-tt-á àdùssá-tt-ò-šìn

child-def:f-nom long-def:f-acc-cop

‘The girl was long.’

30. ógì-ì ààkùwà-šìn

road-nom wide-cop

‘The road was wide.’

In (29), the copula [-šìn] is suffixed on the adjectival phrasal complement. It is suffixed immediately after the adjectival phrasal complement in (30).

The third copula in the language is [gìd-]. It takes either adjectival or nominal phrasal complements. In examples (31) and (32) below, the copula selects adjectival phrase complements.

31. í dúré gíd-èè-dd-á
he:nom rich cop-3ms-past-3ms

‘He became rich.’

32. ógì-ì ààkùwà gíd-èè-nn-á
road-nom wide cop-3ms-neg-3ms

‘The road will not become wide.’

In (31) and (32) above, [dúré] ‘rich’ and [ààkùwà] ‘wide’ are the adjectival phrasal complements of the copula [gìd-].

On the other hand, in the following examples, the copula [gìd-] takes nominal phrasal complements.

33. í áábbà gíd-èè-dd-á
he:nom father cop-3ms-past-3ms

‘He became a father.’

34. ìzá dááyà gíd-áá-dd-ù
she:nom mother cop-3fs-past-3fs

‘She became a mother.’

The noun phrases [áábbà] ‘father’ in (33) and [dááyà] ‘mother’ in (34) are the noun phrasal complements of the copula [gìd-].

2.1.3 Type Three Verbs

Type three verbs include transitive verbs, which have external and internal arguments. Hence, they select complements. This group consists of semitransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs.

2.1.3.1 Semitransitive Verbs

The special characteristic of these verbs is that they may or may not take complements. They have only certain noun phrases, which may occur with them. Haileleul (1991:27) explained that semi-transitives select cognate nominals⁹ as their complements. According to him, the cognate nominal makes possible for such verbs to occur with or without complements. When they select a complement, they take nominal complements but they can occur without such complements. Dawro predicates such as [ùš-] ‘drink’, [yèšš-] ‘sing’ and [káá?-] ‘play’ either take or leave their complement. Consider the following examples.

35. bitáni-ì ùš-èè-dd-á

man-nom drink-3ms-past-3ms

‘The man drank.’

36. nàà-tt-á yèš's'-áá-dd-ù

child-def:f-nom sing-3fs-past-3fs

‘The girl sang.’

37. nà?à-ná-y káá?-éé-dd-ìnò

boy-pl-nom play-3pl-past-3pl

‘The boys played.’

⁹ Cognate nominals are nouns that are associated with verbs.

All the above Dawro sentences from (35) to (37) are meaningful. However, the verbs are not with their complements. In the examples below, semitransitive verbs can also possess noun phrase complements.

38. bitáni-ì ùššàà ùš-èè-dd-á
 man-nom drink(nonun) drink-3ms-past-3ms

‘The man drank alcohol.’

39. nàà-tt-á yètsá yèšš-áá-dd-ù
 child-def:f-nom song sing-3fs-past-3fs.

‘The girl sang a song.’

40. nà?à-ná-y káá?e káá?-éé-dd-ìlìò
 boy-pl-nom game play-3pl-past-3pl

‘The boys played a game.’

The complements of the above verbs [ùš-] ‘drink’, [yèšš-] ‘sing’ and [káá?-] ‘play’ in (38)-(40) above are the noun phrases [ùššàà] ‘alcohol’, [yètsá] ‘song’ [káá?e] ‘game’ respectively.

Therefore, in illustrations (35) to (37) the verbs have no complement whereas in examples from (38) to (40) the verbs take noun phrasal complements.

2.1.3.2 Monotransitive Verbs

These are verbs, which has only a single object (Radford, 1997:389). These verbs are two argument verbs and select noun phrase complement. Dawro verbs such as [síík'-] ‘love’, [sís-] ‘hear’, [àh-] ‘bring’, [bè?-] ‘see’, [wù?-] ‘steal’, [wòd-] ‘kill’, [ócc-] ‘ask’, [ér-] ‘know’ and [kóy-] ‘want’ are monotransitive verbs which select noun phrasal complement.

41. gòb-ì báljùk-ò sík'-èè
 gob-nom baljuko-acc love-3ms:impf
 ‘Gob loves baljuko.’
42. nùùní zèèná sís-éé-dd-ò
 we:nom news hear-1pl-past-1pl
 ‘We heard the news.’
43. nà?á-y màsààfá áh-èè-dd-á
 boy-nom book bring-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘The boy brought a book.’
44. táánì nàà-tt-ó bè?-áá-dd-ì
 I:nom child-def:f-acc see-1sg-past-1sg
 ‘I saw the girl.’
45. kááysù Šálùwà wù?-èè-dd-á
 thief money steal-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘The thief stole money.’
46. úšéc-í bārè-n-à wòd'-èè-dd-á
 ushecho-nom self-?¹⁰-acc kill-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘ushecho killed himself.’
47. táánì óósùà ócc- áá-dd-ì
 I:nom question ask-1sg-past-1sg
 ‘I asked a question.’

¹⁰ ? indicates that I am not sure what the morpheme –n- refers to.

48. táánì kááysù-wà ér-ày
 I:nom thief-acc know-1sg:impf
 ‘I know the thief.’
49. í šálùwà kóy-èè
 he:nom money want-3ms
 ‘He wants money.’

The verbs [sís-] ‘hear’, [ócc-] ‘ask’ and [kóy-] ‘want’ take noun phrase complement in (42), (47) and (49). They also take clausal complement as will be discussed later.

Complement has its own position in a sentence. Kayne (1994:32) notes that in any phrase marker, specifier and complement are on the opposite side of the head and specifier-head-complement is a usual universal order. However, Since Dawro is SOV language; the complement precedes their verbal heads. As a result, in the above monotransitive verbs, we can notice that their complements precede the verbs.

However, for pragmatic reason to make emphasis, the complements may come at the beginning of the sentence as shown in the following examples.

50. màšààfá nàʔá-y áh-èè-dd-á
 book boy-nom bring-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘The boy brought a book.’
51. šálùwà kááysù wùʔ-èè-dd-á
 money thief steal-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘The thief stole money.’

In the above illustrations, the noun phrase complements [màšààfá] and [šálùwà] are placed at the beginning of the sentences and the structures are grammatical in the language.

The following sentences with monotransitive verbs will also be semantically possible in the language when the complements comes post verbal though it is infrequent phenomena. Consider the following examples. Therefore, the complement is extraposed (the process of moving the complement at the end of the sentence).

52. gòb-ì sík'-èè báljùk-ò
 gob-nom love-3ms:impf baljuke-acc
 ‘Gob loves baljuke.’
53. nùùní sí-s-éé-dd-ò zèèà
 we:nom hear-1pl-past-1pl news
 ‘We heard the news.’
54. táánì bè?-áá-dd-ì nàà-tt-ó
 I:nom see-1sg-past-1sg child-def:f-acc

As shown above, the noun phrase complements [báljùk-ò] ‘baljuke’ in (52), [zèèà] ‘news’ in (53) and [nàà-tt-ó] ‘the girl’ in (54) are placed after their respective verbal heads and the sentences are meaningful. The existence of case markers in the language may allow the noun phrasal complements to put them in any position of the sentence.

Monotransitive verbs will be ungrammatical when their complement is deleted. Since they need obligatory constituent, they will be syntactically incomplete as shown below.

55. * nà?á-y áh-èè-dd-á
 boy-nom bring-3ms-past-3ms
56. * táánì bè?-áá-dd-ì
 I:nom see-1sg-past-1sg
57. * í wòf-èè-dd-á
 he:nom kill-3ms-past-3ms

In discourse contexts, the above sentences are acceptable. If there is prior information, the above constructions are acceptable. For instance, in (55), if there is aforementioned idea what the subject [nàʔá-y] ‘the boy’ is going to bring, the sentence will be acceptable. However, since we do not have any prior information, the sentence is syntactically incomplete and it seems dummy because the predicate need theme or patient argument to be meaningful. The same is true in sentences (56) and (57). Nevertheless, unless in strict discourse contexts, structures like (55), (56) and (57) above are unacceptable in the language because the sentences need the object to be complete. Therefore, the above sentences are syntactically incomplete.

2.1.3. Ditransitive Verbs

These are verbs, which needs two obligatory complements. Dawro verbs like [imm-] ‘give’, [ér-] ‘introduced’ and [béss-] ‘show’ need two complements. They take one nominal and a postpositional phrasal complements. The following are illustrative examples.

58. ìzá šálùwà táw imm-áá-dd-ù
 she:nom money me:dat give-3fs-past-3fs
 ‘She gave money to me.’

59. nàʔá-y bárè lààgí-yà bárè dááyà ér-íss-èè-dd-á
 boy-nom self friend-acc self mother know-caus-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘The boy introduced his friend to his mother.’

60. táánì ógì-yà nàʔá-w béss- áá-dd-ì
 I:nom road-acc boy-dat show-1sg-past-1sg
 ‘I showed the way to the boy.’

As shown in the above sentences, in (58) the verb [imm-] ‘give’ selects two complements: nominal phrasal complement [šálùwà] ‘money’ and postpositional phrasal complement [táw] ‘for me’. Similarly, example (59) reveals that the verb [ér-] ‘know’ takes noun phrasal complement [bàrè lààgí-yà] ‘his friend’ and postpositional phrasal complement [bàrè dááyà] ‘for his mother’. In addition, in (60), the predicate [béss-] ‘show’ takes noun phrasal complement [ógì-yà] ‘the road’ and postpositional phrasal complement [nà?á-w] ‘for the boy’.

The order of the two complements in the above ditransitive verbs is similar in sentences from (58) to (60). Accordingly, the order of the complements is nominal phrasal complements followed by postpositional phrasal complements. However, the order of the complements can be altered. As a result, it is acceptable in Dawro when the postpositional phrase complements precede nominal phrase complements without any meaning difference existed in the sentences, as in the following examples.

61. tááni nà?á-w ógì-yà béss- áá-dd-ì

I:nom boy-dat road-acc show-3ms-past-3ms

‘I showed the way to the man.’

62. ìzá táw šálùwà imm-áá-dd-ù

she:nom me:dat money give-3fs-past-3fs

‘She gave money for me.’

In the above illustrations, the postpositional phrasal complements precede the nominal phrase complements. For instance, [nà?á-w] ‘for the man’ in (61) and [táw] ‘for me’ in (62) precede their respective noun phrase complements [ógì-yà] ‘the road’ and [šálùwà] ‘money’. Hence, in Dawro ditransitive verbs, the noun phrasal complements and postpositional phrasal complements can exchange their position. However, deletion of

one of the complements would result in ungrammatical sentences. Consider the following examples.

63. * táánì ógì-yà b́éss- áá-dd-ì
I:nom road-acc show-3ms-past-3ms

64. * ìzá š́álùwà ìmm-áá-dd-ù
she:nom money give -3fs-past-3fs

The sentences (63) and (64) are ungrammatical because the postpositional phrasal complements of ditransitive verbs that co-occur with noun phrase complements are missing. The sentences do not provide a complete idea without the postpositional phrasal complements.

Moreover, ditransitive verbs will also be ungrammatical when their noun phrasal complements are deleted as demonstrated below.

65. * táánì nàʔá-w b́éss- áá-dd-ì
I:nom boy-dat show-3ms-past-3ms

66. * ìzá táw ìmm-áá-dd-ù
she:nom me:dat give-3fs-past-3fs

As revealed in (65) and (66) above, noun phrasal complements are omitted from the structure and the sentences are ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of these sentences could be accounted for the absence of the noun phrasal complements.

There are also ditransitive verbs, which allow their postpositional phrasal complements to be deleted. Consider the following examples.

67a. í bìiré zálʔ-èè-dd-á
he:nom pen sell-3ms-past-3ms
'He sold a pen.'

67b. í nàʔá-w bîiré zálʔ-èè-dd-á
 he:nom boy-dat pen sell-3ms-past-3ms

‘He sold a pen to the man.’

68a. tá áábbà kààmé Šámm-èè-dd-á
 my father car buy-3ms-past-3ms

‘My father bought a car.’

68b. tá áábbà nàʔá-w kààmé Šámm-èè-dd-á
 my father boy-dat car buy-3ms-past-3ms

‘My father bought a car to the boy.’

69a. tá íšà Šálùwà yédd-èè-dd-á
 my brother money send-3ms-past-3ms

‘My brother send money.’

69b. tá íšà taw Šálùwà yédd- èè-dd-á
 my brother me:dat money send-3ms-past-3ms

‘My brother sent me money.’

In the above illustrations, the verbs [zálʔ-] ‘sell’, [Šámm-] ‘buy’ and [yédd-] ‘send’ used either as monotransitive or ditransitive. In (67a), (68a) and (69a) these predicates takes one complement, [bîiré] ‘pen’, [kààmé] ‘car’ and [Šálùwà] ‘money’ respectively. On the contrary, in (67b), (68b) and (69b) they take two complements; [bîiré] ‘pen’ and [nàʔá-w] ‘to the boy’, [kààmé] ‘car’ and [nàʔá-w] ‘to the boy’ and [Šálùwà] ‘money’ and [táw] ‘to me’ respectively. When taking two complements, these verbs take one noun phrase and another postpositional phrasal complements.

Chapter Three

3. Clausal Complements

In the previous chapter, verbs with phrasal complements are discussed. In this chapter, we will focus on verbs with clausal complements¹¹. For the ease of analysis, the chapter is divided into four sections: section one deals with the notion of complementizer, section two is about syntactic and semantic analysis of complementizers, section three focuses on higher predicates and section four discusses syntactic variations and tense distinction in complement clauses.

In clausal complement selecting verbs, there will be a structure of two clauses: matrix clause and embedded clause. The matrix clause is the root clause, which is meaningful and stands by itself whereas the embedded clause is dependent which cannot be meaningful by itself. Hence, the embedded clause is structurally embedded on the matrix clause and becomes complement to the verb of the matrix clause. As a result, embedded complement clauses are subordinate to the matrix clauses. Generally, complement clauses can be divided into finite and non-finite depending on the tense and agreement morphology of their verb. Finite complement clauses are clauses, which contain finite verb (a verb, which can inflect for agreement and/or tense). Non-finite clause on the other hand, is a clause containing finite verb (a verb that does not inflect for either agreement or tense). Complement clauses are introduced by the particles called complementizers¹². In what follows, the nature and status of complementizers will be discussed.

3.1 Complementizers

The notion of ‘complementizer’ was first introduced in 1970’s and plays an important role in several syntactic theories (Fraajzyngier, 1996: 87). Previously, complementizers were considered as subordinating particles. Frajzyngier (1996:88) surveys views of different scholars on complementizers. As he discusses, complementizers are defined as ‘conjunction’ by Palmer (1988), ‘semi-lexical forms’ by Ransom (1986) and ‘subordinating-separating morphemes’ by Givon (1991).

¹¹ Complement clause is a clause, which is used as the complement of a verb.

¹² Not all complement clauses are introduced by complementizer; there are complement clauses that need no complementizers.

On the other hand, Noonan (2008:44) defines complementizer as a word, a particle, a clitic, or an affix whose function is to identify the entity as embedded complement. Thus, we can define that a complementizer is a linguistic elements added on a certain clause to make it as subordinate. In this case, complementizers are considered as part of the embedded clause and they are used to make a syntactic boundary. Hence, complementizers have the functions of indicating that the clause, with which they are associated, cannot be treated as main clause (Kack, 1978:75). Theoreticians claim that complementizers are functional categories.

3.2 Syntactic and Semantic Analysis of Complementizers

Historically complementizers often derive from non-embedded structures involving nouns and pronouns (Cristofaro, 2003:96). In Dawro, however, the origin of complementizers needs further investigation and treating such issue further is beyond the scope of the present study.

Allan (1976) identifies the complementizers [-naw], [-ewa] and [-wa]. According to him, [-naw] is used when the subject of embedded clause and matrix clause is the same whereas [-ewa] function when the subject of the matrix clause and embedded clause is different. On the other hand, the complementizer [-wa] is used when the embedded clause function as the subject of the sentence. As he describes [-ewa] is also used in this case. However [-wa] is not used in place of [-ewa] when the subject of the embedded clause and matrix clause is different. He provides the following examples to show the complementizer [-naw].

70. ta swolua ma-naw dusai

I injera eat-to like

‘I like to eat injera.’

71. ta swolua ma-naw koyai

I injera eat-to want

‘I want to eat injera.’

In (70) and (71), [ma-] is glossed as ‘eat’ and [-naw] is glossed as ‘to’. However, according to the present analysis, the root verb for ‘eat’ is [m-¹³] and hence [-a-] is not part of the root verb. In addition, the infinitive marker in the language is [-ana-] and complementizers do not attach to the verb root. Consequently, [a] attaches to [-na] to form the infinitive marker in the language and hence the complementizer is [-w].

Allan (1976) also offers the following sentence with the complementizer [-ewa].

72. nu ina k'uma mewa wadedino
 we he food eat-to made
 ‘We made him to eat injera.’

Nevertheless, in this analysis, example (72) is impossible in the language due to the unacceptability of the constituent [mewa] (the informants are reluctant to accept it). In addition, the complementizer does not attach to the verb root of the complement clauses. Hence, I argue that [-ewa] is not a complementizer in the language. Indeed, the dialect that Allan (1976) deals with may have the complementizers [-naw] and [-ewa]. However, in the present study these are not treated as complementizer in the language.

The present study shows that Dawro has the complementizers [-w], [-wà], [-dá], [-ènttó] and [-wè] which are clause-final clitics. All are affixes to the stem word. The complementizers are confined to the syntactic function and semantic nature of the complement clauses. Based on syntactic function, the attachment of complementizers depends on whether the complement clause is subject or object complement¹⁴. Accordingly, the complementizers [-w], [-wà], [-dá], and [-ènttó] are used in object

¹³ Consider the following paradigm to distinguish the verb root for ‘eat’

a. m-áá-dd-ì	b. m-áá-dd-ù	c. m- éé-dd-ò
eat-1sg-past-1sg	eat-3fsg-past-3fsg	eat-1pl-past-1pl
‘I ate.’	‘She ate.’	‘We ate.’

Hence, [m-] is the root verb of ‘eat’, which is glossed as ‘eat’.

¹⁴ Complement clause that functions as a subject is subject complement clause whereas complement clause that functions as an object is object complement clause (Ongaye, 2004).

complement clauses while the remaining complementizer [-wè] is used in subject complement clauses.

Semantically, complementizers can be classified based on the degree of certainty and uncertainty of the idea of the complement clauses. In view of that, the complementizers [-wà] and [-wè] are used if the idea in the complement clause is certain whereas other complementizers are used if the idea of the complement clauses is uncertain. There is also degree difference in uncertainty of the idea of the complement clauses to classify the complementizers further.

Hence, based on the syntactic function and semantics of the complement clauses, each of the complementizers has their own occurrence. The complementizer [-w] is used in infinitival object complement clauses when the idea in the complement clause is still expecting whereas [-wà] is used in object complement clauses when the information in the complement clause is accorded with a high degree of credibility. The complementizer [-dá] on the other hand, is used in object clausal complements of indirect commands/advice in the language. In this case, the idea in the complement clause is still expected to happen. The complementizer [-ènttó] is used with object complements where the speaker shows reservation or even outright disbelief on the idea of the complement clauses. The complementizer [-wè] is used in subject complement clauses when the truth of the idea of the complement clause is accorded with high degree.

From the definition provided by Noonan (2008), we can classify complementizers into two categories: those that can stand as free lexical items and those that cannot. However, Dawro has no independent complementizers.

Now let us see each complementizer using examples. The following illustrations shows complement clauses with the complementizer [-w]

73. úšéc-ì úkítsà m-àná-w kóy-èè-dd-á
 ushecho-nom bread eat-infn-COMP want -3ms-pas-3ms
 ‘Ushecho wanted to eat bread.’

74. í tàmár-àwà-w génc-è-è-dd-á
 he:nom teach-*inf*-*COMP* decide-3ms-past-3ms

‘He decided to teach.’

75. táánì b-àwà-w yáy- áá-dd-ì
 I:nom go-*inf*-*COMP* afraid-1sg-past-1sg

‘I was afraid to go.’

76. ìzá wòòsá kèètsá b-àwà-w k’óp-áá-dd-ù
 she:nom church house go-*inf*-*COMP* think-3ms-past-3ms

‘She thought to go to church.’

In sentences from (73) to (76), the predicates of the infinitival complement clauses¹⁵ do not inflect for tense and agreement. The subjects of the complement clauses are deleted as they are coreferential with the subjects of the matrix clauses.

In Dawro the complementizer [-w] is obligatory. Hence, the omission of the complementizer [-w] from the above clauses would result in the following ungrammatical sentences.

77. * úšéc-ì úkítsà m-àwà kóy-è-è-dd-á
 ushecho-nom bread eat-*inf* want-3ms-past-3ms

78. * táánì b-àwà yáy- áá-dd-ì
 I:nom go-*inf* afraid-1sg-past-1sg

79. * í tàmár-àwà génc- è-è-dd-á
 he:nom teach-*inf* decide-3ms-pas-3ms

¹⁵ The infinitival clausal complements in (73)-(76) lack overt subject NPS. Noonan (2008:57) claimed that ‘the notational subjects of infinitives are typically equi-deleted’.

Now let us consider complement clauses with the complementizer [-wà]. The following demonstrations show complement clauses with the complementizer [-wà].

80. táánì nà?á-y lààsá m-èè-dd-á-wà ér- áá-dd-ì

I:nom boy-nom lunch eat-3ms-past-3ms-COMP know-3ms-past-3ms

‘I knew that the boy ate his lunch.’

81. táánì nà?à-ná-y máyú-wà wù?-èè-dd-á-wà ér-ày

I:nom boy-pl-nom cloth-acc steal-3ms-past-3ms-COMP know-1sg:impf

‘I know that the boys stole the cloth.’

82. ábèl-ì b-àná-wà gépp-èè-dd-á

abel-nom go-1inf-COMP promise-3ms-past-3ms

‘Abel promised that he would go.’

As can be observed in the above data, the complementizer [-wà] in some cases is suffixed at the verb of complement clause after tense and agreement inflection has taken place. The agreement affixes on the verb of the complement clauses in (81) and (82) are the same. Hence, the discontinuous third person masculine singular morpheme [èè—á] is affixed even if the subject of the complement clause is quite different in person, number and gender. For instance, the subject of the complement clause in (82) above is plural, [nà?à-ná-y] ‘the boys’. However, the verb of the complement clause agrees with third person masculine singular and if the verb of the complement clause is marked for plural subject [nà?à-ná-y] ‘the boys’, the sentence will become ungrammatical as shown in example (83).

83. * táánì nà?à-ná-y máyú-wà wù?-éé-dd-ììndò-wà ér-ày

I:nom child-pl-nom cloth-acc steal-3pl-past-3pl-COMP know-1sg:impf

In (83), the subject of the complement clause is [nàʔà-ná-y] ‘the boys’ which is plural and following that the verb agrees with third person plural subject but the results is ungrammatical sentence. Therefore, the verb of the complement clause agrees with the third person singular masculine regardless of the subjects of the complement clauses.

On the other hand, the complementizer [-wà] in (82) above is suffixed after the infinitive marker [-à-nà-]. Unlike the complementizer [-w], it needs complement clause which have either coreferential or non-coreferential subject with the matrix clause. As a result, complement clauses with the complementizer [-wà] has non-coreferential subject as in (80) and (81) and coreferential subject as in (82) with the matrix clause.

Complement clauses with the complementizer [-wà] are also ungrammatical when the complementizer is deleted as can be observed below.

84. * nàʔá-y lààśá m-èè-dd-á ér- áá-dd-ì

boy-nom lunch eat-3ms-past-3ms know-3ms-past-3ms

85. * táánì nàʔà-ná-y máyú-wà wùʔ-èè-dd-á ér-ày

I:nom boy-pl-nom cloth-acc steal-3ms-past-3ms know-1sg:impf

86. * ábèl-ì b-à-nà gépp- èè-dd-á

abel-nom go-infn promise-3ms-past-3ms

Another complementizer in the language is [-dá] as shown in the following complement clauses.

87. táánì í gòllé b-à-nà-dá òd-áá-dd-ì

I:nom he home go-infn-COMP tell-1sg-past-1sg

‘I told him to go home.’

88. bitáni-ì tááni y-èè-nn-á-dá yàš-íss-èè-dd-á
 man:nom I come-3ms-neg-3ms-COMP frighten-caus-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘The man frightened me not to come.’

89. bitáni-ì nà?à-ná-y máyú-wà mèècc-à-nà-dá kít-èè-dd-á
 man-nom boy-pl-nom cloth-acc wash-infn-COMP order-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘The man ordered the boys to wash the cloth.’

As presented in examples, (87)-(89) the complementizer [-dá] is attached to indirect command /advice complement clauses. Similar to the complementizer [-w], it is suffixed after the infinitive marker [-à-nà-] and in some cases, for instance in present negation, it is suffixed after tense and agreement affixes like in (88). It occurs with complement clauses, which have non-coreferential subjects with the subject of the matrix clauses. Complement clauses occurs with complementizer [-dá] are also unacceptable if the complementizer is deleted as shown below.

90. * tááni í gòllé b-à-nà òd-áá-dd-ì
 I:nom he:nom home go-infn tell-1sg-past-1sg

91. * bitáni-ì tááni y-èè-nn-á yàš-íss-èè-dd-á
 man:nom I:nom come-3ms-neg-3ms frighten-caus-3ms-past-3ms

92. * bitáni-ì nà?à-ná-y máyú-wà mèècc-à-nà kít-èè-dd-á
 man-nom boy-pl-nom cloth-acc wash-infn order-3ms-past-3ms

Still another complementizer in the language is [-ènttó]. The following sentences occur with the complementizer [-ènttó].

93. tààrík-ì ìzá b-áá-dd-ènttó ócc-èè-dd-á
 tariku-nom she go-3ms-past-COMP ask-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘Tariku asked if/whether she left.’

94. nùùní y-éé-dd-ènttó í ér-èè-nn-á
 we:nom come-3pl-past-COMP he:nom know-3ms-neg-3ms
 ‘He does not know whether/if we came.’

95. tááni nàà-tt-á y-àà-ènttó ócc-áá-dd-í
 I:nom child-def:f-nom come-infn-COMP ask-1sg-past-1sg
 ‘I asked if/whether she would come.’

As revealed in illustrations (93) to (95), complement clauses which occur with the complementizer [-ènttó] have non-coreferential subjects with the matrix clauses. In addition, in sentences from (93)-(95), the speaker is in doubt about the ideas of the complement clauses. In the predicates of the complement clauses of examples (93) and (94), one of the discontinuous agreement affixes is omitted when the complementizer [-ènttó] is attached. For instance, in (93) from the discontinuous feminine singular marker, [áá—ù], [-ù] is deleted. Similarly, in the predicate of (94) from the discontinuous first person plural marker [éé—ò], [-ò] is deleted when the complementizer is suffixed. In (95), the verb of the complement clause has no agreement marker before the complementizer [-ènttó].

Complement clauses with complementizer [-ènttó] will also be ungrammatical when it is omitted as shown below.

96. * tààrik-ì ìzá b-áá-dd ócc-èè-dd-á
 tariku-nom she:nom go-3ms-past ask-3ms-past-3ms

97. * nùùní y-èè-dd í ér-èè-nn-á
 we:nom come-3pl-past he:nom know-3ms-neg-3ms

98. * tááni nàà-tt-á y-àà ócc-áá-dd-í
 I:nom child-def:f-nom come-infn ask-1sg-past-1sg

On the other hand, the complementizer [-wè] is used in subject complement clauses. When the complement clause functions as subject complement, it is marked by the complementizer [-wè] as presented below.

99. zálák'-ì tààrík-à šòc'-èè-dd-á-wè táánà hánk'èts- èè-dd-á

zeleke-nom tariku-acc hit-3ms-past-3ms-COMP I:acc annoy-3ms-past-3ms

'Zeleke's hitting tariku annoyed me.'

100. í bádúllé sòòn-èè-dd-á-wè ér-étt-èè-dd-á

he:nom competition win-3ms-past-3ms-COMP know-pas-3ms-past-3ms

'His winner of the competition has been known.'

101. nà?à-ná-y máyú-wà wù?-èè-dd-á-wè ér-étt-èè-dd-á

boy-pl-nom cloth-acc steal-3ms-past-3ms-COMP know-pas-3ms-past-3ms

'It was known that the boys stole the cloth.'

Complement clauses without the complementizer [-wè] will be ill formed in the language as shown below.

102. * zálák'-ì tààrík-à šòc'-èè-dd-á táánà hánk'èts-èè-dd-á

zeleke-nom tariku-acc hit-3ms-past-3ms I:acc annoy-3ms-past-3ms

103. * í bádúllé sòòn-èè-dd-á ér-étt-èè-dd-á

he:nom competition win-3ms-past know-pas-3ms-past-3ms

The complementizers [-wè] and [-wà] also have another function as relativisor in the language. [-wè] is used when the relativized clause is in subject position as in (104), and (105) and [-wà] is used when the relativized clause is in object position as in (106) below.

104. nàʔá wòɸ-èè-dd-á-wè àsá gáǎ-étt-èè-dd-á
 boy kill-3ms-past-3ms-COMP man jail-pas-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘The man, who killed the boy, has been jailed.’
105. nàà-tt-ó wòɸ-èè-dd-á-wè álbázò
 child-def:f-acc kill-3ms-past-3ms-COMP albazo
 ‘The girl’s killer is Albazo.’
106. álbázò bààrúdá wòɸ-èè-dd-á-wà
 albazo baruda kill-3ms-past-3ms-COMP
 ‘Albazo is the one who killed baaruda.’

All the five complementizers are attached to the verbs of the complement clauses. They are suffixed after inflectional morphemes if the verbs of the complement clauses have tense and agreement affixes. The complementizers can occur at the end of the complement clause and immediately before the subject of the matrix clause as in (94) and before verb of the matrix clause as in (101).

When the matrix clauses precede complement clauses for emphatic reasons, the complementizers occur at the end of the complex sentence¹⁶.

However, in Dawro, direct speech needs no complementizer. Hence, the following complement clauses of direct speech do not have any of the complementizers.

107. í “hák'á b-àà-dd-í?” g-èè-dd-á
 he:nom where go-2ms-past-int:2ms say-3ms-past-3ms
 He said “where did you go?”

¹⁶ Complex sentence is a sentence composed of more than one clause (Radford, 2004: 422).

108. ìzá á ‘sís-àà-dd-í?’ g-áá-dd-ù.
 she:nom he:acc hear-2ms-past-int:2ms say-3pl-past-3pl

She asked him, ‘did you hear?’

109. i ‘pààc’í-yà áád-ààà’ g-èè-dd-á
 he:nom exam-acc pass-fut say-3ms-past-3ms

He said, ‘‘I will pass the exam.’’

110. nà?à-ná-y ‘àstàmáà-ì y-ààà’ g-éé-dd-ìnnò
 boy-pl-nom teacher-nom come-fut say-3ms-past-3ms

The boys said, ‘‘the teacher will come.’’

In (107) and (108) above, the clausal complements are interrogatives which are frequently occur in direct quotations whereas in (109) and (110) complement clauses are declaratives.

3.3 Higher Predicates¹⁷

We shall now turn our attention to higher predicates. As the preceding discussion on complementizers has shown, there are predicates that take clause as their complement. For instance, the predicates [kóy-] ‘want’, [génc-] ‘decide’ [yáy-] ‘afraid’, [k’óp-] ‘think’, [ér-] ‘know’, [gépp-] ‘promise’, [òd-] ‘tell’, [yàš-] ‘frighten’, [kít-] ‘order’, [ócc-] ‘ask’ and [hánk’ k’èts-] ‘annoy’ take clausal complement in (73), (74), (75), (76), (80), (82), (87), (88), (89), (93) and (99) respectively. The predicate [g-] ‘say’ on the other hand, takes clausal complements without complementizers in indirect speeches as in (107)-(110) above. The following Dawro predicates like [ér-] ‘know’, [òd-] ‘tell’, [gépp-] ‘promise’ and [sís-] ‘hear’ are additional illustrations of higher predicates.

¹⁷ Verbs taking clause as their complement are called higher predicates (Ransom 1986 cited in Ongaye 2004:40).

111. ìzá í gòllé y-àná-w ér-áá-dd-ù.
 she:nom he:nom home come-infn-COMP know-3fs-past-3fs

‘She knew that he would come to home.’

112. í támàrì-tùù y-àná-wà òd-èè-dd-á
 he:nom student-pl come-infn-COMP tell-3ms-past-3ms

‘He told that the students will come.’

113. táánì gòllé b-àná-w gèpp-ààná
 I:nom home go-infn-COMP promise-fut

‘I will promise to go to home.’

114. ìzá pààc’í-yà áád’-èè-dd-á-wà táánì sís- áá-dd-ì
 she:nom exam-acc pass-3ms-past-3ms-COMP I:nom hear-1sg-past-1sg

‘I heard that she passed the exam.’

Higher predicates can also be classified into groups according to the nature of complement clause they select.

3.3.1 Higher Predicates Taking Finite Clausal Complements

Finite clause is a clause containing finite verb (finite verb is a verb that can inflect for person, number, and usually tense (Cowper, 1992:90)). Carnie (2004:149) also notes that finite clauses are tensed clauses. The complement clauses in (115) and (116) below are finite. Then higher predicates [ér-] ‘know’ and [sís-] ‘hear’ take finite clausal complements.

115. táánì nà?á-y y-èè-dd-á-wa ér-áá-dd-ì

I:nom boy-nom com-3ms-past-3ms-COMP know-1sg-past-1sg

‘I know that the boy came.’

116. táánì nàʔá-y kèètsá-ppè k'és-èè-dd-á-wa sí-s-áá-dd-ì

I:nom boy-nom house-abl leave-3ms-past-3ms-COMP hear-1sg-past-1sg

‘I heard that the boy left from the house.’

In (115) and (116), the predicates of the complement clauses, [y-] ‘come’ and [k'és-] ‘leave’ inflect for agreement and tense. Hence, the third person masculine singular subject of the complement clause is marked by the discontinuous pronominal affix [èè—á] and tense is marked by past morpheme [-dd-]. Hence, the complement clauses are finite. Therefore, Dawro higher predicates like [ér-] and [sís-] that take phrasal complements in the previous discussion select finite clausal complement.

3.3.2 Higher Predicates Taking Non-finite Clausal Complements

Non-finite clausal complements contain non-finite verb, which does not inflect either for tense or for agreement. There are also predicates, which select non-finite clausal complements. Consider the following illustrations.

117. nàʔá-y wótsá-à-à-w kóy-èè

boy-nom run-1fn-COMP want-3ms:impf

‘The boy wants to run.’

118. bítánì-ì nàʔá-ná-y máyú-wà mèèéc-à-à-dá kít-èè-dd-á

man-nom boy-pl-nom cloth-acc wash-1fn-COMP order-3ms-past-3ms

‘The man ordered the boys to wash cloth.’

In the above illustrations, (117) and (118) the predicates of the complement clauses do not inflect either for tense or for agreement. In the predicates, preceding the complementizers [-w] and [-dà], there is only infinitive marker [-à-à-] and hence the complement clauses are non-finite. Therefore, higher predicates such as [kóy-] ‘want’ and [kít-] ‘order’ select non-finite clausal complements.

3.3.3 Higher Predicates Taking both Finite and Non-finite Clausal Complements

These are verbs, which select either finite or non-finite clausal complements. For instance, Dawro verbs like [k'óp-] 'think' and [òd-] 'tell' select either finite or non-finite clausal complements as presented below.

119. ìzá wòòsá kèètsá b-àná-w k'óp-áá-dd-ù
 she:nom church house go-*inf*n-COMP think-3fs-past-3fs.
 'She thought to go to church.'

120. ìzá í wòòsá kèètsá b-èè-dd-á-wà k'óp-àù
 she:nom he church house go-3ms-past-3ms-COMP think-3fs:*imp*f
 'She thinks that he went to church.'

121. àstàmàri-ì támàri-yà gòllé òòsú-wà óts-àná-dá òd-èè-dd-á
 teacher-nom student-acc home work-acc do-*inf*n-COMP tell-3ms-past-3ms
 'The teacher told the student to do the home work.'

122. àstàmàri-ì támàri-yà gòllé òòsú-wà óts-èè-dd-á-wà òd-èè-dd-á
 teacher-nom student-acc home work-acc do-3ms-past-3ms-COMP tell-3ms-past-3ms
 'The teacher told that the student did the home work.'
 (The teacher told for any other person that the student did the home work.)

In (119) and (121), the predicates of the complement clauses do not inflect for tense and agreement unlike verbs of complement clauses in (120) and (122). Therefore, the former complement clauses are non-finite whereas the latter are finite. From this, we can notice that verbs like [k'óp-] 'think' and [òd-] 'tell' alternatively select either finite or non-finite clausal complements.

3.3.4 Passive Higher Predicates

In the previous discussion, we have seen passives that take phrasal complements. However, passives also take clausal complements as in the following illustrations where their complement is in the subject position. The place of complements in the subject position needs theoretical explanation. However, this study is exclusively descriptive and hence I focused only on the complements.

123. nàʔá-ná-y máyú-wà wùʔ-èè-dd-á-wè ér-étt-èè-dd-á

boy-pl-nom cloth-acc steal-3ms-past-3ms know-pas-3ms-past-3ms

‘It was known that the boys stole the cloth.’

124. dárò métù méd-èè-dd-á-wè òd-étt-èè-dd-á

much problem occur-3ms-past-3ms-COMP tell-pas-3ms-past-3ms

‘It was told that there occur many problems.’

125. wòlk’ààmá búkk-ànà-wè òd-étt-èè-dd-á

powerful rain-infn-COMP tell-pas-3ms-past-3ms

‘It was told that there would be strong rain.’

In the (123) passive higher predicate [ér-étt-] ‘be known’ select clausal complement [nàʔá-ná-y máyú-wà wùʔ-èè-dd-á-we] ‘that the boys stole the cloth’. In (124) and (125), [òd-étt-] ‘be told’ take clausal complements [dárò métù méd-èè-dd-á-we] ‘that there occur many problems’ and [wòlk’ààmá búkk-ànà-we] ‘that there would be strong rain.’

3.3.5 Copulas Higher Predicate

In the previous chapter, we have seen copulas taking phrasal complements. Let us consider the copula selecting clausal complement. Dawro copula [-šín] select clausal complements as illustrated below.

126. í b-àná-w dè?-šín

he:nom go-infn-COMP cop-cop

‘He was about to go.’

127. ìzá m-àná-w dè?-šín

she eat-infn-COMP cop-cop

‘She was about to eat.’

The copula [šín-] selects the clausal complements [b-àná-w] ‘to go’ and [m-àná-w] ‘to eat’ in (126) and (127). The complement clauses are with the complementizer [-w]. When selecting infinitival clausal complements the copula [-šín] occurs with another copula [dè?-]. Hence, it cannot stand without [dè?-] when taking clausal complement. In (126) and (127) there is no any agreement marker on the copula [-šín]. This may indicate that the copula have the grammatical function of adverb.

3.4 Syntactic Variations and Tense Distinction in Complement Clauses

Another point that should be considered is the syntactic variation of complement clauses. As discussed previously, the basic word order of a simple sentence in Dawro is SOV. However, a word order other than the basic word order is possible in the language. For example, an object can come preceding a subject for emphatic reason as in (142) below.

128. kápò-tt-ó ádána-tt-á m-áá-dd-ù

bird-def:f-acc cat-def:f-nom eat-3fs-past-3fs

‘The cat ate the bird.’ (f)

As observed in (142) above, the complement [kápò-tt-ó] ‘the bird’ precedes the subject [ádána-tt-á] ‘the cat’ deviating from SOV word order of the language.

Dawro has the same word order in its matrix clause of the complex sentences as in any simple sentence and word order in the complement clause is the same as to the matrix

clause. However, constituents of the complement clauses can move for emphatic reasons. For instance, the subject can precede the object of complement clause for emphatic reason. As a result, it is grammatical in the language when the object of the complement clause comes before the subject without changing of the constituent order of the matrix clause and without any change in the meaning of its constituents or the whole sentence as in (129) and (130) below.

129. máyú-wà nàʔá-y wùʔ-èè-dd-á-wà tááni ér-ày
 cloth-acc child-nom steal-3ms-past-3ms-COMP I:nom know-1sg
 ‘I know that the boy stole the cloth.’

130. àstàmàrì-ì gòllé òòsú-wa támàrì-yà óts-ànà-dá òd-èè-dd-á
 teacher-nom home work-acc student do-1fn-COMP tell-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘The teacher told the student to do the home work.’

As can be observed in (129), the object (complement) of a complement clause [máyú-wà] ‘the cloth’ precedes the subject of the complement clause, [nàʔá-y] ‘the boy’. In such a case, the complement clause with its arguments precedes the matrix clause. However, the object of complement clause can also precede its subject when the complement clause with its arguments is in object position of the matrix clause. For instance, in (130), the object (complement) of the complement clause [gòllé òòsú-wa] ‘the home work’ comes at the beginning of the boundary of its clause without changing the word order in the matrix clause. From this, we can infer that word order in the complement clause may not necessarily be the same with the matrix clause.

Dawro complement clauses have different positions in the complex sentences. One of its frequent positions is in object position (sentence medial position) of the matrix clause as in (131) below.

131. táánì nàà-tt-ó b-àà-da òd-áá-dd-ì

I:nom child-def:f-acc go-infn-COMP tell-1sg-past-1sg

‘I told the girl to go.’

As demonstrated in (131), the complement clause [nàà-tt- ó b-àà-da] ‘the girl to go’ is placed in the object position of the sentence, between the subject of the matrix clause [táánì] ‘I’ and predicate [òd-] ‘tells’. From this, it might be inferred that the placement of complement clause between the subject and verb of matrix clause is somehow related to the SOV word order in the matrix clause.

In addition, it is possible to move the complement clause at the end of a sentence by extraposition (the process of moving complement clause to the end of complex sentences). In this case, the matrix clause with its arguments precedes the complement clause. For discourse and pragmatic /emphatic reason, it is still acceptable in the language to construct such types of sentences as demonstrated below. Hence, in the following sentences, the complement clauses are extraposed.

132. táánì òd-áá-dd-ì nàà-tt-á tárc'c'à-kkó b-àà-dá

I:nom tell-1sg-past-1sg child-def:f-nom tercha-prep go-infn-COMP

‘I told the girl to go to Tercha.’

133. táánì ér-i-kk-e tá íšà šálùwà nà?á-w ìmm-èè-dd-ènttó

I:nom know-1sg-neg-1sg my brother money boy-dat give-3ms-past-COMP

‘I do not know whether/if my brother gave the money to the boy.’

134. ìzá kóy-áá-dd-ù nábbáb-àà-w

she:nom want-3ms-past-3ms read-infn-COMP

‘She wanted to read’.

On the contrary, the complement clause with its arguments can precedes the matrix clause as in (135) and (136) below. As a result, the complement clause may come

preceding the matrix clause without changing of other constituents in the matrix clauses. In this case, the subject of the matrix clause comes immediately after the clausal complement. The following examples illustrate this fact.

135. nàʔá-y lààśá m-èè-dd-á-wa táání ér-áá-dd-ì
 boy-nom lunch eat-3ms-past-3ms-COMP I:nom know-1sg-past-1sg
 ‘I knew that the boy ate lunch.’

136. támàrì-tùù y-èè-dd-á-wà í òd- èè-dd-á
 student-pl come-3ms-past-3ms-COMP he:nom tell-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘He told that the students came.’

In the above constructions, the clausal complements occur in sentence initial position because of some pragmatic function such as presenting new information first.

Complement clauses have also syntactic function in a sentence. Complement clauses have the functions of subject complement and object complement (Anbessa teferra, 1987:11). Hence, they function as subjects or objects. Subject complement is a complement clause that functions as subject of a verb as in (137) whereas complement clause that functions the object position of the matrix verb is object complement as in (138) below.

137. nàʔà-ná-y máyú-wa wùʔ-èè-dd-á-wè ér-étt-èè-dd-á
 boy-pl-nom cloth-acc steal-3ms-past-3ms-COMP know-pas-3ms-past-3ms
 ‘It was known that the boys stole the cloth.’

Now I shall discuss subject marked or unmarked complement clauses in Dawro. In the language, infinitival clausal complements and complement clause with [-dá] complementizers are not overtly marked for subject. Consider the following examples.

138. ìzá nábbáb-àná-w kóy-áá-dd-ù
 she:nom read-infn-COMP want-3fs-past-3fs

‘She wanted to read.’

139. táánì í gòllé b-àná-dá òd-áá-dd-ì

I:nom he:nom home go-infn-COMP tell-1sg-past-1sg

‘I told him to go home.’

In (138) and (139), the predicates of the complement clauses are attached with the infinitive marker [-àná-]. Hence, the predicates do not inflect for agreement. As a result, in (138), in the predicate of the complement clause there is no any subject marker. Similarly, in (139), the subject of the complement clause [í] ‘he’ is unmarked in its predicate. The verbs of the matrix clauses in (138) and (139), on the other hand, do inflect for agreement.

Consequently, from (138) and (139), we can conclude that the subjects of the matrix clauses are marked while the subjects of complement clauses remain unmarked. Subsequently, the complement clauses are called subject unmarked.

On the other hand, complement clauses, which have non-coreferential subject with the matrix clause have marked subject. For instance in(1412) below, the subject of the complement clause is third person masculine singular marked by discontinuous morpheme [èè-á] while the subject of the matrix clause is first person singular which is indicated by the discontinuous morpheme [áá-ì].

Another point that should be raised is tense distinction in complement clauses. According to Noonan (2008:87), tense could be copied¹⁸ onto the complement clause from the higher predicates. In connection to tense copying, there will be primary and secondary tense distinction in complement clauses. Primary tense is tense which refers to the time of the utterance while secondary tense is the one that refers to the time of higher predicates.

¹⁸ Tense copying represents patterning the tense of the complement clause to the viewpoint of the speaker Noonan (2008:88).

142a. tááni nàʔá-y lààśá m-èè-dd-á-wa ér-áá-dd-ì

I:nom boy-nom lunch eat-3ms-past-3ms-COMP know-1sg-past-1sg

‘I knew that the boy ate lunch.’

142b. tááni nàʔá-y lààśá m-èè-dd-á-wa ér-ày

I:nom boy-nom lunch eat-3ms-past-3ms-COMP know-1sg

‘I know that the boy ate lunch.’

142c. ìzá í gòllé y-àná-w ér-áá-dd-ù.

she:nom he home come-infn-COMP know-3fs-past-3fs

‘She knew that he would come to home.’

143a. ìzá wòòśá kèètsá b-àná-w k'óp-áá-dd-ù

she:nom church house go-infn-COMP think-3fs-past-3fs.

‘She thought to go to church.’

143b. ìzá í wòòśá kèètsá b-èè-dd-á-wà k'óp-áá-dd-ù

she:nom he church house go-3ms-past-3ms-COMP think-3fs-past-3fs.

‘She thought that he went to church.’

143c. ìzá í wòòśá kèètsá b-èè-dd-á-wà k'óp-àù

she:nom he church house go-3ms-past-3ms-COMP think-3fs

‘She thinks that he went to church.’

144a. tááni í gòllé b-àná-dá òd-áá-dd-ì

I:nom he home go-infn-COMP tell-1sg-past-1sg

‘I told him to go home.’

144b. tàmará-tùù y-èè-dd-á-wà í òd- èè-dd-á

student-pl come-3ms-past-3ms-COMP he tell-3ms-past-3ms

‘He told that the students have come.’

In examples (142(a-c)), the complement clauses have independent time reference regardless of the tense of the higher predicate [ér-] ‘know’. For instance, in (142a) the tense of complement clause [nàʔá-y lààśá m-èè-dd-á-wà] ‘that the boy ate lunch’ is past and the tense of the higher predicate [ér-áá-dd-ì] is also past. In (142b) the tense of the complement clause is past and the tense of the higher predicate is present. In (142c) the complement clause has no tense and the higher predicate has past tense. Hence, the tense of the complement clause do not determined by the higher predicate. The same is true in examples (143 (a-c)) and (144(a-b)).

From the discussion on tense distinction, we can infer that in Dawro the tense of higher predicates may or may not determine tense distribution of the complement clause.

Chapter Four

Conclusion

In this paper, an attempt has been made to describe the verb complements of Dawro. The first chapter contains general information about the language and the people, statement of the problem, objective, significance, delimitation and methodology. It also includes review of previous works and some notes on the phonology of the language. The second and third chapters concerned about phrasal and clausal complements respectively while the fourth chapter presents a concluding remarks.

Hence, in chapter two an attempt was made to classify phrasal complement taking predicates according to the complement types they take. Phrasal complement taking predicates are classified as type one, type two and type three. Under, complements of type one verbs unaccusatives and passives are discussed. Accordingly, these verbs select noun phrase complements. Complements of type two verbs such as locative, motion and copular verbs are also discussed. The data shows that locative and motion verbs select adpositional phrasal complements whereas copulas take noun phrase, postpositional phrase or adjectival phrasal complements.

Under type three predicates, semitransitives, monotonatives and ditransitives are also discussed. Semitransitive verbs may or may not take complements. When they take complements, semitransitive predicates select noun phrase complements. Monotonative predicates select nominal phrasal complements and such complements cannot be deleted.

Ditransitive verbs on the other hand, select a nominal and a postpositional phrasal complements. The two complements can freely exchange their position without causing any difference in meaning. However, it will be ungrammatical for such verbs to occur with only one of the complements. It is also indicated that some ditransitive verbs have the characteristic of monotonative verbs. These verbs are acceptable either with one or two complements.

Clausal complements were also explored in chapter three. In the subsections of this chapter, complementizers (their syntactic and semantic analysis), higher predicates, and syntactic variations and tense distinction in complement clause were discussed.

Five complementizers, [-w], [-wà], [-dá], [-ènttó] and [-wè] have been identified and their semantic and syntactic analysis was made. Each of the complementizers has their own occurrence depending on the syntactic function and semantics of the complement clauses. Accordingly, the complementizer [-w] is used in infinitival object complement clauses when the idea in the complement clause is still expected to happen while [-wà] is used in object complement clauses when there is certainty in the idea of the complement clause. Complementizer [-dá] on the other hand, is used in object clausal complements of indirect commands/advice when the idea in the complement clause is still expected to happen. The complementizer [-ènttó] is used with object clausal complements to express dubious idea. The complementizer [-wè] is used in subject complement clauses when the truth of the idea in the complement clause is accorded with high degree.

The complementizers are obligatory and when they are deleted from complement clauses, the construction would result in ungrammatical sentences. However, complement clauses of direct quotes need no complementizers. Therefore, it has been frequently noted that complementizers are not dispensable in complement clauses of direct quotes. It has also been noticed that all the complementizers are suffixed to the predicate of complement clauses. In some cases, they are attached after inflections such as tense and agreement. In other cases, they are suffixed immediately after the infinitive marker. However, they do not attach directly to the verb root of the complement clauses. All complementizers occur at the end of complement clauses and immediately before the subject/verb of the main clause. However, when the matrix clause precedes the complement clause, the complementizers may occur at the end of a complex sentence.

Moreover, the complementizers [-wè] and [-wà] also have another function as relativizer. The complementizer [-wè] is used if the relativized clause is in subject position while [-wà] is used when the relativized clause is in object position.

Higher predicates and their complements were also described. As a result of this, higher predicates that take finite, non-finite, both finite and non-finite clausal complements were discussed. Consequently, predicates such as [ér-] ‘know’ and [sís-] ‘hear’ select finite clausal complement while the predicates [kóy-] ‘want’ and [kít-] ‘order’ take non-finite clausal complement. On the other hand, the predicates [k’óp-] ‘think’ and [òd-] ‘tell’ select either finite or non-finite clausal complements. In addition, passive higher predicates and copula higher predicates were also explored.

Though Dawro is an SOV language, the object may come first in a sentence. In addition, word order in complement clause is similar with word order in the matrix clause. However, the complement clause may change the order of its constituents. For instance, the object and subject of complement clauses can exchange their position. Therefore, the sequential order of the constituents of complement clause is not fixed in the language and word order in the complement clauses does not determine word order in complement clauses. Subject marked and unmarked complement clauses were also assessed. Accordingly, subject unmarked infinitival complement clauses contrast with subject marked complement clauses.

It has been observed that the distribution of the complement clauses in complex sentences seems arbitrary in the language. Sometimes, it comes at the beginning, at the end, or at the middle of the matrix clause. However, it frequently occurs in an object position of the matrix clause.

Tense distinction in complement clauses was also explored in the language. The result shows that the tense of the complement clauses may or may not be determined by higher predicates.

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that 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 with my approval as a university advisor.

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