

**The Syntax of Non-verbal Predication in
Amharic and Geez**

Published by
LOT
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6111

e-mail: lot@uu.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: The Dome Tower and its surrounding, Utrecht by Mulusew Asratie

ISBN: 978-94-6093-154-3
NUR 616

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**The Syntax of Non-verbal Predication
in Amharic and Geez**

De syntaxis van Non-verbale predicatie
in het Amhaars en Geez
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit Utrecht

op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. G.J. van der
Zwaan, ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties
in het openbaar te verdedigen op woensdag 19 november 2014
des ochtends te 10.30 uur

door

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geboren op 7 januari 1972
te Felegebirhan, Ethiopië

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This dissertation would not be a reality without the help of other people and institutions. I would like to begin with Addis Ababa University and Utrecht University, the former for giving me a study leave and the latter for giving me the position. The dissertation is carried out by the financial support of NWO. I owe special thanks to these institutions.

June 18, 2009 has a special place for this dissertation. It was on that day that I was introduced to Ora Matushansky who has been providing me an indispensable support. Ora, your role goes back to the inception of this project. Our first contact begins with a telephone interview for the PhD position. I should thank you first for your trust on me.

After the start of the project, your input was so immense. You helped me in identifying the focal areas of the dissertation. The ideas in each of the titles and subtitles of the dissertation are enriched by your comments and suggestions. Our frequent meetings were not only limited to office hours. We were also meeting in weekends and even at mid night through Skype and telephone. Especially when I was in Ethiopia, where disappointing failure of internet connection is so common, you were also reaching me through the very expensive telephone call. Ora, compared to your unreserved effort, the dissertation might not have reached to the level of your expectation. But, your power goes beyond this dissertation. You have changed my understanding of syntax a lot. **ሰብሃት ለኪ (Thank you in Geez)** for all what she did for me.

Martin Everaert also deserves my special thanks. Martin, despite your busy schedule, you were always there whenever I needed your assistance. You were so patient to listen to my ideas no matter how naïve they were. The several discussions we made, the comments and suggestions you gave me have improved the dissertation a lot. **አመሰግናለሁ (Thank you in Amharic) Martin.** Bert Le Bruyn and Desirée Capel have translated my abstract in to Dutch. Thank you, Bert and Desirée for the timely response and translation.

Maaïke Schoorlemmer has been providing me a lot of support starting for my arrival in Utrecht. Maaïke, the ‘cultural shock’ (as you called it) I experienced in my first days in Utrecht could have turned everything off had you not been there. Throughout my stay in UiL-OTS, you were always helpful to me. The ‘how are you?’ emails you were writing to me and your warm welcome whenever I wanted to talk to you were so comforting.

I have also benefited a lot from the syntax and semantics lectures of UiL-OTS professors particularly Sief Barbiers, Henriette de Swart, Bert Le Bruyn, Joost Zwarts, Rick Nouwen, Eric Reuland, Alexis Dimitraïdis Ora Matushansky. Attending your classes was so interesting. Thank you.

My informants Zelalem Meseret, Belay Mekonnen, Muluken Andualem, Getachew Endalamaw and Dereje Gebre also deserve my thanks. Thank you for our fruitful discussions. Another group of people to be mentioned here are members of my intervision group. André Krom, Marko Simonovic, Rob Zwitserlood, Qijun Han (Cynthia), Liv Persson, Daria Bahtina-Jantsikene, Tom Wang and Rogier Kraf. The formal and informal discussions we had were unforgettable. Cynthia, you were so nice to chat with at occasional morning coffee, evening beer or dinner

UiL-OTS is an excellent environment to work. I owe my gratitude to Martin Everaert, Maaïke Schoorlemmer, and Henriette de Swart as well as the secretaries Yvonne van Adrichem, Mariëtte van Bonenkamp, Martien Kamphuis, and Martine Paulissen. I was also lucky enough to share the attic in Janskerkhof and Trans with Bert Le Bruyn (who is always ready to help others), Gianluca Giorgiolo, Sander van der Harst, Aihemaiti Kayshaer, Marie-Elise Van Der Ziel, Ana Aguilar, Kiki Kushartanti, Rianne Schippers, Anna Volkova, Jingwei Zhang, Anja Goldschmidt and Björn 't Hart and Jolien J. Scholten. Thank you for being good officemates.

I am also thankful to the following fellow PhD students whom I met in UiL-OTS: Daria Bahtina-Jantsikene and Xiajuan (Judy) Xiong, Marijke de Helder, Rianne Schippers, Anna Volkova, Jingwei Zhang, Desirée Capel, Bettina Gruber, Xiaoli Dong, Tom Lentz, Frans Adriaans, Nadya Goldberg, Dagmar Schadler, Jacomine Nortier, Marieke Schouwstra, Anneloes Canestrelli, Liv Persson, Loes Koering, Ao Chen, Ji Liu, Yueru Ni, Nicole Grégoire, Hannah de Mulder, Luca Ducceschi, Liquan Liu, Marko Hladnik, Brigitta Keij, Sandrien van Ommen, Alexia Guerra Rivera, Anqi Yang, Anna Chernilovskaya, Eva Poortman, Sharon Unsworth, Assaf Toledo, Ileana Grama, Hanna de Vries and others whose name I might have not mentioned here.

My stay in the Netherlands was very enjoyable with my friends Melaku Manaye, Amensisa Ayana (including his family), Yared Abebe, Sanni Mohammed and Mulugeta Tsegaye. Thank you for making life in the Netherlands full of fun. Tesfa Mengistu, Feven and Rahel also deserve my thanks. Owners of the Sunshine Ethiopian restaurant in Utrecht (Ato Zeleke,

W/ro Yebahreka and their children) were so special to visit on holidays and weekends. Thank you for your hospitality. I was feeling home while I visited you. My friends Getachew Adam, Seyum Tikeher, Yihunie Ayele and Yaregal Asabe has been providing me with great moral support.

I stayed in Utrecht while I left my family back home. This could not be possible without the strength and patience of Etalemahu Mengesha (Et), my wife. She was not only taking care of the family, she was also my engine. Et, my thanks are beyond words. Selam Shiferaw (Eta), a lot of things were on your shoulder. Thank you so much for being such a strong and good sister. My son Hiruy Mulusew, the dark days were too long; but they are over now. Thank you for allowing me to sit in front of the computer although it had been so boring to you. My brothers Yeshiwas Enyew and Mulugeta Asratie were taking care of my family. Woynshet Desalegn, Yehizbalem Asratie, Tarekegn Fente, Wudalem Asratie, Belayneh Esubalew, Belaynesh Shiferaw, Teshome Asratie, Bamlaku Desalegn and Dirib Biru were also supporting my family and encouraging me.

In my absence my family was so lucky to stay with the very hospitable family of Ato Yirgalem Woldeyesus (Aba) and W/ro Atsede Birega (Atse). Atse, Aba, Mikiyas Yirgalem , Ruth Yirgalem, Ato Birega Yahoche , w/ro Mulunesh Yirga, Etenesh Birega , Askale Birega and Nahom Mulugeta, you deserve my special thanks for being so good to us. እግዚአብሔር እድሜና ጤና ይሰጥልኝ።

I extend my gratitude to the following linguistics professors at Addis Ababa University who introduced linguistics to me: Getahun Amare, Baye Yimam, Girma Awgichew and Bikale Seyum and zelealem Leyew. I also thank my colleagues at Addis Ababa University who supported me in one way or another: Getachew Endalamaw, Dereje Gebre, Alem Eshetu, Wondwosen Adane, Sinknesh Atale, Alemu Kassaye, Zerihun Asfaw, Zelalem Meseret, Fekade Azeze, Mehari Zemelak, Tewodros Gebre, Girma Gebre, Selamawit Mecca, Yenialeh Aredo, Teshager Asmare, Melkam Geshaye, Shewangizaw Balkew, Yemisirach Ayalew, Meaza Gebru, Semira Mohammed, Ayele Fikre, Mohammed Ali, Yewondwosen Awlache, and Aregga Hailemichael.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- 1 = FIRST PERSON
- 2 = SECOND PERSON
- 3 = THIRD PERSON
- A = ADJECTIVE
- ACC = ACCUSATIVE
- AFF = AFFECTED
- AFFP = AFFECTEDNESS PHRASE
- AGR= AGREEMENT
- AP= ADJECTIVAL PHRASE
- APL= APPLICATIVE
- ASP = ASPECT
- ASPP = ASPECT PHRASE
- AUX= AUXILIARY
- C(OMP) = COMPLETIZER
- CAUS = CAUSATIVE
- CIT = CITATION
- CP = COMPLETIZER PHRASE
- CS = CONSTRUCT STATE
- D = DETERMINER
- DAT = DATIVE
- DEF= DEFINITE
- DO = DIRECT OBJECT
- IO = INDIRECT OBJECT
- DSTL= DISTAL
- DSTNT = DISTANT
- DUR = DURATION
- ECM = EXCEPTIONAL CASE MARKING

ESS = ESSIVE
F(EM) = FEMININE
FOC = FOCUS
GEN = GENITIVE
GRND = GERUND
IP= INFLECTIONAL PHRASE
IMPERF = IMPERFECTIVE
IMPRTV = IMPERATIVE
INFNTV = INFINITIVE
INSTR = INSTRUMENTAL
INTRMDT = INTERMEDIATE
M(ASC) = MASCULINE
N = NOUN
NEG = NEGATION
NOM = NOMINATIVE
NP = NOUN PHRASE
O(BJ) = OBJECT
P = PREPOSITION
PASS = PASSIVE
PERF = PERFECTIVE
PF = PHONETIC FORM
PL = PLURAL
PP = PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE
PRES = PRESENT
PROX = PROXIMATE
PRTCNT = PARTICIPANT
PST = PAST
S(UBJ) = SUBJECT
SC= SMALL CLAUSE
SG = SINGULAR
T= TENSE
TAM = TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD

TP = TENSE PHRASE

TRS = TRANSLATIVE

V = VERB

VP = VERB PHRASE

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PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

This dissertation is about non-verbal predication - i.e. the main predicate is an NP, an AP or a PP - in two Ethiopian Semitic languages, namely Amharic and Geez¹. Amharic belongs to the South Ethiopian branch of the Semitic language subfamily. It is the most widely spoken language. Unlike Amharic, Geez does not have native speakers these days. It is used as a liturgical language of Ethiopian Orthodox Church in the same way as Latin was/is used in the Catholic Church. It is taught as a second language in the traditional schools of the church. Non-verbal predication in Amharic and Geez shows some properties which are not seen in better known languages like English. These properties are mainly visible in their copular system and case-marking properties of the predicative NPs and APs that show up with the copulas. The main objective of this dissertation is to provide a syntactic analysis for these copular clauses which explains the variation we will discuss below.

The thesis is organized in three parts which constitute six chapters, and another concluding chapter. The first part is the background. It contains two chapters. The first chapter introduces the research problem, the theoretical framework and the review of literature. Chapter two deals with aspect, tense and agreement system of the languages, which serves as a spring board to explain a number of phenomena in the chapters that follow.

¹ The ISO 639 identifier is: amh; for Geez: gez. Geez is also known as Ethiopic

Part two (i.e. chapters three and four) focuses on the non-verbal predication system of Amharic. In chapter three, I discuss why Amharic copulas differ in terms of agreement system and type of predicate they show up with. In chapter four, I discuss the nominative and accusative alternation of the predicate case-marking.

Part three (chapter five and six) deals with Geez. In chapter five, I discuss the copulaless clauses and copular verbs. In chapter six, I deal with pronominal and prepositional copulas. The case-marking system of Geez copular clauses will be discussed along with the discussion of each type of copula. Chapter seven concludes the thesis.

2. The problem

Amharic has three copular² verbs *nāw*, *allä* and *nabbär*, which are used to indicate tense (Goldenberg 1964, Demeke and Meyer 2001, Demeke 2003, Yimam 2006 among others). The copulas *nāw* and *allä* indicate present tense. The former is a predicational copula while the latter is an existential copula. The copula *nabbär* is the past counterpart of both *nāw* and *allä*. These copular verbs differ in terms of their agreement system and the type of predicate they show up with. The present tense predicational copula *nāw* is obligatorily marked for what are traditionally known as subject and object agreement and it appears with all types of predicates (NPs, APs, and PPs) (1):

- (1) *saba*³ *māmhir/tällik’/i-bet wist’* *n-ø-at*⁴
Saba *teacher/tall/at-house inside* *be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O*
Saba is a teacher/tall/at home.

² By the term copula, I am referring to a semantically vacuous element which is neither part of the subject nor the predicate in non-verbal predication. In Amharic, the copular verbs *nāw*, *nabbär* and *allä* also differ from other lexical verbs in their morphological behavior. Unlike lexical verbs, they have only perfective form. They do not have imperfective form. This distinguishes, real copular verbs from the apparent ones. For example, many people consider the verb *honä* in Amharic as a copula. Unlike the real copular verbs, however, *honä* behaves like other lexical verbs in that it has perfective (*honä*) and imperfective (*y#hun*) aspect.

³ *Saba* is the name of a female person.

⁴ Note that the 3MSG subject agreement marker *-ä* disappears due to phonological reason. Amharic does not allow two consecutive vowel clusters.

The present tense existential copula *allä* and the past tense copula *näbbär* on the other hand are marked for subject agreement or for subject and object agreement with a corresponding alternation in BE (locative) and HAVE (possessive) interpretations. When they are marked only for subject agreement, they are interpreted as BE. In this case, *allä* shows up only with PPs (2)a while *näbbär* shows up with all types of predicates (2)b.

- (2) a. saba *mämh̄r/*t̄ll̄k'/i-bet wist' **all-äčč**
 Saba *teacher/*tall/at-house inside be.PRES-3FSG_S
Saba is at the home.
- b. saba mäh̄r/t̄ll̄k'/i-bet wist' **näbbär-äčč**
 Saba teacher/tall/at-house inside be.PST-3FSG_S
Saba was a teacher/tall/at home.

When they are marked for subject and object agreement, they are interpreted as HAVE and they show up only with NPs (3):

- (3) saba tamari-wočč **all-u-at/** **näbbär-u-at**
 Saba student-PL be.PRES-3PL_S-3FSG_O/ be.PST-3PL_S-3FSG_O
Saba has/had students.

Furthermore, the case-marking pattern of NPs and APs in Amharic varies depending on the copula. With the copula *näw* and the BE interpretation of *näbbär*, NP and AP predicates can be nominative, which is morphologically unmarked, or accusative while the subject is always nominative (4). With the HAVE interpretation of *allä* and *näbbär*, on the other hand, the possessor and the possessee are always nominative (5):⁵

- (4) a. saba tämari-wa/ tämari-wa-n n-ø-at
 Saba.NOM student-DEF.NOM/ student-DEF-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3FSG_O
Saba is the student. (with nominative)
Saba is just like the student. (with accusative)

⁵ Note that the definite markers *-u(w)* and *-wa* are homophonous with the 3MSG and 3FSG genitive agreement markers. As a result, the nouns which are marked for these suffixes are always ambiguous between definite and possessive interpretations. For example *tämari-w* can mean 'the student (masc.)' or 'his student'. Similarly, *tämari-wa* can mean 'the student (fem.)' or 'her student'.

The copular elements in Geez also differ in terms of their agreement system and type of predicate they show up with, just like Amharic copulas. Pronominal copulas (7)a and the verbal copula *konä* (7)c agree only with the subject and show up with all types of predicates. The prepositional copula and the copular verb *halläwa* alternate between BE (locative) and HAVE (possessive) interpretations with a corresponding difference in agreement marking. In their BE interpretation the prepositional copula takes the default 3MSG subject agreement (7)b and the copular verb *halläwä* agrees only with the subject (7)d:

- (7) a. *antimu* *mämhir-an/ näwwiha-n/ wistä bet* *antimu*
 you.MPL teacher-PL/ tall-PL/inside house you.MPL
You guys are/were teachers/ tall/ at home.
- b. **b-o** *may* *wistä* *bahr*
 in-3MSG.GEN water inside sea
There is/was water in a sea.
- c. **wä-kon-ä** *abel* *nolawe abag?-a/yäwwah-a/ la?lä*
 and-be.PERF-3MSG_S Abel shepherd-ACC/polite-ACC/top
*manbär*⁸
 chair
And Abel was a shepherd/polite/ on the chair.
- d. **halläw-ä** *mäs'haf* *la?lä* *mänbär*
 be.PERF-3MSG_S book top chair
There is/was a book on the chair.

As (8)a shows, in their HAVE interpretation, the prepositional copula agrees with the possessor while the verbal copula establishes subject agreement with the possessee and object agreement with the possessor (8)b:

⁸ The form of the accusative marker in Geez varies depending on the final sound on the nominal. It is *-e* before front vowels (*nolawi* > *nolawe*), *-o* before back vowels (*wäldu* > *woldo*) and *a* before glottal consonants (*yäwwah* > *yäwwaha*) and *ä* in other environments (*wäld* > *wäldä*).

- (8) a. **b-atti** awald lä-biʔsit
in-3FSG-GEN girl.PL to-woman
The woman has/had children.
- b. **halläw-ø-a** mäsʔhaf lä-saba
be-3MSG_S-3FSG_O book to-Saba
Saba has/had a book.

Furthermore, NPs and APs in Geez copular clauses show various case-marking patterns (Teklemariam 1899, Dillmann 1907, Kifle 1948, Fenta 1986). With copulaless clauses and pronominal copulas, both the subject and the predicate are nominative, which is morphologically unmarked (9)a. With the copular verb *konä*, the predicate is accusative while the subject is nominative (9)b. With the prepositional copula and verbal copula *halläwä*, on the other hand, the case-making varies depending on the BE and HAVE interpretations. In the BE interpretation, the subject is nominative while the location can be a PP or accusative (9)c&d. In the HAVE interpretation, the possessor is dative and the possessee is nominative (9)e:

- (9) a. antimu (wiʔtu) mämhir-an/ näwwih-an
you.MPL.NOM he teacher-PL.NOM/ tall-PL.NOM
You guys are teachers/tall.
- b. kon-ä yonas mämhir-ä/sännay-ä
be.PERF-3MSG_S Jonas.NOM teacher-ACC/good-ACC
Jonas is/was a teacher/handsome.
- c. b-o/ halläw-u sʔadkʔan wistä bet-kä
in-3MSG-GEN/ be-3MPL_S righteous-PL inside house-2MSG-GEN
There are/were righteous people in your house.
- d. halläw-u gädam-ä
be.PERF-3MPL_S field-ACC
They are/were in the field.

- e. b-atti/ hall-~~o~~-wa mäs'haf lä-saba
in-3FSG_{.GEN}/ be-3MSG_S-3FSG_O book.NOM to-Saba
Saba has/had a book.

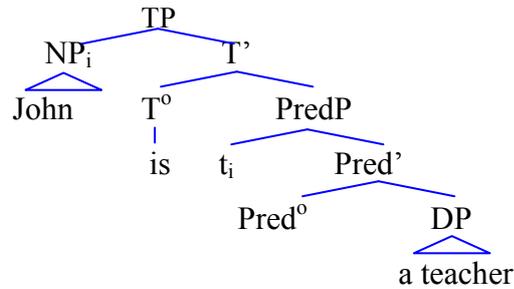
To sum up, the non-verbal predication systems of Amharic and Geez exhibit variation along the following lines:

- I. Amharic:
 - a. agreement system
 - b. type of predicate the copular verbs show up with
 - c. case-marking of NPs/APs
- II. Geez:
 - a. presence vs. absence of a copula
 - b. lexical category of the copula (verb, pronoun, preposition)
 - c. agreement system
 - d. type of predicate the copulas show up with
 - e. case-marking of NPs and APs

Theoretically speaking, copular constructions are assumed to have a uniform structure. They are considered to be built on a predicational core known as a *small clause* (Stowell 1981, Bowers 1993, den Dikken 2006 among others). The copula - inserted in order to provide information about tense, aspect and mood (TAM) - is assumed to take this small clause as a complement. The syntactic derivation of copular clauses then proceeds in such a way that the copula at TP establishes agreement with the subject of the small clause. The subject is assigned nominative case as a byproduct of the agreement it enters with the copula, and it moves to spec, TP in order to satisfy the EPP feature of T⁰. Since Bowers (1993), the small clause is assumed to be headed by a functional head known as Pred⁰. Accordingly, the syntactic structure of the English copular clause *John is a teacher* is analyzed as follows:

⁹ See section 4 about EPP

(10)



Given this uniform analysis, cross-linguistic variation with regard to the copular system and case-marking of subjects and predicates in Amharic and Geez, as described above, raises a question. If copular constructions have a uniform structure, which involves a copula and a small clause construction which looks like (10), how is the morpho-syntactic variation that we see in the non-verbal predication system of Amharic and Geez explained? The main objective of this dissertation is to provide answer to this question. Specifically, the dissertation provides a syntactic analysis for Amharic and Geez copular clauses which explains:

1. Why the copular elements in Amharic and Geez differ in terms of their agreement system and type of predicate they show up with.
2. What is the status of copulaless clauses in Geez.
3. Why the copular elements in Geez differ in their category.
4. What determines the case-marking patterns of NPs/APs that show up with different copulas.

3. The data

The data used in this study comes from a number of secondary sources, as well as from my own fieldwork, which took place in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from October 2010 to January 2011. For Amharic, the data is obtained from my native intuition and from that of two other native speakers, Getachew Endalamaw, 55, male and Dereje Gebre, 53, male. The data for Geez is collected from three sources: (1) Geez grammar books, (2) texts written in Geez, and (3) individuals who have extensively studied the language. The grammar books mainly used for this study are የግዕዝ ቋንቋ ሰዋሰው (yägī?ē k'uank'ua sāwasiw) written by Aba Teklemariam in 1899, መጽሐፈ ሰዋሰው

ወግስ ወመዝገብ ቃላት ሐዲስ (*mäs 'hafä säwasiw wägiss wämäzgabä qalat haddis*) written by Kidaneweld Kifle in 1948, **ፍኖት ግዕዝ** (*Finotä Giʾez*) written by Yared Fenta in 1986 and *Ethiopic Grammar* written by August Dillmann in 1907. The Geez texts are mainly extracts from the Bible, which is accessible online from <http://www.tau.ac.il/~hacohen/Biblia.html> and <http://www.ethiopianorthodox.org/reference.html>. The informants whom I consulted are Zelalem Meseret, 53, male; Belay Mekonnen 55, male, and Muluken Andualem, 43, male. All of them have studied the language for more than ten years in the traditional schools of the Ethiopian Orthodox church and graduated as Geez teachers. Currently, they are engaged in teaching and researching on the language. In particular, Zelalem Meseret teaches Geez at Addis Ababa University, Belay Mekonnen has published books on Geez, and Muluken Andualem is a Geez instructor in Axum University, Ethiopia. He wrote his dissertation on Geez grammar¹⁰.

The data collection from the informants took place based on the questionnaire attached in the appendix. First, the questionnaire was distributed to each of the informants so that they can give the Geez and Amharic translations of the given English sentences. After they returned the

¹⁰ Note that all of the Geez informants have learned the language as a second language. There have been arguments regarding the reliability of the grammaticality judgments of second language speakers for linguistics research. For example Davies and Kaplan (1998) argue that second language learners do not use the same strategies as native speakers in grammaticality judgments, thereby creating doubt on theoretical claims based on data elicited from them. On the other hand, Mandell (1999), after comparing the grammatical judgments of intermediate and advanced Spanish second language learners, have concluded that grammaticality judgment data from these second language Spanish learners is a reliable measure of linguistic knowledge. This may cast some doubt on the reliability of the data obtained from my Geez informants. Two things need to be considered here, however. Firstly, my informants, although they learned the language as a second language, are beyond the subjects (intermediate and advanced learners), which are used as a source of data for the researchers mentioned above. As stated, my informants are linguistically sophisticated in that they not only master the language, but also engage in teaching and researching on it. This means that they have high proficiency which enables them not only to assess general grammaticality, but also to identify and/or correct particular details as indicated by Gass (1983). Secondly, they are not the sole source of data. The data obtained from them is cross-checked against the grammar books and texts in order to make it more reliable.

filled out questionnaire, individual discussion was conducted with each of them for about 4-6 hours. The discussion was recorded on tape.

In the dissertation, all examples coming from secondary sources are marked as such, with their sources indicated. For the remaining data, which is collected from informants and grammar books, the relevant sources are indicated in footnotes or in the accompanying discussion.

4. Theoretical framework and review of related literature

4.1. The minimalist program in brief

The theoretical framework adopted in this study is the Principles and Parameters Theory, specifically, the Minimalist Program developed in Chomsky (1995, 2000, and 2001). In Minimalism, language is assumed to be based on simple principles that interact to form intricate structures. Like the earlier versions of Generative Grammar (Transformational Generative Grammar and Government and Binding theory), Minimalism hypothesizes that there is a component in the human cognitive system specialized for language. This cognitive component is assumed to interact with other cognitive systems, namely, the phonological-articulatory (P-A) and the conceptual-intentional (C-I) systems which interpret linguistic expressions.

Any linguistic expression is acceptable only if it is legible to the P-A and C-I systems. As a result, linguistic representations have only two interfaces, which are known as phonological form (PF) and logical form (LF) that correspond to the P-A and C-I systems respectively. The PF is an input for P-A, and the LF is an input for C-I. Syntactic constructions are built through three operations known as *Merge*, *Move* and *Agree*. *Merge* is a binary operation which is applied recursively. This means that two objects merge and form a bigger syntactic object, and the bigger object merges with another object to form another bigger object:

$$(11) \quad \text{Merge } (X, Y) \longrightarrow Z$$

Move (also known as *internal merge*) and *Agree* are applied to merged objects. The notions of *Agree* and *move* are highly related to formal features. Thus, in order to understand them, it is better to start with the discussion of features. Syntactic constituents are endowed with semantic, phonological and grammatical (formal) features. Among these features, the phonological and semantic ones are interpretable at PF and LF respectively since they are

legible to the P-A & C-I systems. Grammatical features, however, can be interpretable or uninterpretable. For example phi-features (number, gender and person features) are interpretable on nouns, but uninterpretable on verbs. Moreover, heads have an uninterpretable EPP feature which requires their specifiers to be filled.

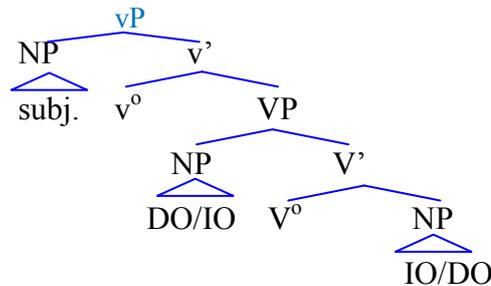
In order for a derivation to converge at the interfaces, uninterpretable features have to be deleted. The process of deleting uninterpretable features is done through a feature checking operation which involves *Agree* and *move*. Through *Agree* a head which contains uninterpretable features targets another constituent which contains interpretable features. If the features agree, the uninterpretable phi-features of the head are erased or deleted. If not, the derivation crashes. The operation *Move* is used to check the uninterpretable EPP feature of heads. That is in order to satisfy the EPP feature of a head, a constituent moves from the complement position to the specifier position of that head. Satisfying the EPP feature may also involve inserting an expletive rather than movement.

4.2. The structure of copular clauses

In Minimalism, a clausal structure is assumed to be built on a predicational core on which other functional projections, which are responsible for checking formal features (case, agreement and EPP features), and information structure are built. In the verbal predication, the predicational core is built by filling the argument structure of the verb. For example, the predicational core of a clause which is built on a di-transitive verb contains one object as a complement of V, the other object as specifier of the VP and the subject as specifier of vP (little vP)¹¹:

¹¹ whether the direct or indirect object is the complement of V is a debating issue. For example Chomsky (1981) and Larson (1988) argue that the indirect object is the complement of V. Hoekstra (1991) on the other hand argues that the direct object is the complement of V.

(12)



As we mentioned earlier, in copular constructions the predicational core has been known as a *small clause* (Stowell 1981, Bowers 1993, den Dikken 2006), which, since Bowers (1993), is assumed to be headed by a functional head, Pred^0 , which is the equivalent of the v^0 of verbal predication. In such clauses, the copula - inserted in order to provide information about tense, aspect and mood (TAM) - is assumed to take this small clause as a complement. The syntactic derivation of copular clauses then proceeds in such a way that the copula at TP establishes agreement with the subject of the small clause in order to check its uninterpretable phi-features. The subject is assigned nominative Case as a byproduct of the agreement it enters with the copula, and it, moves to spec, TP in order to satisfy the EPP feature of T as demonstrated in (10) above.

Given this uniform analysis, cross-linguistic variation with regard to the copular system and case-marking of subjects and predicates, as described above in Amharic and Geez, raises a number of questions. If copular constructions have a uniform structure, which involves a copula and a small clause construction which looks like (10), what is the syntactic status of clauses without a copula? Why do some languages have more than one copula which differ in terms of the type of predicate they show up with and their agreement system? Why do languages show variation in case-marking patterns of the NPs/APs in copular constructions? These questions have been addressed by a number of researchers based on data from different languages. In the sections that follow, I review some of the literature that addresses these questions.

4.2.1. Absence of a copula

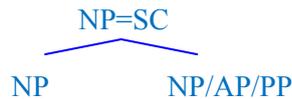
Clauses that do not contain a copula are found in a number of languages such as Arabic (Mouchaweh 1986), Hebrew (Doron 1983, Rapoport 1987),

Russian (Pereltsvaig 2001). Among Ethiopian languages, Oromo (Kebede 1981), Hadiya (Sim 1989) and Gumuz (Irwin 1966, Ahland 2012) exhibit copulaless clauses. In the generative literature, the syntax of such clauses is given two types of analyses: a *small clause analysis* and a *full clause analysis*. The small clause analysis was first introduced by Mouchaweh (1986) and adopted by Rapoport (1987) and Rothstein (1995). Such analysis considers clauses that lack copular elements matrix small clauses. For example, Rapoport claims that Hebrew clauses which contain no copula (13)a, unlike those which contain a pronominal copula (13)b and a verbal copula (13)c, are matrix small clauses that do not contain a functional layer.

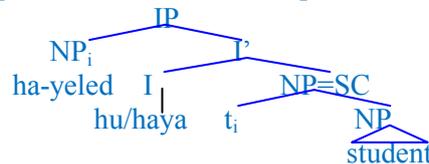
- (13) a. ha-yeled student
 the-boy student
 The boy is a student.
- b. ha-yeled hu student
 the-boy he student
 The boy is a student.
- c. ha-yeled haya student
 the-boy was.M student
 The boy was a student.

She then analyzes their syntax as in (14)a, as opposed to (14)b:

- (14) a. copulaless clauses:



- b. clauses with pronominal and verbal copulas:



Under this analysis, the presence of a phonologically null copula is ruled out for theoretical reasons. For example, Rapoport argues against null copula based on Travis' (1984) idea that every empty category must be licensed either through lexical government or antecedent government. This means that the content of every empty category should be recoverable. If copulaless

clauses had contained a functional projection dominating the small clause, the contents of the head of this functional projection would not be recoverable since it is neither lexically governed nor has local antecedent.

To explain why matrix small clauses are allowed in Hebrew, Rapoport claims that it is because there is a morphological agreement in number and gender between the subject and the predicate, and that the subject is assigned Case through this morphological agreement:

- (15) a. dani xol-e
 Dani sick.MASC
 Dani is sick.
- b. tali xol-a
 Tali sick-FEM
 Tali is sick.
- c. tali ve-david xol-im
 Tali and-David sick-MPL
 Tali and David are sick.
- d. tali ve-xeli xol-ot
 Tali and-Xeli sick-FPL
 Tali and Xeli are sick.

However, she also pointed out that this analysis fails to explain matrix small clauses which contain PP predicates that do not morphologically agree with the subject:

- (16) yoram al ha traktor
 Yoram on the-tractor
 Yoram is on the tractor.

The *full-clause* analysis of copulaless clauses is advocated by Doron (1983), Déchaine (1993), Benmamoun (2000) and recently by Hazout (2010). In this analysis, copulaless clauses are assumed to be full-fledged clauses just like those which contain overt copulas except that the copula/tense projection is phonologically null or abstract. Arguments in favor of this analysis come from two sides: the similarity between copulaless clauses and full clauses (Doron 1983, Déchaine 1993, Benmamoun 2000) and the differences between copulaless clauses and small clauses (Hazout 2010). Benmamoun (2000:40-42) lists six similarities, including those mentioned by Doron

(1983) and Déchaine (1993) between copulaless clauses and full clauses in Arabic on the basis of which he claims that copulaless clauses must contain a tense projection (TP). The first of these similarities is that copulaless clauses can contain temporal adverbs, which Benmamoun claims to be anchored by tense:

- (17) omar f-d-dar daba Moroccan Arabic
 Omar in-the-house now
Omar is in the house now.

Secondly, embedded copulaless clauses have a present tense interpretation even if the matrix verb is past:

- (18) a. qal bəlli Omar f-d-dar Moroccan Arabic
 say.PAST.3MSG that Omar in-the-house
He said that Omar is in the house.
- b. qul-ti bəlli Omar naʕəs
 say.PAST-2SG that Omar sleeping
You said that Omar is sleeping.

Thirdly, copulaless sentences are dominated by a complementizer *bəlli* (18)b which is allowed only in tensed clauses, but not in non-tensed clauses (19)a, nor genuine small clauses (19)b:

- (19) a. ʃiʕb baʃ/*bəlli y-ʒi Moroccan Arabic
 difficult that 3M-come
It is difficult for him to come.
- b.* ʃəf-t bəlli Omar naʕəs
 see.PAST-1S that Omar sleeping
Intended meaning: I saw Omar sleeping.

Fourthly, the subject of copulaless clauses is assigned nominative Case:

- (20) t-ṭaalib-u fii l-maktabati Standard Arabic
 the-student-NOM in the-library
The student is in the library.

Fifthly, both the subject and the predicate can be *wh*-moved in questions and relatives, which suggest that these clauses contain CPs¹²:

- (21) a. *škun f-d-dar* Moroccan Arabic
 who in-the-house
Who is in the house?
- b. *fin Omar*
 where Omar
Where is Omar?
- c. *1-wəld lli f-d-dar*
 the-boy who in-the-house
The boy who is in the house.

Sixthly, the subject of the copulaless sentence can be an expletive pronominal, which is inserted in spec, TP:

- (22) *lazəm tə-mši ltəmna* Moroccan Arabic
 necessary 2-go there
It is necessary for you to go there.

Benmamoun argues that these properties belong to full clauses. Copulaless clauses could not show these properties if they were small clauses. He then claims that they contain a tense projection and should be analyzed as full clauses. To explain the absence of a copular element, Benmamoun relies on Chomsky's (1995) assumption that functional categories are specified for uninterpretable categorial [+V] and [+D] features which need to be checked in the derivation. He then argues that T in Arabic is specified only for [+D] feature in the present tense and for [+V, +D] features in the past and future. The verbal copula is required in order to check the [+V] feature of T. Since the present in Arabic does not have [+V] feature, a verbal copula is not required. As a result, present tense clauses appear without a copula.

Hazout's argument in favor of a full clause analysis of copulaless clauses, on the other hand, is based on the difference between copulaless clauses and canonical small clauses. His argument basically comes from what he calls *predicative* and *atmospheric* interpretations of some Hebrew predicates which, according to him, are determined by the referentiality of

¹² Benmamoun does not provide any evidence whether the *wh*-words in such clauses undergo movement or not.

the subject. By atmospheric interpretation, Hazout is referring to the type of interpretation in which a property denoted by the predicate is registered as present in a given spatiotemporal location without being attributed to a specific object in the same way as describing a weather condition like *it is cold*. The atmospheric interpretation obtains when the subject is an expletive *pro* (23)a as opposed to the predicative interpretation which obtains when the subject is referential (NP/DP/PRO), as in (23)b:

- (23) a. kar hayom
 cold today
It is cold today. Atmospheric interpretation
 #*One is being cold today.* Predicative interpretation
- b. ha-manoa kar. Predicative interpretation
 the engine cold
The engine is cold.

According to Hazout, copulaless clauses do not allow the predicative interpretation with a PRO subject although they allow the atmospheric interpretation with *pro*, as in (23)a, and predicative interpretation with NP subjects, as in (23)b. On the other hand, the atmospheric interpretation is totally ruled out in canonical adjunct small clauses, as the opposition between (24)a and (24)b shows. Hazout argues that the unavailability of the predicative interpretation in copulaless clauses (cf.(23)a) is because such clauses contain an abstract finite tense projection which licenses *pro*, but not *PRO*. Similarly, the atmospheric interpretation is ruled out from adjunct small clauses (cf. (24)b) because small clauses do not contain a finite tense which licenses an expletive *pro*. Based on this, Hazout argues that copulaless clauses are full clauses.

- (24) a. kar ve gašum kan hayom.
 cold and rainy here today
It is cold and rainy here today.
- b. *[kar ve gašum] Dan lo rocé la-lexet la-avoda.
 cold and rainy Dan not wants to-go to-work
Intended meaning: It being cold and rainy, Dan doesn't want to go to work.

To sum up, copulaless clauses have been analyzed in two ways: as small clauses (Mouchaweh 1986, Rapoport 1987) and as full clauses (Doron

1983, Déchaine 1993, Benmamoun 2000, Hazout 2010). In this thesis, I will argue in favor of the full clause analysis for Geez copulaless clauses. I will discuss this in chapter five.

4.2.2. More than one copula

The explanations given to why a particular language exhibits more than one copular element can be classified into two. I call them the *exclusive analysis* and the *inclusive analysis*. The exclusive analysis rejects the copular status of one of the existing copular elements. This is mainly seen in languages which have pronouns in their copular system. For example, Adger and Ramchand (2003) reject the copular status of pronouns that appear in the non-verbal predication system of Scottish Gaelic. Adger and Ramchand argue that the pronominal element which is found in what they call augmented copular construction (cf. (25)c), as opposed to substantive (cf. (25)a) and inverted (cf. (25)b) copular constructions in Scottish Gaelic, is used as a true predicate. This pronominal element is interpreted via a link with one of the DPs it shows up with, as shown in (25)c. According to Adger and Ramchand, the augmented pronominal is inserted in these clauses because both DPs are referential and thus neither of them can be a predicate. The augmented pronominal is like the KIP (Kind Determiner Phrase) of Zamparelli (2000) and it is inserted in order to serve as a predicate¹³.

- (25) a. *tha calum faiceallach*
 be.PRES Calum carefull
 Calum is being careful.
- b. *is mòr an duine sin*
 cop.PRES big that man
 That man is big.

¹³ Zamparelli decomposes DP in to three layers of functional projections, which he calls Strong Determiner phrase (SDP), a Predicative Determiner Phrase (PDP) and Kind Determiner Phrase (KIP). He argues that these determiner Phrases have different distributions. SDPs are referential, and they appear only in argument positions. PDPs are predicative and can appear in certain predicate positions such as *Fido is a dog*. KIPs represent pure properties and can appear in environments such as the complement of the *kind of* construction in English: *This is a friendly kind of dog*.

- c. ‘s e_i calum an tidsear_i
 Cop.PRES AUG Calum the teacher
Calum is the teacher. (Adger and Ramchand 2003)

Another proposal which partially rejects the copular status of pronouns in non-verbal predication is Edwards (2006). Although he accepts their copular status synchronically, Edwards argues that pronouns found in Egyptian Arabic non-verbal predication were originally subjects. According to him pronouns are obligatorily found in equatives, which are derived from left dislocated constructions that contain left-displaced definite DP followed by a complete predication. The complete predication contains the subject pronoun, which resumes the leftmost DP, at the specifier of the vP construction, as in (26)a. Later on, the subject pronoun in the spec, vP is reanalyzed as head of vP and gives a structure which looks like (26)b. Edwards does not give any explanation for the claim that the pronoun is reanalyzed as a verb while it does not show any property of a verb:

- (26) a. [_{CP} il-walad [_C[C] [_{VP} huwwa [_v[v] [_{XP} il-mas’ul]]]]]

- b. [_{CP} il-walad [_C[C] [_{VP} [_v[v] huwwa] [_{XP} il-mas’ul]]]]]
 The-boy he the-responsible
The boy is responsible.

The *inclusive* analysis accepts the copular status of all existing copular elements in a given language as real copulas. Under this analysis, there are again three different views. The first view associates the different copular elements with different specifications of the IP (Doron 1983). Doron argues that pronominal copulas are realizations of an unattached agreement feature. According to her, the present tense in Hebrew which contains pronominal copulas, as in (27)a, as opposed to the past which involves a verbal copulas, as in (27)b, is specified only for agreement, and pronominal copulas are realizations of this agreement feature.

- (27) a. ha-yeled hu student
 the-boy he student
The boy is a student.

- b. ha-yeled haya student
 the-boy was.M student
The boy was a student.

The second view, which is of course not exclusive of the first, associates the presence of more than one copula to the semantically based taxonomy of copular clauses. According to this taxonomy, copular clauses are classified as predicational, specificational, identificational and equative (Higgins 1979, Mikkelsen 2004, 2005, 2011 among others). The presence of more than one copula is then assumed to be the result of presence of more than one BE associated with each type of copular construction. For example, Rapoport (1987), Carnie (1995), Zaring (1996) among others argue for the presence of predicational BE and identity BE.

Such a proposal, however, is challenged by Citko (2008) based on data from Polish which allows pronominal and verbal copulas to co-occur in a single clause resulting in three types of copular constructions: *verbal copula*, *pronominal copula*, and *dual copula* constructions. Citko argues that if the two copular elements were realizations of identity and predicational BE, the co-occurrence of the two copulas would have been impossible:

- (28) a. *jan to mój najlepszy przyjaciel* pronominal copula clauses
 Jan PRON my best friend.NOM
Jan is my best friend.
- b. *jan jest moim najlepszym przyjacielem* verbal copula clauses
 Jan is my best friend.INSTR
Jan is my best friend.
- c. *jan to jest moim najlepszym przyjaciel* dual copula clause
 Jan PRON is my best friend.NOM
Jan is my best friend.

Citko shows that the three types of Polish copular clause differ in terms of (a) the type of predicate they allow, (b) case-marking of the predicate and (c) interpretation. Based on these facts, she proposes a third view in the inclusive analysis. She argues that presence of pronominal and verbal copulas in Polish is related to the presence of two types of small clause heads: one is defective and the other non-defective. The defective head is non-eventive and has no Case feature. The non-defective head is eventive and has a Case feature. A clause with a pronominal copula as in (28)a

contains a defective small clause head. Since the defective head is non-eventive and has no Case feature, such clauses allow only nominal predicates, have an individual level interpretation and the predicate does not receive a different Case from the subject. In this case, the predicate receives the same case as the subject through a mechanism known as multiple agree (Hiraiwa 2005). Citko then proposes the structure in (29)a for such clauses. For clauses which contain verbal copulas as in (28)b, on the other hand, Citko argues that they contain the non-defective small clause head which is eventive and has a Case feature. As a result, such clauses are acceptable with all types of predicates, do not have an individual-level interpretation and have their predicate assigned a different Case from the subject. For such clauses, Citko claims the analysis in (29)b. Note that here the verbal copula originates as the head of the eventive small clause head and raises to T. For dual copula clauses, she claims that the two copulas originate in different positions as in (29)c:

- (29) a. [_{TP} subject_j [_T pronoun [_{SC} t_j predicate]]] pronominal copula
 b. [_{TP} subject_j [_T verb_i [_{SC} t_j t_i predicate]]] verbal copula
 c. [_{TP} subject_j [_T pronoun [_{SC} t_j verb predicate]]] dual copula

To sum up, the proposals, which have been provided to explain the presence of more than one copula in a particular language can be classified as what I call *exclusive* and *inclusive*. Under the exclusive analysis, one of the existing copulas is argued not to be a copula. Under the inclusive analysis, all existing copulas are considered as real copular elements. Under this view, the presence of more than one copula is attributed to: (a) the difference in the feature specification of the functional projection the copulas are inserted, or (b) the presence of more than one BE associated with identity and predicational clauses, or (c) the defective and non-defective nature of the small clause head. In this thesis, I argue in favor of the claim that there are more than one BE's, though I argue that their distinction is not along the predicational and identity line.

4.2.3. Case-marking

The first attempt to explain Case-marking variation in non-verbal predication is made by Maling and Sprouse (1995) who observed that NP predicates in some Germanic languages are marked accusative (30) and nominative in others (31):

- (30) a. det er mig/*jeg Danish
 it is me-ACC/*I.NOM
It is me.
- b. hvis jeg var dig/*du,...
 if I were you-ACC/*you.NOM
If I were you.
- c. That is me/*I in the picture English
 d. What would you do if you were me/*I
 e. You can be me/*I in the play
- (31) Hún er kennari/*kennara Icelandic
 she-NOM is teacher-NOM/*teacher-ACC
She is a teacher

Maling and Sprouse examined four possible hypotheses of predicate Case-assignment, namely Caselessness, default Case, Case agreement, and structural Case hypotheses. They have ruled out the first three for different reasons and argue for the structural Case assignment. They rule out the hypothesis that predicates are Caseless due to the fact that they are morphologically marked for Case in languages which exhibit overt case morphology as in Finnish in (32). They reject the default Case hypothesis on the basis of the fact that it does not account for Case alternations of predicates in languages like Russian (33). Similarly, they discard Case-agreement for the reason that it is less compatible with the well-studied instances of agreement. They said that well studied instances of agreement involve a head-specifier relationship. If we assume that the subject and the predicate agree in Case, this would mean that two phrasal projections agree:

- (32) a. toini on sairaa-na. Finnish (Matushansky 2008)
 Toini.NOM be.3SG ill-ESS
Toini is ill.
- b. toini tul-i sairaa-ksi.
 Toini.NOM become PST.3SG ill-TRS
Toini became ill.
- (33) a. ja našel ego p'janym Russian (Bailyn 2001)
 I.NOM found him.ACC drunk.INSTR
I found him drunk.

- b. ja našel ego p'janogo
 I.NOM found him.ACC drunk.ACC
I found him drunk.

Maling and Sprouse propose that cross-linguistic variation in predicate case-marking is the result of whether the predicate is assigned Case by the copula or I^o. In languages like Danish and English where the predicate is accusative, they argue that the copula assigns accusative Case to the predicates in the same way as a transitive verb assigns accusative Case to their objects. In languages like Icelandic where both the subject and the predicate are nominative, on the other hand, they claim that the copula does not assign Case to the predicate. In this case, the predicate is assigned Case from the next higher Case assigning head, namely I^o, which also assigns nominative Case to the subject. Their claim that I^o assigns Case to the predicate is based on Sigurðsson's (1989, 1991) idea that the domain of a structural Case-assigning head includes the head itself, the node immediately dominating the head, and all nodes that the head c-commands, but are not c-commanded by another intermediate Case-assigner. When the copula does not assign Case, the predicate falls in the domain of the higher Case-assigning head which is I^o, and thus receives nominative Case.

One problem with Maling and Sprouse's proposal is that it predicts the subject to be assigned Case twice: by the copula and by I^o. This means that under the assumption that the copular verb selects small clauses as in (34), the trace of the subject must be assigned accusative since it is in the domain of the accusative Case assigning copula. They say that the accusative Case of the trace of the subject is 'simply ignored':

- (34) [_{TP} NP_i is [_{SC} t_i NP]]

Another proposal which is partially similar to Maling and Sprouse is that of Comrie (1997) who argues that predicates are assigned Case either by the copula through government or by Case-agreement with subjects. Comrie's argument is based on case-marking patterns of a wide range of languages, which exhibit either same (35)-(36), or different (37) case-marking in their subjects and predicates:

- (35) a. verae amicitiae sempeternae sunt Latin
 true.NOM friendships.NOM eternal.NOM are
True friendships are eternal.

government of the copula and at the same time agree in case. Comrie does not say anything about Maling and Sprouse's objection to case-agreement.

Another proposal has been put forward by Bailyn (2001) and Citko (2008). In essence this proposal is similar to Maling and Sprouse's with some modifications to make it in line with Bowers' (1993) hypothesis that small clauses are headed by $Pred^0$, a functional element which mediates the predication relationship. The proposal is based on the two types of predicate case-marking patterns in Slavic languages, which Bailyn calls instrumental and 'sameness of Case':

- (38) a. ja našel ego p'janym Russian
 I.NOM found him-ACC drunk.INSTR
I found him drunk.
- b. ja našel ego p'janogo
 I.NOM found him-ACC drunk.ACC
I found him drunk.

Bailyn and Citko propose that instrumental Case is assigned to the predicate by the head of the small clause, $Pred^0$. For the 'sameness of Case', on the other hand, they claim that $Pred^0$ does not assign Case to the predicate. In this case both the subject and the predicate are assigned Case by the next higher Case assigning heads, namely T or v through multiple feature checking.

This proposal solves Maling and Sprouse's problem of double Case assignment to the subject we mentioned above. Since the subject originates above $Pred^0$, it is not assigned Case twice. However, this analysis is confronted with other problem. As pointed out by Matushansky (2008), predication with instrumental is not allowed in Russian present tense primary predication. If $Pred^0$ were the source of instrumental Case, it shouldn't have been impossible in primary predication:

- (39) a. vera assistent.
 Vera assistant.NOM
Vera is an assistant.
- b. *vera assistentom.
 Vera assistant.INSTR
Intended meaning: Vera is an assistant.

Pereltsvaig (2001) attributes predicate case-marking to the category of the predicate and the dual nature of the copular verb (that it is a lexical and a functional element). According to her, the predicate is assigned different Case from the subject as in (40)b when it is an AP or an NP and the verb is a functional element, and it is assigned the same Case as the subject (40)a when it is a DP and the verb is lexical:

- (40) a. *čexov* *byl* *pisatel’*.
 Chekhov.NOM *was* *writer.NOM*
 Chekhov was a writer.
- b. *čexov* *byl* *pisatelem*.
 Chekhov.NOM *was* *writer.INSTR*
 Chekhov was a writer.

Richardson (2007) accounts for the instrumental vs. nominative case alternation on predicates of Slavic copular constructions like (40) by the presence and absence of an aspect projection (AspP). That is, predicates are assigned instrumental by aspect (AspP), and they are assigned nominative when there is no AspP.

Matushansky (2008) proposes a sixth account of predicate case-marking under the nutshell of her new Case theory, which is stated as ‘Case feature is assigned by a head to its complement’. As a result, T^0 assigns nominative to its complement (vP , $AspP$, $ModP$...) and v^0 assigns accusative to VP . Consequently, any XP that can bear a morphological case within the complement of a particular head is case-marked by that head unless another Case-assigning head blocks the Case assignment. She then proposes that predicates are marked with a different case from the subject when there is an intervening Case assigner between the subject and the predicate, and that they are assigned the same Case when there is no intervening Case assignment between them.

To sum up, the proposals we saw above can be divided into four groups in function of how they explain why predicates and subjects are marked for the same or different Case. The first is Maling and Sprouse (1995) and Comrie (1997) who claim that the case-marking on the predicate is determined by whether the copula assigns Case or not. This means that the predicate is marked for a different Case from the subject when the copula assigns Case to it and the predicate is marked for the same Case as the

subject when the copula does not assign Case to it. The second is that of Bailyn (2001), Matushansky (2008) and Citko (2008) who argue that it is determined by whether or not there is a Case-assigning head in the small clause: the predicate is marked for a different case if the small clause contains a Case-assigning head and it is marked for the same case as the subject if the small clause does not contain a Case-assigning head. The third is Pereltsvaig (2001) who attributes predicate case-marking to the category of the predicate and the dual nature of the copular verb (whether it is a lexical and a functional element). According to her, the predicate is marked with a different case from the subject when it is an AP or a NP and the verb is a functional element, and it is marked with the same case as the subject when it is a DP and the verb is lexical. The fourth is Richardson (2007) who associates predicate Case with aspect. That is predicates are marked for a different case from the subject when aspect assigns Case to it, and they are marked with the same case as the subject when there is no aspect.

The four proposals also differ regarding how the predicate gets the same Case as the subject. For Maling and Sprouse (1995), Bailyn (2001), Matushansky (2008) and Citko (2008), the predicate receives the same Case as the subject because it is assigned Case by the functional element which also assigns Case to the subject. For Comrie (1997) and Richardson (2007) the predicate agrees in Case with the subject while for Pereltsvaig (2001) the predicate receives the default Case.

In this thesis, I argue following Bailyn (2001), Matushansky (2008), and Citko(2008) that predicates are marked for a different case from the subject when the small clause contains a Case-assigning functional head. In the absence of this functional head, however, I argue following Pereltsvaig (2001) that the predicate receives the default Case.

5. Summary

In this chapter, I introduced the research problem and the theoretical framework adopted in this study. I also reviewed the different proposals put forward to account for the variations in copular and case-marking systems of the copular constructions of different languages. With regard to the absence of a copula, we saw that there are two types of accounts: the small clause account and the full clause account. With regard to the presence of more than one copular element, we saw that there are *inclusive* and *exclusive* analyses. The exclusive analysis rejects the copular status of one of the existing copular element and considers them as subjects or as predicates. The

inclusive analysis on the other hand considers all the existing copular elements as real copulas. Within this analysis again, we saw that there are different views. One view argues that the different copulas are the result of the fact that the IP is specified for different features. The second view argues that the different copulas are realizations of two BE's, namely identity BE and predicational BE. The third view associates the presence of more than one copula to the presence of defective and non-defective small clause heads.

With regard to case-marking, we saw that most of the research is geared towards explaining why subjects and predicates are marked with the same or different cases. 'Sameness' of case-marking on the subject and the predicate is argued to be the result of case-agreement between the subject and the predicate (Comrie 1997), or Case assignment by the same Case-assigning head (Maling and Sprouse 1995, Bailyn 2001, Matushansky 2008, Citko 2008). Different case-marking of the subject and the predicate, on the other hand, has been argued to be the result of the fact that the predicate is assigned Case by the copula (Maling and Sprouse 1995, Comrie 1997), by Pred^o (Bailyn 2001, Citko 2008), or due to the presence of another intervening Case-assigner in the small clause (Matushansky 2008).

In this thesis, I concur with many of the ideas introduced above. With regard to copulaless clauses, I will argue in favor of the full clause analysis. With regard to the presence of more than one copula, I will argue in favor of the two BE analysis. As for case-marking, I argue following Bailyn (2001), Matushansky (2008), and Citko(2008) that predicates are marked for a different case from the subject when the small clause contains a Case-assigning functional head. In the absence of this functional head, however, I argue following Pereltsvaig (2001) that the predicate receives the default Case.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MORPHO-SYNTAX OF AGREEMENT, ASPECT AND TENSE IN AMHARIC AND GEEZ

1. Introduction

In order to understand the non-verbal predication system of Amharic and Geez, some background about the morpho-syntax of the languages is necessary. In this chapter, I will deal with this.

Amharic and Geez just like other Semitic languages have templatic morphology (McCarthy 1981). Their verbs are built from consonantal roots to which a vocalic melody is added to form the verb stem. The verb stem is then marked with one or two agreement markers which are traditionally known as subject and object agreement markers. The verb in (1), for example, consists of the root *s-b-r-* to which the vocalic melody *-ä-ä-* is inserted to form the perfective stem *säbbär-*. Then the subject agreement marker is added to this stem, and gives the independent word *säbbär-äčč* in (1)a. Finally the object agreement marker is added. Due to this rich agreement marking, subjects and objects can be dropped, as in (1)b:

- (1) a. *saba birc'ik'o-w-in säbbär-äčč(-w)* Amharic
Saba glass-DEF-ACC break.PERF-3FSG_s-3MSG_o
Saba broke a glass.
- b. *säbbär-äčči (-w)*
break.PERF-3FG_s.3MSG_o
She broke it.

In this chapter, I deal with two things, namely the aspect system (section 2) and agreement (section 3). With regard to aspect, I restrict myself to the two canonical verbal forms which differ in three properties: (a) their vocalic melody, (b) their subject agreement, and (c) their co-occurrence with auxiliary verbs. I will raise two issues about these verbs. Firstly, I will show that they are perfective and imperfective following the widely accepted analysis put forward by Dillmann (1907), Demeke (2003), Yimam (2006), and many others)¹⁴. Secondly, I will argue that, in syntactic derivations, perfective verbs move up to T⁰ while imperfective verbs remain in lower positions. With regard to agreement, I discuss subject, object and genitive agreement. I will show that subject agreement is related to aspect and tense while object agreement is related to affectedness. As for genitive agreement, I will argue that it is the counterpart of subject and object agreement with nominal heads. Finally, I will show that the phi-features of agreement in these languages are realized in terms of (non-)speaker, proximity and diminutive/augmentative features rather than person, number and gender.

2. Aspect

In this section, I discuss two canonical verbal forms which differ in terms of their vocalic melody, their subject agreement and co-occurrence with auxiliaries. In section 2.1, I show that these verbs are perfective and imperfective. In section 2.1.3, I argue that, in syntactic derivation, the perfective verb moves up to T⁰ while the imperfective remains in lower positions.

2.1. Perfective and imperfective verbs

The two verbal forms which are known as perfective and imperfective (Dillmann 1907, Demeke 2003, and Yimam 2006) are demonstrated below

¹⁴ Perfective and imperfective verbs are known as canonical because they are used as a basis for the derivation of other verb forms (Yimam 2006). For example, in Amharic the progressive is formed by adding the prefix *ḥyā-* to the perfective stem while prospective is formed by adding *l-* to the imperfective stem. The completive, which is also known as the gerund (Demeke 2003) on the other hand is formed from the imperfective stem by adding genitive agreement markers rather than the prefix-suffix combination.

for the verb roots *k'-t-l-* (Geez) and *g-d-l-* (Amharic) both of which mean *kill*:

(2) Subj. Perfective			Imperfective	Geez
1s	k'ä'täl-ku	<i>I killed</i>	i-k'ätti	<i>I (will) kill</i>
2ms	k'ä'täl-kä	<i>you killed</i>	ti-k'ätti	<i>you (will) kill</i>
2fs	k'ä'täl-ki'	<i>you killed</i>	ti-k'ätti-I	<i>you (will) kill</i>
3ms	k'ä'täl-ä	<i>he killed</i>	yi-k'ätti	<i>he will kill/kills</i>
3fs	k'ä'täl-ät	<i>she killed</i>	ti-k'ätti	<i>she will kill/kills</i>
1pl	k'ätäl-nä	<i>we killed</i>	ni-k'ätti	<i>we (will) kill</i>
2mpl	k'ätäl-kimu	<i>you killed</i>	ti-k'ätti-u	<i>you (will) kill</i>
2fpl	k'ätäl-kin	<i>you killed</i>	ti-k'ätti-a	<i>you (will) kill</i>
3mpl	k'ä'täl-omu	<i>they killed</i>	yi-k'ätti-u	<i>they (will) kill</i>
3fpl	kä'täl-a	<i>they killed</i>	yi-k'ätti-a	<i>they (will) kill</i>

(3) Subj. Perfective			Imperfective	Amharic
1s	gäddäl-ku	<i>I killed</i>	i-gadl	<i>I (will) kill</i>
2ms	gäddäl-k	<i>you killed</i>	ti-gadl	<i>you (will) kill</i>
2fs	gäddäl-š	<i>you killed</i>	ti-gady ¹⁵	<i>you (will) kill</i>
3ms	gäddäl-ä	<i>he killed</i>	yi-gadl	<i>he will kill/kills</i>
3fs	gäddäl-äčč	<i>she killed</i>	ti-gadl	<i>she will kill/kills</i>
1pl	gäddäl-n	<i>we killed</i>	in-gadl	<i>we (will) kill</i>
2mpl	gäddäl-ačči	<i>you killed</i>	ti-gadl-u	<i>you (will) kill</i>
3mpl	gäddäl-u	<i>they killed</i>	yi-gadl-u	<i>they (will) kill</i>

As can be seen from the examples, the two verbal forms differ in terms of their vocalic melody, subject agreement and their temporal interpretation. Two arguments taken from Demeke (2003) can be mentioned here to indicate that they are marked for aspect, not tense. The first is their temporal interpretation in embedded clauses. The other is the temporal interpretation of stative verbs.

2.1.1. Interpretation in embedded clauses

In embedded environments, perfective and imperfective verbs can appear with non-past and past readings respectively unlike in the normal pattern. (In

¹⁵ *ti-gädy* < *ti-gädli*. This is a regular palatalization process. Most dental consonants in Amharic, except *r*, are palatalized when they are followed by a front vowel *e* and *i*.

the normal pattern, perfective is past and imperfective is non-past.) Consider, for example, the temporal interpretation of embedded clauses in (4)&(5) adopted from Demeke (2003:100):

(4) a. [gänzäb indä-agänn-ä] yi-mät'-all Amharic
 money that-get.PERF-3MSG_S 3MSG_S.come.IMPERF-AUX.3MSG_S
He comes/ will come when he has gotten money.

b. yi-mäs's'it? [amä räkäb-ä niway-ä] Geez
 3MSG_S-come.IMPERF time get.PERF-3MSG_S money-ACC
He comes/ will come when he has gotten money.

(5) a. [gänzäb si-y-agänn] mät't'-a Amharic
 money while-3MSG_S.get.IMPERF come.PERF-3MSG_S
He came when he had gotten money.

b. mäs'ʔ-a [ama yi-rakkäb niway-ä] Geez
 come.PERF-3MSG_S time 3MSG_S-get.IMPERF money-ACC
He came when he had gotten money.

The embedded clauses in (4) have perfective marked verbs, yet they do not have a past tense interpretation. They are rather interpreted as non-past due to the imperfective marking of the matrix verb. This kind of temporal interpretation would be unexpected for verbs which are tense marked unless one assumes that the perfective and imperfective indicate relative tense (Ogihara 1994, Abusch 1997, von Stechow and Grønn 2009). That is, perfective indicates precedence while imperfective indicates simultaneity. The idea that the two verbal forms mark relative tense, however, is ruled out for three reasons. Firstly, embedded imperfective verbs can also be interpreted as preceding the perfective, as in (5). Secondly, even embedded perfective verbs are not always interpreted as precedence. For example, in (6), the embedded perfective verb indicates simultaneity. Thirdly, tense marking involves the use of auxiliary verbs, as is shown in (7) for Amharic:

(6) indä-tännä-hu mät't'-a Amharic
 that-sleep.PERF-1SG_S come.PERF-3MSG_S
He came while I was asleep.
 #*He came after I had slept.*

- b. *tī-nāwwīh* *sāba*
 3FSG_S.be.tall.IMPERF Saba
Saba will be tall.

- (10) a. *dābdabbe* *s’af-n* Amharic
 letter write.PERF-1PL_S
We wrote a letter.
 #*We write/ have written a letter.*

- b. *dābdabbe* *in-s’if-all-än*
 letter 1PL_S-write.IMPERF-AUX-1PL_S
We (will) write a letter.

- (11) a. *s’āhaf-nä* *t’omar-ä* Geez
 write.PERF-1PL_S letter-ACC
We wrote a letter.
 # *We write/ have written.*

- b. *nī-s’hif* *t’omar-ä*
 1PL_S-write.IMPERF letter-ACC
We write/will write a letter.

In (8)&(9) perfective stative verbs have a non-future (past and present) interpretation while imperfective stative verbs are interpreted as future. In (10)&(11) the perfective dynamic verbs have past tense interpretation and their imperfective is interpreted as non-past (present and future). If the verbs were tense marked, this difference in temporal interpretation would be inexplicable.

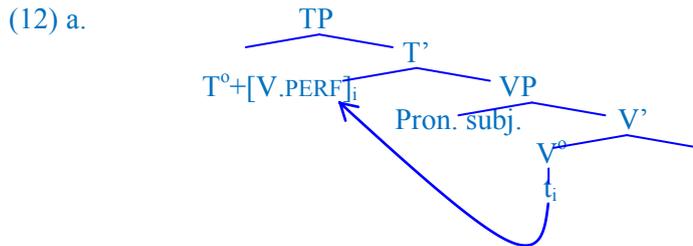
The difference in temporal interpretation of the perfective and imperfective aspect of stative and dynamic verbs is the result of the interaction between lexical aspect (stative vs. dynamic) and grammatical aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) (Comrie 1976, Bary and Egg 2012). The perfective of stative verbs indicates the end of transforming from one state into another state. Since ‘to remain in a state does not require any effort’ (Comrie 1976: 49), individuals who are transformed into a particular state remain in that state as long as no other change happens to them. This leads to the effect of present or non-past tense interpretation. For example, the perfective of the stative verb ‘be.tall’ in (8)&(9) indicates the end of individuals’ transformation from the state of being non-tall to the state of

being tall. Once the individuals are in the state at which they are regarded as tall, they remain in that state. As a result, such verbs have a present tense interpretation. The perfective form of dynamic verbs on the other hand indicates the completion of an action. For example, the perfective form of the dynamic verb ‘write’ in (11) indicates the termination of the action of writing. Thus, it has past interpretation.

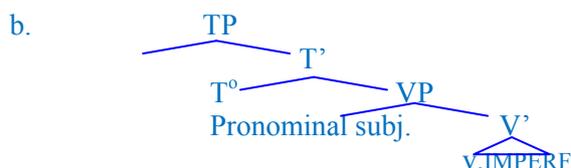
2.1.3. *The syntactic derivation of perfective and imperfective clauses*

As we saw from examples (2) and (3), perfective and imperfective verbs differ in terms of their subject agreement. Perfective verbs take suffix agreement markers and imperfective verbs take a combination of a prefix (person) and a suffix (number and gender) marker. This triggers the question why this difference should be there.

Benmamoun (2000) argues that in Arabic a similar phenomenon to what we observe in Amharic and Geez is the result of whether the verb overtly moves to TP or not¹⁷. His claim is based on the assumption that subject agreement markers were originally pronominal subjects that had occupied a syntactic position within the VP before they were incorporated into the verb and became pure agreement markers. According to him, before incorporation, the verb and the pronominal subjects had a configuration which looked like the following:



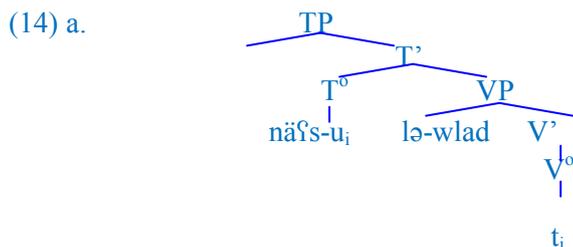
¹⁷ Similar proposals are also found in Banksira (2000), Julien (2002), Tourabi (2002), Fassi Fehri (2003), and Linn and Rosen (2003).



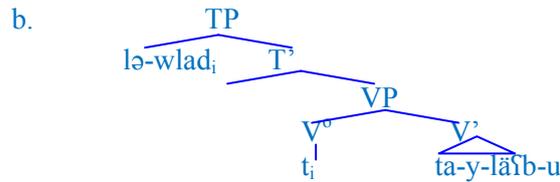
As can be seen from the trees, the perfective verb moved to the head position of the TP while the pronominal subject remained in the VP. This gave rise to a configuration where the pronominal subject follows the verb. On the other hand, the imperfective verb did not raise to TP resulting in a configuration in which the pronominal subject preceded the verb. Benmamoun argues that in the current state of Arabic, although the pronominal arguments are incorporated into the verb and have become pure agreement markers, the position of the verb still remains the same. This means that the perfective verb raises to TP while in the imperfective verb remains in VP. He then analyzes the two Moroccan Arabic examples in (13) as in (14)¹⁸:

(13) a. *nāʕs-u* *lə-wlad* Moroccan Arabic
 sleep.PAST-PL the-children
The children slept.

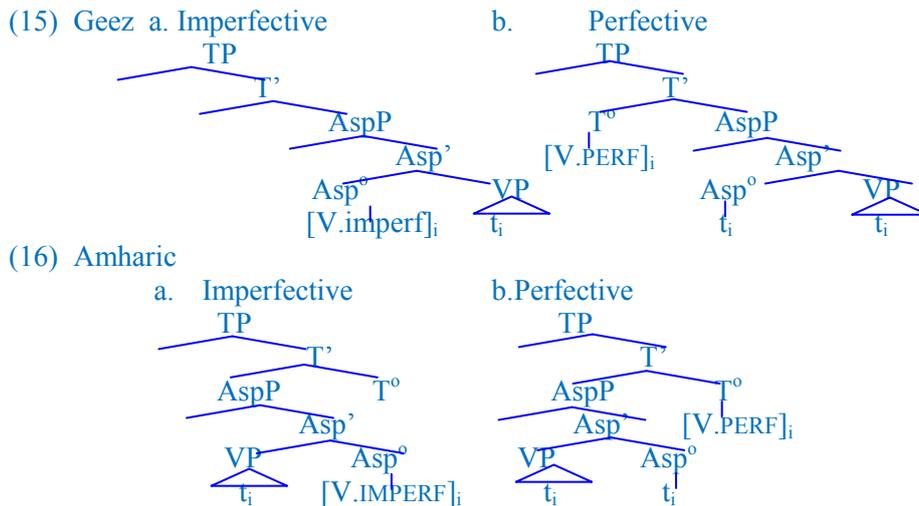
b. *lə-wlad* *ta-y-lāʕb-u*
 the-children ASP-3M-play-PL
The children are playing.



¹⁸ Note that Benmamoun coupled this idea with word order preference. According to him, in imperfective clauses the subject-verb order is preferred while with perfective verbs verb-subject order is preferred.



Extending this line of argument to Geez and Amharic, the difference in agreement marking can be argued to follow from similar historical processes. This means that perfective verbs move to a higher position whereas imperfective verbs remain in lower positions. If the verb does not move, then the agreement markers attach to the verb by affix hopping. Where do the perfective verbs move to? There are two possibilities: Asp^0 and T^0 . I claim that perfective verbs move to T^0 for two reasons. Firstly, as we saw from examples (2) and (3), gender and number markers are suffixes in imperfective verbs. If we assume that only perfective verbs move to Asp^0 , we don't have any explanation for this. If we assume that perfective verbs move to T^0 , we can explain this by assuming that both perfective and imperfective verbs move to Asp^0 as in (15)a and (16)a before the perfective verbs move further to T^0 . Note that I provide different trees for Amharic and Geez due to the word order differences. Although Amharic and Geez have free word order, Geez is basic VSO while Amharic has SOV (Demeke 2003):



Secondly and most importantly, the claim that perfective verbs move up to T^0 is evidenced by their interaction with auxiliary verbs, which indicate tense

(Goldenberg 1964, Demeke 2003, Yimam 2006 for Amharic, and Teklemariam, 1899, Kifle 1948 for Geez). The auxiliary verbs which are always perfective¹⁹ show up only with the imperfective verbs:

- (17) a. p'awlos däbdabbe **yî-s'îf/*s'af-ä** **Amharic**
 Paul letter 3MSG_S-write.IMPERF/*write.PERF-3MSG_S
 all
 AUX..PERF.3MSG_S
Paul writes/is writing//will write a letter.
- b. p'awlos däbdabbe **yî-s'îf/*s'af-ä**
 Paul letter 3MSG_S-write.IMPERF/*write.PERF-3MSG_S
 näbbär
 AUX.PERF.3MSG_S
Paul was writing/used to write a letter.
- (18) a. kon-ä [p'awlos **yî-s'îf/** **Geez**
 AUX.PERF.3MSG_S Paul 3MSG_S-write.IMPERF/
 *s'ähaf-ä t'omar-ä]
 *write.PERF- 3MSG_S letter-ACC
Paul wrote/used to write/?has written a letter.
- b. hällaw-ä [p'awlos **yî-s'îf/**
 AUX.PERF-3MSG_S Paul 3MSG_S-write.IMPERF/
 *s'ähaf-ä t'omar-ä]
 *write.PERF-3MSG_S letter-ACC
Paul writes/has written a letter.

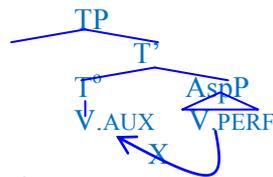
Given that the auxiliary verbs are merged at T⁰, the most plausible explanation for the incompatibility of perfective verbs and auxiliaries is that they compete for a single syntactic position. This means that when the auxiliaries are inserted, they are merged at the landing position of the perfective verb blocking the movement as demonstrated in (19)a and (20)a. Imperfective verbs, on the other hand, are compatible with auxiliaries since

¹⁹ In Amharic, the auxiliary verbs do not have an imperfective conjugation at all. In Geez, although, the verbs have perfective and imperfective conjugation as we will see in their copular function (cf. chapter five), only the perfectives are attested in the auxiliary functions. Neither secondary sources nor my informants confirm imperfective auxiliaries. This fact also provides support for the claim that only perfective verbs move up to T⁰.

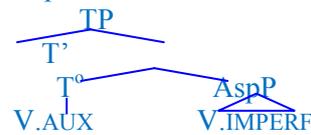
they (imperfective verbs) do not move to T^0 , and there is no blocking of head movement as can be seen in (19)b, and (20)b:

(19) Geez

a. Perfective clauses

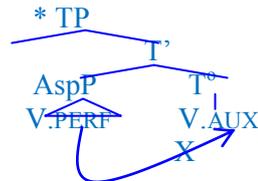


b. Imperfective clauses

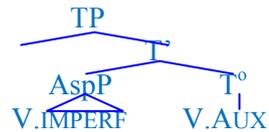


(20) Amharic

a. Perfective clauses



b. Imperfective clauses



To sum up, although clauses which contain perfective and imperfective verbs in Amharic and Geez show no word order difference in their respective languages, the difference in agreement marking and the (in-)compatibility of perfective and imperfective verbs with auxiliaries suggest that they have different derivations. Perfective verbs move to T^0 while imperfective verbs remain in lower syntactic position.

3. Agreement

Amharic and Geez have three types of agreement which are traditionally known as subject agreement, object agreement and genitive (possessive) agreement. I discuss each of them in turn. I show that subject agreement is related to aspect and tense (section 3.1) while object agreement is related to affectedness (section 3.2). As for genitive agreement I will show that it is the counterpart of subject and object agreement with nominal heads (section 3.3). Finally, I show that the Phi-features of agreement in Amharic and Geez are realized in terms of proximity, (non-)speaker, and diminutive/augmentative features, rather than person, number and gender (section 3.4).

3.1. Subject agreement

As we mentioned in section 1, subject agreement varies depending on the perfectivity and imperfectivity of the verb. See for example (2) and (3) repeated below as (21) and (22). With perfective verbs, subject agreement involves suffixes. With imperfective verbs, subject agreement is a combination of a prefix (person) and a suffix (number and gender). Moreover, it exhibits different morphemes with perfective and imperfective verbs. Based on this, the subject agreement morphemes with lexical verbs can easily be considered as realizations of uninterpretable phi-features on Aspect.

(21) Subj. Perfective			Imperfective	Geez
1s	k'ä'täl-ku	<i>I killed</i>	ï-k'ättil	<i>I (will) kill</i>
2ms	k'ä'täl-kä	<i>you killed</i>	tï-k'ättil	<i>you(will) kill</i>
2fs	k'ä'täl-ki'	<i>you killed</i>	tï- k'ättil-i	<i>you (will) kill</i>
3ms	k'ä'täl-ä	<i>he killed</i>	yï- k'ättil	<i>he will kill/kills</i>
3fs	k'ä'täl-ät	<i>she killed</i>	tï- k'ättil	<i>she will kill/kills</i>
1pl	k'ätäl-nä	<i>we killed</i>	nï- k'ättil	<i>we (will) kill</i>
2mpl	k'ätäl-kïmu	<i>you killed</i>	tï- k'ättil-u	<i>you (will) kill</i>
2fpl	k'ätäl-kïn	<i>you killed</i>	tï- k'ättil-a	<i>you (will) kill</i>
3mpl	k'ä'täl-omu	<i>they killed</i>	yï- k'ättil-u	<i>they (will) kill</i>
3fpl	kä'täl-a	<i>they killed</i>	yï- k'ättil-a	<i>they (will) kill</i>

(22) Subj. Perfective			Imperfective	Amharic
1s	gäddäl-ku	<i>I killed</i>	ï-gadl	<i>I (will) kill</i>
2ms	gäddäl-k	<i>you killed</i>	tï- gadl	<i>you (will) kill</i>
2fs	gäddäl-š	<i>you killed</i>	tï-gady	<i>you (will) kill</i>
3ms	gäddäl-ä	<i>he killed</i>	yï- gadl	<i>he will kill/kills</i>
3fs	gäddäl-äčč	<i>she killed</i>	tï- gadl	<i>she will kill/kills</i>
1pl	gäddäl-n	<i>we killed</i>	in- gadl	<i>we(will) kill</i>
2mpl	gäddäl-aččihu	<i>you killed</i>	tï- gadl -u	<i>you (will) kill²⁰</i>
3mpl	gäddäl l-u	<i>they killed</i>	yï- gadl-u	<i>they (will) kill</i>

When auxiliary verbs are used, subject agreement appears twice: with the lexical verb and with the auxiliary (cf. (17),(18),(23))²¹. In this case, the

²⁰ Note that Amharic does not distinguish gender in the plural

²¹ Note that the subject agreement on the auxiliary is always a suffix since auxiliaries have only perfective form.

argument (24)c²³. These are properties of object agreement. This suggests that Amharic object agreement is not a clitic:

- (24) a. saba **birc’k’o-wočči-n ti-säbr-aččäw** all-äčč Amharic
 Saba **glass-PL-ACC 3FG_S-break.IMPERF-3PL_O AUX-3FSG_S**
Saba breaks/will breake glasses.
- b. *saba **lä-yonas mäś’haf-očči-n** säť’t’-äčč-**iw-aččäw**
 Saba **to-Jonas book-PL-ACC** give.PERF-3FG_S-**3MSG_O-3PL_O**
Intended meaning: Saba gave books to Jonas.
- c. saba **lä-yonas mäś’haf-očči-n** säť’t’-äčč-**iw/*?** säť’t’-äčč-**aččäw**
 Saba **to-Jonas** book-PL-ACC give.PERF-3FSG_S-**3MSG_O/give.PERF-**
3FSG_S-3PL_O
Saba gave books to Jonas.

In canonical clitic doubling languages like Greek, the clitic leans on the auxiliary, not the main verb (25)a, and two doubled clitics are allowed if there are two internal arguments (25)b. (The examples in (25) are from Philippaki-Warburton et al. (2004: 969) via Kramer to appear):

- (25) a. to echo ghrapsi to ghrama Greek
 3MSG.ACC have.1SG written the letter
I have written the letter.

²³ In my intuition, the object agreement can target both the lower and the higher objects although targeting the higher one is more preferred. This means that (24)c is acceptable with the verb agreeing with the direct or the indirect objects. As a result I marked it with *? to indicate that the structure is accepted by some speakers. I am not sure whether there is a dialectal variation in this regard. In addition, it also needs to check the situation with the different orders and case-marking patterns of the two objects. For example in (24)c if the goal argument is accusative, it has to be in the higher position and the object agreement is possible only with it. The issue needs further research:

- (iii). saba **yonas-ín** mäś’haf-očči-n säť’t’-äčč-**iw/*** säť’t’-äčč-**aččäw**
 Saba **Jonas-ACC** book-PL-ACC give.PERF-3FSG_S-**3MSG_O/give.PERF-3FSG_S-**
3PL_O
Saba gave books to Jonas

- b. tu to edhosa to vivilio to jani
 3MSG.GEN 3MSG.ACC gave.1SG the book.ACC the John.GEN
I gave the book to John.

On the other hand, those who argue that object agreement should be analyzed as clitic doubling point out that: (i) it is optional and follows the subject agreement (26)a; (ii) it is sensitive to definiteness/specificity of the target NP (cf. (26) a&b)); (iii) it is not always related to accusative case (26)c&d; and (iv) it has semantic effects (27) (Demeke 2003:66). For proponents of the clitic doubling analysis, these are not canonical properties of object agreement. Given that object agreement is a realization of phi-features on v which is valued through agreement with the object which in turn is assigned accusative Case (Chomsky 2000, 2001), it is not expected to be optional and unrelated to accusative Case. It should not precede subject agreement since objects agree with v before subjects agree with T^0/Asp^0 . It is not expected to have anything to do with definiteness and specificity nor should it have a semantic effect:

- (26) a. saba **mäs'haf-očč-u-n** šät' -äčč(-**aččäw**) Amharic
 Saba book-PL-DEF-ACC sell.PERF-3FG_s-**3PL_o**
Saba sold the books.
- b. saba **mäs'haf** šät' -äčč(*-**iw**)
 Saba.FEM book sell.PERF-3FG_s(*-**3MS_o**)
Saba sold a book.
- c. **saba** fätäna-w k'alläl-ø-at²⁴
Saba exam-DEF.NOM be.simple.PERF-3MSG_s-**3FSG_o**
The exam was simple to Saba.
- d. **saba** däkäm-ø-at
Saba be.tired.PERF-3MSG_s-**3FSG_o**
Saba is tired.

²⁴ Note that when the object agreement appears, the form of the subject agreement varies due to some phonological process. For example, if the object agreement begins with a vowel, the 3MSG subject agreement disappears due to the impermissible vowel cluster.

- b. ali bir kitab-i aldi.
 Ali one book-ACC bought
A book is such that Ali bought it.

(30) a. u-me-leta kitabu? Swahili(Croft 1988:161 via Lima 2006
 2SG-P-bring book
Have you brought a book?

- b. u-me-ki- leta kitabu?
 2SG-P-3SG-bring book
Have you brought the book?

Of the properties which are listed above to argue against the analysis as object agreement only three remain. First is the fact that the morpheme follows the subject agreement. Secondly, it has a semantic effect and, thirdly, it is not related to accusative Case. However, the fact that the morphemes used in the object agreement are the same as those used in the subject and genitive agreement, I take as an argument in favor of the agreement position. In this thesis, I will therefore take the position that the object agreement morphemes are agreement markers, rather than clitics (section 3.4). Moreover, by looking closer into its semantic effect and contexts in which it is optionally and obligatorily absent or present, I will argue that it is related to affectedness. By affectedness, I mean whether or not the NP is interpreted as being altered or changed by the event of the verb (Anderson 1977, 1979, 2006, Fiengo 1980 among others), or that it delimits the event of the verb (Tenny 1992,1994, Cornips and Hulk 1998). Consider, for example, the following clauses adapted from Fiengo (1980) via Cornips and Hulk (1998). In (31) the objects are changed by the action of the verb. Thus they are affected objects. In (32), on the other hand, the objects are not altered by the action denoted by the verbs, and hence they are unaffected objects:

- (31) a. The Barbarians destroyed Rome.
 b. The authorities executed the prisoners.

- (32) a. John expressed great relief.
 b. John gave some money to the library.

3.2.1. Object agreement as a realization of affectedness

Evidence which shows that object agreement is related to affectedness comes from three sources: (a) its semantic effect in contexts where it is optional, (b) its obligatory presence in contexts where objects are necessarily affected, and (c) its unacceptability with objects which are necessarily unaffected. I will discuss each of them in turn.

3.2.1.1. Semantic effects of object agreement

In contexts where object agreement is optional, the presence of object agreement is said to bring about a focus or emphatic interpretation of the target NP (Demeke 2003, Haile 1970). Closer observation of the phenomenon, however, reveals that the semantic effect is affectedness. This is clearly observed when the verb is imperfective as in the examples (33)&(34).^{26 27}

²⁶ Note that the presence of the object agreement in Geez results in a definite interpretation even in the absence of any definite marking on the NP. Geez does not have articles specialized for marking definiteness and indefiniteness. Definiteness is expressed by using pronouns as in *wiñu wäld* ‘the boy’ (lit. he boy), *immantu awald* ‘the girls’ (lit. they (fem) girls). In the examples (33)b&(34)b, the objects are interpreted as definite in the absence of pronouns just due to the presence of the object agreement.

²⁷ Note that it may be difficult to imagine clothes not being affected by the repairing events, or tigers not being affected by the killing event of which they are the theme. The interpretation of affectedness I am referring to for the examples like (33)b&(34)b is in the sense of delimiting the event of the verb as pointed out by (Tenny 1992, 1994, Cornips and Hulk 1998), rather than being altered or changed by the event denoted by the verb. Mark Baker suggested me that the difference between (34)a& (34)b and other similar discussions may be whether specific clothes/tiger is involved or not. The object agreement, however, does not seem to be related to specificity as it can also be dropped with specific objects. For example, it is hard to think of a non-specific interpretation of *Saba* and *my hands* in the sentences below though the object agreement is optional. Besides, we can find object agreement with non-specific objects. See for example footnote 12:

- (i) *saba-n* *yaz-u(-at)*
Saba-acc *catch.PERF-3MPL_s-3FSG_o*
They caught up Saba

- (33) a. *aroge* *l̥bs-očči-n* *ɪ-t'äggin* *all-ähu* Amharic
 old cloth-PL-ACC 1SG_S-repair.IMPERF AUX.PERF-1SG_S
I (will) repair old clothes.
- b. *aroge* *l̥bso-očči-n* *ɪ-t'äggin-aččäw* *all-ähu*
 old cloth-PL-ACC 1SG_S-repair.IMPERF-3PL_O AUX.PERF-1SG_S
I will repair old clothes.
- (34) a. *ɪ-k'ättil* *nämr-ä* Geez
 1SG_S-kill.IMPERF tiger-ACC
I (will) kill a tiger.
- b. *ɪ-k'ättil-o* *lä-nämr*
 1SG_S-kill.IMPERF-3MSG_O to-tiger
I will kill a/the tiger.

Without object agreement, the clauses are interpreted as present or future habitual clauses depicting the object as part of the event without singling it out. Accordingly, (33)a means that I (will be/ am) engaged in repairing old clothes while (34)a means that I (will be/am) engaged in tiger-killing. Here no particular clothes or tiger is singled out. This means that the object does not delimit the event of the verb. With the object agreement in (33)b & (34)b, on the other hand, the clauses are interpreted as future actions to be performed on particular clothes and a tiger. In this case, there are specific clothes and a specific tiger which will be affected by or delimit the events denoted by the verbs.

3.2.1.2. Obligatory occurrence of object agreement

The second piece of evidence which shows that object agreement is related to affectedness comes from its obligatory occurrence when the object is necessarily affected. Although object agreement is generally considered as optional, it is obligatory in what are known as impersonal verbs which

-
- (ii) *ij̥j̥-očč-e-n* *yaz-u(-aččäw)*
 hand-PL-1SGGEN-ACC catch.PERF-3MPL_S-3PL_O
They caught my hands.

express the notion of being hungry, thirsty, sick etc. (Leslau 1995, Amberber 2005). As can be seen from the examples below, such verbs usually take an invariable 3MSG subject agreement which agrees with an expletive pro or a cognate subject (35)a & (36), or the general causer (35)b-c as their subjects. The person or thing which is affected by the event is introduced as an object (see Amberber 2005 for detailed discussion of these verbs). Since one cannot be hungry, thirsty or sick without being affected by the hunger, thirst or disease, the objects of these verbs are necessarily affected. The obligatory presence of the object agreement in these verbs, therefore, suggests that that it is related to affectedness:

- (35) a. (rähab) rab-ä*(-ñ) Amharic
 hunger make.hungry.PERF-3MSG_S-1SG_O
 I am hungry. (Lit. it/hunger hungered me)
- b. lįjǝ-čč-in wuha t'amma-ø*(-ččäw)
 child-PL-ACC water make.thirsty.PERF-3MSG_S(-3PL_O)
 The children are thirsty of water. (Lit. Water thirsted the children.)
- c. wäba ammäm-ä*(-h)?
 malaria make.sick.PERF-3MSG_S(-2MSG_O)
 Are you sick due to Malaria. (Lit. Did Malaria make you sick?)
- (36) yǝ-rhib-ä-ni Geez
 3MSG_S-make.hungry.IMPERF-3MSG_S-1SG_O
 I am hungry. (Lit. it makes/will make me hungry.)

Note that cognate NPs are argued to play the role of non-subject arguments (objects and adverbial adjuncts) (See Pereltsvaig 2002, 107-136 and the reference cited there). This may cast some doubt on the role of the cognate NPs as subjects. Baker (2012) for example, analyzed these verbs as taking two internal arguments one of which is the cognate NPs. There are, however, two pieces of evidence which indicate that they are real subjects in Amharic and Geez. Firstly, cognate subjects are in complementary distribution with non-cognate subjects. For example, the cognate subjects cannot show up with non-cognate subjects as can be seen from the examples in (37). If the cognate NPs were not subjects, there is nothing that prohibits them to show up with non-cognate subjects:

- (37) a. lij-očč-e (*rähab) rab-u-ñ Amharic²⁸
 children-PL-1MSG_S *hunger make.hungry.PERF-3PL_S-1SG_O
I missed my children. (I am hungry of my children.)
- b. wäba (*hämäm) ammäm-ä*(-h)?
 malaria (*sickness) make.sick.PERF-3MSG_S*(-2MSG_O)
Are you sick due to Malaria. (Lit. Did Malaria make you sick?)

Secondly, in some cases where cognate objects can be pluralized, they can trigger plural subject agreement rather than object agreement, as in (38):

- (38) bizu hāmam-očč ammä-w-iñ näbbär
 many sickness-PL make.sick.PERF-3PL_S-1SG_O AUX.3MSG_S
I was sick of many sicknesses. (Lit. Many sicknesses made me sick.)

3.2.1.3. Impossibility of object agreement

The third and most interesting piece of evidence again comes from the fact that object agreement is impossible if the object cannot be interpreted as affected. This is observed from transitive verbs like *gälläs'ä* 'explain', which do not take affected objects. As can be seen from (39), the unaffected object of the verb *gälläs'ä* 'explain' cannot trigger object agreement:

- (39) a. yonas hassab-u-n gälläs'-ä
 Jonas idea-3MSG.GEN-ACC explain.PERF-3MSG_S
Jonas explained his idea.
- b. *yonas hassab-u-n gälläs'-ä-w
 Jonas idea-3MSG.GEN-ACC explain.PERF-3MSG_S.3MSG_O
Intended meaning: Jonas explained his idea.

A similar phenomenon is observed in causativization of some transitive verbs. In Amharic and Geez, verbs can be causativized by using the morphemes *as-* and *a-*²⁹. When transitive verbs are causativized, the subject

²⁸ This is a metaphoric expression.

²⁹ These two causativizing morphemes are used to derive two different types of causative verbs. For example, when the Amharic verb *bällä* 'eat' is causativized by *a-*, we get the meaning *a-bällä* 'feed'. When it is causativized by *as-* we get *as-*

and the object of the non-causativized verb become objects of the causativized verb and trigger object agreement. For example, when the transitive verbs in (33)&(34) are causativized, their subjects and objects become objects of the causativized verb. As a result either of the objects can trigger object agreement as in (40)&(41):

(40) a. yonas **ine-n** aroge **h̄bs-očči-n** as-t'aggän-ä-**ñ** Amharic
Jonas **I-ACC** old cloth-PL-ACC CAUS-repair.PERF-3MSG_S-
1SG_O

Jonas made me repair old clothes.

b. yonas aroge **h̄bs-očči-n** as-t'aggän-ø-**aččäw**
Jonas old **cloth-PL-ACC** CAUS-repair.PERF-3MSG_S-**3PL_O**

Jonas made the old clothes repaired.

(41) a. a-k'ätäl-ät-**o** saba **lä-yonas** nämr-ä Geez
CAUS-kill.PERF-3FSG_S-**3MSG_O** Saba **to-Jonas** tiger-ACC
Saba made Jonas kill a tiger.

b. a-k'ätäl-ät-**o** saba **lä-nämr**
CAUS-kill.PERF-3FSG_S-**3MSG_O** Saba **to-tiger**
Saba made the tiger killed.

This is, however, only possible if both the subject and the object of the non-causativized verb are affected by the event. If either of them is unaffected, object agreement with these NPs is impossible. Consider the causativization of impersonal verbs as in (42)-(44). Causing one to be hungry, thirsty or sick does not involve affecting the subjects of these impersonal verbs (hunger, water or malaria). This means that when impersonal verbs are causativized, the subjects of non-causativized verbs become unaffected objects of the causativized verb. As a result, they cannot trigger object agreement as is shown in (42)b,(43)b, (44)b. In this case, only the objects of the non-causativized verb trigger object agreement (42)a,(43)a, (44)a:

ballä 'cause one to eat by himself'. For detailed discussion of these morphemes, I refer the reader to Amberber (1996).

(42) a. yonas rähab as-rab-ä*(-ñ) Amharic
 Jonas hunger CAUS-make.hungry.PERF-3MSG_S-1SG_O
Jonas made me hungry. (Lit. Jonas made me hungry by hunger)

b.*yonas ine-n rähab-u-n as-rab-ä-w
 Jonas I-ACC hunger-DEF-ACC CAUS-make.hungry.PERF-
 3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Intended meaning: Jonas cause the hunger made me hungry.

(43) a. saba lij-očči-n wuha as-t'ämm-ačči-aččäw
 Saba child-PL-ACC water CAUS-make.thirsty.PERF-3FSG_S-
 3PL_O
Saba made children be thirsty of water.

b.*saba wuha-n lij-očč as-t'ämm-ačči-w
 Saba water-ACC child-PL CAUS-make.thirsty.PERF-3FSG_S-
 3MSG_O
Intended meaning: Saba cause water make children thirsty.

(44) a. yih agär wäba as-ammäm-ä*(-h)
 this country malaria CAUS-make.sick.PERF-3MSG_S-2MSG_O
This country cause you be sick due to Malaria.

b.*yih ager wäba-w-n as-ammäm-ä*(-w)
 this country malaria-DEF-ACC CAUS-make.sick.PERF-
 3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Intended meaning: This country cause the malaria to make sick.

Similarly, when the verbs *hate* and *want* are causativized only animate (subjects becoming) objects that can be affected/alterd in that they hate/want or are hated/wanted, trigger object agreement (45)a, (46)a, (47)a, (48)a). Inanimate objects which cannot hate/ want, or are not affected by being hated/wanted cannot trigger object agreement (45)b, (46)b, (47)b, (48)b):

- (45) a. yonas miḡib as-t'älla-ø-ñ Amharic
 Jonas food CAUS-hate.PERF-3MSG_S-1SG_O
Jonas caused me to hate food.
- b. *yonas miḡb-u-n as-tälla-ø-w
 Jonas food-DEF-ACC CAUS-hate.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Jonas caused the food to be hated.
- (46) a. miḡib as-fälläg-ä-ñ
 food CAUS-want.PERF-3MSG_S-1SG_O
It made me want food.
- b. *miḡb-u-n as-fälläg-ä-w
 food-DEF-ACC CAUS-want.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
It made the food to be wanted.
- (47) a. a-s'liʔ-at-o Saba lä-yonas hibist-ä Geez
 CAUS-hate.PERF-3FSG_S-3MSG_O Saba to-Jonas food-ACC
Saba made Jonas hate food.
- b. *a-s'liʔ-ät-o Saba lä-hibist
 CAUS-hate.PERF-3FSG_S-3MSG_O Saba to- food
She made the food be hated.
- (48) a. i-y-a-ftu-kä sin-a (Kifle 1948: 336)
 NEG-3MSG_S-CAUS-want.PERF-2MSG_O beauty-3FSG.GEN
 lä-biʔsit-ä baʔd
 to-woman stranger
Let it not make you want the beauty of a foreign woman.
- b. *i-y-a-ftu-wo sin-a
 NEG-3MSG_S-CAUS-want.PERF-3MSG_O beauty-3FSG.GEN
 lä-biʔsit-ä baʔd
 to-woman stranger
Intended meaning: Let it not make the beauty of a foreign woman be wanted.

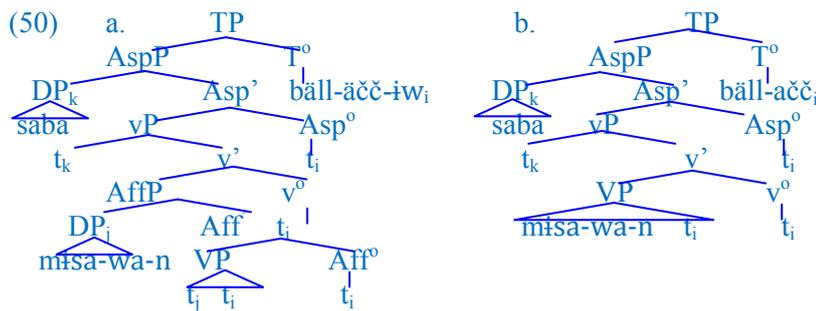
To sum up, its semantic effect in contexts where it is optional, its obligatory presence in contexts where objects are necessarily affected, and its

unacceptability with objects which are necessarily unaffected suggests that object agreement in Amharic and Geez is related to affectedness.

3.2.2. The syntax of affectedness

Syntactically, the affected vs. unaffected distinction has been given numerous explanations (see Anderson 1977, 1979, 2006, Fiengo 1980, Jaeggli 1986, Giorgi and Longobardi 1991, Sybesma 1992, Tenny 1992, 1994, Ackema and Schoorlemmer 1994, Cornips and Hulk 1998, Travis 2010 among others). Here I adopt Travis’ (2010) proposal that affectedness involves moving the object from its base position to a derived position below vP, *inner aspect* in her terminology. I assume that object agreement in Amharic and Geez indicates the presence of such a derived object position. This means that object agreement is the realization of the phi-features of a functional projection which is responsible for affectedness (AffP). Accordingly, I analyze the clauses with object agreement like in (49)a as containing AffP (50)a as opposed to those without object agreement like in (49)b, which I analyze without AffP as in (50)b:

- (49) a. saba mīsa-wa-n bāll-aččī-w Amharic
 Saba lunch-3FSG.GEN-ACC eat.PERF-3FSG_S-3MSG_O
 Saba ate her lunch.
- b. saba mīsa-wa-n bāll-ačč
 Saba lunch-3FSG.GEN-ACC eat.PERF-3FSG_S
 Saba ate her lunch.

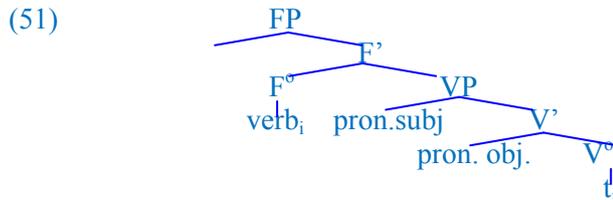


Such an analysis, however, does not explain why the object agreement follows the subject agreement. As mentioned above, given that the object agrees with the verb before the subject agrees with Asp/T, object agreement is not expected to precede subject agreement. This fact would rather suggest

that it is a realization of a type of agreement which takes place after subject agreement. It could, for instance, be considered a case of topic or focus agreement. I do not, however, follow such an analysis for one basic reason: object agreement is impossible with external arguments. If the type of agreement we are discussing would be topic or focus agreement, there would not be any reason why external arguments do not trigger it.³⁰

The fact that the object agreement follows the subject agreement can be rather accounted by the historical perspective which I discussed in section 2.1.3. Recall that the subject agreement markers are suffixes with perfective verbs and a combination of prefixes and suffixes with imperfective verbs. I argued following Benmamoun (2000) that such a phenomenon is the result of the fact that the agreement markers were pronominal arguments before they were incorporated into the verb and became pure agreement markers. Such historical account can explain why object agreement follows subject agreement. Suppose that before incorporation, pronominal objects, which have become object agreement markers after incorporation, were base generated below pronominal subjects like in (51). Later on, when the pronominal arguments are incorporated into the verb, which had moved to the higher syntactic position, the pronominal subject has become closer to the verb resulting in a linear morphological order of **VERB-AGRS-AGSO**.

³⁰ One could argue that such an agreement is impossible because these arguments have already established subject agreement with Asp^0 or T^0 , and that they do not involve in another agreement. However, the restriction is not due to that. As we will see in the chapters that follow, object agreement can also be triggered by possessors of internal arguments, but not possessors of external arguments. Since possessors of external arguments do not agree with any other element, the restriction why they do not trigger object agreement cannot be due to the fact that they have already entered in another agreement relation. The analysis which I provide above explains this restriction. That is $AffP$ is below vP , and it is not accessible to external arguments and their possessors.



By this, I conclude the discussion of the object agreement. In the next section, I will proceed to the third type of agreement.

3.3. Genitive agreement

In addition to subject and object agreement, Geez and Amharic also exhibit a third type of agreement known as genitive agreement. This agreement is the equivalent of subject and object agreement with nominal heads. This means that while the external and internal arguments of a verb trigger subject and object agreement, respectively, arguments of nominals trigger genitive agreement on the head. As a result, possessors trigger genitive agreement on their possessee (52), subjects trigger genitive agreement on infinitives and gerunds (53). Moreover, in Geez, complements of prepositions trigger genitive agreement on the preposition (54)³¹:

³¹ Note that Geez prepositions can be regarded as having a nominal behavior since they originate from nouns (Dillmann 1907: 388). This is in fact observed from their analogy. Compare, for example, the NPs in (i) with the PPs in (ii). The NP in (i)a is in what is known as the construct state. It is similar to the PP in (ii)a in that both the preposition and the possessee end in *-ä*. Similarly, the possessive NP in (i)b and the PP in (ii)b are similar. The preposition establishes genitive agreement with its complement in the same way as the possessee establishes agreement with the possessor. This analogy is the result of the fact that the combination of a preposition and its complement in (ii)a evolved from the construct state (i)a while the PP in (ii)b evolved from (i)b.

- | | | |
|--------|---|---------------------|
| (i) a. | wäld-ä
son-CS
<i>the king's son</i> | nigus
of-king |
| b. | wäld-u
son-3MSG.GEN
<i>the king's son</i> | lä-nigus
to-king |

- (52) a. **bet-e** Amharic
house-1SG.GEN
my house
- b. **beti-yä** Geez
house-1SG.GEN
my house
- (53) a. **mämt'at-e/ mätičč-e** Amharic
come.INFNTV-1SG.GEN/come.GRND-1SG.GEN
my coming/ me having come.
- b. **hawwir-yä** Geez
go.INFNTV-1SG.GEN
my going
- (54) a. **bi-ya** *in me* Geez
- b. **bi-kä** *in you(m)*
- c. **bi-ki** *in you(f)*
- d. **b-o** *in him*

3.4. *The phi-features of agreement*

It is generally assumed that the three types of agreement markers we discussed above involve person, number and gender. However it is not clear that that is the case. Note that the same affix is used to indicate more than one person. For example, the prefix *tʃ-* is used to indicate second person and third person feminine in imperfective verbs (55). Moreover, in several cases two morphemes have the same person specification. For example, second

-
- (ii) a. **misl-ä nigus**
with-CS of-king
With a/the king
- b. **misle-hu** **lä-nigus**
with-3MSG.GEN to-king
With a/the king.

person is represented by *tʰ-* in imperfective and by *-k* in perfective verbs (cf. (55)&(56)).

(55) Imperfective verbs

	Singular		Plural	
a.	<i>ʰ-kʰättil</i>	<i>I (will) kill</i>	<i>nʰ-käʰttil</i>	<i>we kill</i>
b.	<i>tʰ-kʰättil</i>	<i>you(m) (will) kill</i>	<i>tʰ-käʰttil-u</i>	<i>you(m)kill</i>
c.	<i>tʰ-kʰättil-i</i>	<i>you(f) (will) kill</i>	<i>tʰ-käʰttil-a</i>	<i>you (f) kill</i>
d.	<i>yʰ-kʰättil</i>	<i>he (will) kill</i>	<i>yʰ-kʰättil-u</i>	<i>they(m) kill</i>
e.	<i>tʰ-kʰättil</i>	<i>she (will) kill</i>	<i>yʰ-kʰättil-ä</i>	<i>they (f) kill</i>

(56) Perfective verbs

	Singular		Plural	
a.	<i>kʰätäl-k-u</i>	<i>I killed</i>	<i>kʰätäl-n-ä</i>	<i>we killed</i>
b.	<i>kʰätäl-k</i>	<i>you(m) killed</i>	<i>kʰätäl-k-i-mu</i>	<i>you(mpl) killed</i>
c.	<i>kʰätäl-k-i</i>	<i>you(f) killed</i>	<i>kʰätäl-k-in</i>	<i>you(f) killed</i>
d.	<i>kʰätäl-ä</i>	<i>he killed</i>	<i>kʰätäl-u</i>	<i>they(mpl) killed</i>
e.	<i>kʰätäl-ät</i>	<i>she killed</i>	<i>käʰtäl-a</i>	<i>they (f) killed</i>

I will argue that this is not a ‘mismatch’ but caused by the fact that the agreement markers do not indicate person. We will, in stead, analyze agreement in Amharic and Geez in terms of, (non-)speaker, (non-) proximate and diminutive/augmentative features, rather than person, number and gender³². In the following sections, I will give such an analysis based on Geez. Geez exhibits the morphemes used in the agreement markers in its independent pronoun system with clear morphological contrasts that show their semantic role. Since Amharic shows a similar pattern despite some superficial differences due to phonological change or simplification in its pronoun system, its agreement system can be taken to be the same. In section 3.4.1-3.4.3, I give a morphological analysis of the independent pronouns of Geez in order to identify the specific features. In section 3.4.4, I show how the three types of agreement we saw above can be analyzed accordingly.

³² Note that decomposing pronominal elements into features which have more general semantics has been proposed by many scholars. See Harbour (2006) and the references cited there for detailed discussion. What I am proposing here is that the morphemes which build the pronouns are realized as markers of these features.

3.4.1. Morphological analysis of Geez independent pronouns: the speaker-non-speaker and the proximate-distal distinction

Geez has the following independent pronouns which are used in subject position. Note that the notions proximate, intermediate and distant indicate proximity of the referent from the point of view of the speaker:

(57)

person/gender	Number			
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>		
1 st	anā	<i>I</i>	nihnä	<i>we</i>
2 nd m.	antā	<i>you</i>	antimu	<i>you</i>
f	anti	<i>you</i>	antiñ	<i>you</i>
3 rd m. prox.	zintu	<i>this</i>	illontu	<i>these</i>
f	zatti	<i>this</i>	illantu	<i>those</i>
m			immuntu	<i>they</i>
f.			immantu	<i>they</i>
m.intrmdt.	zik(t)u	<i>that</i>	ik(t)u	<i>those</i>
f.	intakti	<i>that</i>	illik(t)on	<i>those</i>
m.dstnt	wiʔtu	<i>he</i>	wiʔtomu	<i>they</i>
f	yīʔti	<i>she</i>	wiʔton	<i>they</i>

Note that the consonantal affix *-t* is common to all 2nd and 3rd person pronouns (those in the shaded part in (57)), but absent in 1st person pronouns. This suggests that *-t* indicates a feature shared by 2nd and 3rd person pronouns against 1st person pronouns. The common feature that distinguishes 2nd and 3rd person pronouns from 1st person pronouns is that the former are non-speakers whereas the latter are speakers. Thus, I conclude that *-t* is a non-speaker marker. This means that based on the presence and absence of *-t*, we can classify pronouns into *non speaker* and *speaker*.

Consider now the distribution of the morpheme *-n*. It is found in all 1st and 2nd person pronouns, and proximate 3rd person pronouns (see shaded part below):

(58)

person	Number			
	Singular		Plural	
1 st	anā	I	nīhnā	we
2 nd m.	an-t-ā	you	antīmu	you
f	an-t-i	you	antīn	you
3 rd m. prox.	zīn-t-u	this	īllontu	these
f	zat-t-i	this	īllanu	these
m			immuntu	they
f			immantu	they
m.intrmdt	zīk-(t)-u	that	īlk(t)u	those
f	īntak-t-i	that	īllīk(t)on	those
dstnt	wīʔ-t-u	he	wīʔtomu	they
f	yīʔ-t-i	she	wīʔton	they

In third person pronouns, *-n* contrasts with *-k* as follows:

- (59) a. zī-n-t-u *this (msg)*
 zī-k-t-u *that(msg)*
- b. īll-o-n-t-u *these (msg)*
 īll-o-k-t-u *those (msg)*

Following traditional grammars of Geez (Kifle 1948), I attribute this contrast to degree of proximity. Although native intuition is not available today to prove this, I hypothesize that the *-n* indicates proximity to the speaker while *-k* indicates proximity to the addressee. Evidence for this comes from the cognates of these pronouns in Amharic. Amharic third person pronouns, which are historical cognates of *zīktu/zīsku* indicate proximity to the addressee (Haile 1967):³³

- (60) a. issu līj Amharic
 he child
 That(m) boy (proximate to the addressee)

³³ It has to be noted here that these pronouns are different from homophonous third person pronouns which are used to refer to distant objects. It has been generally accepted that the distant pronouns historically originate from the noun *īś* ‘self, head’. This means that Amharic has two sets of homophonous third person pronouns. The first set refer to objects proximate to the hearer and are cognates of similar pronouns of Geez. The second set refer to distant objects and evolve from the word *īś*.

- b. *issuwa* *lij*
 she child
That(f) girl (proximate to the addressee)
- c. *innä-ssu*³⁴ *lij-očč*
 they child-PL
Those children (proximate to the addressee)

The distribution of *-n* and *-k* suggests that that all 1st and 2nd person pronouns and some third person pronouns are marked for proximate to the speaker. While some other third person pronouns are marked for proximity to the addressee.

In addition to *-n* and *-k*, other third person pronouns contain *-ʔ*. These are pronouns that refer to objects which are neither proximate to the speaker nor to the addressee. This means that *-ʔ* indicates the feature *distal*:

- (61) a. *wi-ʔ-tu* *he/that(m)*
 b. *yi-ʔ-ti* *she/that(f)*

Generally, based on the proximity feature, the pronouns in Geez are classified in to three: *proximate to the speaker*, *proximate to the addressee*, and *remote* as follows:

(62)		Singular		Plural	
Prox. to speaker:	1 st	<i>anä</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>nähnä</i>	<i>we</i>
(contain n)	2m.	<i>an-t-ä</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>an-t-imu</i>	<i>you</i>
	f	<i>an-t-i</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>an-t-in</i>	<i>you</i>
	3m	<i>zin-t-</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>illon-t-u</i>	<i>these</i>
	f	<i>zat-t-I</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>illan-t-u</i>	<i>those</i>
	m			<i>immun-t-u</i>	<i>they</i>
	f.			<i>imman-t-u</i>	<i>they</i>
Prox. to addr:	3m.	<i>zik-(t)-u</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>ilk-(t)-u</i>	<i>those</i>
(contain k)	f.	<i>intak-t-i</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>illik-(t)-on</i>	<i>those</i>
Remote	3 m	<i>wiʔ-t-u</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>wiʔ-t-omu</i>	<i>they</i>
(contain ʔ)	f	<i>yiʔ-t-I</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>wiʔ-t-on</i>	<i>they</i>

³⁴*innä-ssu* comes from *innä-issu*

3.4.2. Proximity markers

In Geez the proximity markers (*-k*, *-n* and *-ʔ*) combine with a set of prefixes. The prefixes that combine with *-k* and *-n* are different from those which combine with *-ʔ*. This means that prefixes are also sensitive to the proximate-distal distinction. Those which combine with *-n* and *-k* are proximate. Those which combine with the distal/non-proximate marker *-ʔ* are non-proximate. If we classify the pronouns in terms of being (non-) proximate, we will get the following two groups:

(63)

	Singular	Plural
proximate 1st	anā <i>I</i>	nihnā <i>we</i>
2m.	an-t-ā <i>you</i>	an-t-īmu <i>you</i>
f	an-t-i <i>you</i>	an-t-in <i>you</i>
3^m	zīn-t-u <i>this</i>	illon-t-u <i>these</i>
f	zat-t-i <i>this</i>	illan-t-u <i>those</i>
m		immun-t-u <i>they</i>
f.		imman-t-u <i>they</i>
m.	zīk-(t)-u <i>that</i>	īlk-(t)-u <i>those</i>
f.	īntak-t-i <i>that</i>	īllik-(t)-on <i>those</i>
non-prox. 3m	wīʔ-t-u <i>he</i>	wīʔ-t-omu <i>they</i>
f	yīʔ-t-i <i>she</i>	wīʔ-t-on <i>they</i>

Proximate pronouns (those marked by *-n* and *-k*) are further classified according to being (non-) participant. Participant pronouns refer to the speaker and the hearer. That is 1st and 2nd person pronouns. These pronouns take the prefix *a-*:

- (64) a. a-nā *I*
 b. a-nta *you(m)*
 c. a-nti *you(f)*

The non-participant prefixes are three: *z-*, *l-* and *-m*. *z-* is used for the singular and *l-* and *m-* are used for plural:

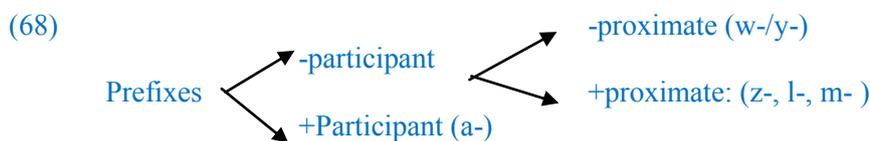
- (65) a. zī-n-tu *this(m)* (proximate to the speaker)
 b. zī-k-tu *that(m)* (proximate to the addressee)
 c. za-t-ti³⁵ *this(f)*(proximate to the speaker)

³⁵ *zatti* originates from *za-n-ti* through phonological assimilation.

- (66) a. *ill-o-n-tu* *these (m)* (proximate to the speaker)
 b. *ill-a-n-tu* *these (f)* (proximate to the speaker)
 c. *ill-u-k-tu* *those(m)* (proximate to the addressee)

- (67) a. *imm-u-n-tu* *they(m)/those*
 b. *imm-a-n-tu* *they(f)/those*

Summarizing, the featural composition of the prefixes can be specified as follows:



3.4.3. Gender and number marking

In addition to the features we have seen so far, Geez pronouns also distinguish number and gender. Gender distinction is available only in non-speaker pronouns, and it is marked by vowel alternations which follow the non-speaker marker *-t* or the prefixes as demonstrated below:

(69) Prefix-V-n/k/?-t-V

The following vowel alternations are used in each case:

- (70) a. Following *t*: *-ä/-i* as in *ant-ä* *you (m)* vs. *ant-i* *you (f)*
 -u/ -i as in *wiʔt-u* *he* vs. *yʔt-i* *she*

b. Following the prefixes:

- u/-a* as in *immuntu* *they(m)* vs. *immantu* *they(f)*
 o/a as in *illoktu* *those(m)* vs. *illaktu* *those (f)*

As a result, gender is marked discontinuously:

- (71) a. *z-a-t-t-I* *this(f)*
 b. *imm-a-n-t-u* *they(f)*
 c. *ill-o-k-t-u* *those(m)*

Vowel alternation, however, does not only indicate a feminine/masculine distinction. It also indicates size distinction. Feminine pronouns are used to

refer to small things (diminutives) and masculine pronouns refer to big things (augmentatives), as in (72)³⁶:

- (72) a. *ismä* *ziʔakä* *yīʔti* *mängist*
 for yours that.F kingdom
 Thine is the kingdom.
- b. *bä-kʼdmä* *zatti* *imm-yä* *kiddist betakirstiyan*
 in-infront this.F mother-1SG.GEN holy church
 In the sight of the holly mother church

Which of the gender and size distinctions is primitive is difficult to decide from the pronominal system alone. However, recent research by Leyew (2012) has clearly indicated that vowel alternation in Amharic and other Ethiopian languages is related to the diminutive vs. augmentative distinction³⁷. On the basis of this, I consider that *-i* and *-a* are diminutive markers and *-u(o)* and *-ä* are augmentative markers.

Number marking involves affixation of *n*, which surfaces as *m* before round vowels and labial consonants, and as *l* before glides:

(73)	Singular		Plural	
a.	<i>anä</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>nī-h-nä</i>	<i>we</i>
b.	<i>anta</i>	<i>you(m)</i>	<i>an-ti-m-u</i>	<i>you</i>
c.	<i>anti</i>	<i>you(f)</i>	<i>an-t-in</i>	<i>you</i>
d.	<i>wiʔtu</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>wiʔ-t-o-m-u</i>	<i>they</i>
e.	<i>yīʔti</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>wiʔ-to-n</i>	<i>they</i>
f.	<i>zintu</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>il-l-o-n-t-u</i>	<i>these</i>
g.	<i>zatti</i>	<i>this(f)</i>	<i>il-l-ä-n-t-u</i>	<i>these</i>
h.	-----	-----	<i>im-m-u-n-t-u</i>	<i>they/those</i>
i.	-----	-----	<i>il-l-u-k-t-u</i>	<i>those</i>

Recall that *-n* is also used to indicate proximity to the speaker. Whether this similarity between number and proximity marking is a matter of homophony

³⁶ The examples in (72) are taken from the daily prayer of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In the prayer church and kingdom are stated as feminine/ demunitive.

³⁷ The claim that vowel alternation is related to size rather than gender might also be supported by the terms which stand for feminine and masculine in Geez. The word for feminine is *anist* derived from the root of the verb *nīʔsa* 'be small', and the term for masculine *täbaʔ* derived from the root of the verb *tabbäʔä* 'be strong, huge' (Kifle 1948).

or identity is an interesting issue. On the face of it, it looks that there is no relationship between the notion of plurality and proximity for them to be expressed by one affix. However, if the plural is understood as a ‘stuff dividing’ function as proposed by Borer (2005), the similarity between the plural marker and the proximity marker turns out to be identity. Borer argues that the plural is not a function over individuals. In other words, plural marker is not pluralizing singulars. Rather it divides a portion from the entire denotation of the noun. For example, the plural marker –s in *students* does not pluralize the singular *student*. It rather portions out a subset from the entire denotation of *student*. If Borer’s analysis is correct, the identity between plural and proximity to the speaker marker is straightforward. This means that function of portioning of the denotation is made by proximity marking. In other words, rather than employing a different morpheme to do the portioning function, Geez uses the proximity marker. This is in fact interesting in that the plural marking in lexical nouns also involves the morpheme –t as in *diyak’on* ‘deacon’ *diyak’on-at* ‘deacons’. One can easily say that in this case, portioning is made by the non-speaker marker.³⁸

So, my claim is that gender and number marking in Geez independent pronouns is not primitive. Gender is marked by diminutive and augmentative markers. Number is marked by proximity to the speaker markers.

To sum up, the morphological analysis of Geez independent pronouns reveals that they are made up of affixes which indicate the features non-speaker[-t], proximity to the speaker [-n], proximity to the addressee [-k], and distal [-ʔ] and prefixes which are characterized as (non-) participant and (non-)proximate as well as vowels which indicate diminutive and augmentative features. Based on the features we have identified so far, the pronouns in Geez can be classified as follows:

³⁸ This is not only restricted to Geez. Bryan (1959) and Bryan (1968) cited in Crass and Meyer (2007) also noted that the morphemes n, t, and k are widely distributed in North east African languages.

Table 1: Reclassification of Geez pronouns

Demu nition and numb er	Speak er	Non-Speaker [t]				
	Proximal to the speaker [n]			Proxim al to address ee [k]	Remote [ʔ]	
	Participant [a-]		Non- participant [z, l, m w/y]			
MSG	anä 'I'	antä you	-	zintu this	zıktu that	wiʔtu he
FSG		anti you	-	zatti that	ıntakti that	yıʔti she
MPL	nıhnä We	antımu you	ımmun tu they	ıllontu these	ılloktu these	wiʔtomu they
FPL		antin you	ımmant u they	ıllantu these	ıllaktu these	wiʔton they

Accordingly, each pronoun can be defined in terms of the features specified by the affixes. To demonstrate some of them, excluding number and gender features:

- (74) a. 1SG: anä = [participant], [proximate to the speaker]
 b. 2MSG:anta = [participant], [proximate to the speaker], [non-speaker]
 c. 3MSG:zintu = [non-participant], [proximate to the speaker],[non-speaker]
 zıktu = [-participant], [proximate to the addressee], [non-speaker]
 wiʔtu = [-participant], [- proximate],[non-speaker]

With this in mind, I now proceed to the discussion of the agreement system, which is realized by the same morphemes.

3.4.4. Reanalyzing the agreement system

With the exception of 1st singular (the speaker) which involves special affixes in all cases, all the types of agreement which we discussed in section 3.1-3.3 involve the morphemes which are used to build the independent pronouns. As a result, we can account the features of agreement marking straightforwardly:

- 1st plural is exclusively realized by *-n* which indicates the proximity to the speaker
- 2nd person agreement is realized by proximity to the addressee *-k* and non-speaker *-t* along with the morphemes used to indicate number and gender.
- 3rd person agreement involves only morphemes which indicate number and gender, except for 3FSG, which requires the non-speaker marker *-t*.

We can see this, for example, in the genitive agreement found with nouns, prepositions and gerundives/infinitives. As is illustrated by the examples below, second person is marked by *-k* along with number and gender markers. Third person agreement, on the other hand, consists of only gender markers *-ä/-i*, *-u(o)/-a* and number markers *-m/-n*. In the first person, however, we find *n* only in the plural. 1st singular is exceptional:

(75)	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Preposition</i>	<i>Gerund</i>
	<i>(my, your house etc.)</i>	<i>(in me, you etc.)</i>	<i>(my, your killing etc.)</i>
1SG	beti- yä	bi- yä	k'ä'til- yä
2MSG	beti- k-ä	bi- k-ä	k'ä'til- k-ä
2FSG	beti- k-i	bi- k-i	k'ä'til- ki
3MSG	bet- u	b- o	k'ä'til- o
3FSG	bet- a	b- a	k'ä'til- a
1PL	beti- n-ä	bi- n-ä	k'ät'il- n-ä
2MPL	beti- k-im-u	bi- k-im-u	k'ä'til- k-imu
2FPL	beti- k-in	bi- k-in	k'ä'til- k-in
3MPL	bet- o-mu	b- o-mu	k'ä'til- o-mu
3FPL	bet- o-n	b- o-n	k'ä'til- o-n

The subject agreement in perfective and imperfective verbs shows a similar pattern. In perfective verbs, as in the genitive agreement, 2nd person is marked by *-k* along with number and gender markers. 3rd person agreement

also involves only gender and number markers except that 3FSG which has the non-speaker marker *-t*. The same is true for 1st plural which involves *n*. Once again 1st singular remains exceptional, which incidentally is homophonous to the proximate addressee marker *-k*:

(76)	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
a.	k'ätäl-k-u	<i>I killed</i>	k'täl-n-ä	<i>we killed</i>
b.	k'ätäl-k	<i>you(m) killed</i>	k'ätäl-k-i-mu	<i>you(mpl) killed</i>
c.	k'ätäl-k-i	<i>you(f) killed</i>	k'ätäl-k-in	<i>you(f) killed</i>
d.	k'ätäl-ä	<i>he killed</i>	k'ätäl-u	<i>they(mpl) killed</i>
e.	k'ätäl-ät	<i>she killed</i>	k'ä'täl-a	<i>they(fpl) killed</i>

In imperfective verbs which exhibit a combination of prefix-suffix agreement markers, 2nd person and 3rd feminine involve the non-speaker marker *t-* while 3MSG and 3PL involve *y-*, which is the variant of *ʔ*. Both *t-* and *ʔ-* are accompanied by number and gender markers. 1st plural involves the same morpheme *n-* except that it is a prefix here; the exceptional 1st singular involves a vowel *ä*:

(77)	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
a.	ä-k'ättil	<i>I (will) kill</i>	n-i-kä'ttil	<i>we kill</i>
b.	t-i-k'ättily	<i>you(m) (will) kill</i>	t-i-kä'ttil-u	<i>you(m) kill</i>
c.	t-i-k'ättil-i	<i>you(f) (will) kill</i>	t-i-kä'ttil-a	<i>you(f) kill</i>
d.	y-i-k'ättil	<i>he(will) kill</i>	y-i-k'ättil-u	<i>they(m) kill</i>
e.	t-i-k' ättil	<i>she(will) kill</i>	y-i-k'ättil-ä	<i>they(f) kill</i>

Object agreement also involves the same affixes. *-n* is used for 1st person, *k* for 2nd person and only gender and number markers for 3rd persons:

(78)	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
a.	k'ätäl-ä-ni	<i>he killed me</i>	k'ätäl-ä-nä	<i>he killed us</i>
b.	k'ätäl-ä-kä	<i>he killed you(ms)</i>	k'ätäl-ä-k-i-mu	<i>he killed you(mpl)</i>
c.	k'ätäl-ä-ki	<i>he killed you(fpl)</i>	k'ätäl-ä-k-in	<i>he killed you(mpl)</i>
d.	k'ätäl-- ϕ -o ³⁹	<i>he killed him</i>	k'ätäl-omu	<i>he killed them(mpl)</i>
e.	k'ätäl- ϕ -a	<i>he killed her</i>	k'ätäl-on	<i>he killed them(fpl)</i>

Summarizing, the three types of agreement markers in Geez involve proximity, and non-speaker markers, along with number and gender markers.⁴⁰ For ease of presentation and familiarity, I will gloss the

³⁹ From *k'ätäl-ä-o*

⁴⁰ Except for the 1st person singular (the speaker) which is exceptional in all cases.

agreement markers as indicating person, number and gender throughout this thesis.

4. Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the morpho-syntax of aspect, tense and agreement in Amharic and Geez. In section 2, I discussed aspect. In this section, I showed that the two canonical verbal forms are perfective and imperfective. Based on the morphological structure and (in-) compatibility of perfective and imperfective verbs with auxiliaries, I argued that perfective verbs move up to T^0 while imperfective verbs remain in lower positions. In Section 3, I discussed agreement. In this section, I showed that subject agreement is related to aspect or tense while object agreement is related to affectedness. I also showed that genitive agreement is the counterpart of subject and object agreement with nominal heads. Moreover, I showed, based on Geez that the phi-features of agreement must be defined in terms of proximity, non-speaker and diminutive/augmentative features, rather than person, number and gender features. I conclude this chapter here. In the remaining chapters of this dissertation, I move on to discuss the non-verbal predication system of the two languages.

PART TWO

CHAPTER THREE

NON-VERBAL PREDICATION IN AMHARIC

1. Introduction

In this part of the dissertation, I discuss the non-verbal predication system of Amharic. As we mentioned in chapter one, non-verbal predication in Amharic exhibits variation in two respects: the copular system and the case-marking of NPs/APs in these copular constructions.

The language has three copular verbs: *nāw*, *allä* and *näbbär*, which indicate tense (Goldenberg 1964, Demeke and Meyer 2001, Demeke 2003, Yimam 2006 among others). That is, *nāw* and *allä* are present tense predicational and existential copulas, respectively, and *näbbär* is the past counterpart of *nāw* and *allä*. The three copular verbs differ in two respects: in terms of their agreement system and the type of predicate they show up with. With regard to agreement, the present tense predicational copula *nāw* is always marked for an invariable 3MSG subject agreement and for object agreement. For example in (1), the copula obligatorily appears with two agreement markers: 3MSG subject agreement and 3FSG object agreement. The subject of predication *lǧ-očč-u* ‘the children’ triggers the object agreement not the subject agreement⁴¹. The subject agreement is the default 3MSG.

⁴¹ Note that by object agreement, I am referring to the agreement which is triggered by the entity affected by the event denoted by the verb as I discussed in chapter two in detail. I call it object agreement because it has been known by this name.

- (1) lij-očč-u mämhir-an/tällilik'/i-bet wist' n-ä*(-aččäw)
 child-PL-DEF teacher-PL/tall.PL/at-house inside **be.PRES-**
3MSG_s-3PL_o
The children are teachers/tall/at home.

The existential present tense copula *allä* and the past tense copula *näbbär*, on the other hand, are marked only for subject agreement or for subject and object agreement with a corresponding BE and HAVE alternation in interpretation. In their BE interpretation, they are marked only for subject agreement which tracks the subject, as in (2). In their HAVE interpretation, they are marked for subject and object agreement which track the possessee and the possessor respectively, as in (3):

- (2) a. lij-očč-u i-bet wist' **all-u**
 child-PL-DEF at-house inside **be.PRES-3PL_s**
The children are at home.
- b. lij-očč-u mämhir-an/tällilik'//i-bet wist' **näbbär-u**
 child-PL-DEF teacher-PL/ tall.PL/at-house inside **be.PST-**
3PL_s
The children were teachers/tall/at home.
- (3) a. saba mämhir-očč **all-u-at** (cf. (2)a)
 Saba teacher-PL **be.PRES-3PL_s-3FSG_o**
Saba has teachers.
- b. saba mämhir-očč **näbbär-u-at**(cf. (2)b)
 Saba teacher-PL **be.PST-3PL_s-3FSG_o**
Saba had teachers.

With regard to the type of predicate they show up with, the present tense predicational copula *näw* appears with AP, NP and PP predicates (4). The choice of verbs *allä* and *näbbär* varies depending on their interpretation, either BE or HAVE. In their BE interpretation, *näbbär* appears with APs, NPs and PPs (5)a to express predication, identity and location, while *allä*

appears only with PPs to express location (5)b⁴². In their HAVE interpretation, both *allä* and *näbbär* show up only with NPs (6):

- (4) saba mämhir(-wa)/tillik'/i-bet wist' n-ä-at
 Saba teacher (DEF.FEM)/tall/at-house inside be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3FSG_O
Saba is (a/the) teacher/tall/at home.
- (5) a. saba mämhir(-wa)/tillik'/i-bet wist' näbbär-äčč
 Saba teacher (-DEF.FEM)/tall/at-house inside be.PST-3FSG_S
Saba was (a/the) teacher/tall/at home.
- b. saba i-bet wist'/*mämhir(-wa)/*tillik' all-äčč
 Saba at-house inside/ teacher (-DEF.FEM)/tall be.PRES-3FSG_S
Saba is at home.
- (6) a. saba mäs'haf-očč all-u-at
 Saba book-PL be.PRES-3PL_S-3FSG_O
Saba has books.
- b. saba mäs'haf-očč näbbär-u-at
 Saba book-PL be.PST-3PL_S-3FSG_O
Saba had books.

In addition to this, the copular clauses which contain the three copulas differ in terms of the case-marking system of the NPs and APs. NP and AP predicates with the copula *näw* and the BE interpretation of *näbbär* can be nominative, which is the morphologically unmarked Case (7)a, or accusative (7)b with a corresponding difference in interpretation as can be seen from the examples (7)a&b while the subjects always remain nominative. With the HAVE interpretation of *allä* and *näbbär*, on the other hand, only nominative is allowed in both NPs (7)c:

- (7) a. lij-occ-u tāmari-wočč/etiṣop'yaw-yan n-ø-aččäw/näbbär-u
 child-PL-DEF student-PL.NOM/Ethiopian-PL.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3PL_O/be.PST-3PL_S
The children are/were students/The children are/were Ethiopians.

⁴² I cannot find any interpretational difference between the locative clauses of (4) & (5)b.

- b. lij-occ-u **tämari-wočč-in/ etiyyopiyawi-yan-n** n-ø-aččaw/näbbär-u
 child-PL-DEF student-PL-ACC/Ethiopian-PL-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3PL_O/be.PST-3MPL_S
*The children are/were just like students/the children are/were just like
 Ethiopians.*
- c. saba mäś'haf-očč/*mäś'haf-očči-n all-u-at/näbbär -u-at
 Saba book-PL.NOM/*book-PL-ACC be.PRES-3PL_S-3FSG_O/be.PST-3PL_S-
 3FSG_O
Saba has/had books.

To summarize, the copular and case-marking system of Amharic can be represented as follows:

Table 2: summary of the copular and case-marking system of Amharic

Type of copula	Agreement of the copula	Type of predicate	Case-marking
<i>näw</i>	Obligatory subject and object agreement	NP, AP, PP	NOM-NOM NOM-ACC
<i>allä</i>	Obligatory subject agreement, optional object agreement	NP, PP	<i>Locative</i> : NOM-PP <i>Possessive</i> NOM-NOM
<i>näbbär</i>	Obligatory subject agreement, optional object agreement	NP, AP, PP	NOM-NOM NOM-ACC NOM-PP

In this and the next chapter, I discuss the syntactic analysis of Amharic copular clauses. I will explain why the copular verbs differ in terms of their agreement system and the type of predicate they show up with, as well as give an explanation for the case-marking system. In this chapter, I will focus on the copular verbs. I show that the difference between the copular verbs in terms of agreement system and the type of predicate they show up with is due to the fact that they are of different types, suggesting that the language

has more than one BE. That is, *nāw* is an impersonal raising verb which selects a small clause complement involving raising of the subject of the small clause to the functional projection which is responsible for affectedness (AffP). *allä* is a personal raising verb which selects an NP complement, triggering possessor raising, while *näbbär*, which is the past counterpart of *allä* and *nāw*, is a personal raising verb which selects an NP or a small clause complement involving both possessor and subject raising, respectively.

The discussion will proceed as follows. In sections 3 and 4, I will explain why the copular verbs differ in terms of their agreement system. I will, subsequently, show that they are personal and impersonal verbs (section 3), and that they belong to different types of raising verbs (section 4). In section 5, I will discuss that the difference between copular verbs, in terms of the type of predicate they show up, follows from the fact that they are different types of raising verbs. Before directly proceeding to the discussion of their morpho-syntactic differences, however, I would make a few points regarding the role of the copular verbs in 2.

2. The role of copular verbs in Amharic

As I mentioned earlier, the most widely accepted assumption about the role of Amharic copular verbs is that they indicate tense (Goldenberg 1964, Demeke and Meyer 2001, Demeke 2003, Yimam 2006 among others). That is *allä* and *nāw* are used to indicate non-past (present) tense (8)a&(9)a and *näbbär* is their past counterpart (8)b&(9)b:

- (8) a. *ine* *tāmari* *n-ä-ñ*
 I student be.PRES-3MSG_S-1SG_O
 I am a student.
- b. *ine* *tāmari* *näbbär-ku*
 I student be.PST-1SG_S
 I was a student.
- (9) a. *ine* *i-bet* *wist’ all-ähu*
 I at-house inside be.PRES-1SG_S
 I am at home.

- b. ine i-bet wist' näbbär-ku
 I at-house inside be.PST-1SG_s
I was at home

There are, however, some contexts which would seem to challenge this claim. One striking fact which seem to be against the tense account is the use of the past tense copula in non-past contexts as in (10)a&b. The past tense copula *näbbär* shows up with present (habitual) (10)a and future (10)b temporal adverbs in addition to the past(10)c:

- (10) a. hullem tämari **näbbär-ku** gin...
 always student **be.PST-1SG_s** but...
Nominally I am always a student, but...
- b. b-i-čil-imma karmo **tämari näbbär-ku**
 if-1SG_s-can.IMPERF-FOC next.year student **be.PST-1SG_s**
If I were able to, I would be a student next year
- c. amna tämari **näbbär-ku**
 last.year student **be.PST-1SG_s**
I was a student last year.

The use of the past tense copula in non-past contexts may lead one to suspect that it does not indicate tense. However, such kind of usage is not unique to Amharic. It is also observed in languages like English and Greek (Iatridou 2000). In these languages counterfactual wishes (11) and counterfactual conditionals (12) which do not have past tense interpretation involve verbs that are marked for past tense. Iatridou calls this type of past *fake past*:

- (11) a. I wish I had a car. (Conveys I don't have a car now')
 b. I wish I had had a car when I was a student. (I didn't have a car then)
- (12) a. If he were smart, he would be rich. (He is not smart and he is not rich)
 b. If he had been smart, he would have been rich. (He was not smart and he was not rich)

(Iatridou 2000: 231)

Iatridou explains such a phenomenon by proposing that the past tense has a skeletal meaning of (13):

- (13) T(x) excludes C(x), where
 T(x) stands for topic (x), (i.e., the x we are talking about)
 C(x) stands for ‘the x that for all we know the x of the speaker’)

According to Iatridou, the variable x can range over **times** or **worlds**. When it ranges over time, we get T(t): the set of **times** we are talking about (topic time), and C(t): the set of times that for all we know is the time of the speaker (utterance time). In this case (13) provides past tense interpretation in which topic time excludes the utterance time. When x ranges over **worlds**, T(w): worlds we are talking about (Topic worlds), and C(w): the worlds that for all we know are the worlds of the speaker (Actual worlds). In this case, (13) provides counterfactual wishes and conditionals in which the Topic world excludes the Actual world.

Given Iatridou’s proposal, the use of Amharic past tense copula in (10) can be explained accordingly. That is, it is used when the topic time/world excludes the utterance time/world⁴³.

3. Amharic copulas as personal and impersonal verbs

As we mentioned above, the present tense predicational copula *nāw* is always marked for an invariable 3MSG subject agreement and variable object agreement, which tracks the subject of the predication. The past tense copula *nābbār* and the present tense existential copula *allā*, on the other hand, are marked either only for the subject agreement or for subject and object agreement. In this section, I show that this is due to the fact that *nāw* is an impersonal verb as proposed by (Haile 1974) and *allā* and *nābbār* are personal verbs.

By impersonal verbs, I mean verbs which take only grammatical (expletive) subjects as opposed to personal verbs which take true subjects. For example, the verbs like *rain*, *snow* are impersonal verbs in English. These verbs do not represent an action or a state about a specific person,

⁴³ Such analysis, though it explains why the past tense morphology/copula is used in non-past tense contexts, raises another interesting question on the nature of tense. Why do we insist on calling the morphemes or the copulas as indicating tense while the variable which determines their choice is not only time. This means that if the choice of the copular verbs is made not only based on the range of time, but also on the range of worlds, calling them tense copulas would denote just part of their role. I leave this topic for future research.

thing or place. Therefore they take only grammatical subjects: *It rains, It snows*. Personal verbs, on the other hand, are those which take a true subject of all persons. Most verbs are personal as they predicate some action or state of a specific person or thing.

In Amharic, personal and impersonal verbs are distinguished by their agreement system. Personal verbs are marked obligatorily for subject agreement, and optionally for object agreement. For example in (14)a, the unergative verb *hedä* ‘go’, the unaccusative verb *addägä* ‘grow up’ and the passive verb *täšällämä* ‘is awarded’ are all personal verbs and take only the subject agreement marker *-u*, which matches with the plural subject *lġj-očč* ‘boys’. The same is true in (14)b where the transitive verb shows up only with the subject agreement marker *-hu* which matches with the first person singular subject pronoun.

(14) a. **lġj-očč** **hed*(-u)/** **addäg*(-u)/** **tä-šälläm*(-u)**
boy-PL **go.PERF-3PL_S/** **grow up.PERF-3PL_S/PASS-** **award.PERF-3PL_S**
The boys went/grew up/are awarded.

b. **ine** **mäs’haf gäzza*(-hu)**
I **book** **buy.PERF-1SG_S**
I bought a book.

Personal verbs take object agreement only if the object is interpreted as affected as we discussed in chapter two (section 2.3.2). For example, in (15) we find object agreement only when the object is singled out and is interpreted as being affected by the event, as in (15)b:

(15) a. **saba** **misa** **bälla-čč(*-iw)?⁴⁴**
Sara **lunch** **eat.PERF-3FSG_S**
Did Saba eat lunch? (Did she perform lunch eating?)

⁴⁴ Such structures should not be taken as a kind of noun incorporation observed in different languages. For that matter, an independent word can be inserted between the unmarked object and the verb as in (i):

(i) **saba** **misa** **ahun** **bälla-čč?**
Sara **lunch** **now** **eat.PERF-3FSG_S**
Did Saba eat lunch now?

- b. saba misa-wa-n bälla-čč-**iw**?
 Saba lunch-3FSG.GEN-ACC eat.PERF-3FSG_S-**3MSG_O**
*Did Saba eat **her lunch**? (Is the lunch eaten?)*

Impersonal verbs, on the other hand, are obligatorily marked for subject and object agreement (cf. (16)a&b)). As I mentioned in chapter 2 (section 3.2.1.2), the subject agreement in these verbs is always the default **3MSG**. The object agreement refers to the person/thing that is affected by the event denoted by the verb (16)b&c):

- (16) a. ***lij-it-u** rab-äčč
 child-FEM-DEF be.hungry.PERF-3FSG_O
Intended meaning: The girl is hungry
- b. **lij-it-u** rab-**ø-at**
 child-FEM-DEF be.hungry.PERF-3MSG_S-**3FSG_O**
The girl is hungry. lit. It hungered the girl.
- c. **lij-očč** rab-**ø-aččäw**
 children-PL-ACC be.hungry.PERF-3MSG_S-3PL_O
The children are hungry. lit. It hungered the children.

In short, the agreement pattern of personal and impersonal verbs in Amharic can be represented as follows:

Table 3: Summary of agreement system of personal and impersonal verbs

	Personal verbs	Impersonal verbs
Subject agreement	▪ Obligatory	▪ default 3MSG
Object agreement	▪ optional	▪ Obligatory

Returning to the copular verbs, their agreement pattern is just a replica of personal and impersonal verbs. The copular verbs *näbbär* ‘was’ and *allä* behave like personal verbs. Just like other personal verbs, they are marked

only for subject agreement (17)a,b or for subject and object agreement (17)c⁴⁵:

- (17) a. *saba* *tämari/gobäz/i-bet wist'* *näbbär-äčč*
Saba *student/clever/at-house inside* *be.PRES-3FSG_S*
Saba was a student/clever/ at home.
- b. *saba* *i-bet wist'* *all-äčč*
Saba *at-house inside* *be.PRES-3FSG_S*
Saba is at home.
- c. *saba* *tämari-očč* *all-u-at/ näbbär-u-ät*
Saba *student-PL* *be.PRES-3PL_S- 3FSG_O/be.PST-3PL_S- 3FSG_O*
Saba has/had a student.

The copula *näw*, on the other hand, is the same as impersonal verbs. Just like impersonal lexical verbs, it is obligatorily marked for subject and object agreement. The subject agreement is always the default 3MSG and the subject of the predication is tracked by object agreement:

- (18) *saba* *tämari/gobäz* *n-ø-*(at)*
Saba *student/clever* *be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O*
Saba is a student/clever. Lit. It is Saba clever.

The personal and impersonal behavior of the copular verbs is not affected by either the definiteness of the NPs that show up with the copulas or by

⁴⁵ There is one apparent difference between personal lexical verbs and the copulas *allä* and *näbbär*: Object agreement with lexical verbs is allowed when the object is definite/specific while with the copular verbs it is possible regardless of the definiteness/ specificity of the possessor. I do not take this as a difference because, as I have shown in footnote 12 in chapter two, object agreement with lexical verbs is not always related to definiteness or specificity of the target NP:

- (i) *anbäsa näbr-in* *ya-ššännif-äw-all?*
lion tiger-acc *3MSG_S-beat.IMPERF-3MSG_O-AUX*
Is a lion more powerful than a tiger?/ Are lions more powerful than tigers?

changes in word order. In identity clauses when *nāw* and *nābbār* show up with two definite NPs, the agreement patterns remain the same. That is, the subject of predication triggers object agreement in *nāw* and subject agreement in *nābbār*. The subjects in (19)a and (19)b are personal pronouns and the predicates are marked for definiteness. In both cases, the pronominal subjects are tracked by the object agreement in *nāw* and the subject agreement in *nābbār*. The same is true in (19)c&d where the two NPs of the copular clause are proper nouns. In (19)c the subject triggers object agreement while in (19)d, it triggers subject agreement. Note that the presence of two agreement markers in *nāw* is not clearly seen in (19)a and (19)c. This is because the 3MSG subject agreement is deleted due to the fact that the object suffix begins with a vowel. The presence of two agreement markers in *nāw* is clearly seen when there is no phonological process, as in (19)b.

- (19) a. *innantä tāmari-wočč-u n-ø-aččihu/nābbār-aččihu*
 you.PL student-PL-DEF be.PRES-3MSG_S-2PL_O/be.PST-2PL_S
You are/were the students.
- b. *ine lǝj-it-u n-ä-ñ/nābbār-ku*
 I child-FEM-DEF be.PRES-3MSG_S-1SG_O/be.PST-1SG_S
I am/was the girl.
- c. *saba azeb n-ø-at*
 Saba Azeb be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Saba is Azeb.
- d. *saba azeb nābbār-äčč*
 Saba Azeb be.PST-3FSG_S
Saba was Azeb.

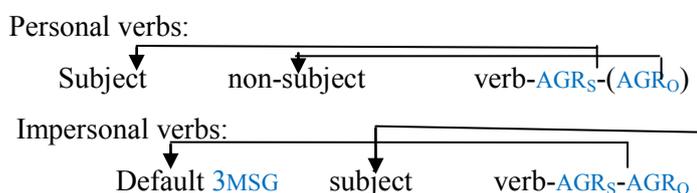
Similarly, in all possible word orders, the agreement pattern remains the same:

- (20) a. *tāmari-wočč(-u) iñña n-ä-n/nābbār-n* (cf. (19)a)
 student-PL-DEF we be.PRES-3MSG_S-1PL_O/be.PST-1PL_S
We are/were (the) students.

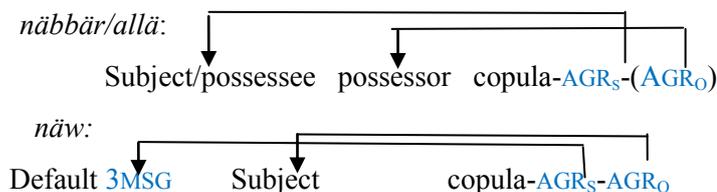
- b. *i-bet* *wist'* *saba* *all-äčč* (cf. (17)a)
 at-house inside Saba be.PRES-3FSG_s
Saba is at home.

To summarize, the agreement system of personal and impersonal lexical verbs and that of copular verbs can be represented as follows:

(21) a. **Lexical verbs**



b. **Copular verbs**



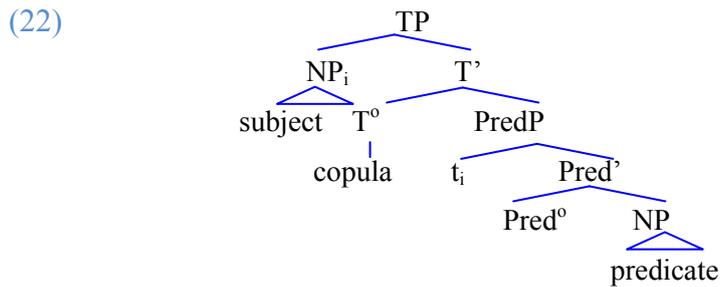
The copular verbs *allä* and *näbbär* exhibit an agreement pattern which is the same as that of personal verbs in that object agreement is not obligatory and have a variable subject agreement. On the other hand, the agreement pattern of the copula *näw* is the same as that of impersonal verbs in that both take subject and object agreement are obligatory and that the subject agreement is always 3MSG. Based on this, I conclude that the copula *näw* is an impersonal verb while *allä* and *näbbär* are personal verbs.

The question that emerges from this generalization, then, is how this is explained syntactically. I address this question in the next section.

4. Amharic copulas as raising verbs

As we mentioned in chapter one, in a widely accepted syntactic analysis of copular clauses, the copula is assumed to take a small clause complement which is inserted in order to provide information about tense, aspect and mood (TAM) (Stowell 1981, Bowers 1993, den Dikken 2006 among others). The syntactic derivation then proceeds in such a way that the copula at T⁰ establishes agreement with the subject of the small clause in order to check

its uninterpretable phi-features. The subject, then, moves to spec, TP in order to check the EPP feature of T, as in (22):



Recall that in Amharic the type of agreement is sensitive to tense and aspect marking of the verb is subject agreement (cf. chapter two). But why does the predicational present tense copula establish object agreement with the subject of the small clause and the personal copulas establish object agreement with the possessor in their HAVE interpretation? In this section, I show that this is because the copular verbs are of different types of raising verbs, which involve raising not only to Spec, TP, but also to another functional position.

The discussion proceeds as follows. First, I describe the different types of raising phenomena in Amharic in section 4.1. In section 4.2, I show that the different agreement patterns of the copular verbs are the result of the fact that they involve different types of raising. That is, the impersonal copula *nāw* selects small clause complements and involves raising the subject of its complement to the affectedness projection (AffP). The existential present tense copula *allā* selects NP complements and involves raising the possessor of its NP complements to AffP, while *nābbār*, which is the past tense counterpart of *nāw* and *allā*, selects NP and small clause complements and involves either possessor raising to AffP or subject raising to TP.

4.1. Raising in Amharic

Amharic has two types of raising: raising the subject of a complement clause and raising the possessor of complement NPs. Since the term raising is widely associated with raising the subject of complement clauses, I use *subject raising* to refer to the former and *possessor raising* to refer to the latter. I will describe subject raising in section 4.1.1 and possessor raising in section 4.1.2.

4.1.1. Subject raising

Subject raising in Amharic is seen with canonical raising verbs and ECM verbs which select clausal complements. The fact that these verbs involve subject raising is evidenced from agreement, case-marking and interpretation. In raising verbs, subject raising is evidenced by agreement. That is, the subject of the complement clause triggers subject agreement on the matrix verb and the auxiliary (23)b both of which would have taken the default 3MSG subject agreement to license an expletive *pro* otherwise (23)a:

- (23) a. [[saba bunna yämmi-t-afäla] **yǝ-mäsl-all-ø**]
 [Saba coffee C-3FSG_S-boil.IMPERF] **3MSG_S-seem.IMPERF-AUX-**
 3MSG_S
 It seems that Saba makes/will make coffee
- b. [saba_i [t_i bunna yämmi-t-afäla] **tǝ-mäsl-all-äčč**]
 Saba [t_i coffee C-3FSG_S-boil.IMPERF] **3FSG_S-seem.IMPERF-AUX-**
 3FSG_S
 Saba seems to make coffee.

Note that the embedded clauses from which raising takes place in (23) is a finite clause, which contain prepositional complementizers. In Chomiskian Minimalist assumption, raising out of CP is impossible. However, Carstens (2011) and Carstens and Diercks (2013) have reported a similar phenomenon in Bantu languages and they they argue that this is possible because Case and “activity”(being active for agreement and movement) are parameterized across languages. How this works for Amharic, however, need to be worked out.

In ECM verbs, subject-to-object raising is observed from agreement, case-marking and interpretation. That is, a raised subject triggers object agreement on the matrix verb; it is assigned accusative Case, and it is interpreted as affected by the event of the matrix verb as in (24)a. This is unlike the non-raised subject which does not trigger agreement on the matrix verb, is assigned nominative and is not interpreted as affected (24)b:⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Note that the complementizers in (23) and (24) are different. This is due to the fact that Amharic has prepositional-complementizers, words which are used both as prepositions and complementizers and the choice of prepositional-complementizers

- (24) a. yonas **saba-n_i** [t_i ind-t-mät'a] adärräg-ø-at
 Jonas saba-ACC C-3FSG_S-come.IMPERF make.PERF-3MSG_S-**3FSG_O**
Jonas made Saba come. (He enforced her to come)
- b. yonas [**saba** ind-t-mät'a] adärräg-ä
 Jonas **saba-NOM** C-3FSG_S-come.IMPERF make.PERF-3MSG_S
Jonas made Saba come. (He made the situation favorable for her to come)

In fact in the literature, such kind of raising has been generally rejected for theoretical reason. That is, the object position is assumed to be a theta-position which is filled by merging, not by movement (Chomsky 1981). On the other hand, Postal (1974), Lasnik and Saito (1991), Lasnik (2001), and Hong and Lasnik (2010) argue in favor of raising to object position based on languages which exhibit a clear difference between raised and non-raised subjects. Amharic sides with these languages by exhibiting the three pieces of evidence observed by Hong and Lasnik (2010) in support of the presence of such kind of raising.

The first argument is case-marking and agreement as we saw above. If the subject of the complement clause does not raise to the object position, it is assigned nominative rather than accusative (cf. (24)a&(24)b), and it cannot trigger object agreement on the matrix verb (cf. (24)a&(25)):

- (25) * yonas [**saba** ind-t-mät'a] adärräg-ø-at
 Jonas **Saba.NOM** C-3FSG_S-come.IMPERF make.PERF-3MSG_S-**3FSG_O**
Intended meaning: Jonas made Saba to come.

The second argument comes from word order. The accusative subject of the complement clause can be found preceding a matrix adverb (26)a while nominative subjects cannot (26)b. Assuming that the temporal adverb *tʰinantʰina* 'yesterday' is merged at the same position, the reason why the accusative subject can precede it (26)a while the nominative subject cannot (26)b, but follows it (26)c clearly suggests that the accusative subject raises to a higher position:

is made based on different factors such as finiteness/ infiniteness of the embedded clauses, the aspectual form of the verb in the embedded clause, and thematic role of the embedded clause etc. For the detailed discussion of the syntax of these prepositional-complementizers in Amharic see Manahlot (1977), Yimam (1987), Asratie (2005).

- (26) a. yonas **saba-n_i** **tinantina** [t_i zare ind-t-mät'ta]
 Jonas **Saba-ACC** **yesterday** today C-3FSG_S-come.IMPERF
 adärräg-ø-**at**
 make.PERF-3MSG_S- 3FSG_O
Yesterday Jonas made Saba come today.
- b. *yonas **saba_i** **tinantina**[t_izare ind-t-mät'ta]
 Jonas **Saba-NOM** yesterday today C-3FSG_S-come.IMPERF
 adärräg-ä
 make.PERF-3MSG_S
Intended meaning: Yesterday Jonas made Saba come today
- c. yonas **tinantina** [**saba** zare ind-t-mät'ta]
 Jonas yesterday [Saba-NOM today C-3FSG_S-come.IMPERF
 adärräg-ä
 make.PERF-3MSG_S
Yesterday Jonas made Saba come.

The third piece of evidence again comes from a Binding Theory. It is a well-known fact that pronouns cannot be locally bound. That is clauses like (27) are unacceptable because the antecedent of the object pronoun cannot be the subject of the same clause. This predicts that when the subject of the embedded clause is a pronoun whose antecedent is the subject of the matrix clauses, raising must be impossible since, as Hong and Lasnik (2010) noted, such raising causes the pronoun to be locally bound, violating condition B of the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). This prediction is borne out in Amharic, as can be seen from (28):

- (27) *yonas_i issun_i ayy-ä-w
 Jonas_i he-ACC_i see.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Intended meaning: Jonas saw him.

- (28) a. **yonas_i** [**issu_i** ind-ayi-ø-w-wäk'k'äs⁴⁷] adärräg-ä
Jonas he.NOM C-NEG-3FSG_S-PASS-criticize.IMPERF make.PERF-
 3MSG_S
Jonas made that he is not criticized.
- b. ***yonas_i** **issu-n_i** [ind-ayi-ø-w-wäk'k'äs]
Jonas he-ACC C-NEG-3FSG_S-PASS-criticize.IMPERF
 adärräg-ä
 make.PERF-3MSG_S
Intended meaning: Jonas made that he is not criticized.

These three pieces of evidence suggest that Amharic exhibits raising to object in ECM verbs. The question then is where does the subject raise to? Here we have two possible candidates. Given that the raised subject behaves like an object in that it is assigned accusative Case, the possible candidates for the landing position are spec, VP or spec, vP where objects are base-generated or land respectively (Chomsky 1995, Bowers 1993, Larson 1988). However, if raising to theta-position is not allowed, spec, vP and VP would not be good candidates. We must assume that there is some functional position which serves as the landing position of the raising object. Recall that in chapter two, we saw that object agreement is related to affectedness and I argued that object agreement is the realization of the phi-features of a functional projection which is responsible for affectedness (AffP). Since the raised subjects trigger object on matrix ECM verbs, we can claim that the subject of the embedded clause raises to AffP. This means that in Amharic ECM verbs, the subject of the complement clause raises to the AffP position of the matrix clause.

In the examples we saw so far, raising took place from clausal complements. In addition to clausal complements, subject raising also takes place when raising and ECM verbs select small clause complements:

- (29) a. **saba_i** [_{sc} **t_i** **tämari**] mässäl-äčč
Saba **student** seem.PERF-3FSG_S
Saba seems to be a student.

⁴⁷ The morphological structure before the phonological change is:

ind-al-yi-t-wäk'k'äs
 C-NEG-2MSG_S-PASS-criticize

- b. yonas saba-n_i [_{SC} t_i tāmari] adärräg-ø-at
 Jonas saba-ACC student make.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Jonas made/considered Saba a student.

The verbs in (29) select small clause complements. There are three pieces of empirical evidence which suggest this. The first is that the predicate of the small clause does not trigger agreement on the verb. Although these verbs apparently seem to be mono- and ditransitive verbs by containing two or three NPs, one of their NPs cannot trigger agreement, unlike canonical arguments. Compare the transitive verb in (30) with ECM and raising verbs in (31). In (30)a&b, either of the two objects of the di-transitive verb *sät't'ä* ‘give’ can be tracked by the object agreement on the verb. But the NP ‘*tāmari*’ which is the predicate of the small clause in the raising and ECM verbs cannot trigger object agreement. Hence the ungrammaticality of (31)b&d.

- (30) a. yonas **mas'haf-u-n** lä-säw sät't'-ä-w
 Jonas **book-DEF-ACC** to-man give.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Jonas gave the book to somebody.
- b. yonas lä-saba mäs'haf-u-n sät't'-ø-at
 Jonas to-saba book-DEF-ACC give.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Jonas gave Saba a book.
- (31) a. Saba lä-ine tāmari-w-n mässäl-äčči-ñ
 Saba to- I student-DEF-ACC seem.PERF-3FSG_S-1SG_O
Saba seems to me that she is the student.
- b. *yonas lä-ine tāmari-w-n mässäl-ä-w
 Jonas to-I student-DEF-ACC seem-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Intended meaning: Saba seems to me that she is the student.
- c. yonas ine-n tāmari-w adärräg-ä-ñ
 Jonas I-ACC student-DEF consider/make.PERF-3MSG_S-1SG_O
Jonas considered/made me to be the student.
- d. *yonas tāmari-w-n ine adärräg-ä-w
 Jonas student-DEF-ACC I consider.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Intended meaning: Jonas considered/made me to be the student.

Secondly, the predicate of the small clause cannot be promoted to the subject position of the passive construction. As a result, ECM verbs have only one type of passive form (32)a and raising verbs lack a passive form altogether (33). This is also unlike other transitive verbs which have one or two passive forms depending on the number of their objects (34):

- (32) a. *ine* *tāmari* *tā-dārräg-hu*
 I student PASS-consider/make PERF-1SG_S
I was considered/made a student.
- b. **tāmari* *ine* *tā-dārräg-ä*
 student I PASS-consider/make.PERF-3MSG_S
Intended meaning: I was considered/made a student.
- (33) a. **tāmari* *ine* *tā-mässäl-ä*
 student I PASS-seem.PERF-3MSG_S
Intended meaning: I seem to be student.
- b. **ine* *tāmari* *tā-mässäl-ku*
 I student PASS-seem.PERF-1SG_S
Intended meaning: I seem to be a student.
- (34) a. *mäs'haf-u* *lä-saba* *tā-sät't'-ä*
 book-DEF to-Saba PASS-give.PERF-3MSG_S
The book is given to Saba.
- b. *saba* *mas'haf* *tā-sät't'-äčč*
 Saba book PASS-give.PERF-3FSG_S
Saba is given a book.

Thirdly, the NP predicate of the small clause can be replaced by an AP or PP (35) which is not the case in ditransitive verbs unless the clause is interpreted as containing an elided NP (36):

- (35) a. *saba* [*mäs'haf-u-n* *tillik'/ i-bet wist'*] *adārräg-äčč-iw*
 Saba book-DEF-ACC big/at-house inside consider/make.
 PERF -3FSG_S-3MSG_O
Saba made/considered the book to be big/at home.

- b. saba [tillik'/i-bet wist'] mässäl-äčč
 Saba tall/at-house inside seem.PERF-3FSG_S
Saba seems to be tall/at home.

- (36) a. saba mäs'haf-u-n lä- tillik' sät't't-äčč-iw
 Saba book-DEF-ACC to-tall give.PERF-3FSG_S-3MSG_O
Saba gave the book to the tall one.

- b. *saba mäs'haf-u-n lä- ibet wist' sät't't-äčč-iw
 Saba book-DEF-ACC to-house inside give.PERF-3FSG_S-3MSG_O
Saba gave the book to the inside of the house.

These facts suggest that the NP *tämari* 'student' in the examples in (29) is a predicate. This means that the verbs *mässälä* 'seem' and the *adärrägä* 'consider/make' select small clauses, that the subjects of the clauses are base-generated as subjects of the small clause predicate, and trigger agreement on the matrix verbs by raising. As in full clause complements, the subject of the small clause complement triggers subject agreement on the raising verb *mässälä* and object agreement on the ECM verb *adärrägä*. That is, the subjects of the small clause complement raise to spec TP/AspP in the former and to spec, AffP in the latter.

There is, however, one difference between full clause and small clause complements with regard to raising and case-marking. Raising the subject of a full clause complement is optional (37)&(39), while raising the subject of small clause complements is obligatory (38)&(40) (see Williams (1983) for similar distinction in English).

- (37) a. ahun [saba_i bunna afälla-čč] mässäl-ø
 now [Saba coffee boil.PERF-3FSG_S] seem.PERF-3MSG_S
It seems now that that Saba made coffee.

- b. saba_i ahun [t_i bunna yä-afälla-čč] mässäl-äčč
 Saba now [t_i coffee C-boil.PERF-3FSG_S] seem.PERF-3FSG_S
Saba seems now that she made coffee.

- (38) a. *[saba tämari] mässäl-ø
 Saba student seem PERF-3MSG_S
Intended meaning: Saba seems a student.

- b. saba [_{SC} t_i tāmari] mässäl-äčč
 Saba student seem PERF-3FSG_S
Saba seems to be a student.
- (39) a. yonas [saba ind-t-mät'ta] adärräg-ä
 Jonas saba C-3FSG_S-come.IMPERF make.PERF-3MSG_S
Jonas made Saba come.
- b. yonas saba-n_i [_{SC} t_i tāmari] adarga-ä
 Jonas saba-ACC student make.PERF-3MSG_S
Jonas made/considered Saba a student.
- (40) a. *yonas [_{SC} saba tāmari] adärräg-ø-at
 Jonas saba student make.PERF-3MSG_S_3FSG_O
Intended meaning: Jonas made/considered Saba a student.
- b. yonas saba-n_i [_{SC} t_i tāmari] adarga-ø-at
 Jonas saba-ACC student make.PERF-3MSG_S_3FSG_O
Jonas made/considered Saba a student.

These differences are due to the fact that subjects of full clause complements are assigned Case within the clause while the subjects of small clauses are not. This means that since the subjects of full clauses are assigned Case within the clause through agreement with the embedded verb, they need not raise and be exceptionally case-marked. Raising the subject of full clause must be motivated by checking the formal features of the landing position T^o/Asp^o or Aff^o⁴⁸.

To sum up, subject raising in Amharic is seen in two sub-types. The first sub-type takes place in canonical raising verbs where the subject of the complement clause raises to the subject position of the matrix clause triggering subject agreement on the matrix verb. The second sub-type takes place in ECM verbs where the subject of the complement clause raises to spec, AffP of the matrix clause triggering object agreement on the matrix

⁴⁸ It could also be argued that the subject of full clauses receives the default case, because optionality could be interpreted as ‘getting Case and not moving’, or ‘getting Case and move’. But the latter would result in double Case-assignment. So the only reason that movement from a Case-position to a Case-position, is that the first is default Case.

verb just like affected objects of that verb. Both types of raising appear when the raising and ECM verbs select full clause or small clause complements.

4.1.2. Possessor raising

In addition to subject raising, Amharic has possessor raising, a phenomenon in which the possessor NP moves out of its host (the possessee) (Szabolcsi 1983, Kayne 1993, Landau 1999, Nakamura 1999, Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, Deal (2013) among others). The following examples illustrate this:

- (41) a. [yā-saba zāmād] mot-ä **No Poss. raising**
of-Saba relative die.PERF-3MSG_S
Saba's relative died.
- b. [saba] [zāmād] mot-ø-at **Possessor raising**
Saba relative die.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Saba lost a relative.
- (42) a. lġj-očč-u [yā-saba-n sġm] t'ärr-u **No poss. raising**
child-PL-DEF of-Saba-ACC name call.PERF-3PL_S
The children called Saba's name.
- b. lġj-očč-u [saba-n] [sġm] tärr-u-at **Possessor raising**
child-PL-DEF saba-ACC name call.PERF-3PL_S-3FSG_O
The children took attendance of Saba (they called Saba's name).

In the examples above, the NP *Saba* is marked genitive by the preposition *yä-* and it is the possessor of the subject *zāmād* 'relative' in (41)a and that of the object *sġm* 'name' in (42)a⁴⁹. In both cases the possessor and the possessee form a constituent. In (41)b and (42)b, however, the possessor *Saba* is marked nominative and accusative respectively, triggers object agreement on the matrix verb as if it is the affected object of the verb, and it

⁴⁹ Note that the accusative marker attached to *Saba* in (42)a is not related to it. It is rather the marker of the entire object *yä-saba sġm* 'Saba's name'. In Amharic, if the NP takes a modifier, the accusative and definite markers are usually attached to the modifiers, not to the head noun as in:

- (i) tġllġk' -u-n lġj ayyä-hu-t
tall-DEF-ACC boy see.PERF-1SGS-3MSG_O
I saw the tall boy.

does not form a constituent with the possessee⁵⁰. This is because *Saba* had undergone possessor raising.

In fact one may argue that *Saba* is the possessor only in (41)a and (42)a, but it is an argument of the verbs in (41)b and (42)b. This claim, however, is ruled out for two reasons. Firstly, *Saba* cannot be core argument of the verbs since both verbs are saturated in that they contain the arguments they require. *die* requires only one core argument and *call* requires two core arguments, and each of them contain the required number of core arguments in the examples above. Thus *Saba* cannot be a core argument⁵¹. Secondly,

⁵⁰ The fact that the possessor and the possessee in (41)b and (42)b do not form a constituent is evidenced by the fact that another word can intervene between them as can be seen in (i)b and (ii)b below, unlike in (41)a and (42)a as can be seen in (i)a,(ii)a:

- (i) a. *[yā-saba tɪnantɪna zāmād] mot-ä
of-Saba yesterday relative die.PERF-3MSG_s
Intended meaning: Saba lost a relative.yesterday
- b. [saba] tɪnantɪna [zāmād] mot-ø-at
Saba yesterday relative die.PERF-3MSG_s-3FSG_o
Saba lost a relative. Lit. Saba yesterday relative died
- (ii) a. *lɪj-očč-u [yā-saba-n tɪnantɪna sɪm] t'ärr-u
child-PL-DEF of-Saba-ACC yesterday name call.PERF-
3PL_s
Intended meaning: The children called Saba's name yesterday.
- b. lɪj-očč-u [saba-n] tɪnantɪna [sɪm] t'ärr-u-at
child-PL-DEF saba-ACC yesterday name call.PERF-3PL_s-3FSG_o
Lit. children called Saba yesterday name
The children called Saba's name yesterday.

⁵¹ Baker (2012a) argues that these verbs contain an optional goal/source argument like the verbs *k'ällälä* 'be simple' and *käbbädä* 'be heavy, difficult' as shown below:

- (i) a. fätäna-w k'älläl-ä
exam-DEF be.simple.PERF-3MSG_s
The exam is simple

Saba cannot be a benefactively or malefactively affected oblique argument of the verbs. This is because, such arguments in Amharic trigger object agreement accompanied by prepositional elements *-ll* for benefactive and *-bb* for malefactive (Demeke 2003, Amberber 1996, 1997). Consider the agreement triggered by the oblique argument *Aster* in (43). The object agreement triggered by *Aster* is accompanied by *-bb* for malefactive (43)a and *-ll* for benefactive (43)b:

- (43) a. *dañña-w* *aster-n* *färräd-ä-bb-at*
 Judge-DEF Aster-ACC judge.PERF-3MSG_s-P-3FSG_o
The judge judged against Aster.
- b. *dañña-w* *aster-n* *färräd-ä-ll-at*
 Judge-DEF Aster-ACC judge.PERF-3MSG_s-P-3FSG_o
The judge judged in favor of Aster.

b. *fättānaw* *lä-saba* *k'alläl-ø-at*
 exam-DEF to-Saba be.simple.PERF-3MSG_s-3FSG_o
The exam is simple to Saba.

- (ii) a. *fätānaw* *käbbäd-ä*
 exam-DEF be.difficult.PERF-3MSG_s
The exam is difficult to Saba

b. *fätānaw* *lä-saba* *käbbäd-ø-at*
 exam-DEF to-Saba be.difficult.PERF-3MSG_s-3FSG_o
The exam is difficult to Saba.

I do not consider that *motä* 'die' and *t'ärrä* 'call' take optional goal/source argument like these verbs for one reason. Unlike these verbs, such an argument cannot be added to the *motä* and *t'ärrä* unless the verbs take an object agreement with a P element:

- (iii) **zämäd* *lä-saba* *mot-ø-at*
 relative to-Saba die.PERF-3MSG_s-3FSG_o
Intended meaning: Saba lost a relative.

- (iv) **lij-očč-u* *lä-saba* *sīm* *tärr-u-at*
 child-PL-DEF to-saba name call.PERF-3PL_s-3FSG_o
Intended meaning: The children took attendance of Saba

If *Saba* in (41)b and (42)b were a benefactively or malefactively affected oblique argument, we should have such kind of agreement. Since the benefactive and malefactive agreement is not found in raised possessors, as is shown in (44) and (45), they cannot be taken as affected oblique arguments:

- (44) a. *saba zämäd-očč mot-u-bb-at*
 Saba relative-PL die.PERF-3PL_S-P-3FSG_O
Saba's relatives died. (to her disadvantage)
- b. *saba zämäd-očč mot-u-ll-at*
 Saba relative-PL die.PERF-3PL_S-P-3FSG_O
Saba's relatives died. (to her advantage).
- (45) a. *lij-očč-u saba-n sim-wa-n*
 child-PL-DEF saba-ACC name-3FSG.GEN-ACC
särräz-u-ll-at s-P-3FSG_O
~~delete.PERF-3PL~~
The children deleted Saba her name. (to her advantage).
- b. *lij-očč-u saba-n sim-wa-n*
 child-PL-DEF saba-ACC name-3FSG.GEN-ACC
särräz-u-bb-at
 delete.PERF-3PL_S-3FSG_O
The children deleted Saba her name. (to her disadvantage).

Saba in (41)b and (42)b is therefore neither a core argument nor a benefactively/malefactively affected oblique argument of the verbs. The difference between (41)b and (42)b on the one hand and (41)a and (42)a on the other hand is that *Saba* has undergone possessor raising.

Why does possessor raising take place? In the examples we saw so far, raised possessors trigger object agreement and they are assigned the same Case as the possessee. This is unlike the non-raised possessors which are marked by the preposition *yä-* 'of'. A reasonable hypothesis is that possessor raising is Case-driven. This means that, unless the possessor is marked by the preposition 'yä-' DP-internally, it raises to spec, AffP and gets nominative Case from Asp⁰/T⁰ or accusative Case from v⁰.

Possessor raising is not always possible. It is restricted to internal arguments, namely subjects of unaccusative verbs and objects of transitive

verbs. It is not allowed from external arguments, namely subjects of unergative and transitive verbs⁵²:

(46) a. [yā-saba zāmād/wušša] hed-ø
 of-Saba relative/dog go.PERF-3MSG_S
 Saba's relative /dog left.

b. *[saba] [zāmād/ wušša] hed-ø-at
 Saba relative/dog go.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
 Intended meaning: Saba's relative /dog left.

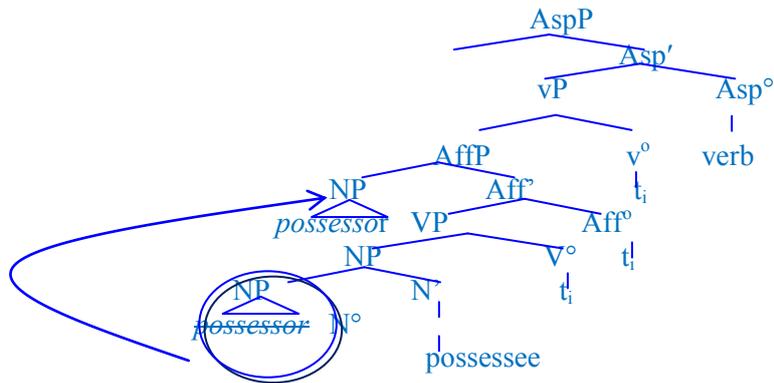
(47) a. yā-saba lġj-očč mäs'haf gāzz-u
 of-Saba child-PL book buy.PERF-3PL_S
 Saba's children bought a book/ books.

b. *saba lġj-očč mäs'haf gāzz-u-at
 Saba child-PL book buy.PERF-3PL_S-3FSG_O
 Intended meaning: Saba's children bought a book/ books.

Why is possessor raising allowed only from internal arguments, but not from external arguments? I claim that it is because AffP, which serves as the landing position for raised possessors, is available for possessors of the former, but not of the latter. Adopting the standard assumption that the subject of unaccusative verbs and the direct objects are base generated below vP; AffP must be accessible to the possessors of these arguments as demonstrated below:

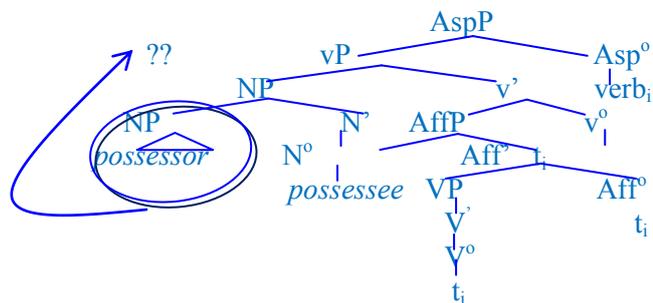
⁵² Amharic unergative and unaccusative verbs are distinguished by their causative formation. In Amharic there are two causativizing morphemes: *a-* and *as-*. unergatives are causativized only by *as-* while unaccusatives can be causativized by both *a-* and *as-*. Consider for example, the verb *t'äk'k'orä* 'be black' and *hed-ä* 'go'. The former can be causativized in two ways as *a-t'äk'k'orä* 'make black' and *as-t'äk'k'orä* 'cause to be black', while the latter can be causativized only in one way as *as-hedä* 'make/cause to go'.

(48)



For external arguments of unergative and transitive verbs, however, assuming that they are base-generated in spec vP, AffP is not available to them, as demonstrated below for unergative structure (49). Thus possessor raising is impossible:

(49)



To summarize the last two sections, I discussed two types of raising in Amharic: subject raising and possessor raising. With regard to subject raising, I showed that there are two sub-types: raising to the subject position of the matrix clause and raising to the affected object position. The first is seen in canonical raising verbs where the subject of the complement clause triggers subject agreement on the matrix verb. The second is seen in ECM verbs where the subject of the complement clause is assigned accusative and triggers object agreement on the matrix verb. For possessor raising I have shown that it is observed when the possessor of an internal argument is assigned nominative or accusative Case, and triggers object agreement just like an affected object of the matrix verb. Having discussed this intricate system of raising, I now proceed to show that the copular verbs also involve different types of raising.

4.2. Copulas as raising verbs

Comparing Amharic copular verbs with subject raising and possessor raising verbs reveals that there is a striking similarity between them. *nāw* behaves like an ECM verb, which involves subject raising to AffP. Firstly, just like an ECM verb, the copula *nāw* establishes agreement with the subject, but not with the predicate (cf. (50)&(51)). Secondly, the type of agreement that *nāw* establishes with the subject is object agreement, not subject agreement. The subject agreement with *nāw* is the default 3MSG which appears with impersonal verbs as we saw in section 3:

(50) a. **ine** **tāmari** **n-ā-ñ**
 I **student** **be.PRES-3MSG_S-1SG_O**
 I am a student.

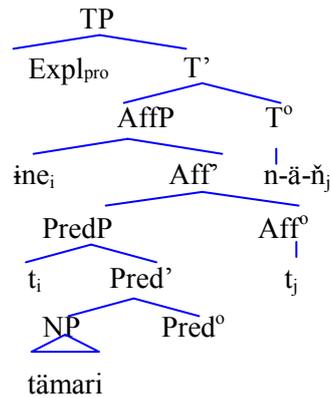
b. ***ine** **tāmari** **n-ā-w**
 I **student** **be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O**
 Intended meaning: I am a student.

(51) a. **yonas ine-n** **tāmari** **adārräg-ā-ñ**
 Jonas **I-ACC** **student** **consider.PERF-3MSG_S-1SG_O**
 Jonas considered/made me a student.

b. ***yonas ine-n** **tāmari** **adārräg-ā-w**
 Jonas **I-ACC** **student** **consider.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O**
 Intended meaning: Jonas considered me a student/tall/ at home.

The similarity between *nāw* and ECM verbs suggests that *nāw* involves raising the subject of its small clause complement to AffP. Since the copula carries both the subject and the object agreement markers, I propose that it is inserted at Aff^o and raised to T^o. Accordingly, the syntactic structure of *nāw* clauses such as (50) would be like (52). Note that in this case, AffP is selected by T. Recall that in our discussion of AffP in the last chapter, we saw that AffP was merged under vP. In this case there is v^o as we do not have any lexical verb. As a result, AffP is merged just below T. One could say that AffP can be selected by any category which has verbal feature:

(52)



However, unlike the object of an ECM verb, the subject of the small clause in *näw* is not assigned accusative Case. Rather it gets nominative Case. I explain this by Burzio's (1986) generalization that verbs which lack an external argument do not assign accusative Case. *näw* being an impersonal verb, does not have an external argument, and thus does not assign accusative Case to the subject of the small clause.

The copula *allä*, on the other hand, behaves like an unaccusative possessor raising verb. In its HAVE interpretation the copula establishes subject agreement with the possessee and object agreement with the possessor. Compare, it with the possessor raising verb *motä* 'die':

- (53) a. [saba]_i [zämäd]_j mot- \emptyset -at_i
 Saba relative die.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
 Saba lost a relative.
- b. [saba]_i [zämäd]_j all- \emptyset -at_i
 Saba relative be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
 Saba has a relative.

The copula *allä* in its HAVE interpretation, therefore, can be analyzed as a possessor raising copula base-generated at Aff° and involving raising the possessor of the complement NP to spec, AffP. Accordingly, (53b) has a structure which looks like (54):

b. **i-wänbär-wa lay mäs'haf-u all-ä-bb-at**
at-chair-DEF.FEM top book-DEF be.PRES-3MSG_S-P-3FSG_O
The chair has the book on it.

(57) a. mäs'haf-wa *(i-wänbär-u lay) n-ø-at
 book-FEM.DEF at-chair-DEF top be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
The book is on the chair.

b. ***i-wänbär-u lay mäs'haf-wa n-ä-bb-ät**
at-chai-DEF top book-DEF.FEM be.PRES-3MSG_S-P-3MSG_O
Intended meaning: The chair has the book on it.

The copula *näbbär*, which is the past counterpart of *allä* and *näw*, on the other hand, behaves like a subject raising verb in its BE interpretation and as a possessor raising verb in its HAVE interpretation. Just like a subject raising verb, *näbbär* in its BE interpretation establishes subject agreement with the subject of the small clause, but not with the predicate. Compare the raising verb *mässälä* and *näbbär*:

(58) a. saba_i [_{SC} t_i tämari] mässäl-äčč
 Saba student seem.PERF-3FSG_O
Saba seems a student.

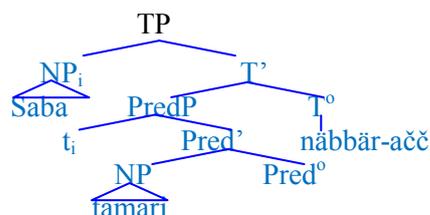
b. saba_i [_{SC} t_i tämari]näbbär-äčč
 Saba student be.PST-3FSG_S
Saba was a student.

In its HAVE interpretation, on the other hand, *näbbär* establishes subject agreement with the possessee and object agreement with the possessor just like a possessor raising copula *allä*:

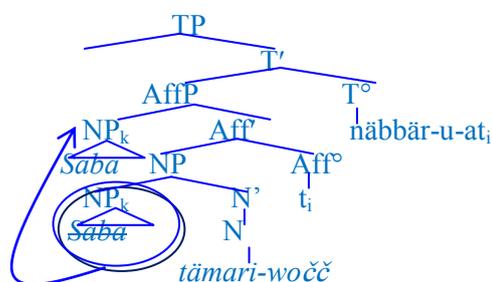
(59) saba tämari-wočč näbbär-u-at
 Saba student-PL be.PST-3PL_S-3FSG_O
Saba had students.

The copular clauses with *näbbär* in (58)a and (59) are, therefore, analyzed as a subject raising and possessor raising constructions as follows:

(60) a.



b.



5. Predicate selection

Recall that in addition to their agreement system, Amharic copulas also differ in terms of the type of the predicate they show up with. *nāw* appears with AP, NP/DP and PP predicates (61). *allā* shows up only with PPs in its BE interpretation and with PPs in its HAVE interpretation and with NPs in its HAVE interpretation (62). *nābbār* on the other hand shows up with AP, NP/DP and PP in its BE interpretation and with NPs in its HAVE interpretation (63):

(61) saba māmhir(-wa)/tällik'/i-bet wist' n-ä-at
 Saba teacher DEF.FEM/tall/at-house inside be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Saba is (a/the) teacher/tall/at home.

(62) a. saba ibet wist'/*māmhir(-wa)/*tällik' all-äčč
 Saba at-house inside/teacher -DEF.FEM/tall be.PRES-3FSG_S
Saba is at home.

b. saba mäs'haf-očč all-u-at
 Saba book-PL be.PRES-3PL_S-3FSG_O
Saba has books' Lit. 'books exist to Saba.

- (63) a. *saba māmhir(-wa)/tällik'/i-bet wist' näbbär-äčč*
 Saba teacher -DEF.FEM/tall/at-house inside be.PST-3FSG_S
Saba was (a/the) teacher/tall/at home.
- b. *saba mäs'haf-očč näbbär-u-at*
 Saba book-PL be.PST-3PL_S-3FSG_O
Saba had books' Lit. books existed to Saba.

These differences are straightforwardly explained under the analysis of copular verbs as subject and possessor raising verbs we discussed above. The reason why *nāw* shows up with all types of predicates is due to the fact that it is a subject raising verb. That is, as a subject raising verb, *nāw* selects small clause complements and does not have any restriction on the type of predicate it shows up. As a result, it appears with NP, AP and PP predicates. The possessor raising copula *allä*, on the other hand, selects an NP complement, being the only element that takes possessors. As a result, it shows up with two NPs when it involves possessor raising. In its BE interpretation, it appears only with an NP, although it also takes a location PP which is just an adjunct. As for the copula *näbbär*, which involves subject raising in its BE interpretation and possessor raising in its HAVE interpretation, it selects both small clause and NP complements. Thus there is no restriction to show up with NP, AP and PP predicates in its BE interpretation. In its HAVE interpretation, on the other hand, since it is a possessor raising verb, it shows up only with NPs just like *allä*.

6. Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the differences between Amharic copular verbs with regard to their agreement system and the type of predicate they show up with. I argued that their differences are the result of the fact that the copular verbs are personal and impersonal verbs on the one hand and that they involve different types of raising on the other hand. The copula *nāw* is obligatorily marked for subject and object agreement and shows up with all types of predicates because it is an impersonal subject raising verb which selects small clause complements and involves raising the subject of its small clause complement to spec, AffP. The copula *allä* on the other hand is marked only for subject agreement only or for both subject and object agreement and shows up only with NPs, though it allows an adjuncts PP, because it is a possessor raising verb which selects an NP complement. The copula *näbbär* shows up with NPs, APs, and PPs in its BE interpretation and

only with NPs in its HAVE interpretation because it involves subject raising and possessor raising by selecting small clause complements and NP complements, respectively.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE-MARKING IN AMHARIC NON-VERBAL PREDICATION

1. Introduction

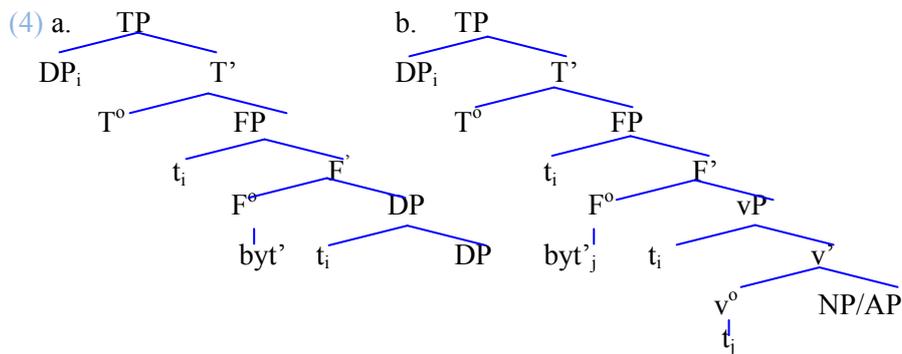
In addition to the copular system, non-verbal predication in Amharic also shows variation in case-marking of NPs/DPs and APs that show up with the copulas⁵⁴. The empirical generalization about case-marking is that with the possessive interpretation of the copulas *allä* and *näbbär*, both the possessor and the possessee are nominative (1)a, which is morphologically unmarked, whereas with the copulas *näw* and the BE interpretation of *näbbär*, the subject is nominative while the predicate alternates between nominative and accusative with a corresponding difference in interpretation as in (1)b&c:

- (1) a. *saba* **mäs'haf-očč/*mäs'haf-očč-n**
Saba.NOM **book-PL/book-PL-ACC**
all-u-at/ *näbbär-u-at*
be.PRES-3PL_S-3FSG_O/be.PST-3PL_S-3FSG_O
Saba has/had books.
- b. *liḥ-očč-u* **tämari-wočč/gobäz-očč**
child-PL-DEF.NOM **student-PL/clever-PL**
n-ø-aččäw/näbbär-u
be.PRES-3MSG_S-3PL_O/be.PST-3PL_S
The children are/were students/clever.

⁵⁴ The ideas which are discussed in this chapter are also found in Asratie (2014). Case-marking in Amharic copular constructions. In Ronny Meyer, Yvonne Treis and Azeb Ameha (eds) *Explorations in Ethiopian Linguistics: Complex Predicates, Finiteness and Interrogativity*. Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, PP 259-281.

- b. *čexov byl pisatelem.*
 Chekhov.NOM was writer.INSTR
Chekhov was a writer.

Why predicates show such case-marking difference or alternation, however, remains an issue of debate. There are four syntactic proposals that address this issue. The first is that of Maling and Sprouse (1995) and Comrie (1997) who claim that the case-marking on the predicate is determined by whether the copula assigns Case or not. This means that the predicate is marked for different case from the subject when the copula assigns Case to it and the predicate is marked for the same case as the subject (in a way to be discussed below) when the copula does not assign Case to it. The second is that of Bailyn (2001), Matushansky (2008), Citko (2008), who argue that it is determined by whether or not there is a Case-assigning head in the small clause: the predicate is marked for a different case if the small clause contains a Case-assigning head and it is marked for the same case as the subject if the small clause does not contain a Case-assigning head. The third is Pereltsvaig (2001, 2008) who attributes the case-marking alternation to the category of the predicate and the dual nature of the copular verb (that is, a lexical or a functional element). According to Pereltsvaig, Russian copular clauses with NOM-NOM case-marking as in (3)a are identity clauses which contain two DPs that are merged together and the copula inserted as a pure functional element as in (4)a. The nominative case-marking of the two DPs is then the result of the fact that they receive the default Case. The copular clauses with NOM-INSTR case-marking as in (3)b, on the other hand, are predicative clauses which contain NP/AP predicates and the copula inserted as a lexical light verb as in (4)b. In this case, instrumental Case is assigned to the predicate by the verb:



The fourth is that of Richardson (2007). Richardson accounts for the instrumental vs. nominative case alternation on predicates of Slavic copular constructions like (3) by the presence and absence of an aspect projection (AspP). According to Richardson, predicates are assigned instrumental by aspect (Asp), and they are assigned nominative when there is no AspP.

The four proposals differ regarding how the predicate gets the same Case as the subject. For Maling and Sprouse (1995), Bailyn (2001), Matushansky (2008) and Citko (2008), the predicate receives the same Case as the subject because it is assigned Case by the functional element which also assigns Case to the subject. For Comrie (1997) and Richardson (2007), the predicate agrees in Case with the subject while for Pereltsvaig (2001, 2008) the predicate receives the default Case, being nominative.

The question then emerges as to what determines case alternation in Amharic: The copula (Comrie 1997, Maling and Sprouse 1995)? The category of the predicate (that is, AP/NP vs. DP) (Pereltsvaig 2001, 2008)? The presence and absence of aspect (Richardson 2007)? The presence and absence of a Case-assigning small clause head (Bailyn 2001, Citko 2008, Matushansky 2008)? Or something else?

Obviously, contra Maling and Sprouse (1995) and Comrie (1997), the copula cannot be responsible for the case alternation in Amharic unless one assumes that the copula is ambiguous between two types of verbs: one which assigns accusative Case to the predicate and the other which does not, as in Pereltsvaig (2001, 2008). An ambiguous copula, however, is unlikely and non-explanatory since Case alternation is also possible not only with the copula (5), but also with lexical verbs like *addärrägä* ‘make/consider’ (6). Anyone who claims that the copula is ambiguous between a Case-assigning verb and a non-Case assigning verb has to extend his/her proposal to these verbs too:

(5) a. *lij-očč-u* *tämari-wočč/gobäz-očč* *näbbär-u* NOM
 child-PL-DEF.NOM student-PL.NOM /clever-PL.NOM be.PST-3PL_S
The children were students/The children were clever.

b. *lij-očč-u* *tämari-wočči-n/ gobäz-očči-n* ACC
 child-PL-DEF.NOM student-PL-ACC/clever-PL-ACC *näbbär-u*
 be.PST-3PL_S
The children were just like students/like clever ones.

- (6) a. yonas iñña-n **tāmari-wočč** adärräg-ä-n NOM
 Jonas we-ACC **student-PL.NOM** consider.PERF-3MSG_S-1PL_O
Jonas considered/made us students. (We may/or not be students)
- b. yonas iñña-n **tāmari-wočči-n** adärräg-ä-n ACC
 Jonas we-ACC **student-PL-ACC** consider.PERF-3MSG_S-1PL_O
Jonas considered us to be students. (We cannot be students.)

Pereltsvaig's (2001, 2008) claim that predicates which are marked for a different case from the subject are APs/ NPs while those which are marked for the same case as the subject are DPs will not work for Amharic since predicates that are overtly marked as DPs can be nominative or accusative:

- (7) a. saba **tāmari-wa/ etiyyop'iyawi-wa**
 Saba.NOM **student-DEF.FEM.NOM /Ethiopian-DEF.FEM.NOM**
 n-ø-at
 be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Saba is the student/ the Ethiopian.
- b. saba **tāmari-wa-n/ etiyyop'yawi-wa-n**
 Saba.NOM **student-DEF.FEM-ACC/Ethiopian-DEF.FEM-ACC**
 n-ø-at
 be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Saba is just like the student/ the Ethiopian.

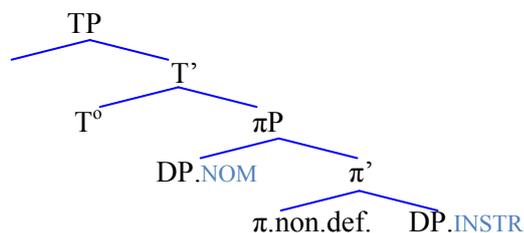
Similarly, Richardson's (2007) claim that clauses with predicates marked for different case from the subject contain an AspP while those with predicates marked for the same Case as the subject do not contain an AspP is unlikely for Amharic since accusative and nominative alternation of predicates is allowed not only with perfective and imperfective verbs (8), but also with infinitives, which are not marked for aspect (9):

- (8) a. lij-očč-u **tāmari-wočč/tāmari-wočč-n**
 child-PL-DEF. NOM **student-PL.NOM/student-PL-ACC**
 mässäl-u
 seem.PERF-3PL_S
The children seemed to be students/seemed to be like students.
- b. lij-očč-u **tāmari-wočč/tāmari-wočč-n**
 child-PL-DEF. .NOM **student-PL.NOM/student-PL-ACC**
 yi-mäsl-all-u
 3PL_S-seem.IMPERF-AUX-3PL_S
The children seem to be students/seem to be like students.

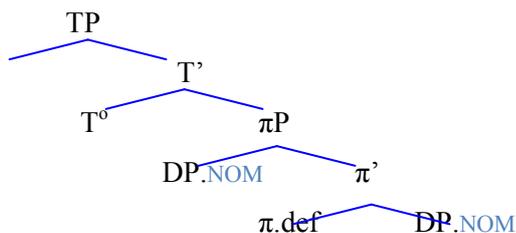
- (9) *lij-očč-u* *tämari-wočč/tämari-wočč-n*
 child-PL-DEF.NOM student-PL.NOM/student-PL-ACC
mämsäl-aččäw
 seem.INFNTV-3PL.GEN
The children's seeming to be (like) students

The claim that predicate case-marking is related to the presence and absence of a Case-assigning head of a small clause has two versions. In the first version advocated by Citko (2008), two types of small clause heads are assumed: defective and non-defective. The defective head is non-eventive and has no Case-feature. The non-defective head is eventive and has a Case-feature. The predicate receives a different Case from the subject when the non-defective small clause is used as in (10)a (note that π is Citko's notation of the small clause head). The predicate receives the same Case as the subject when the defective small clause head is used as in (10)b. In this case, both the subject and the predicate receive Case from T^0 by the mechanism known as multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2005):

(10) a.

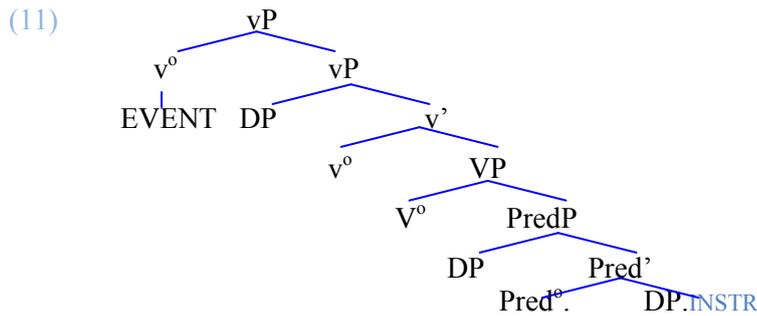


b.



In the second version (Matushansky 2008), a Case feature is assumed to be assigned by a particular head to its complement with the consequence of (i) one Case feature being assigned to more than one NP/DP or AP and (ii) one NP/DP or AP being assigned more than one Case. Predicates are then assumed to be marked different case from the subject when another Case assigner interferes between the subject and the predicate. According to this proposal, instrumental Case on Russian small clause predicates is the spell out of a bundle of the Case features assigned by the head of the small clause

(Pred⁰) and another functional v⁰ that introduces the verb’s eventuality argument as follows:

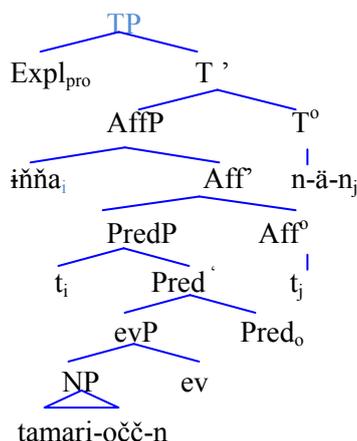


Both versions are equally interesting until compelling evidence is found to choose one from the other. In this chapter, I show that nominative and accusative alternation in Amharic is also related to the eventive and non-eventive interpretations. That is, clauses with accusative predicates are eventive while clauses with nominative predicates are non-eventive.

I will claim that an eventive interpretation is associated neither with the small clause head, contra Citko(2008), nor with the matrix verb, contra Matushansky (2008). I claim that accusative Case is assigned to predicates by an independent functional projection which is responsible for an eventive interpretation. Accordingly, I analyze the syntactic structure of clauses with accusative predicates like (12) as containing an eventive functional head (evP) as in (12)b. In the absence of an eventive small clause head, the predicate receives the default Case, following Pereltsvaig.

- (12) a. *iñña* *tamari-wočči-n* *n-ä-n*
 we.NOM student-PL-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-1PL_O
We are just like students.

b.



My argument is based on the difference with regard to predicate selection, interpretation, agreement and word order between clauses with nominative and accusative predicates. In the following sections, I show how nominative and accusative predicates behave differently with regard to these properties suggesting that the latter contain an eventive functional head while the former do not. In section 2, I show that clauses with nominative predicates lack the eventive functional head. In section 3, I show that clauses with accusative predicates contain an eventive functional head. Section 4, shows how nominative Case is assigned to predicates. Section 5 concludes the chapter.

2. Nominative predicates

As I mentioned earlier, evidence which indicates that nominative vs. accusative alternation on predicate case-marking is related to an eventive or non-eventive functional element comes from their difference with regard to interpretation, agreement and word order. In this section, I show the interpretation, agreement and word order properties of clauses with nominative predicates which suggest that they do not contain an eventive functional head.

The first piece of evidence which suggests that clauses with nominative predicates do not contain an eventive head comes from the fact that they are allowed only with NP and individual-level AP predicates (13)a,b, but not with stage-level predicates (13)c. The reason why nominative predicates are not allowed with stage level predicates is because they are eventive. That is, SL predicates denote a temporary property which

is eventive. NP and IL adjectival predicates, on the other hand, denote a lifelong property of the subject. For example, clauses with nominative NP predicates have set a membership interpretation, and with nominative AP predicates they have property ascription interpretation, both of which are permanent properties suggesting the absence of an eventive element:

- (13) a. *saba* *tāmari/gobāz’* *n-ø-at*
 Saba.NOM student.NOM/clever.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3FSG_O
Saba is a student/ clever.
- b. *lij-očč-u* *tāmari-očč/gobāz-očč*
 child-PL-DEF.NOM student-PL.NOM /clever-PL.NOM
n-ø-aččāw
 be.PRES-3MSG_S-3PL_O
The children are students/clever.
- c. **lij-u* *rak’ut* *n-ä-w*
 child-def.NOM naked.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Intended meaning ‘the boy is naked.’

Similarly, nominative marking in copular clauses which contain two DPs gives rise to an identity interpretation which is also non-eventive:

- (14) a. *saba* *tāmari-wa/ etyop’iyawi-wa*
 Saba.NOM student-DEF.NOM /Ethiopian-DEF.NOM
n-ø-at
 be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Saba is the student/ the Ethiopian.
- b. *cicero* *tully* *n-ä-w*
 Cicero.NOM Tully.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Cicero is Tully.

The second piece of evidence is agreement. With regard to agreement, nominative predicates can remain unmarked for number and gender (15) or they exhibit the same phi-features as the subject (16)&(17):

- (15) a. saba **tāmari /gobāz** n-∅-at
 Saba.NOM **student.NOM/clever.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3FSG_O
Saba is a student/clever.
- b. yonas **tāmari /gobāz** n-ä-w
 Jonas.NOM **student.NOM/clever.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3MSG_O
Jonas is a student/clever.
- c. liǰ-očč-u **tāmari /gobāz** n-∅-aččāw
 child-PL-DEF.NOM **student.NOM /clever.NOM** be.PRES-
 3MSG_S-3PL_O
The children are students/clever.
- (16) a. liǰ-očč-u **tāmari-wočč** n-∅-aččāw
 child-PL-DEF.NOM **student-PL.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3PL_O
The children are students.
- b. *yonas **tāmari-wočč** n-ä-w
 Jonas.NOM **student-PL.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Intended meaning: Joas is a student
- (17) a. saba **tāmari-wa** n-∅-at
 Saba.NOM **student-DEF.FEM.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Saba is the student
- b. *saba **tāmari-w** n-∅-at
 Saba.NOM **student-DEF.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Intended meaning: Saba is the student

As a result, English sentences such as ‘The problem is your parents’, ‘The Beatles are the best band’ cannot be translated into Amharic unless the two DPs agree⁵⁵:

⁵⁵ The sentences are grammatical if the subject and the predicate agree, as in (i) below:

- (18) a. *čigir-u betäseb-očč-ih n-ä-w
 problem-DEF.NOM parent-PL-2MSG.GEN.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3MSG_O
Intended meaning: The problem is your parents.
- b. *beatl-očč mirt' -u band n-ø-aččäw
 Beatles-PL.NOM best-DEF.NOM band be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3PL_O
Intended meaning: The beatles are the best band.

Such an agreement phenomenon also suggests lack of an eventive head, which would target the formal features of the predicate. That is, the small clause does not contain an eventive head which targets the predicate in order to check its uninterpretable phi-features. If such clauses had contained an eventive functional head, which would target the formal features of the predicate by establishing agreement with it, the predicate could have been able to exhibit formal features which are different from that of subject as we will see with accusative predicates below. In this case, the formal features of the predicate are not checking the formal features of any functional head. As a result, the predicate exhibits the same phi-features as the subject it is predicated of.

The third piece of evidence which witnesses lack of an eventive functional head with nominative predicates is word order. Clauses with nominative predicates can show up in subject-predicate or predicate-subject order. The subject-predicate order (19) has a predicational interpretation as we saw above. The predicate-subject order (20), on the other hand, has what is known as the specificational interpretation (Higgins 1979, Mikkelsen 2005, 2011):

-
- (i) a. čigir-u betäseb(-ih) n-ä-w
 problem-DEF.NOM parent-2MSG.GEN.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
The problem is your parents.
- b. beatl-očč mirt' band(-očč) n-ø-aččäw
 Beatles-PL.NOM best band-pl.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-3PL_O
 THE *Beatles are the best band.*

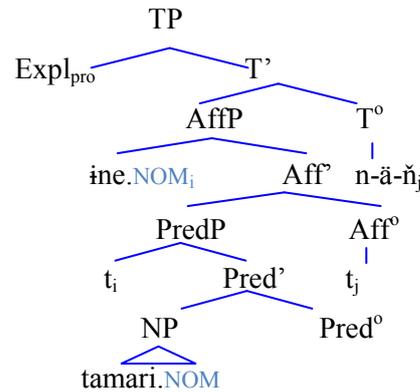
- (19) Q: innantä mindin n-ø-aččihu?
 you.MPL.NOM what.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-2PL_O
 What are you?
- A: iñña tämari-wočč(-u) n-ä-n
 we.NOM students-PL-DEF.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-1PL_O
 We are students.
- (20) Q: tämari-wočč(-u) innä-mman n-ø-aččäw?
 students-PL-DEF.NOM PL-who.NOM be.PRES- 3MSG_S-3PL_O
 Who are (the) students.
- A: tämari-wočč(-u) iñña n-ä-n
 students-PL-DEF.NOM we.NOM be.PRES- 3MSG_S-1PL_O
 (The) students are us.

Such free word order can be accounted to the optional movement of the subject or the predicate to spec, TP as argued by Moro (1997). Such a movement would follow from the absence of any barrier that blocks the movement. I will discuss this barrier in the next section.

To sum up, the facts that (i) nominative predicates are allowed only with NP and individual-level AP predicates and identity clauses, (ii) have the same features as the subject unless they remain unmarked, and (iii) are found in subject-predicate or predicate-subject order indicate that they lack an eventive functional head. Accordingly, the syntactic structure of clauses like (21)a would be as in (21)b with the small clause containing only Pred^o:

- (21) a. ine tämari n-ä-ñ
 I.NOM student.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-1SG_O
 I am a student.

b.



How does the predicate get the nominative Case then? As we mentioned above, there are three proposals for this. The first is that the predicate is assigned Case by the same functional element that assigns Case to the subject. The second is that the predicate is assigned Case through Case agreement with the subject, and the third is that the predicate receives the default Case. I assume the last option, to which I will return in section 4.

3. Accusative predicates

The properties of clauses with accusative predicates suggest that they contain an eventive functional head if we look at their interpretation, agreement and word order. To begin with interpretation, accusative predicates are obligatory with stage-level AP predicates, which are necessarily eventive:

- (22) a. bunna-w t̥ikus-u*(-n) n-ä-w⁵⁶
 coffee-DEF.NOM hot-3MSG.GEN-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
The coffee is hot.
- b. iñña rak'ut-ačč̥in*(-n) n-ä-n
 we.NOM naked-1PL.GEN-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-1PL_O
We are naked.
- c. ine bado-ye*(-n) n-ä-ñ
 I.NOM empty-1SG.GEN-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-1SG_O
I am empty. (I don't have anything at the moment)

⁵⁶ Note that in addition to accusative case, SL predicates come up with a genitive agreement which targets the subject. This will be discussed below.

NPs and individual-level AP predicates can also be marked accusative. In this case, they have a stage-level ‘be just like’ interpretation, which is the effect of the eventive small clause head as opposed to the absence of such a head which results in set membership or property ascription interpretation (cf. (23)a& (23)b, (24)a &(24)b):

- (23) a. *liǰ–očč–u* **tāmari-očč–n** *n–ø–aččāw*
 child-PL-DEF.NOM **student-PL-ACC** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3PL_O
The children are just like students. (They are not real students.)
- b. *liǰ–očč–u* **tāmari-očč** *n–ø–aččāw*
 child-PL-DEF.NOM **student-PL.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3PL_O
The children are students. (They are real students.)
- (24) a. *yohannis inna Saba* **etiṣop’yiaw-yan-in** *n–ø–aččāw*
 John.NOM and Saba.NOM **Ethiopian-PL-ACC** be.PRES-
 3MSG_S-3PL_O
John and Saba are just like Ethiopians. (They are not real Ethiopians)
- b. *yohannis inna saba* **etiṣop’yaw-yan** *n–ø–aččāw*
 John.NOM and Saba.NOM **Ethiopian-PL.NOM** be.PRES-
 3MSG_S-3PL_O
John and Saba are Ethiopians.

The difference between (23)a and (23)b is that while the children are real students in the latter, they are not in the former. In (23)a, the children are said to be students not because they are real students, but because they accidentally show some properties associated with students. Similarly, (24)a and (24)b are different in that *John* and *Saba* are not Ethiopian citizens in the former, but in the latter. In (24)a, they are said to be Ethiopians because they accidentally behave like Ethiopians.

Copular clauses with accusative DP predicates also give rise to a ‘behave like’ interpretation as opposed to the identity interpretation of nominative DPs. Suppose someone says sentences like in (25) to a group of children. (25)a means that the children and the students refer to the same individuals. (25)b means that the children are behaving like the students. This is true even if the children are not students at all. Similarly, (26)a is false since Paris and Rome are different cities. (26)b on the other hand can be true if the two cities behave the same way in some respects, say, their architecture or beauty.

- (25) a. **tāmari-wočč-u** n-ø-aččihu
student-PL-DEF.NOM be.PRES-3MSG_S-2PL_O
You are the students.
- b. **tāmari-wočč-u-n** n-ø-aččihu
student-PL-DEF-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-2PL_O
You are just like the students.
- (26) a. **paris** **rome** n-ø-at false
Paris.NOM **Rome.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Paris is Rome.
- b. **paris** **rome-n** n-ø-at potentially true
Paris.NOM **Rome-ACC** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Paris looks like Rome.

The fact that accusative marking is obligatory with stage-level AP predicates and that accusative marked NP/DP and accusative marked individual level predicates have a stage-level ‘behave like’ interpretation suggests that clauses with accusative predicates contain an eventive element.

Of course, the interpretation simply suggests that accusative case-marking and eventive interpretation are related. It does not show us whether this eventive interpretation is not associated with the (small clause) heads proposed by Citko (2008), or Matushansky (2008). An argument which indicates that the eventive functional projection is not associated with Pred^o as opposed to Citko (2008), comes from the interaction of accusative case and prepositions. Accusative case on predicates is omitted if a preposition appears instead. Compare (27) with (23)a and (24)a:

- (27) a. **lij-očč-u** **indä-tāmari-očč** n-ø-aččāw
child-PL-DEF.NOM **like-student-PL.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-
3PL_O
The children are just like students.
- b. **johannis inna Saba** **indä-etiyop’yaw-yan** n-ø-aččāw
John.NOM and Saba.NOM **like-Ethiopian-PL** be.PRES-
3MSG_S-3PL_O
John and Saba are just like Ethiopians.

This kind of alternation between accusative case and prepositions suggests that a preposition can replace the accusative Case-assigning functional head. This would be problematic if the Case assigner were Pred^o, which is

responsible for predication. This means that associating accusative Case with the head of the small clause would mean that P, which appears instead of accusative marking, is the small clause head. Such an assumption is problematic unless one associates the preposition *indä* with a small clause head just like the English word *as* as proposed by Bailyn and Rubin (1991), Aarts (1992), Bowers (1993), Bailyn (2001), 2002). But see Marelj and Matushansky (2009) for arguments against this hypothesis. In fact, this assumption is also ruled out for Amharic because the alternation between prepositions and accusative Case is not restricted to copular clauses. Prepositions and accusative marking alternate in other environments where small clauses cannot be available as can be seen from the examples below. In those examples, when the NP introduced by the preposition triggers an object agreement (with or without a P element) on the verb, the preposition can alternate with accusative case:

- (28) a. **bä-mäkina-w** **mät'a-hu-bb-ät**
 by-car-DEF.NOM come.PERF-1SG_S-P-3MSG_O
I came by the car.
- b. **mäkina-w-n** **mät'a-hu-bb-ät**
 car-DEF-ACC come.PERF-1SG_S-P-3MSG_O
I came by the car.
- (29) a. **lä-saba** **mäs'haf** **sät'tä-hu-at**
 to-Saba book give.PERF-1SG_S-3FSG_O
I gave a book to Saba.
- b. **saba-n** **mäs'haf** **sät'tä-hu-at**
 Saba-ACC book give.PERF-1SG_S-3FSG_O
I gave Saba a book.

I therefore propose that the eventive functional projection which is responsible for accusative case-marking must be different from Pred^o, which is required for predication. The alternation between accusative Case and prepositions in Amharic is a general phenomenon which shows that the eventive functional head and a preposition alternate. That is accusative marking must involve an extra eventive functional head, which is different from Pred^o.

Similarly, the eventive head is not associated with the matrix verb, contra Matushansky (2008). If it were associated with the matrix verb, the

case-marking of the predicate would have been sensitive to the eventivity/non-eventivity of the matrix verb. That is, we would not expect an alternation unless the matrix verb is eventive. As can be seen from the examples, however, predicates are marked accusative and nominative irrespective of whether the matrix verb is eventive (30)a or stative (30)b:

- (30) a. yonas ine-n **tāmari-w/tamari-w-n**
 Jonas I-ACC **student-DEF.NOM /student-DEF-ACC**
 adārräg-ā-ñ
 consider.PERF-3MSG_S-1PL_O
Jonas considered me to be the student/to be like the student.
- b. yonas ine-n **tāmari-w/tamari-w-n**
 Jonas I-ACC **student-DEF.NOM /student-DEF-ACC**
 mässäl-ā-n
 seem.PERF-3MSG_S-1PL_O
Jonas seems the student/like the student to me.

The claim that clauses with accusative predicates contain an extra functional head is also supported by the agreement phenomenon in such clauses. Firstly, accusative NP/DP predicates, unlike their nominative counterparts, need not necessarily show the same formal features as their subject. As can be seen from the examples below, in (31)a the subject is singular while the predicate is plural. In (31)b, the subject is plural and the predicate is singular. In (31)c the subject is feminine and the predicate is masculine. Given that the predicate is Case-assigned through agreement with the functional element which introduces eventivity, such an agreement is straightforwardly accounted for. That is, the phi-features of the predicate match with that of the Case-assigner, namely the eventive functional head, and thus the predicate need not agree with the subject:

- (31) a. yonas **tāmari-wočči -n** n-ā-w
 Jonas.NOM **student-PL-ACC** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Jonas is just like like students.
- b. liǰ-očč-u **tamari-w-n** n-ø-aččāw
 child-PL-DEF.NOM **student-DEF.MASC-ACC** be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3PL_O
The children are just like the student.

- c. saba **tāmari-w-n** n-Ø-at
 Saba.NOM **student-DEF.MASC-ACC** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Saba is just like the student.

Secondly, stage-level AP predicates, which are always marked accusative bear genitive (possessive) agreement, which indicates the number, gender and person features of the subject (32):

- (32) a. **ĩñña** rak’ut-**aččĩn-n** n-ä-n
 we.NOM naked-1PL.GEN-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-1PL_O
We are naked.
- b. **ĩne** bado-ye-n n-ä-ñ
 I.NOM empty-1SG.GEN-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-1SG_O
I am empty. (I don’t have anything at the moment)

How does the subject trigger double agreement: one with the predicate and the other with the copula? In a straight agree phenomenon, we expect an agreement relationship between the subject and the copula at T^o. The agreement relationship between the subject and the predicate therefore needs further explanation. There are two possibilities to explain this: raising or control. In the raising assumption, the subject has to originate from the lower position and has to raise to agree with the copula. In the control assumption, the subject controls another position in the stage-level adjective. In this case, the genitive (possessive) agreement is a manifestation of the PRO subject of the stage-level adjective.

The control assumption is unlikely for theta role reasons. If stage level predicates assign a theta role to PRO, what assigns theta role to the subject? The copula cannot be a theta role assigner since it is a functional element. The genitive agreement in stage level predicates, therefore, must be the result of raising. This means that the apparent genitive agreement indicates that the subject of stage-level predicates is merged one step lower than individual-level predicates.

An interesting piece of support for this comes from the fact that subjects of stage-level predicates need not agree with the copula. The clauses in (32) are also acceptable with the subject establishing only genitive agreement with the adjective, as in (33)a, and both (33)b and (33)c are acceptable. In this case, the impersonal copula takes two 3MSG agreement markers indicating the presence of two expletive *pros*:

- (33) a. **innantä** rak'ut-aččihu-n n-ä-w?
 you.PL.NOM naked-1PL.GEN-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Are you naked? Lit: it is the case that you are naked?
- b. **issuwa** bado-wa-n n-ä-w?
 she.NOM empty-3FSG.GEN-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Is she empty? Lit: it is the case that she is empty?
- c. **issuwa** bado-wa-n n-ø-at?
 she.NOM empty-3FSG.GEN-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Is she empty? Lit: it is the case that she is empty?

Recall that in clauses like (32), where the copula is impersonal, the subject triggers object agreement because it raises to the position where affected objects move to (cf. chapter three). The fact that the both the subject and the object agreement markers of such clauses are invariable 3MSG as in (33) indicates that there are two expletive pro subjects: one the subject of the matrix clause and the other the subject of the small clause. This suggests that the overt subject of the clause in (33) is not base-generated as the subject of the small clauses. It must be first merged in a lower position. If this is the case, then stage level predicates must have an extra position to merge their subjects. I claim that this extra functional position, from which the subject of stage level predicates originates, is the specifier of a functional projection which introduces eventivity and assigns accusative Case to the predicate.

Yet further evidence which indicates that clauses with accusative predicates contain an extra functional projection comes from word order. Unlike nominative predicates, accusative predicates cannot precede the subject. This means that the predicate-subject-copula order, which provides a specificational interpretation with nominative predicates, is not allowed with accusative predicates:

- (34) a. **ĩñña** tāmari-wočč(-u)-n n-ä-n
 we.NOM student-PL-DEF-ACC be.PRES-3MSG_S-1PL_O
We are just like the students.
- b. *tāmari-wočč(-u)-n **ĩñña** n-ä-n
 student-PL-DEF-ACC we be.PRES- 3MSG_S-1PL_O
Intended meaning: We are just like the students.

- c. *rak'ut-ačč'in-n iñña n-ä-n
 naked-1PL_{GEN}-ACC we be.PRES-3MSG_S-1PL_O
We are naked.

This restriction, however, applies only if the copula stays clause finally. If the copula is between the subject and the copula, the subject and the predicate can exchange positions. In this case, the clauses have a cleft interpretation:

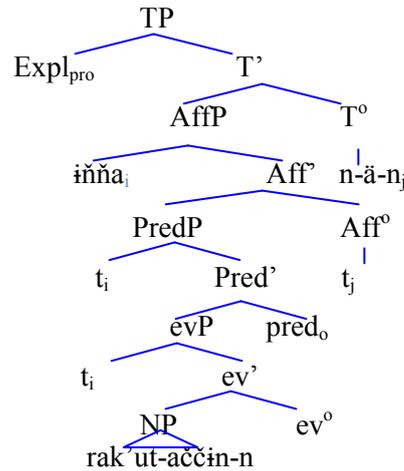
- (35) a. iñña n-ä-n tāmari-wočč(-u)-n
 we.NOM be.PRES- 3MSG_S-1PL_O students-PL(-DEF)-ACC
It is us who are just like (the)students.
- b. tāmari-wočč-u-n n-ä-n iñña
 student- PL-DEF-ACC be.PRES- MSG_S-1PL_O we.NOM
It is like the students that we are.

Assuming that the specificational interpretation involves A-movement of the predicate to the subject position of the clause (Moro 1997), the movement restriction of accusative predicates in (34) clearly suggests the presence of some barrier which blocks such a movement. It is the presence of such barrier that supports the presence of an eventivity functional projection. Recall that in clauses with nominative predicates we saw in the previous section, either the subject or the predicate is involved in a feature checking relationship with the copula at T⁰, and the subject moves to spec,TP as argued by Moro. Suppose that the predicate enters this kind of relation only if it has not entered any other agreement relationship. In clauses with accusative predicates, since the eventive functional projection is present, the predicate enters in a feature checking relation with evP and receives accusative Case. As a result, it does not involve in another feature checking relationship and A-movement.

The clauses in (35), by contrast, are acceptable because they involve A-bar movement. This means that the copula first moves to the CP layer and the subject or the predicate move to the position preceding the copula.

To sum up, the properties of clauses with accusative predicates suggest that they, unlike clauses with nominative predicates, contain an eventive functional projection (evP). Accordingly, clauses like (32)a can be analyzed as (36). Note that in such analysis, the double agreement goes straight forward since the predicate agrees with ev⁰ and the subject agrees with Aff⁰:

(36) a



4. How is nominative assigned to predicates?

Recall that predicates are marked nominative under two conditions: (i) when they are unmarked for phi-features and unable to check the formal features of the accusative assigning functional head as in (37), and (ii) when there is no eventivity functional projection that assigns accusative Case as in (38)

- (37) a. *saba* **tāmari /gobāz** n-ø-at
 Saba.NOM **student.NOM /clever.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3FSG_O
Saba is a student/clever.
- b. *yonas* **tāmari /gobāz** n-ā-w
 Jonas.NOM **student.NOM/clever.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3MSG_O
Jonas is a student/clever.
- c. *liḵ-ōčč-u* **tāmari /gobāz** n-ø-aččāw
 child-PL-DEF.NOM **student.NOM/clever.NOM** be.PRES-
 3MSG_S-3PL_O
The children are students/clever.
- (38) a. *liḵ-ōčč-u* **tāmari-wočč** n-ø-aččāw
 child-PL-DEF.NOM **student-PL.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-
 3PL_O
The children are students.

- b. saba **tāmari-wa** n-Ø-at
 Saba.NOM **student-DEF.F.NOM** be.PRES-3MSG_S-3FSG_O
Saba is the student

The question then is how nominative is assigned to these predicates. As we mentioned above, there are three proposals for this. The first is that the predicate is assigned Case by the same functional element that assigns Case to the subject. The second is that the predicate is assigned Case through case agreement with the subject, and the third is that the predicate receives the default Case. It is difficult to choose one from these three alternatives based on the data from copular clauses. However, the distribution of accusative and nominative predicates in non-copular small clauses (secondary predication), suggests the last option. If predicates do not get accusative Case from evP, they receive default Case.

The two types of predicate Cases we saw in primary predication are also found in secondary predication. Nominative predicates are found in ECM and raising constructions while accusative predicates are found in ECM, raising and depictive constructions⁵⁷:

- (39) a. ECM: yonas iñña-n **tāmari -wočč**
 Jonas.NOM we-ACC student-PL.NOM
 adärräg-ä-n
 consider.PERF-3MSG_S-1PL_O
Jonas considered us to be students. (We may /or not be students)
- b. yonas iñña-n **tāmari-wočč-in**
 Jonas.NOM we-ACC student-PL-ACC
 adärräg-ä-n
 consider.PERF-3MSG_S-1PL_O
Jonas considered us just like students. (We cannot be students.)
- (40) a. Raising: saba **tamari-wa** mässäl-äčč
 Saba.NOM student -DEF. NOM seem.PERF-3FSG_S
Saba seems to be the student. (She may /or not be a student.)

⁵⁷ Resultative constructions in Amharic involve a complex clause:

- (i) bunna-w-n isk-yi-däk'k' wäk'k'ät'-äčči-w
 coffee-DEF-ACC until-3MSG_S-be.fine.IMPERF pound.PERF-3FSG_S-3MSG_O
She pounded the coffee fine.

- b. saba **tāmari-wa-n** mässäl-äčč
 Saba.NOM student -DEF.FEM-ACC seem.PERF-3MSG_S
Saba seems to be the student. (She cannot be the student)
- (41) a. yonas **wättadär-u** hon-ä
 Jonas.NOM soldier-DEF.NOM become.PERF-
 3MSG_S
Jonas has become the soldier
- b. yonas **wättadär-u-n** hon-ä
 Jonas.NOM soldier-DEF-ACC become.PERF-
 3MSG_S
Jonas has become just like the soldier.
- (42) a. Depictives: sababunna-w-n **tikkus-u-n**
 Saba.NOM coffee-DEF-ACC **hot-3MSG_{GEN}-ACC**
 t’ät’t’a-čč-iw
 drink.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Saba drank the coffee hot.
- b. *saba bunna-w-n **tikkus-**
 Saba.NOM coffee-DEF-ACC **hot-3MSG_{GEN}.NOM**
 t’ät’t’a-čč-iw
 drink.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O
Intended meaning: Saba drank the coffee hot.
- (43) a. bunna-w **tikkus-u-n** mät’t’a-ø
 coffee-DEF.NOM **hot-3MSG_{GEN}-ACC** come.PERF-3MSG_S
The coffee came hot.
- b. *bunna-w **tikkus-u** mät’t’a-ø
 coffee-DEF.NOM **hot-3MSG_{GEN}.NOM** come.PERF-3MSG_S
Intended meaning: The coffee came hot.

The nominative predicates in these constructions would not follow if nominative were assigned by the functional element which assigns Case to the subject or by Case agreement with the subject. If the predicate were assigned Case through either of these ways, the nominative Case in ECM constructions would have been impossible since the embedded subject is assigned accusative. For this reason, I propose that the nominative Case on predicates is the default. This means that the predicate is assigned the default

Case unless it is assigned Case by the functional head which introduces eventivity.

5. Summary

In this chapter, I have shown that predicate Case alternation in Amharic is not related to the copula as suggested by Maling and Sprouse (1995) and Comrie (1997), nor to the category of the predicate as suggested by Pereltsvaig(2001, 2008). I showed, following Matushansky (2008), and Citko (2008), that it is rather related to the eventive vs. non-eventive interpretations. However, I argued that this eventive interpretation is not associated with the small clause head (Pred^o) contra Citko (2008), not with the matrix verb contra Matushansky (2008). Rather I argue that it is introduced by an independent functional head *evP*. Accordingly, I argue that accusative case-marking of predicates is determined by the presence of this functional head. In the absence of this functional projection, however, I followed Pereltsvaig(2001, 2008) and claimed that the predicate receives the default Case.

PART THREE

CHAPTER FIVE

NON-VERBAL PREDICATION IN GEEZ

1. Introduction

Non-verbal predication in Geez exhibits a more complex system than in Amharic. Firstly, unlike Amharic, Geez allows simple juxtaposition of the subject and the predicate (Teklemariam 1899:125, Dillmann 1907: 497):

- (1) *māmhīr/nāwwiha* *pawlos*
teacher /tall Paul
Paul is/was a teacher/tall.

Secondly, Geez uses the verbs *konä* and *halläwä*, which have the lexical semantics of ‘become, happen to be’ and ‘be.present, exist’ respectively, as copulas (Teklemariam 1899:128, Dillmann 1907: 499). *konä* and *halläwä* differ in terms of their agreement system and the type of predicate they show up with just like Amharic copular verbs. *konä* shows up with all types of predicates and agrees only with the subject (2). *halläwä* alternates between the BE and HAVE interpretations. In its BE interpretation, *halläwä* is used to express location and it agrees only with the subject (locatee) (3)a. In its HAVE interpretation, it establishes subject agreement with the possessee and object agreement with the possessor (3)b:

- (2) **kon-ä** *abel* *nolaw-e/sännay-ä/ la?lä* *mānbär*
be.PERF-3MSG_S Abel shepherd-ACC/good-ACC/ top chair
Abel was shepherd/ good/on a chair.

- (3) a. *halläw-u* *wistä* *gädam*
be.PERF-3MPL_S inside field
They were in the field.

- b. hallāw-ø-a mäs'haf lä-saba
 be.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O book to-Saba
Saba have/had a book.

Thirdly, Geez possesses non-verbal counterparts for the above verbal copulas (Teklemariam 1899:123-128, Dillmann 1907: 498, Kifle 1948:79-80, Fenta 1986: 73-76). The non-verbal copulas are pronouns and the prepositions *b-* 'in' and *l-* 'to'. Pronominal copulas are used with all types of predicates to express predication and identity and agree with the subject just like the verbal copula *konä* (4). Prepositional copulas are used to express location (*b-* 'in') (5)a&b, and possession (both *b-* 'in' and *l-* 'to') (5)c&d just like the verbal copula *halläwä*: In locative clauses, prepositional copulas take the default 3MSG agreement(5)a&b. In possessive clauses, they establish agreement with the possessor (5)c&d:

- (4) a. anti **yī?ti** rihrih-t/ māmhir-t/wistä bet-ki
 you.FSG **she** compassionate-F/teacher-F/ inside house-2FSG.GEN
You are compassionate/ teacher/in your home.

- b. antä **wi?tu** kristos
 you **he** Christ
You are Christ.

- c. **anä** fier anä⁵⁸ (Matt 20,15)
 I good I
I am good.

- (5) a. **b-o** igziabher mislä kull-ikimu
in-3MSG.GEN God with all-2MPL.GEN
There is God with all of you.

- b. **b-o** s'adk'-an wistä bet-kä (Kifle 1948:250)
in-3MSG.GEN righteous-PL inside house-2MSG.GEN
There are righteous people in your house.

⁵⁸ It is difficult to decide which of the two pronouns is the copula in this case. Dillmann (1907:498) suggested that the first is the subject.

The copular and case-marking system of Geez non-verbal predication can be summarized as follows:

Table 4: summary of *the copular and case-marking system of Geez non-verbal predication*

Type of clause	Type of copula		Agreement of the copula	Type of predicate	Case-marking
Copulaless	-		-	NP, AP	NOM-NOM
Copular clauses	Predicational copulas	<i>konä</i>	with subject	NP, AP, PP	NOM-ACC
		pronouns	with subject	NP, AP, PP	NOM-NOM
	Locative and possessive copulas	<i>halläwä</i>	with locatee,	NP, PP	<i>Locative</i> : NOM-PP NOM-ACC <i>Possessive</i> NOM-DATIVE
			with both the possessee and possessor		
	prep. <i>b-</i> 'in' and <i>l-</i> 'to'	default 3MSG, with possessor	NP, PP		

In this part of the dissertation, I show how such variation in the copular and case-marking systems can be explained. With regard to copulaless clauses, I will argue that they are full clauses. I will argue that the predicate selection properties of copular verbs, agreement and case-marking are similar to Amharic. Geez has two BE's: one selecting small clause complements and involving subject raising and the other selecting an NP complement and involving possessor raising. I also argue that the 'two type-copula' analysis can be extended to the non-verbal copulas (pronouns and prepositions). These are used when the relationship between the subject and the predicate, locatee and the location, and the possessee and the possessor - is inherent, as

opposed to the verbal copulas which are used when indicating tense, aspect and mood (TAM) is required.

The discussion proceeds in the following order. In this chapter, I concentrate on copulaless clauses and verbal copulas; non-verbal copulas will be discussed in chapter six. In section 2, I discuss copulaless clauses where I mainly raise two issues. Firstly, I show that despite the absence of copular elements, copulaless clauses in Geez show properties of full clauses and I argue that they should not be considered small-clauses. Secondly, I argue that copulaless clauses are atemporal and that they should not be analyzed as containing tense. In section 3, I discuss the copular verbs *konä* and *halläwä* and show that the former selects small clause complements and involves subject raising and the latter selects an NP complement and involves possessor raising. Section 4 summarizes the chapter.

2. Copulaless clauses

Copulaless clauses juxtapose the subject and the predicate in either order:

- (7) a. *māmhir* *p’awlos*
 teacher Paul
 Paul is a teacher.
- b. *p’awlos* *māmhir*
 Paul teacher
 Paul is a teacher.

As we saw in chapter one, there are two approaches to an analyses of such clauses. The first type considers them matrix small clauses which are devoid of any tense/aspect marking (Mouchaweh 1986, Rapoport 1987). The second analysis considers them full-fledged clauses which contain an abstract tense or copula (Siegel 1976, Fassi-Fehri 1982, Heggie 1988, Déchaine 1993, Benmamoun 2000, Hazout 2010 among others).

Each of these analyses is based on certain properties of copulaless clauses. The small clause analysis is mainly based on the absence of an overt copula. Since a copula is inserted in order to provide information about TAM, clauses which are devoid of a copula must be small clauses. However, such an analysis encounters some problems in explaining certain similarities between copulaless clauses and full-fledged clauses on the one hand and

some differences between copulaless clauses and canonical small clauses on the other hand. For example, as we saw in chapter one (section 4.2.1), Benmamoun indicates that copulaless clauses in Arabic behave like full clauses in that they (a) host the temporal adverb *now*, (b) can be embedded under a complementizer which embeds only finite clauses, (c) can have a present tense interpretation even when embedded under past tense, (d) have nominative subjects, (e) can *wh*-move their subjects and predicates, and (f) can have an expletive subject which is inserted at *spec,TP*. These properties, according to Benmamoun, characterize full clauses, and they are not expected if copulaless clauses were small clauses that do not contain tense.

Similarly Hazout (2010) shows that copulaless clauses and canonical small clauses in Hebrew behave differently in providing what he calls *predicative* and *atmospheric* interpretations. According to him the predicative interpretation is found when the subject is a referential NP/DP/PRO and the atmospheric interpretation is found when the subject is an expletive *pro*. Hazout shows that copulaless clauses and small clauses differ in terms of these interpretations. Firstly, copulaless clauses in Hebrew allow the atmospheric interpretation while canonical small clauses do not. Secondly, copulaless clauses do not allow the predicative interpretation with a PRO subject, though PRO subjects are possible in canonical adjunct small clauses. Hazout claims that these differences are due to the fact that copulaless clauses contain finite tense which would license an expletive *pro*, but not PRO while canonical small clauses do not contain finite tense which would license an expletive *pro*.

The full clause analysis, on the other hand, is challenged by the question of why such clauses do not contain an overt tense marker/copula. In fact, proponents of this analysis provide various explanations for this. For example, Benmamoun relies on Chomsky's (1995) assumption that functional categories are specified for the uninterpretable categorical [+V] and [+D] features which need to be checked in the derivation. Benmamoun then argues that T in Arabic is specified only for the [+D] feature in the present tense and for both the [+V, +D] features in the past and future. The verbal copula is required in order to check the [+V] feature of T. Since the present in Arabic does not have the [+V] feature, a verbal copula is not required. As a result, present tense clauses appear without a copula.

Copulaless clauses in Geez show three of the six properties listed by Benmamoun which indicate that they are full clauses rather than small clauses. Firstly, just like copulaless clauses in Arabic, they have their

subjects assigned nominative both in matrix (8) and in embedded environments (9)a which suggests that they contain a functional projection which assigns Case to their subjects provided that nominative Case is assigned to subjects structurally. Secondly, they can be embedded under a complementizer which embeds only finite clauses. For example, the embedded copulaless clause in (9)a is selected by the complementizer *kämä*, which selects only finite clauses (9)b (Kifle 1948:130), but not infinitival clauses (9)c. Thirdly, they can move their subjects to the position preceding the complementizer which suggests that they involve movement to a CP layer similar to full clauses. For example, the subject of the embedded copulaless clause in (9)a can also be found as in (10) preceding the complementizer⁵⁹:

- (8) *māmhīr* *p’aulos*
 teacher Paul.NOM
Paul is a teacher.
- (9) a *?a-?ammīr* [*kämä māmhīr p’aulos ziyä*]
 1SG_S-know.IMPERF that teacher Paul.NOM here
I know that Paul is a teacher here.
- b. *?a-?ammīr* [*kämä yi-mäs’i? p’aulos ziyä*]
 1SG_S-know.IMPERF that 3MSG_S-come.IMPERF Paul here
I know that Paul comes here.
- c. **?a-?ammīr* [*kämä mäs’i? p’aulos ziyä*]
 1SG_S-know.IMPERF that come.INF Paul here
intended meaning: I know that Paul is to come (coming) this year.

⁵⁹ The examples from (8)-(10) are constructed based on the grammar books and they are cross-checked by informants. (see chapter one section 3)

- (10) ?a-?ammir [p'ulos_i kämä mämhir t_i ziyä]⁶⁰
 1SG_S-know.IMPERF Paul-NOM that teacher here
I know that Paul is a teacher here.

These properties are not observed in canonical small clauses in Geez. The subject of small clauses is not always assigned nominative. Rather it is assigned a different case depending on whether the matrix verb is an ECM or a raising verb (11). Secondly, embedding canonical small clauses under a complementizer which dominates finite clauses (12) is unacceptable⁶¹:

- (11) a. h^wälläq^w-ä bi?si yohannis-ha yäwwah-a
 count.PERF-3MSG_S man John-ACC foolish-ACC
The man considered John a fool.

- b. yi-mässil yohannis yäwwah-a
 3MSG_S-seem.IMPERF John.NOM foolish-ACC
John seems a fool.

- (12) a. *h^wälläq^w-ä bi?s kämä yohannis-ha yäwwah-a
 count.PERF-3MSG_S man that John-ACC foolish-ACC
Intended meaning: The man considered John a fool.

- b. *yi-mässil kämä yohannis yäwwah-a
 3MSG_S-seem.IMPERF that John foolish-ACC
Intended meaning: John seems a fool.

Geez copulaless clauses do not have the remaining three properties of their Arabic and Hebrew counterparts. Firstly, whether they have an expletive subject is difficult to prove. If the subject is an impersonal pronoun like the English 'it', Geez clauses are always attested with a third person masculine

⁶⁰ Note that Paul in this example is not the argument of the matrix verb. If it were the argument of the matrix verb, it would have been marked accusative as in:

- (i) ?a-?amär paulos-ha
 1SG_S-know.IMPERF Paul-ACC
I know Paul.

⁶¹ Examples (11)&(12) are constructed based on the available grammar books and are cross-checked with informants.

singular pronoun (13), of which it is difficult to decide whether it is the copula or an expletive subject⁶²:

- (13) a. qur wiʔtu (cf.(6)a)
 cold he
 It is cold.
- b. dilliw wiʔtu
 necessary he
 It is necessary.

Secondly and most importantly, Geez copulaless clauses do not always host the temporal adverb *nāhu* ‘now’ and have a present tense interpretation (Kifle 1948:77). Their temporal interpretation is determined by pragmatics; i.e. by what Musan (1995) calls TIME OF EXISTENCE as opposed to PREDICATION TIME⁶³.

⁶² One possible test that would help to identify whether the pronoun in (13) is a subject or a copula is to embed the clauses under raising verbs. If the pronoun is a copula, it would disappear. However, such a test does not help since expletive subjects are 3MSG subject agreement markers, not overt pronoun as in (i). If an overt pronoun is present, as in (ii), the embedded clause is interpreted as a full clause:

- i. yi-msil qur
 3MSG_s-seem.IMPERF cold
 It seems cold.
- ii. yi-msil qur wiʔtu
 3MSG_s-seem.IMPERF cold he
 It seems that he/it is cold.

⁶³ The fact that the temporal location of the clauses can be determined by EXISTENCE TIME or PREDICATION TIME is demonstrated by the past tense examples in (i) below. In (i)a the subject exists and the predicate has an extension. This means that *George Bush* is alive and *president of the United States* is not an empty set. The clause is past because the predication relationship between *George Bush* and presidency of *United States* has ceased at some point despite the fact that *George Bush* is alive and *president of the United States* still has a member. In other words, the sentence is past because of the PREDICATION TIME. The clauses in (1)b and (1)c by contrast are past because of the EXISTENCE TIME of the subject and the extension of the predicate respectively. (1)b is past because the subject

The temporal interpretation (past, present) of copulaless clauses is determined by the TIME OF EXISTENCE of the subject and the extension of the predicate. As a result, (14)a is past if Paul's daughter is dead and present if she is alive. Similarly, (14)b is obligatorily past since the subject has ceased to exist:

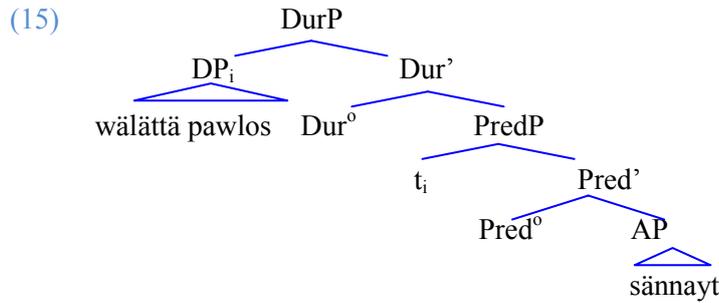
- (14) a. wällätä p'awlos sännay-t
 daughter Paul beautiful-F
 Paul's daughter is/was beautiful.
- b. wä-säb?a sodomi-ssä ikkuy-an wä-fat'?-an (Gen. 13:13)
 and-people Sodom-FOC wicked-PL and-sinner-PL
 And the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners.

These facts suggest that copulaless clauses in Geez do not contain tense. Whether they have to be interpreted as past or present is determined by EXISTENCE TIME. If they contained tense or aspect or a phonologically null copula which indicates tense or aspect, we could not have different temporal interpretations for them.

The question then is, if copulaless clauses behave like full clauses, but do not behave as containing tense or aspect, what is their syntactic status? I claim that Geez copulaless clauses contain a functional projection which indicates whether the predication relationship between the subject and the predicate is inherent or not. That is, in copulaless clauses, as opposed to pronominal copular clauses, the relation between the subject and the predicates is interpreted as non-inherent. Since inherent and non-inherent relationships differ in terms of duration, I call this functional projection duration projection (DurP). Accordingly, I analyze copulaless clauses in (14) as follows:

Pushkin is no more alive, and (i)c is past because the predicate *member of League of Nations* does not have an extension at present.

- (i) a. George Bush was a president of the United States.
 b. Pushkin was a poet.
 c. Ethiopia was a member of the League of Nations.



For the ease of presentation, I postpone discussion of this functional projection to the next chapter that deals with pronominal and prepositional copulas. For now, I move on to the discussion of copular verbs.

3. Copular verbs

As we mentioned earlier, Geez has two copular verbs, *konä* and *halläwä*. The copular verb *konä* appears with all types of predicates and agrees with the subjects (16). The copular verb *halläwä* alternates between BE and HAVE interpretations to express location and possession, and establishes subject agreement only with the subject in the BE interpretation (17)a, and both the subject and object agreement with the possessee and the possessor respectively in the HAVE interpretation (17)b:

- (16) a. **kon-ä** abel nolaw-e⁶⁴/säñay-ä. (cf. (14)b)
 be.PERF-3MSG_S Abel shepherd-ACC/good-ACC
 Abel was a shepherd/handsome.

- b. **kon-ku** anä laʔlä mänbär
 be.PERF-1SG_S I top chair
 I was on the chair.

- c. addis ababa **kon-ät** finfinne
 Addis Ababa **be.PERF-3FSG_S** Finfinne
 Addis Ababa was Finfinne.

- (17) a. **halläw-ä** igziabher misla kull-ikimu
 be.PERF-3MSG_S God with all-2MPL.GEN
 There is God with all of you. lit. God is present with all of you.

⁶⁴ nolawi+ä > nolawe.

The discussion proceeds as follows. In section 3.2, I will discuss *konä*. In section 3.3 I will discuss *halläwä*. Before directly proceeding to the discussion of each copular verb, however, I will make few points about the role of the copular verbs in section 3.1.

3.1. The role of copular verbs

Recall that in chapter two, we saw that *konä* and *halläwä* are used as auxiliaries in Geez. In their auxiliary function, they appear only in their perfective form, and they indicate tense (Teklemariam 1989:128, 128, Kifle 1948:525):

- (19) a. *kon-ä* *yi-goyyiy* *wätr-ä* (Teklemariam1899:128)
 be.PERF-3MSG_S 3MSG_S -flee.IMPERF always-ACC
 He used to flee always.
- b. *halläw-ku* *i-säkkib*
 be.PERF-1SG_S 1SG_S-sleep.IMPERF
 I was/asleep/used to sleep.

In their copular function, however, *konä* and *halläwä* are used both in their perfective and imperfective aspect. In this case, their temporal interpretations vary depending on the aspect. Their temporal interpretation is the same as that of stative verbs which we saw in chapter two. As we saw in that chapter, the temporal interpretations of the perfective and imperfective aspects of stative and dynamic verbs differ due to the interaction of grammatical and lexical aspect. Dynamic verbs are interpreted as past when they are perfective (20)a and non-past (present and future) when they are imperfective (20)b. Stative verbs, on the other hand, are interpreted as non-future (past and present) when they are perfective (21)b and future when they are imperfective (21)b:

- (20) a. *s'ähaf-nä* *t'omar-ä* dynamic perfective: past
 write.PERF-1PL_S letter-ACC
 We wrote a letter.
- b. *ni-s'hif* *t'omar-ä* dynamic imperfective: non-past
 1PL_S-write.IMPERF letter-ACC
 We write/will write a letter.

- (21) a. *nof*-at *säba* stative perfective: non-future
 be.tall.PERF-3FSG_S *Saba*
 Saba became/is becoming tall.
- b. *ti-näwwiñ* *säba* stative imperfective: future
 3FSG_S.be.tall.IMPERF *Saba*
 Saba will be tall.

The temporal interpretation of *konä* and *halläwä* is the same as that of stative verbs. They are interpreted as non-future (past or present) when they are perfective (22)a,b & (23)a,b and future when they are imperfective (22)c & (23)c.

- (22) a. *kon-ä* *abel* *nolaw-e* (Gen 4: 2)
 be.PERF-3MSG_S *Abel* shepherd-ACC
 Abel was a shepherd.
- b. *wä-anä-ssä* *i-kon-ku* *s'äguar-ä* (Gen 27:11)
 and-I-FOC NEG-be.PERF-1SG_S hairy-ACC
 And I am not hairy.
- c. *wä-yi-käwwin-u* *kullu wulud-ä säb?* *s'adk'an-ä*⁶⁶
 and-3M_S-be.IMPERF-PL all son-CS man righteous-ACC
 And all the sons of men will be righteous.
- (23) a. *wä-halläw-ä* *igziabher mislä yosef* (Gen 39:2)
 and-be.PERF-3MSG_S *God* with *Joseph*
 And God was with Joseph.
- b. *halläw-ä* *wäld* *ziya* (John 6:9)
 be.PERF-3MSG_S *son* *here*
 There is a lad here.
- c. *igziabher* *yi-hellu* *mislä* *kulli-kimu*⁶⁷
 God 3MSG_S-be.IMPERF with all-2MPL.GEN
 God will be with all of you.

⁶⁶ This example is constructed on the basis of grammar books and cross-checked by informants.

⁶⁷ This clause is taken from liturgy when the priest says goodbye to the people.

This broader use of *konä* and *halläwä* suggests that they are required when temporal marking is necessary. This means that the copular verbs are used when indicating aspect or tense is required, as opposed to copulaless clauses and pronominal copulas which are atemporal.

Before concluding this section, there is also one point that needs to be made clear. Recall that in their auxiliary function, *konä* and *halläwä* show up with imperfective verbs. Recall also that clauses with imperfective verbs are full clauses. For example, the clauses in (19), can also be found as in (24) without being accompanied by auxiliaries:

(24) a. *yi-goyyi* *wätr-ä* (Teklemariam1899:128)
 3MSG_S flee.IMPERF earlier.time-ACC
 He flees always.

b. *i-säkkib*
 1SG_S-sleep.IMPERF
 I (will)sleep.

This suggests that when they show up with imperfective verbs as in (19), *konä* and *halläwä* select full clauses. If this is the case, one may question whether the use of *konä* and *halläwä* with non-verbal predicates is similar. This means, given that Geez has copulaless clauses on the one hand and that *konä* and *halläwä* show up with full clauses on the other hand, one may think that in their occurrence with non-verbal predicates, these verbs select copulaless clauses. I assume that this is not the case for two reasons. Firstly, unlike copulaless clauses which have nominative predicates, verbal copular clauses have accusative NP and AP predicates as can be seen in (16)a. If copular verbs had taken copulaless clauses as their complement, such difference in predicate case-marking would be unexpected.

Secondly, copular verbs are in complementary distribution with pronominal and prepositional copulas. For example, clauses like (25) are not attested in primary or secondary sources, and are considered ill-formed by informants. Such a distribution would be unexpected if these verbs had taken copulaless clauses as their complements. For these reasons, I assume that *konä* and *halläwä* are not added to copulaless clauses. Rather I assume that they are in complementary distribution with copulaless clauses:

- (25) a. *kon-ä yonas wī?tu māmhir(-ä)
 be.PERF-3MSG_S Jonas he teacher-ACC
 intended meaning: Jonas is/was a teacher

- b.* halläw-ä b-o igziabher
 be.PERF-3MSG_S in-3MSG-GEN God
 Intended meaning: There is/was God.

Having said this, I now proceed to show that *konä* is a subject raising verb which selects a small clause complement, and *halläwä* selects an NP complement and involves possessor raising.

3.2. The copula *konä*

In this section, I describe the phenomenon of subject raising and show that the properties of *konä* follow straightforwardly.

3.2.1. Subject raising in Geez

As in Amharic, subject raising in Geez involves the subject of a complement clause triggering subject agreement on the matrix verb like a true argument of that verb. Consider for example the following:

- (26) a. *y*-mässilä-kimmu zä-hassät-a *i*-bil
 3MSG_S-seem.IMPERF-2MPL_O C-lie-ACC 1SG_S-say.IMPERF
 It seems to you that I tell lies. (Teklemariam 1899: 202)
- b. *i*-mässilä-kimmu zä-hassät-a *i*-bil⁶⁸
 1SG_S-seem.IMPERF-2MPL_O C-lie-ACC 1SG_S-say.IMPERF
 I seem to you like I am a liar.

The verb *mäsälä* ‘seem’ in the above example lacks an external argument just like its Amharic and English counterparts. As a result, it takes an expletive *pro* subject which is licensed by the 3MSG subject agreement as in (26)a. In addition to this, it can also agree with the subject of the complement clause as in (26)b, which means that the subject of the

⁶⁸ This example is based on (26)a and cross-checked by informants

embedded clause undergoes raising to the subject position of the matrix clause.

In addition to the agreement, subject raising also affects word order as in (27). In (27)a the matrix verb takes the default agreement marker to license an expletive *pro* as the subject of the matrix clause, which means that subject raising does not take place. In this case, moving the subject to a clause-initial position preceding the matrix verb is considered ill-formed by informants. If we assume that movement of the subject to a clause-initial position is to spec, TP, we can explain this movement restriction because the position is filled by an expletive *pro*. In (27)b, where the matrix verb agrees with the subject of the complement clause, on the other hand, movement of the subject of the complement clause to the clause-initial position is allowed. This means that since an expletive *pro* is not inserted, nothing blocks movement of the subject to this position:

- (27) a. *wälätt-iyä yï-mässil-äni
 daughter-1SG.GEN 3MSG_S-seem.PERF-1SG_O
 intä-ti-mäs'if habe-yä⁶⁹.
 that-3FSG_S-come.IMPERF to-1SG.GEN
 Intended meaning: It seems that my daughter comes (will come) to me.

- b. wälätti-yä ti-mässil-äni
 daughter-1SG.GEN 3MSG_S-seem.PERF-1SG_O
 intä-ti-mäs'if habe-yä
 that-3FSG_S-come.IMPERF to-1SG.GEN
 My daughter seems to me that she comes (will come) to me.

In the examples we saw above, subject raising takes place from full clause complements. In addition to this subject raising takes place from small-clause complements as in (28):

- (28) i-mässil anä räd?-a
 1SG_S-seem I student-ACC
 I seem to be a student.

⁶⁹ These examples are constructed based on grammar books and are cross-checked by informants.

nominative alternation is related to the eventive vs. non-eventive interpretations. That is, accusative predicates are associated with an eventive interpretation while nominative predicates are associated with a non-eventive interpretation. Based on this, I considered the different proposals about predicate case-marking and argued that accusative case is assigned to predicates by a functional projection which introduces eventivity.

The obligatory accusative marking of the predicates of raising verbs in Geez must be due to the fact that they always select small clauses which contain a functional projection that introduces eventivity. Although this cannot be illustrated with a minimal contrast between accusative and nominative predicates as in Amharic, there are some pieces of evidence which support this. The first piece of evidence is that accusative marking is impossible with pronominal copulas which, as I will show in chapter six, indicate an inherent relationship between the subject and the predicate, and thus, are necessarily non-eventive (cf. (33)a&b):

- (33) a. antä wi?tu yawwah/*yāwwah-a
 you.MPL he polite.NOM/polite-ACC
 You are polite.
- b. ti-mässil antä yāwwah-a/*yāwwah
 2MSG_S-seem you polite-ACC/polite.NOM
 You seem to be polite.

Secondly, case-marking of the predicate is not dependent on the accusative Case assigning ability of the matrix verb. For example, the predicates in the following examples are marked accusative regardless of whether the verb is active or passive:

- (34) a. romaw-yan säk'al-u p'etros-ha hat'?-a
 Roman-PL crucify.PERF-3MPL_S Peter-ACC sinner-ACC
 Romans crucified Peter as a sinner.
- b. tä-säql-ä p'etros hat'?-a
 pass-crucify.PERF-3MSG_S Peter sinner-ACC
 Peter was crucified as a sinner.
- (35) a. h^wälläq^w-ä bi?si yohannis-ha yāwwah-a
 count.PERF-3MSG_S man John-ACC foolish-ACC
 The man considered John a fool.

- b. tā-h^wälq^w-ä yohannis yäwwah-a.
 PASS-count.PERF-3MSG_S John foolish-ACC
John was considered a fool.

To sum up, just like in Amharic, subject raising in Geez involves the subject of a complement clause triggering subject agreement on the matrix verb. If a subject raising verb selects a full clause complement, raising is optional. If the subject raising verb selects a small clause complement, raising is obligatory. In such cases the predicate can be an NP, an AP or a PP. Unlike in Amharic where the predicate alternates between nominative and accusative, however, predicates in Geez are assigned accusative case suggesting that the eventive functional projection is always available. With this in mind now, I proceed to show that the copula *konä* involves subject raising.

3.2.3. *Konä* as a subject raising verb

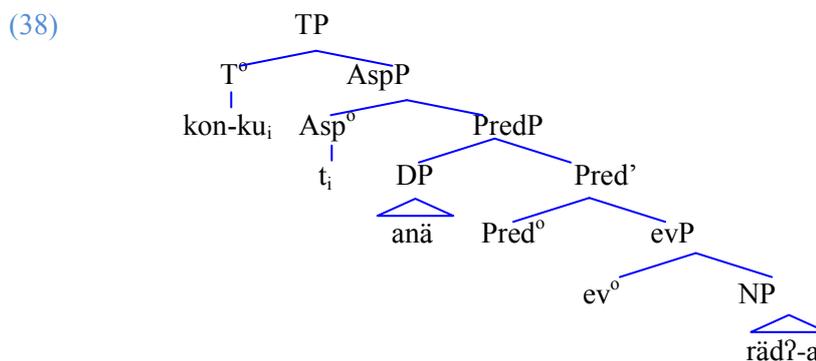
The properties of the copula *konä* can be straightforwardly explained with the subject raising phenomena we saw so far. As we mentioned earlier, *konä* establishes agreement with the subject which is assigned nominative Case (36)a. Secondly, *konä* does not agree with the predicate(36)b. The predicate is rather assigned accusative without triggering any agreement just like the predicate of other subject raising lexical verbs:

- (36) a. kon-ku_i anä_i rädʔ-a
 be.PERF-1SG_S I student-ACC
 I used to be a student.
- b. *kon-ä_i anä rädʔ-a_i
 be.PERF-3SG_S I student-ACC

Furthermore, when *konä* takes a full clause complement as in (37), it shows up with the default 3MSG subject agreement (37)a or it agrees with the subject (37)b just like other subject raising lexical verbs. As we mentioned above, this happens because the subject is assigned nominative Case through agreement with the embedded lexical verb, and that raising in this case is motivated only by fulfilling the EPP feature of the matrix clause.

- (37) a. *i-kon-ä* *kämä* *ti-ʔammir-u* *azman-ä*⁷²
 NEG-become.PERF-3MSG_S that 2-know.IMPERF-PL_S year.PL-ACC
You did not know the years.
- b. *i-kon-kimu* *kämä* *ti-ʔammir-u* *azman-ä*
 NEG-become.PERF-2PL_S that 2-know.IMPERF-PL_S year.PL-ACC
You did not know the years.

Based on this similarity, the copular clauses with *konä* can be straightforwardly analyzed as subject raising constructions. Accordingly, the syntactic structure of copular clauses with *konä* in (36)a can be as (38). Note that by *evP*, I am referring to the functional projection which introduces eventivity. Note also that, in Geez since the copular verbs can be perfective and imperfective, they are inserted at *AspP* and only the perfective copulas raise to TP (cf. Chapter two):



The fact that *konä* shows up with all types of predicates follows straightforwardly from this analysis. This means that since *konä* selects small clause complements, it does not have any restriction on the type of predicate it shows up with. Thus, it appears with all types of predicates:

- (39) *kon-ku_i anä_i rädʔ-a/ näwwih-a/ wistä bet*
 be.PERF-1SG_S I student-ACC/tall-ACC/inside home
I was a student/tall/at home.

⁷² The examples in (37) are adapted from Kifle (1948:525) and cross-checked by informants.

3.3. The copula *halläwä*

The properties of *halläwä*, on the other hand, cannot be explained in line with the subject raising analysis we proposed for *konä*. As we saw earlier, *halläwä* differs from *konä* not only in terms of the type of predicate it shows up with, but also in terms of agreement and case-marking pattern. *halläwä* agrees with the subject in only its BE interpretation (40)a, and in its HAVE interpretation, it agrees with the possessee and the possessor (40)b⁷³:

(40) a. *halläw-ä* *igziabher* *misla* *kull-ikimu*.
 be.PERF-3MSG_S God with all-2MPL.GEN
 There is God with all of you. lit. God is with all of you.

b. *halläw-ø-a* *mäs'haf* *lä-saba*
 be.PERF-3MSG_S 3FSG_O book to-Saba
 Saba has a book.

In this regard, *halläwä* looks like the possessor raising copulas in Amharic which we saw in chapter three. As we saw in that chapter, Amharic copulas *allä* and *näbbär* alternate between the BE and HAVE interpretations, and agree only with the subject in their BE interpretation, and with the possessor and the possessee in their HAVE interpretation. However, *halläwä* differs from Amharic possessor raising copulas in terms of case-marking. Firstly, unlike raised possessors in Amharic which are marked for the same case as their possessee, the possessor in *halläwä* is marked dative by *lä-* (40)b. Secondly, the location with *halläwä* is not necessarily a PP (40)b. It can be marked accusative (41):

⁷³ Despite the difference in the agreement and information structure, there is no truth conditional difference between the BE and HAVE interpretations of *halläwä*:

(i)a. *halläw-ä* *mäs'haf* *zä-saba*
 be-3MSG_S book of-Saba
 There is a book of Saba.

b. *halläw-ø-a* *mäs'haf* *lä-saba*
 be-3MSG_S 3FSG_O book to-Saba
 Saba has a book.

- (41) *halläw-ä* *gädam-ä*
 be.PERF-3MSG_s field-ACC
 He was in the field.

Recall that in Amharic, raised possessors are marked for the same case as their possessee. As a result, we argued that possessor raising is motivated by Case assignment. This means that possessors raise in order to be accessible to the Case-assigner of the possessee. Given that the possessor in Geez is marked dative, a possessor raising analysis like Amharic would seem unlikely. In languages like German (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006), Hebrew, French and Spanish (Landau 1999) which exhibit dative possessors like Geez, a possessor raising analysis has been criticized. Such an analysis would not take into consideration whether the dative possessor receives an affected theta role from the matrix verb (Deal 2013). According to Deal, clauses with dative possessors are better analyzed as control structures rather than raising. This means that the dative possessor is assumed to be base-generated in the position where it receives an affected theta role and controls the possessor position. In such an account, whether the copular verb *halläwä* in Geez involves possessor raising or it involves control depends on whether the dative possessor is interpreted as affected or not.

In the sections that follow, I will show that dative possessors which trigger agreement in Geez are indeed interpreted as affected (section 3.3.1-3.3.2). Despite this, however, I will show that a control analysis runs into difficulties explaining the phenomenon of affectedness in Geez and I argue that affected datives in Geez are assigned structural Case through agreement (section 3.3.4). On the basis of this, I argue that the copula *halläwä* should be analyzed as involving possessor raising just like its Amharic counterparts (3.3.5). Furthermore, I will also argue that the accusative marking of the location PP in the BE interpretation is the result of the fact that oblique arguments and adjuncts in Geez can be introduced as applied objects (section 3.3.6).

3.3.1. *Two types of datives in Geez*

Geez has an element *lä-* which is used in several environments as a case-marker and preposition⁷⁴. The case-marker *lä-* is used to mark a wide range

⁷⁴ Analysing the prepositions in Ethiopian semitic languages, namely Amharic, as case-markers has also been proposed by Baker and Kramer (2014).

of NPs with different theta roles, and it is always associated with agreement. For example in (42)a and (43)a, direct objects are marked by *lä-* and trigger object agreement on the verb, in contrast to the accusative, which is not associated with agreement as in (42)b,c and (43)b,c:⁷⁵

- (42) a. **k'ätäl-ku-wo** **lä-nämr**
 kill.PERF-1SG_S-3MSG_O **to-tiger**
I killed a tiger.
- b. **k'ätäl-ku** **nämr-ä**
 kill.PERF-1SG_S **tiger-ACC**
I killed a tiger.
- c. ***k'ätäl-ku-wo** **nämr-ä**
 kill.PERF-1SG_S-3MSG_O tiger-ACC
Intended meaning: I killed a tiger.
- d. ***k'ätäl-ku-wo** **lä-nämr-ä**
 kill.PERF-1SG_S-3MSG_O to-tiger-ACC
Intended meaning: I killed a tiger.
- (43) a. **fät'är-ø-o** **igziabher lä-addam** (Fenta 1986:40)
 creat.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O God **to-Adam**
God created Adam.
- b. **fät'är-ä** **igziabher** **addam-ha**
 creat.PERF-3MSG_S God Adam-ACC
God created Adam.
- c. ***fät'är-ø-o** **igziabher** **addam-ha**
 creat.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O God **Adam-ACC**
God created Adam.
- d. ***fät'är-ø-o** **igziabher** **lä-addam-ha**
 creat.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O God **to-Adam-ACC**
God created Adam.

⁷⁵ The examples are based on grammar books and cross-checked by informants.

- (48) a. hor-u **imnä** **eyyārusalem**
 ge.PERF-3MPL_S **from** **Jerusalem**
 They went out of Jerusalem.
- b. hor-u **imne-ha** **lä-eyyārusalem**
 go.PERF-3MPL_S **from-3FSG.GEN** **to-Jerusalem**
 They went out of Jerusalem.

The case-marker *lä-* also marks possessor NPs which trigger genitive agreement on their possesses (49)a. In this case, the possessor marked by *lä-* contrasts with what is known as the construct state (Dillmann 1907:324) (49)b and with genitive-marked possessors (49)c⁷⁶:

⁷⁶ Note that there is one interesting analogy between Geez PPs and possessive NPs. Compare, for example, the NPs in (i) with the PPs in (ii). The construct state in (i)a and the PP in (ii)a are similar in that both the preposition and the possessee end in –*ä*. Similarly, the possessive NP in (i)b and the PP in (ii)b are similar. The preposition establishes genitive agreement with its complement in the same way as the possessee establishes agreement with the possessor. This analogy is the result of the fact that Geez prepositions, including *lä-*, originate from nominals (nouns and pronominals) (Dillmann 1907:388). This means that the combination of a preposition and its complement in (ii)a originally/ chronologically derived from the construct state (i)a while the PP in (ii)b is derived from (i)b:

- (i) a. wäld-ä nīgus
 son-CS king
 the king's son
- b. wäld-u lä-nīgus
 son-3MSG.GEN to-king
 the king's son
- (ii) a. misl-ä nīgus
 with-CS king
 With a/the king
- b. misle-hu lä-nīgus
 with-3MSG.GEN to-king
 with a/the king

- (49) a. **wäld-u** **lä-nigus** k'ätäl-ä anbesa
 son-3MSG.GEN **to-king** kill.PERF-3MSG_S lion.ACC
 The king's son killed a lion.
- b. **wäld-ä** **nigus** k'ätäl-ä anbesa
 son-CS **king** kill.PERF-3MSG_S lion.ACC
 The king's son killed a lion.
- c. **wäld** **zä-nigus** k'ätäl-ä anbesa
 son of king kill.PERF-3MSG_S lion.ACC
 The king's son killed a lion.

Now consider the examples in (50) each of them containing two instances of *lä-*: one marking the NPs just like the case-marker *lä-* we have been studying, and the other marked by the genitive agreement just like the prepositions in the 'b' examples in (44)-(48). The latter clearly demonstrates *lä-* as a preposition. Just like other prepositions in the examples in (44)-(48), the preposition *lä-* is doubled by the case-marker *lä-*:

- (50) a. **fannäw-ä** **l-ottu** keram agbirti-hu
 send.PERF-3MSG_S **to-3MSG.GEN** Hiram servant.PL-3MSG.GEN
 lä-solomon
 to-Solomon
 Hiram sent his servants to Solomon.
- b. **i-ti-s'älli** **l-ottu** **lä-z** **hizb**
 NEG- 2MSG_S-pray.IMPRTV **to-3MSG.GEN** **to-this** **people**
 Do not pray for these people.

The preposition *lä-*, unlike the case-marker *lä-*, is restricted only to goal arguments and it is not associated with agreement. For example, the preposition *lä-* in (50)b is found without being associated with any agreement as in (51):

- (51) a. fannāw-ä keram agbīrti-hu
 send.PERF-3MSG_S Hiram_j servant.PL-3MSG.GEN_{i/j}
lä-solomon
to-Solomon_i
Hiram sent his servants to Solomon.
- b. i-ti-s'älli **lä-z** **hizb**
 NEG- 2MSG_S-pray.IMPRTV to-this people
Do not pray for these people.

Moreover, the preposition *lä-*, just like other prepositions, alternates with accusative case (cf. (52)&0) (see section 3.3.6.1 for details on this issue). This is unlike the case-marker *lä-* which is always associated with agreement as in (54):

- (52) a. fannāw-ä keram agbīrti-hu **lä-solomon**⁷⁷
 send.PERF-3MSG_S Hiram_j servant.PL-3MSG.GEN **to-Solomon**
Hiram sent his servants to Solomon.
- b. fannāw-ä keram agbīrti-hu **solomon-ha**
 send.PERF-3MSG_S Hiram servant.PL-3MSG.GEN **Solomon-ACC**
Hiram sent his servants to Solomon.
- (53) a. hor-ä **habä** **gadam**⁷⁸
 go.PERF-3MSG_S **towards** **field**
He went to field.
- b. hor-ä **gädam-ä**
 go.PERF-3MSG_S **field-ACC**
He went to field.
- (54) a. fannāw-ä **l-ottu** keram agbīrti-hu
 send.PERF-3MSG_S to-3MSG.GEN Hiram servant.PL-3MSG.GEN
lä-solomon
to-Solomon
Hiram sent his servants to Solomon.

⁷⁷ These examples are based on Fenta (1986:97).

⁷⁸ The examples are based on Fenta (1986:94)

b. *fannāw-ä l-ottu keram agbīrti-hu
 send.PERF-3MSG_S to-3MSG.GEN Hiram servant.PL-3MSG.GEN

solomon-ha

Solomon-ACC

Intended meaning: Hiram sent his servants to Solomon.

To sum up, the morpheme *lä-* in Geez is a preposition in some environments and a case-marker in others. In the former case, it introduces goal arguments and behaves like all other prepositions. In the latter case, it is associated with agreement on theta-assigning heads and is used to mark NPs with a wide range of theta-roles. The two instances of *lä-* can be found within a single clause being associated with different NPs. This can be clearly observed in (55). In the first reading, the genitive agreement refers to *the Apostles*. In the second reading, the genitive agreement is coreferent with a different (phonologically null) NP. This means that in the second interpretation, the preposition *lä-* and the case-marker *lä-* are associated with different NPs:

- (55) a. wä-hab-ä l-omu lä-hawaryat silt'an-ä⁷⁹
 and- give.PERF-3MSG_S to-3MPL.GEN to-apostles power-ACC
 a. *He gave the Apostles power.*
 b. *He gave power to (somebody (MPL)) to the benefit of the Apostles.*

What is of interest for our case is the case-marker *lä-*, which I call a dative case-marker due to its formal identity with the preposition *lä-* that introduces goal arguments. In the next section, I will discuss further properties of this case-marker and I will provide an analysis for its distribution.

3.3.2. Further properties of the case-marker *lä-*

In the previous section, we saw that NPs which are marked by the case-marker *lä-* trigger a different type of agreement. Direct objects trigger object agreement on verbs, oblique arguments and adjuncts trigger genitive agreement on the prepositions which introduce them, and possessor NPs trigger genitive agreement on their possessee. In addition to this, there are some instances in which dative-oblique arguments (including goal arguments introduced by the preposition *lä-*) trigger object agreement on the

⁷⁹ This example is constructed based on the grammar books and cross-checked by informants.

verb just like direct objects (Teklemariam 1899:283). For example, the oblique arguments in (44), (45)&(46) agree with the verbs instead of the prepositions as in (56)a,b&c respectively. Similarly, the goal arguments in (55) can trigger object agreement on the verb as in (56)d. This is unlike the oblique arguments in (47)&(48) which cannot do so (57)a&b, and oblique arguments of transitive verbs (57)c. Whether a particular oblique argument can agree with prepositions, or with prepositions and verbs is determined by the type of the verb -whether it is unaccusative/ passive or unergative/ transitive. Oblique arguments of unergative and transitive verbs trigger agreement only on prepositions. Oblique arguments of unaccusative and passive verbs can trigger agreement on the verb or on the preposition⁸⁰. As we will see below, such a distinction is due to the fact that the apparent oblique arguments which trigger object agreement are NPs which involve raising:

- (56) a. *amlak* *mot-ø-a* *lä-hewan*
 God die.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O to-Eve
 God died for Eve.

⁸⁰ Unergative and unaccusative verbs in Geez are distinguished morphologically by their deverbal noun formation. Geez verbs have agent-oriented and patient/goal-oriented deverbal nouns which are traditionally known as *salis qäs's'ä* (third order adjective) or *sadis qäs's'ä* (sixth order adjective), named after the last syllable of the noun. For example, the verb *k'ätälä* 'kill' has the subject-oriented deverbal noun *k'ätali* 'one who kills/killed/is killing' and a patient-oriented noun *k'äul* 'one who is killed'. Unergative verbs do not have a patient-oriented deverbal noun. For example, the verbs *argä* 'ascend' and *horä* 'go' have only agent-oriented participles *aragi* 'one who ascends' and *hawari* 'one who goes'. They lack patient-oriented deverbal nouns. Unaccusative verbs, on the other hand, have both agent-oriented and patient-oriented deverbal nouns, but with the same meaning. For example, the verb *motä* 'die' has an agent-oriented deverbal noun *mäwati* 'one who dies/is dying' and *mäwut* 'one who is dead'. In this regard, passive verbs behave like unaccusatives. They have two deverbal nouns with the same meaning. For example, *tä-k'ätlä*, which is the passive form of *k'ätälä* 'kill' has *täk'ätali* 'one who kills/is killing' and *k'äul* 'one who is killed'.

- (58) a. hara-hu lä-nigus wä-yonas k'ätäl-u
 soldier-3MSG.GEN to-king and-Jonas kill.PERF-3MPL_S
 anbesa⁸¹
 lion.ACC
The king's soldier and Jonas killed a lion.
- b. biʔsit-u lä-yonas wä-wälat-u lä-muse
 wife-3MSG.GEN to-Jonas and-girl-3MSG.GEN to-Moses
 sänayät immantu
 beautiful.FPL they
Jonas's wife and Moses' daughter are beautiful.
- (59) Q: illä-männu k'ätäl-u anbesa?
 PL-who kill.PERF-3MPL_S lion.ACC
Who killed a lion?
- A: hara-hu lä-nigus wä-yonas
 soldier-3MSG.GEN to-king and-Jonas
The king's soldier and Jonas
- (60) Q: illä-mannu sännäy-at immantu?
 PL-who beautiful-PL they
Who are beautiful?
- A: biʔsit-u lä-yonas wä-wälat-u lä-muse
 wife-3MSG.GEN to-Jonas and-girl-3MSG.GEN to-Moses
Jonas's wife and Moses' daughter.

The same is true for dative oblique arguments which agree with prepositions. As can be seen below, two dative oblique arguments which agree with prepositions can be coordinated suggesting that each of them forms a constituent (61)a. They can also be replaced by a single wh-word as in (62):

- (61) amlak mot-ä **bäintiya-ha** **lä-hewan**
 God die.PERF-3MSG_S **for-3FSG.GEN** **to-Eve**
wä-bäinta-addam
and-for-Adam

⁸¹ The examples are constructed by my informants based on grammar books.

God died for Eve and for Adam.

(62) Q: *bäintä* *mannu* *mot-ä* *amlak?*
 for who die.PERF-3MSG_S God
 For whom did God die?

A: *bäintiya-ha* *lä-hewan* *wä-bäinta-addam*
 for-3FSG.GEN to-Eve and-for-Adam
 For Eve and for Adam

3.3.3. Interpretation

Another property of the dative case-marker *lä-* is its semantic effect. NPs marked by *lä-* differ from other forms of case-marking, namely accusative and other oblique cases (including the preposition *lä-*) in terms of affectedness. This means that the dative NPs which trigger agreement are interpreted as affected as opposed to NPs which are marked accusative or other oblique cases, which are interpreted as unaffected.

The fact that direct objects which trigger object agreement are interpreted as affected is already discussed in chapter two. As we saw in that chapter, dative and accusative objects with imperfective verbs as in (63) are interpreted differently. With the accusative object, the clause is interpreted as a habitual or future action depicting the object as part of the event without singling it out. Accordingly, (63)a means that I (will be/am) engaged in tiger-killing. Here no particular tiger is singled out. With the agreement triggering dative object in (63)b, on the other hand, the clause is interpreted as a future action to be performed on a particular tiger:

(63) a. *i-k'ättil* **nämr-ä**
 1SG_S-kill.IMPERF **tiger-ACC**
 I (will) kill a tiger.

b. *i-k'ättil-o* **lä-nämr**
 1SG_S-kill.IMPERF-3MSG_O **to-tiger**
 I will kill a/the tiger.

The dative and non-dative oblique arguments are also interpreted as affected and unaffected respectively. Affectedness in this case is manifested in terms of benefactive and malefactive interpretations. This is clearly seen from the

examples in (64) and (65). In (64)a, the girl is necessarily interpreted as being accompanied by someone. In (64)b, however, the girl is not only accompanied: she also benefits from it. Similarly, (65)a depicts Jerusalem simply as Paul's destination while (65)b depicts Jerusalem not only as Paul's destination, but also as being benefactively or malefactively affected by Paul's visit⁸²:

- (64) a. *männu* *hor-ä* *mislä wälätt*
 who go.PERF-3MSG_S with girl
 Who went with the girl?
- b. *männu* *hor-ä* *misle-ha* *lä-wälätt*
 who go.PERF-3MSG_S with-3FSG.GEN to-girl
 Who accompanied the girl?
- (65) a. *pawlos* *yī-hawwīr* *habä* *eyyerusalem*
 Paul 3MSG_S-go.IMPERF toward Jerusalem
 Paul goes(will go) to Jerusalem.
- b. *pawlos* *yī-hawwīr* *habe-ha* *lä-eyyerusalem*
 Paul 3MSG_S-go.IMPERF toward -3FSG.GEN to-Jerusalem
 Paul will visit Jerusalem.

The same is true for dative possessors. Although native intuition is not available to prove whether dative possessors in (49) as opposed to non-dative possessors (the genitive and the construct-state possessors) are affected, there are two pieces of evidence which suggest that dative marking is related to affectedness. The first piece of evidence comes from derived nominals like *k'älät* 'killing, murder' and *s'älät* 'hatred', which are derived from the verbs *k'ätälä* 'kill' and *s'älä* 'hate' respectively. When these nouns take affected arguments, the affected arguments are obligatorily marked dative and trigger genitive agreement as in (66). My informants do not accept Abel in (66)a as an unaffected external argument (killer) and the children in (66)b as unaffected internal argument.⁸³

⁸² This judgment is provided by informants.

⁸³ One may think at this point that the difference between dative and non-dative NPs may be related to different theta roles. For example, in *John's book*, John can be interpreted as the writer, the possessor of the book or the subject of the book (whom the book is written about). The information I got from my informants,

- (66) a. *männu y-aʔammir k'itlä-t-u lä-abel*
 who 3MSG_S-know.IMPERF murder-3MSG_{GEN} to- Abel
Who knows Abel's murder? (Abel is killed, # Abel killed)
- b. *männu y-aʔammir s'ilʔat-omu lä-his'anat*
 who 3MSG_S-konw.IMPERF hatred-3MPL_{GEN} to-child.PL
Who knows the hatred of children? (They hate, # they are hated).

The second piece of evidence comes from the fact that unaffected arguments of NPs cannot be marked dative. This is observed when the argument NP refers to the material the head noun is made up of as in (67)-(69). Such NPs do not have a dative variant (Kifle 1948:112):

- (67) a. *täk'uam zä-wärk'*
 lace of-gold
golden chain
- b. **täk'uam-u lä-wärk'*
 lace-3MSG_{GEN} to-gold
golden chain
- (68) a. *wälta-ø wärk'*
 shield-CS gold
golden shield

however, does not confirm this. All the three interpretations can be expressed by the dative:

- (i) *kiddus sim-u lä-igziabher*
 blessed name-3MSG_{GEN} to-God
Blessed is God's name (God is the possessor)
- (ii) *hayyal gibr-u lä-igziabher*
 powerful action-3MSG_S to-God
Powerful is God's action. (God is the agent)
- (iii) *kiddus wuddase-hu lä-igziabher*
 blessed praise-3MSG_S to-God
Blessed is God's praise. (God is the subject)

- b. *wälta-hu lä-wärk'
 shield-3MSG.GEN to-gold
Intended meaning: golden shield
- (69) a. säbko-ø is'
 idol-CS wood
wooden idol
- b. *säbko-hu lä-is'
 idol-3MSG.GEN to-wood
Intended meaning: wooden idol

To summarize, in the last three sections we saw that Geez has a case-marking element *lä-*, which is always associated with agreement and is used to mark objects, oblique arguments and adjuncts as well as possessors. We saw that this case-marking element does not change the constituency of the NPs, and that, unlike accusative and oblique case marked NPs, NPs marked by *lä-* are interpreted as affected. In the next section I will show how the syntax of this case-marking element is to be analyzed.

3.3.4. *Affected datives: control structures or structural dative cases?*

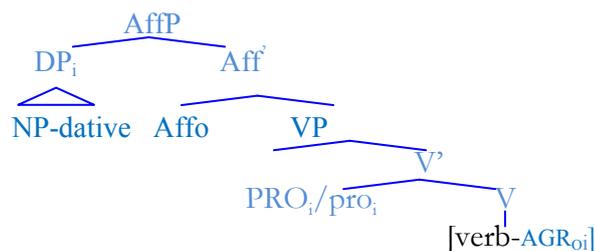
The pattern that we have observed with affected datives and their unaffected counterparts can be summarized as follows:

<i>Argument</i>	<i>Unaffected</i>	<i>Affected</i>
direct object	ACC	dative+ V-AGR _O
indirect object	PP	dative+V-AGR _O or P-AGR.GEN
oblique (unaccusative, passive)	PP	dative+V-AGR _O or P-AGR.GEN
oblique(unergative, transitives)	PP	dative+ P-AGR.GEN
possessors	PP/CS	dative+ N-AGR.GEN

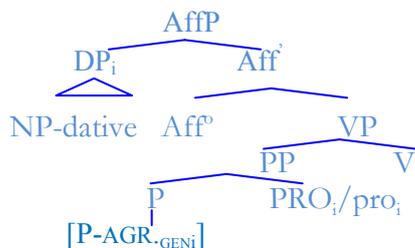
How is the relationship between affected datives and agreement explained? There are two possibilities for this. The first is that affected datives are merged as affected arguments of the matrix verb at some higher syntactic positions, say affected projection (AffP), which assigns inherent dative Case and controls the object as in (70)a, the complement of the preposition as in (70)b and the possessor as in (70)c. In this case, the obligatory presence of

agreement markers in association with affected datives would be in order to license *PRO* or *pro* in the controlled positions:

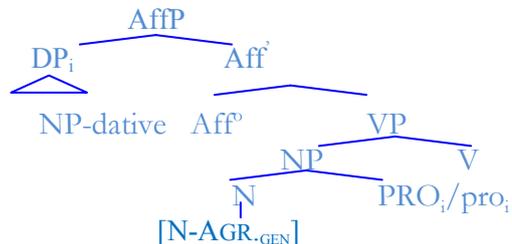
(70) a.



b.

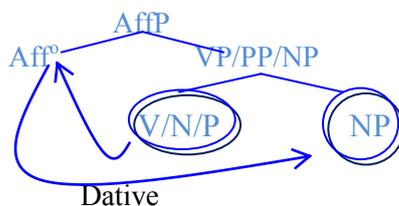


c.



The second option is to assume a structural dative case. That is that affected arguments are assigned dative Case structurally through agreement with the functional head. In this case, the obligatory agreement markers which show up with affected datives would be realizations of uninterpretable phi-features on the dative assigning functional head. V, P and N show up with the agreement markers because they raise to the head position of this projection:

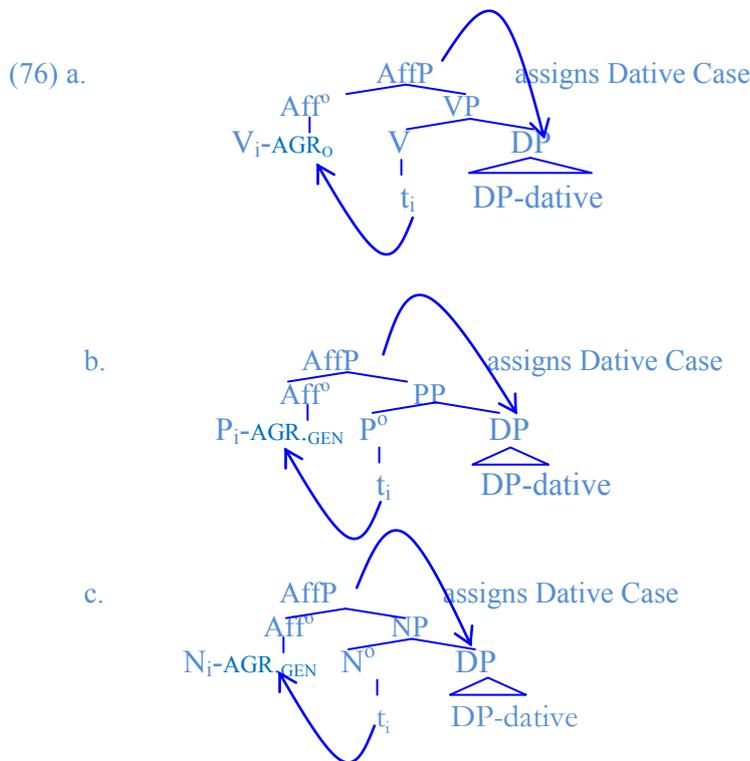
(71)



The choice between these analyses should be made on the basis of their ability to explain the data at hand. The control analysis encounters three serious problems. Firstly, if we assume that the affected dative is the argument of the verb and controls/is co-indexed with the object as in (70)a, it would mean that one argument of the verb (affected argument) controls/is co-indexed with another argument(object) of the same verb. Such an assumption encounters a problem since PRO is not in a place it would normally be licensed and pro would have local antecedent, just like anaphors, which is theoretically unacceptable. Secondly, the control analysis is challenged by the constituency. As we saw in (58)&(61), affected possessors and their possessees, and affected oblique arguments and the prepositions which theta-mark them form a constituent, excluding the matrix verb. If we assume that affected datives are arguments of a matrix verb, our assumption would run against this fact. Thirdly, the control analysis does not have any explanation for the different agreement patterns of unaccusative/passive and unergative/transitive verbs. As we saw earlier, with unaccusative and passive verbs, affected oblique arguments can trigger object agreement on the verb as in (56)a-c repeated below (72) or genitive agreement on the prepositions which introduce them as in the ‘b’ examples of (44)-(46), repeated below as (73). This is unlike oblique arguments of unergative and transitive verbs which trigger only genitive agreement on prepositions as in (47)&(48), repeated below as (74), but not object agreement on the verb as in (57), repeated below as (75):

- (72) a. amlak mot- \emptyset -a **lä-hewan**
 God die.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O **to-Eve**
God died for Eve.
- b. amlak tä-säk’l- \emptyset - \emptyset **lä-mäsk’äl**
 God PASS-crucify.PERF-3MSG_S-3MSG_O **to-cross**
God was crucified on a cross.
- c. amlak tä-säql- \emptyset -omu **lä- fäyat**
 God PASS-crucify.PERF-3MSG_S-3MPL_O **to-robber.PL**
God was crucified with robbers.
- (73) a. amlak mot-ä **bäintiy-ha** **lä-hewan**
 God die-PERF.3MSG_S for-3FSG.GEN **to-Eve**
God died for Eve.

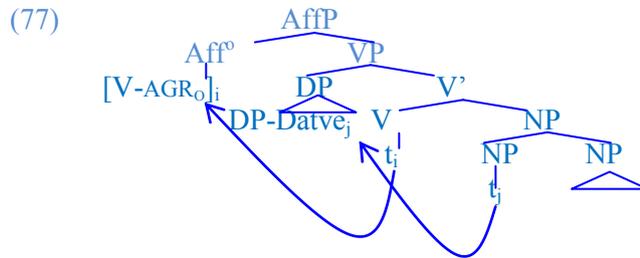
remain Case unassigned until AffP is merged. The agreement markers which show up in association with affected datives are, thus, realizations of uninterpretable phi-features on the dative assigning functional head as in (76). In such an analysis V, P and N show up with the agreement markers because they raise to Aff⁰:



This analysis provides a solution for the three problems encountered by the control analysis above. The problem of a local antecedent of PRO would disappear since we do not have a control structure at all. Secondly, the fact that affected datives form a constituent with their theta-assigners follows straightforwardly. This means that since AffP projects over P and N before they are merged to the matrix verb, the affected datives and their theta

⁸⁴ A question that could be raised here is if AffP can be generated above V,P and N, why doesn't it hide the lexical category so that something higher cannot select one kind as opposed to another kind. For this, I do not have clear explanation. One thing that could be said is that AffP, inherits the category of its complement.

assigners form a constituent. Thirdly, the affected datives which trigger object agreement on unaccusative/passive verbs can be explained as instantiating raising. That is, affected oblique arguments which trigger object agreement on unaccusative/passive verbs can be analyzed as raised NPs which are base-generated within the internal arguments of passive and unaccusative verbs as in (77). Assuming that raising is motivated by Case, the dative NPs in examples (72) can be assumed to have been raised in order to get Dative Case and delete the uninterpretable features of Aff^o:



In fact such a claim raises other two questions⁸⁵. Firstly, we need to prove that complex NPs which contain modifying nouns with benefactive, instrumental and associative relationships are attested in the languages, which is of course the case. As Kifle (1948:112) states, a genitive

⁸⁵ There is also a third point that needs to be answered in the possessor raising analysis: whether possessor raising is sensitive to a definiteness effect. This means, if DP is a phase (Gutiérrez-Bravo 2001, Svenonius 2004, Bošković 2005, Heck, Müller and Trommer 2008, Kramer 2010 and Deal 2013) possessor raising must be impossible from DP. Such a constraint is difficult to prove since Geez does not have a definite article. One possible context where a definiteness effect is observed is when the possessee is a proper name as in (i):

- (i) giorgis zä-gasic'a
 George of-Gasicha
George of Gasicha

Possessor raising from NPs like this is not attested in secondary sources and informants. Consider clauses such as (ii) ill-formed.

- (ii) *giorgis näbbär-ø-o lä-gasicha
 George live-3MSG_s-3MSG_o to-Gasicha
Intended meaning: Gasicha is lived by George.

relationship between two nominals in Geez denotes not only a typical possessor-possessee relationship, but also a number of relationships like instrumental, benefactive, associative, source and locative relationships. One such example is the construct state in brackets in the following examples. *mask'äl* 'cross' is an instrument in (78)a, *hewan* 'Eve' is benefactive in (78)b, *fäyat* 'robbers' is associative in (78)c. In all cases, the NPs are merged with the deverbal nominals *sik'ul* 'crucified', *mäwt* 'dead' forming a construct state which is identical to possessive constructions. This suggests that the dative NPs in the examples in (72) can also be generated within nominal projections:

(78) a. amlak [sik'ul-ä mäsqäl]⁸⁶ (Kifle 1948: 120-121)
 God crucify-CS cross
God who is crucified on the cross

b. amlak [mäwt-ä hewan]
 God dead-CS Eve
God who died for robbers

c. amlak [mäwt-ä fayat]
 God dead-CS robbers
God who died with robbers

Other examples which indicate that associative, locative, benefactives modify an NP are:

(79) a. mariam mislä fik'ur wäld-a
 Mary with loved son-3FSG.GEN
Mary with her loved son

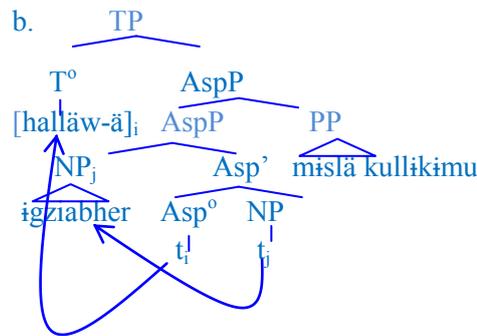
b. hawary-at illä-eyyārusalem
 apostle-PL of-Jerusalem
Apostles from/of Jerusalem

c. mäswaʔt bäntiya-nä
 sacrifice for-1PL.GEN
Sacrifice for us

⁸⁶ Such constructions are cognates of what are known as adjectival/ participial constructs in Hebrew (Hazout 2000; Kremers 2003; Siloni 2002; Heller 2002 and Kim 2002) and Arabic (Al Sharifi and Sadler 2009).

In its BE interpretation, on the other hand, *halläwä* does not involve possessor raising. In this case, the copula is inserted at Asp^0 , selects an NP and establishes subject agreement with it in the same way as other unaccusative and passive verbs. The location PP in this case merges as an adjunct to AspP. Accordingly, the syntactic structure of (40)a repeated below as (81)a would be as in (81)b:

- (81) a. **halläw-ä** *igziabher* *misla* *kull-ikimu*
 be.PERF-3MSG_S God with all-2MPL-GEN
There is God with all of you. lit. God is present with all of you.



3.3.6. Accusative location

Recall that in the BE interpretation of *halläwä* the location PP can also be accusative rather than a PP, as in (41) repeated below as (82). In this section, I show that the phenomenon is due to the fact that oblique arguments and adjuncts in Geez can be introduced by prepositions or they can be merged as applicative objects:

- (82) **halläw-ä** **gädam-ä**
 be.PERF-3MSG_S field-ACC
He was in the field.

3.3.6.1. Applicatives in Geez

Just like dative Case, accusative Case in Geez is not always associated with a particular thematic position. It can be assigned to direct and indirect objects and oblique arguments. As we saw in section 3.3.1, objects are

assigned accusative when they are unaffected, in contrast to dative. In oblique arguments, accusative marking contrasts with prepositions and affected datives which trigger agreement on prepositions. This means that oblique arguments in Geez can be introduced in three different ways as follows:

- (83) a. hor-ä **habä gädam** Preposition
 go.PERF-3MSG_S **towards field**
 He went to a field.
- b. hor-ä **gädam-ä** Accusative
 go.PERF-3MSG_S **field-ACC**
 He went to a field.
- c. hor-ä **habe-ha** **lä-gädam** Dative+ Preposition
 go.PERF-3MSG_S **towards-3FSG.GEN to-field**
 He went to the field.

Accusative marking of oblique arguments, however, is not always possible. Only some prepositions are reported to have an accusative counterpart for the oblique arguments they introduce⁸⁷. These are *habä* ‘to, towards’ (84) , *bä-* ‘by, with, in, at’ (85)&(86), *in-* ‘from’ (87), *mislä* ‘with’ (88), and *lä-* ‘for, to’ (89) (Teklemariam 1899:270-274, Kifle 1948:162-163, Fenta 1986:94-98). Other prepositions like, for example, *bä#ntä* ‘for’, *zä-* ‘of’, *d#hrä* ‘after’, *k#dmä* ‘before’, do not alternate with accusative (90):

- (84) a. wäräd-ä **midr-ä/habä** **midir**
 descend.PERF-3MSG_S **land-ACC/ towards** **land**
 He descended to the land.
- b. goy-ä **gibs’-ä/habä** **gibs’**
 flee.PERF-3MSG_S **Egypt-ACC/ towards** **Egypt**
 He fled to Egypt.
- c. tä-mäyt’-ä **nazret-ä/ habä** **nazret**
 PASS-return.PERF-3MSG_S **Nazareth-ACC/ to** **Nazareth**
 He returned to Nazareth.

⁸⁷ Note that Geez has a large number of prepositions. I refer the reader to Teklemariam (1899), Dillmann (1907), Kifle (1948) and Fenta(1986) for an exhaustive list of the prepositions.

- d. *sofiya nigist nāgād-ät rome/habä rome*
Sofia queen travel.PERF-3FSG_S Rome. ACC/ to Rome
Queen Sofia traveled to Rome.
- (85) a. *niʔs-ä kibr-ä /bä-kibr yihuda*
be.small.PERF-3MSG_S glory-ACC/in-glory Judas
Judas degraded in glory.
- b. *aʕaräy-nä himam-ä/bä-himam*
be.equal.PERF-1PL_S ailment-ACC/ in-ailment
We are equal in ailment.
- c. *käddäm-ä Asahel rus'ät-ä/bä-rus'ät*
be.faster.PERF-3MSG_S Asahel running-ACC/in-running
im-abyas'i-hu
from-friend.PL-3MSG.GEN
Asahel is faster in running than his friends.
- (86) a. *habär-u k'al-ä/ bä-k'al näby-at*
concur.PERF-3MPL_S word-ACC/ in-word prophet-PL
Prophets concur in words (prophecies).
- b. *näbär-ä gädam-ä/ bä-gädam*
live.PERF-3MSG_S field-ACC/ in-field
He lived in a/the field.
- c. *boʔ-u lelit-ä/ bä-lelit*
enter.PERF-3MPL_S night-ACC/ at- night
They entered at night.
- d. *tä-säk'l-ä k'ätr-ä/bä- k'ätr*
PASS-crucified.PERF-3MSG_S noon-ACC/at- noon
He was crucified at noon.
- (87) a. *tä-ʕark'-ä lïbs-ä /im-lïbs*
PASS-bare.PERF-3MSG_S clothes-ACC/from-clothes
He is bared of clothes.

accusatives (91)c, however, are not attested in secondary sources and they are considered as ‘not common’ by my informants:

- (91) a. mähär-ä fidel-ä his’anat-ä⁸⁸
 teach.PERF-MSG_S alphabet-ACC child.PL-ACC
 He taught alphabet to children.
- b. yi-mehir his’anat-ä wätr-ä
 3SG_S-teach.IMPERF child.PL-ACC always-ACC
 He always teaches children.
- c. ??yi-mehir fidel-ä his’anat-ä wätr-ä
 3SG_S-teach.IMPERF alphabet-ACC child.PL-ACC always-ACC
 ACC
 Intended meaning: He always teaches alphabet to children.

Whether there is a semantic distinction between accusative and non-accusative oblique arguments is difficult to determine. However, my informants correlate the situation to a similar phenomenon in Amharic where a preposition can be dropped as follows:

- (92) a. wädä agär-u hed-ä Amharic
 to country-3MSG.GEN go.PERF-3MSG_S
 He went to his country.
- b. agär-u hed-ä
 country-3MSG.GEN go.PERF-3MSG_S
 He went to his country.

These expressions are usually synonymous. Nevertheless, there are some contexts where they exhibit a semantic distinction which is similar to bare-PP (P+noun)- *he went to school*- and marked PP (P+ article +Noun)- *he went to the school*- constructions in Indo-European languages (Le Bruyn et. al. 2009, Klis, 2010). Consider for example (93) and (94). With the PPs in the ‘a’ examples, the semantic interpretation is similar to marked PPs expressing direction or location. In the absence of the preposition, on the other hand, the interpretation is similar to bare-PPs. As can be seen from the

⁸⁸ These examples are based on Teklemariam (1899:121)

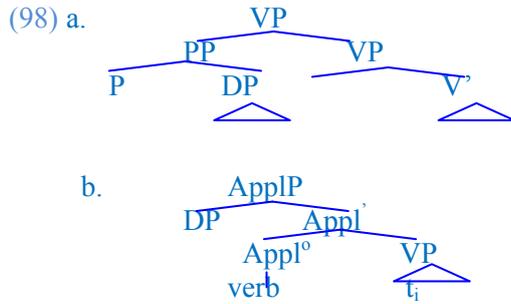
‘b’ examples, the clauses express a professional activity of studying and being arrested, not location or direction:

- (93) a. **wädä** **timhirt.bet** gäbba-hu Amharic
 to **school** enter.PERF-1SG_s
 I entered a school.
- b. **timhirt.bet** gäbba-hu
 school enter.PERF-1SG_s
 I became a student. Lit. I entered school
- (94) a. **isir.bet** **wist’** gäbba-äčč
 prison **inside** enter.PERF-3FSG_s
 She entered the prison.
- b. **isir.bet** gäbba-äčč
 prison enter.PERF-3FSG_s
 She is arrested. Lit. She entered prison.

This contrast suggests that accusative oblique arguments are interpreted in the same way as accusative objects. Recall that in 3.3.3, we saw that accusative objects as opposed to their dative counterparts, are interpreted as part of the event. For example, (63)a repeated below as (95) is interpreted in such a way that I am/will be engaged in tiger-killing without singling out a particular tiger. Similarly, the oblique arguments which are not accompanied by prepositions in (93)b and (94)b are not singled out. For example, *school* and *prison* are stated as part of the event described by the verb, not as a singled out location or direction:

- (95) **i-k’ättil** **nämr-ä**
 1SG_s-kill.IMPERF **tiger-ACC**
 I (will) kill a tiger.

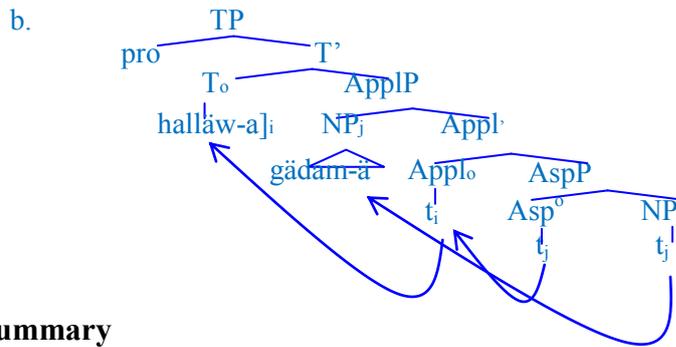
To sum up, just like dative, accusative in Geez is assigned to direct and indirect objects as well as some oblique arguments and adjuncts which are introduced by the prepositions *habä* ‘to, towards’, *bä* ‘by, with, in, at’, *im* ‘from’, *mäslä* ‘with’, and *lä* ‘for, to’. Accusative marking of oblique arguments is not sensitive to the transitivity of the verb. As a result, passive and intransitive verbs can take accusative oblique arguments while transitive verbs can be found with two accusative NPs. Unlike dative objects, which



3.3.6.2. The location PP as a high applicative

Given this general phenomenon of accusative and PP alternation, the fact that the location adjunct with the copula *halläwä* alternates between PP and accusative is straightforward. This means that the location adjunct can be introduced by a PP or it moves to an applicative object. Accordingly, the syntactic structure of (82) repeated as (99)a would be as (99)b:

- (99) a. *halläw-ä* *gädam-ä*
 be.PERF-3MSG_S field-ACC
He was in the field.



4. Summary

In this chapter, I discussed copulaless clauses and the two verbal copulas in Geez. I argued that copulaless clauses are full clauses. With regard to the two copular verbs, I show that they are subject raising and possessor raising verbs suggesting that Geez exhibits two types of BE's: one selecting small clause complements and involving subject raising and the other selecting NP complements and involving possessor raising.

CHAPTER SIX

PRONOMINAL AND PREPOSITIONAL COPULAS

1. Introduction

In addition to the copulaless clauses and the verbal copulas which we discussed in the last chapter, Geez also exhibits two types of non-verbal copulas, namely pronominal copulas and prepositional copulas. Pronominal copulas are used with all types of predicates to express predication, identity and location, just like the predicational verbal copula *konä* (cf. chapter five section 3.2.) (1). Prepositional copulas are used to express existence/location and possession just like the existential verbal copula *halläwä* (cf. chapter five section 3.3.) (5)⁸⁹:

(1) a. anti **yī?ti** rihrih-t/mämhir-t/ wistä bet-ki
you.FSG **she** compassionate-F/teacher-F/inside house-2FSG.GEN
You are compassionate/ teacher/in your home.

b. antä **wi?tu** kristos
you **he** Christ
You are Christ.

c. anä fier **anä** (Matt 20,15)
I good **I**
I am good.

⁸⁹ Of the many prepositions in Geez, only *bä* and *lä* are used as copulas

- (2) a. **b-o** igziabher mislä kull-ikimu
in-3MSG.GEN God with all-2MPL.GEN
There is God with all of you.
- b. **b-o** s'adk'-an wistä bet-kä (Kifle 1948:250)
in-3MSG.GEN righteous-PL inside house-2MSG.GEN
There are righteous people in your house.
- c. **b-a/b-atti** wäld lä-saba
in-3FSG.GEN son to-Saba
Saba has a son.
- d. **l-atti** wäld lä-saba
to-3FSG.GEN son to-saba
Saba has a book.

In this chapter, I will discuss the role of these copulas and I provide a syntactic analysis for the clauses which contain them. With regard to their role, I claim that they are used to indicate that the predication, identity, location and possession relationship is inherent. That is, pronominal copulas are used when the predicational/identity relationship between the subject and the predicate is inherent as opposed to contingent, while prepositional copulas are used when the relationship between the locatee and the location or the possessee and the possessor is inherent. Since the difference between inherent and contingent relationship is duration, I will assume that these elements syntactically encode 'duration' heading a DurP functional projection. With regard to their syntax, I argue that pronoun copulas select small clause complements and involve subject raising like the verbal copula *konä* while prepositional copulas select NP complements and involve possessor raising like the verbal copula *halläwä*.

Before proceeding to the discussion of pronominal and prepositional copulas, I first demonstrate what I mean by an inherent and non-inherent (contingent) relationship. To begin with consider the following English clauses:

- (3) a. John is a human being.
b. John is a man.

The predication relationship in (3)a is inherent. The clause is interpreted in such a way that the predicate *human being* is an inherent property of John. That is, the property of being a human being is not acquired at some stage in the life time of the subject. One is born being a human being. The clause in (3)b, on the other hand, is non-inherent. John is not born being a man. Under normal contexts, manhood is acquired in later stage of John's life time⁹⁰.

Predicates, however, do not always fall into inherent or contingent classes. Some predicates can be interpreted either as inherent or contingent. For example, individual-level adjectival predicates are of this sort. The size, color, character of things and people can be either inherent or acquired. As a result, such predicates are ambiguous between inherent and contingent predicates.

The inherent and contingent distinction should not be confused with the difference between individual-level and stage-level predicates of Carlson (1977). Although it seems that stage level predicates are non-inherent while individual-level predicates are inherent, this is not always the case. For example, both *human being* and *man* in (3) are individual-level predicates. However, the former is interpreted as inherent and the later as non-inherent. Similarly, the bold printed predicates in (4) are stage-level. However, being bright during the winter and dark during the summer can be interpreted as the inherent property of my room:

(4) My room is **bright** during winter and **dark** during summer.

In the sections that follow, I show that pronominal and prepositional copulas indicate inherent relationship as opposed to a contingent one. The discussion proceeds in the following order. In section 2, I discuss pronominal copula. In section 3, I discuss prepositional copulas. Section 4, concludes the chapter.

⁹⁰ Here I am using the term 'under normal context' to exclude exceptional situations in which inherent predicates can be interpreted as non-inherent and non-inherent predicates are interpreted as inherent. For example, the clauses *John is a human being* can be interpreted as non-inherent if one assumes an exceptional situation in which John is some non-human creature which changes to a human being at some point. Similarly, the sentence *John is a man* can be interpreted as inherent if one assumes a mysterious situation in which John's mother gives birth to an adult human being. I do not include such special interpretations in here.

2. Pronominal copulas

Geez pronominal copulas show up with all types of predicates just like the verbal copula *konä* and they appear in three varieties: an invariable 3MSG (5)a, third person pronouns which agree in number and gender with the subject (5)b, or all pronouns identical to the subjects (5)c:

(5) a. anti **wi?tu** mämhir-t/ sännay-t/ kämä mälak
 you.FSG **he** teacher-F/good-F/like angel
You are a teacher/ beautiful/ like an angel.

b. anti **yi?ti** mämhir-t/ sännay-t/ kämä mälak
 you.FSG **she** teacher-F/good-F/ like angel
You are a teacher/beautiful/like angel.

c. anä fier **anä** (Matt 20,15)
 I good I
I am good.

With regard to using pronouns as copulas, Geez behaves like Hebrew (Doron 1983, Rapoport 1987, Rothstein 1995, Greenberg 2002) and Arabic (Eid 1983, Edwards 2006) to which it is genetically related, as well as Polish (Citko 2008) and Scottish Gaelic (Adger and Ramchand 2003) to which it is unrelated. Geez pronoun copulas are in complementary distribution with verbal copulas just like in Hebrew, Arabic and Scottish Gaelic, but unlike in Polish. Clauses like (6) are not attested in secondary sources and they are considered ill-formed by informants:

(6) ***kon-ki** anti **yi?ti** mämhir-t/ sännay-t
be.PERF-3FSG_s you.FSG **she** teacher-F/good-F
You are/were a teacher/beautiful .

As we discussed in chapter one, given the definition of the copula as a functional element inserted in order to support tense, aspect and mood, the role of pronominal copulas has been an issue of debate. For some, pronominal copulas are not real copulas. They are subjects (later reanalyzed as copulas) (Edwards 2006) or predicates (Adger and Ramchand 2003). For others, they are real copular elements (Doron 1983, Eid 1983 Rapoport 1987, Rothstein 1995, Citko 2008, and Greenberg 2002). Under the copular analysis also, there have been different views. Doron (1983) claims that

pronoun copulas are realizations of unattached agreement features in the present tense. Rapoport (1987) and Rothstein (1995) associate pronominal copulas to a semantically based taxonomy of copular clauses, namely predicational and equative/identity distinction (Higgins 1979, Mikkelsen 2005, 2011). Since pronominal copulas are obligatorily found in equative/identity clauses as opposed to predicational clauses, they consider them as equative/identity copulas. Greenberg (2002), on the other hand, argues that the obligatory vs. optional presence of pronominal copulas in Hebrew is correlated with generic and non-generic interpretations, and she argues that pronominal copulas are manifestations of a generic copula. Finally, Citko (2008) claims that pronominal copulas in Polish are the realization of tense when the small clause head is phi-incomplete and non-eventive. Citko assumes that there are two types of small clause heads: one phi-complete and eventive, and the other phi-incomplete and non-eventive. According to her, pronominal copulas are used with the incomplete and non-eventive small clause head.

The question then emerges which of these analyses would account for the syntactic and semantic properties of pronominal copulas in Geez. In the sections that follow, I argue that pronouns in Geez non-verbal predication are real copulas. However, unlike the previous analyses, I claim that they are neither identity copulas, contra Rapoport (1987), nor generic copulas, contra Greenberg (2002), nor realization of agreement features or tense, contra Doron (1983) and Citko (2008). Rather I argue that they are used to indicate that the predication/identity relationship is inherent as opposed to contingent.

This means that Geez finite clauses are classified in to two types: temporal and atemporal. Just as temporal clauses can have different TAM values, atemporal clauses can be either inherent or contingent. Pronominal copulas are inserted in order to indicate that the relationship between the subject and the predicate is inherent. Since inherent and contingent predications differ in duration, I argue that the functional projection that introduces pronominal copulas is the *duration phrase (DurP)*. I assume that, just like TAM projections, DurP has the ability to check formal features and trigger displacement.

In the sections that follow, I present supporting evidence for the DurP analysis of pronominal copulas. These pieces of evidence are three: (1) the atemporal interpretation of pronoun copular clauses which proves that they do not contain tense, (2) optional vs. obligatory presence of pronominal

copulas, (3) the interpretational difference between copulaless clauses and pronominal copula clauses. I discuss each of them in turn.

2.1. *The atemporal interpretation of pronominal copulas*

It is usually claimed that clauses with pronominal copulas in Hebrew and Arabic are present tense (Doron 1983, Rapoport 1987, Rothstein 1995 among others). This, however, does not hold for Geez. Geez pronominal copula clauses are rather atemporal. They are either interpreted as past or non-past (Kifle 1948:77), given that their temporal location is determined pragmatically by the temporal location of the subject and the predicate, just like copulaless clauses:

(7) a. *kilʔe-homu* *sʔadkʔ-an* *immuntu* (Luke 1:6)
 two-3PL.GEN righteous-PL **they**
 Both of them (Zacharias and Elisabeth) were righteous.

b. *anä* *etiyopʔiyawi* *wiʔtu*
 I Ethiopian **he**
 I am an Ethiopian.

Both clauses in the above examples contain pronominal copulas. However, they have different temporal interpretations. (7)a is past because the subjects *Zacharias and Elisabeth* do not exist (at the time of speech). (7)b is present because I exist. These interpretations show that pronominal copulas do not indicate tense. If the clauses were tense-marked, we could not have different temporal interpretations. This excludes the present tense analysis of Geez pronominal copula clauses. Unlike their counterparts in languages like Hebrew and Arabic (Doron 1983, Rapoport 1987, Edwards 2006, Eid 1983 among others), Geez pronominal copula clauses are not necessarily present tense.

With the DurP, analysis such a difference in temporal interpretation is not a problem. The DurP indicates whether the predication relationship is inherent or contingent, and this kind of a relationship can be established in the past, present or future. What matters here is not the point of temporal location; rather the fact that the relationship is/was/will be an inherent property of the subject.

2.2. *Obligatory vs. optional presence and absence of pronominal copulas*

Strong evidence which shows that pronominal copulas in Geez indicate inherent predication comes from the clauses where pronoun copulas are either obligatory or optional.

In Hebrew, the obligatory and optional presence of pronominal copulas has been attributed to the identity vs. predicational distinction (Rapoport 1987, Rothstein 1995) and to the generic and non-generic interpretation (Greenberg 2002). However, this distinction cannot account for the obligatory/ optional distribution of pronominal copulas in Geez. Although pronominal copulas are obligatory in identity (8)b and generic clauses (8)c, they can also appear optionally (8)a or obligatorily (8)d in clauses which cannot be interpreted as generic or identity:

(8) a. yonas (wǐʔtu) māmhir/nāwwiha
Jonas he teacher/tall
Jonas is a teacher/tall.

b. addis ababa *(yǐʔti) finfinne⁹¹
Addis Ababa she Finfinne
Addis Ababa is Finfinne.

c. arwe *(wǐʔtu) nāmṛ
wild he tiger
Tigers are wild

d. anā *(wǐʔtu) säbʔ
I he human.being
I am a human being

The obligatory and optional distribution of pronominal copulas in the above Geez clauses is rather correlated with whether the predicate is necessarily interpreted as inherent or not. That is, pronominal copulas are obligatory in clauses where the predication/identity relationship is necessarily interpreted as inherent. The identity relation between Addis Ababa and Finfinne in (8)b, the generic relationship between tiger and wildness in (8)c and the predicational relationship between I and human being in (8)d are necessarily

⁹¹ Finfinne is another name of Addis Ababa

interpreted as inherent. None of them can be interpreted as non-inherent. The clause (8)a which contains pronominal copulas optionally on the other hand is not necessarily interpreted as inherent. Jonas' teacherhood or tallness can be inherent or acquired. The obligatory and optional distribution of pronominal copulas therefore witnesses the claim that they indicate inherent relationship.

Although it needs further investigation, my proposal has a potential to be extended to languages like Hebrew, Polish and Scottish Gaelic. As I mentioned above the presence of pronominal copulas in these languages is assumed to be associated with identity (Rapoport 1987), generic (Greenberg 2002) and individual level (Citko 2008, Adger and Ramchand 2003) interpretations. What is common with all these clauses is that the relationship between the subject and the predicate is inherent. If this is the case, clauses which contain pronominal copulas in these languages can also be analyzed accordingly.

2.3. Interpretational difference between pronominal copular clauses and simple juxtaposed clauses

Greenberg (2002:269), citing Bendavid (1971), notes that there is a semantic distinction in Hebrew depending on the presence and absence of the pronominal copula. For example (9)a expresses the notion that the sky in general is blue while (9)b is interpreted as the sky is blue now:

(9) a. ha-šamayim hem kxulim
 the-sky they blue
 The sky is generally blue/blue by its nature.

b. ha-šamayim kxulim
 the-sky blue
 The sky is blue now/today.

Although native intuition is not available to prove whether a similar distinction holds in Geez, there are still some traces of evidence which confirm that such is the case. The following examples are from Dillmann (1907: 498):

- (10) a. *ismä räfiab yiʔti midr kʼidme-homu*
 for empty she land before-3MPL.GEN
For the land before them is spacious. (The land is generally spacious.)
- b. *ismä räfiab midr kʼidme-homu.*
 For empty land before-3MPL.GEN.
For the land is spacious before them. (The land is spacious for them.)

The spaciousness of the land in (10)a is true irrespective of the number of inhabitants. Spaciousness is inherent property of the land. The spaciousness of the land in (10)b on the other hand is relative to the inhabitants. The land which is said to be spacious relative to some inhabitants may be non-spacious for others. This interpretational difference due to the presence and absence of pronominal copulas also supports my claim that pronominal copulas indicate inherent predication.

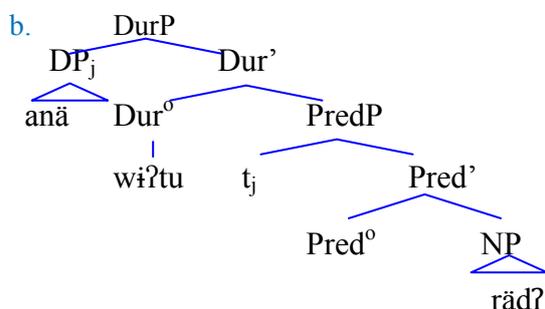
To summarize then, in the last three sections, I presented my arguments for the claim that pronominal copulas indicate the inherent predicational/identity relationship rather than tense. Based on the atemporal interpretation of clauses which contain pronoun copulas, I argue that pronominal copular clauses do not contain tense/aspect marking. Based on the facts that pronominal copulas are obligatory in clauses which are interpreted as necessarily inherent and they are optional in clauses which are not necessarily inherent, and based on the interpretational effect of the presence and absence pronouns, I argue that pronominal copulas are used to indicate an inherent predication/identity relationship. From the syntactic point of view, I hypothesize that they project a DurP.

2.4. Syntactic structure of pronominal copula clauses

Despite the difference in category, pronominal copulas behave like the verbal copula *konä* with regard to agreement and predicate selection. That means, they show up with all types of predicates and agree only with the subject or show default 3MSG agreement. These properties suggest that pronominal copulas can be analyzed as selecting a small clause complement and involve subject raising, just like the verbal copula *konä*. Accordingly,

the syntactic structure of pronominal copula clauses in (11)a can be analyzed as (11)b:

- (11) a. anä wi?tu räd?
 I he student
I am a student.



Before concluding this section, a few points about copulaless clauses are in order. Recall that, despite the absence of an overt copula, we saw in chapter five sections 2 that copulaless clauses show properties of full clauses and I proposed that they should not be analyzed as small clauses. I mentioned that they should be analyzed as containing a functional projection which indicates whether the predication relationship is inherent or contingent. However, I postponed further discussion to this section. I now return to that issue.

From the discussion of pronominal copulas so far, we have learned that their presence and absence is due to whether the relationship between the subject and the predicate is inherent or contingent. This means that just as the presence of pronominal copulas indicates the predication relationship is inherent; their absence also indicates that the predication relationship is non-inherent or contingent. Copulaless clauses can, therefore, be analyzed as containing the opposite value of pronominal copulas. This means that DurP has two values: inherent and contingent. Of these, only the first is lexicalized. The latter is expressed by the absence of the pronominal copula. In this respect, the morphological expression of non-inherent property in Geez resembles the expression of present tense in English verbal morphology. As is known, except for third person singular subjects, present tense of English lexical verbs is expressed by the absence of a tense suffix.

Similarly, the expression of contingent predication in Geez DurP projection is expressed by the absence of the pronominal copula.

3. Prepositional copulas

Just as pronominal copulas serve as non-verbal counterparts of the copular verb *konä*, prepositional copulas serve as non-verbal counterparts of the existential verbal copula *halläwä*. This means that, just like *halläwä*, prepositional copulas are used only in locative and possessive clauses (cf. (12) and (13)). The prepositional copula *b-* is used to express location and possession (12) and the prepositional copula *l-* is used only in possession (12)c:

- (12) a. *b-o* *may* *wistä* *bafir*
 in-3MSG.GEN *water* *inside* *sea*
 There is/was water in a sea.
- b. *b-o* *biʔsit* *intä* *ti-senni* (Kifle1948:250)
 in-3MPL_{GEN} *woman* *that* *3FS_S-be.beautiful.IMPERF*
 im-biʔsit
 from-woman
 There is a woman who is more beautiful than another woman.
- c. *la-tti* *ifu* *lä-saba*
 to-3FSG.GEN *brother* *to-Saba*
 Saba has/had a brother.
- (13) a. *halläw-ä* *mäsʔhaf* *läʔlä* *manbär*
 be.PERF-3MSG_S *book* *on* *chair*
 There is/was a book on the chair.
- b. *halläw-ø-omu* *mäsʔhaf* *lä-ardiʔt*
 be.PERF-3MSG_S-3MPL_O *book* *to-student.PL*
 The students have/had a book.

Prepositional copulas also differ from the verbal copula *halläwä* in the same way as pronominal copulas differ from the verbal copula *konä*. Firstly, clauses with prepositional copulas are atemporal just like clause with pronominal copulas (Procházka 2004:64). The temporal interpretation of

prepositional copula clauses is determined by pragmatics (14). (14)a is present if the *son* still exists and past if it doesn't. (14)b is past if the *girl* does not exist; and present if it exists. (14)c is past since both the possessee and the possessor do not exist, and (14)d&e are past since *Adam*, *his sons* and *his wife* do not exist any more. This is unlike verbal copula clauses whose temporal interpretation is past or present when the verb is perfective (15)a&(16)a and future when the verb is imperfective(15)b&(16)b, similar to other stative verbs as we saw in chapter five section 3.1:

- (14) a. bi-kä wäld
 in-2MSG.GEN son
 You have/had a son.
- b. b-o wälätt
 in-3MSG.GEN girl
 There is/was a girl.
- c. wa-b-otu ?ift sännayt (2Sam: 1)
 and-in-3MS.GEN-3MSG.GEN sister beautiful
 lä-abselom
 to-Absalom
 And Absalom had a beautiful sister.
- d. b-o addam mislä bi?sit-u
 in-3MSG.GEN Adam with wife-3MSG.GEN
 Adam was with his wife.
- e. lo-ttu wulud lä-addam
 to-3MSG.GEN son.PL to-Adam
 Adam had sons.
- (15) a. halläw-ä mäs'haf wistä bet
 be.PERF-3MSG_s book inside house
 There is (was) a book in the house.

b. yi-hellu mäs'haf wistä bet
 3MSG_S-be.IMPERF book inside house
There will be a book in the house.

(16) a. halläw-ø-wa mäs'haf lä-saba
 be.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O book to-Saba
Saba has/had a book.

b. yi-hell-a mäs'haf lä-saba
 3MSG_S-be.IMPERF-3FSG_O book to-Saba
Saba will have a book.

Secondly, prepositional copulas are used in inalienable possession (17) and location (18) which are obligatory inherent relationships:

(17) a. b-omu ?ayn
 in-3PL._{GEN} eye
They have eyes.

b. b-ina ?izn
 in-1PL._{GEN} ear
We have ears.

c. b-ikimu ?id
 in-2PL._{GEN} hand
You have arms.

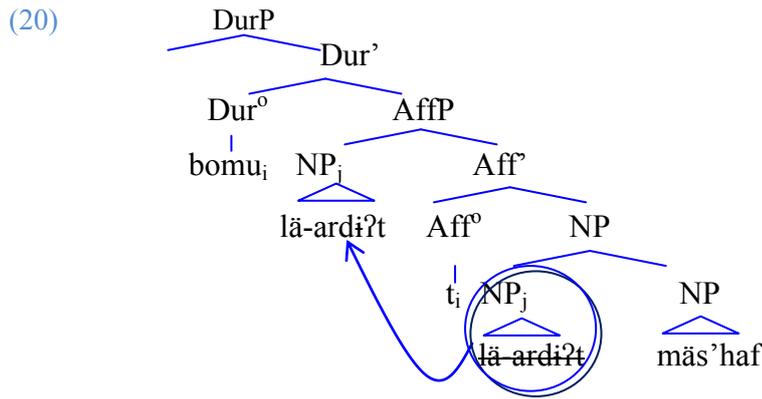
(18) b-o arawit wistä gädam
 in-3MS._{GEN} wild.animals inside forest
There are wild animals in forest. (They live in the forest)

This comparison between prepositional copulas and the verbal copula *halläwä* suggests two points. Firstly, the fact that prepositional copulas are used to express inherent location and possession indicates that their role is the same as pronominal copulas. Secondly, the fact that they are used to express location and possession indicates that they are possessor raising copulas.

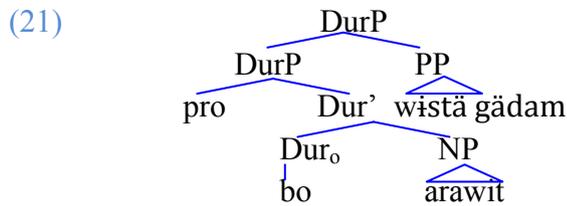
The syntactic structure of prepositional copula clauses, therefore, can be straightforwardly analyzed in the same way as that proposed for the

copular verb *halläwä*. This means that prepositional copulas select an NP complement and involve possessor raising. The possessor raising takes place to AffP. The motivation for the possessor raising is the same as that of the verbal copula *halläwä*. That is, the possessor raises in order to get dative Case. Accordingly, the derivation of (19)a looks like (19)b. Note that in the derivation, since the copula carries the genitive agreement, it must be inserted at Aff^o and raises to Dur^o:

- (19) a. *b-omu lä-ardi?t mäs' haf*
in-3MPL.GEN to-student.PL book
The student have a book.



In locative clauses, there is no possessor raising, as there is none in verbal copula *halläwä*. Thus AffP is not available in these clauses. The copula is thus inserted at DurP with an expletive *pro* which is licensed by an invariable 3MSG genitive agreement on the preposition, as in (18)a. The expletive *pro* is inserted to satisfy the EPP, i.e., because the clause needs a subject:



4. Summary

In this chapter, I dealt with the syntax of Geez copular clauses which contain pronominal and prepositional copulas. I discussed the role of pronominal and prepositional copulas in Geez and provided a syntactic analysis of pronominal and prepositional copular clauses. I showed that pronominal and prepositional copulas are used to indicate inherent relationships: pronominal copulas are used to indicate an inherent predicational/ identity relationship between the subject and the predicate/non-subject NP, while prepositional copulas indicate an inherent relationship between the locatee and the location or between the possessor and the possessee. Since inherent and non-inherent relationships differ in terms of duration, I claim that the copulas introduce a functional projection of duration (DurP). I also argue that pronominal copulas take small clause complements and involve subject raising while prepositional copulas select small clauses and involve possessor raising.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUDING REMARKS

1. Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I provided a syntactic analysis of the copular constructions of Amharic and Geez which explains:

- a. why the copular elements in both languages differ in terms of their agreement system and the type of predicate they show up with
- b. why the copular clauses in both languages exhibit different case-marking patterns of NPs/APs
- c. how one could account for the fact that Geez has copulaless clauses, as well as verbal and non-verbal (pronoun and prepositional) copulas

In this chapter, I summarize the major claims I made in the preceding chapters, and I discuss some theoretical implications of my claims. The discussion proceeds as follows. In section 2 I present the summary of the major ideas raised in the preceding chapters. In section 3, I discuss some theoretical issues my analysis sheds light on.

2. Summary of the major claims

The major points that I discussed in the last six chapters are summarized as follows.

2.1. Chapter one

In this chapter, I introduced the research problem by showing that the non-verbal predication systems in Amharic and Geez exhibit variations in two respects: the copular system (presence and absence, agreement system, category and predicate selection of the copular elements) and the case-marking pattern of NPs/APs that are found within each type of copular clause. I showed that such variation poses a challenge to the widely accepted theoretical assumption that copular clauses have a uniform syntactic structure which constitutes a predicational core known as small clause and a copula inserted in order to support tense, aspect or mood.

Having mentioned that such kind of variation is not unique to Amharic, I discussed the different theoretical proposals advanced to account for similar variations in the copular and case-marking systems of different languages. With regard to the absence of a copula, I showed that there are two types of accounts: the small-clause account and the full-clause account, the latter being the analysis I argued for Geez copulaless clauses. With regard to the presence of more than one copular element, we saw that the analyses can be *inclusive* (which reject the copular status of one of the existing copular elements and consider it a subject or a predicate) or *exclusive* (which consider all the existing copular elements as real copulas). Within the inclusive analyses, again, we saw that there are different views; one view arguing that the different copulas arise from the fact that the IP is specified for different features; the second view associating the presence of more than one copula to the presence of defective and non-defective small-clause heads; and the third view, to which I also side with, arguing that the different copulas are realizations of different BE's.

With regard to case-marking, we saw that most of the research is geared towards explaining why subjects and predicates are marked with the same or different cases. 'Sameness' of case-marking on the subject and the predicate is argued to be the result of case-agreement between the subject and the predicate (Comrie 1997), or Case assignment by the same Case-assigning head (Maling and Sprouse 1995, Bailyn 2001, Matushansky 2008, Citko 2008). Different case-marking of the subject and the predicate, on the other hand, has been argued to be the result of the fact that the predicate is assigned Case by the copula (Maling and Sprouse 1995, Comrie 1997), by Pred^o (Bailyn 2001, Citko 2008), or due to the presence of an intervening

Case-assigner in the small clause (Matushansky 2008), which I also argued in favor of.

2.2. Chapter two

In chapter two, I discussed the morpho-syntax of aspect and agreement in Amharic and Geez which serves as a basis for explaining a number of phenomena in the non-verbal predication system of the languages. In the section on aspect, I focus on the two canonical verbal forms: perfective and imperfective. Based on the morphological structure and (in-)compatibility of perfective and imperfective verbs with auxiliaries, I argued that perfective verbs move up to T⁰ while imperfective verbs remain in lower syntactic positions. In the section on agreement, I showed that subject agreement is related to aspect and tense. Regarding object agreement, I argued that it is related to affectedness based on three pieces of evidence: (1) the obligatory occurrence of object agreement with affected objects, (2) the impossibility of object agreement with unaffected objects and (3) the semantic effect of object agreement in contexts where it is optional. I also showed that genitive agreement is the counterpart of subject and object agreement with nominal heads. Moreover, I showed, based on Geez that the phi-features of agreement are realized in terms of proximity, non-speaker and diminutive/augmentative features, rather than person, number and gender features.

2.3. Chapter three

Chapter three focuses on Amharic copular verbs, which differ in terms of their agreement system and the type of predicate they show up with. After summarizing the different proposals forwarded to explain the presence of more than one copula in a given language, I defended the position that there are more than one BE in Amharic. In order to show this, I thoroughly discussed the agreement patterns of personal and impersonal verbs and the phenomenon of raising in the language. With regard to the agreement system, I showed that Amharic personal verbs are marked only for subject agreement or for subject and object agreement, while impersonal verbs are obligatorily marked for both an invariable 3msg subject agreement and object agreement. On the basis of this, I argued that the present tense predicational copula *näw* which is necessarily marked for a 3msg subject agreement and an object agreement is an impersonal copula while the

existential copula *allä* and the past tense copula *näbbär* which are marked for subject agreement only or for both subject and object agreement with a corresponding BE and HAVE interpretations are personal copulas.

Regarding the raising phenomena, I discussed that Amharic exhibits two types of raising: subject raising and possessor raising. With regard to subject raising, I showed that there are two sub-types: raising to the subject position of the matrix clause and raising to the affected object position (Aff). The first is seen in canonical raising verbs where the subject of the complement clause triggers subject agreement on the matrix verb. The second is seen in ECM verbs where the subject of the complement clause is assigned accusative and triggers object agreement on the matrix verb. For possessor raising, I have shown that it is observed when the possessor of an internal argument is assigned nominative or accusative Case, and triggers object agreement just like an affected object of the matrix verb.

Having discussed this intricate system of raising, I showed that Amharic copular verbs are different types of raising verbs. I argued that the present tense predicational copula *näw*, on which the subject of the small clause triggers object agreement involves subject raising to the affected object position (AffP) just like ECM verbs; the existential present tense copula *allä* is a possessor raising verb which involves raising the possessor of its complement NP to AffP; while *näbbär*, which is the past tense counterpart of *allä* and *näw* involves possessor raising to AffP when it is interpreted as HAVE and subject raising to TP when it is interpreted as BE.

I also showed that the difference between the copular verbs with regard to the type of predicate they combine with follows from the fact that they are of different types of verbs. *näw* shows up with all types of predicates because it is subject raising verb which selects small clause complements. *allä* shows up only with NPs, though it allows an adjunct PP, because it is a possessor raising verb which selects an NP complement. *näbbär* shows up with NPs, APs, and PPs in its BE interpretation and only with NPs in its HAVE interpretation because it involves subject raising and possessor raising by selecting small clause complements and NP complements, respectively.

2.4. Chapter four

Chapter four deals with the accusative and nominative case-marking alternation of predicates of subject raising copulas *näw* and *näbbär* in Amharic. In this chapter, I defended the view that predicate case-marking is determined by the presence and absence of a case-assigning functional head within the small clause following Matushansky (2008). I support my argument by three differences between copular clauses with accusative and nominative predicates in Amharic: (1) the eventive and non-eventive interpretation (2) the difference in word order (3) the subject predicate agreement. That is clauses with accusative predicates have eventive interpretation, allow predicates to have number and gender features different from the subject and lack predicate-subject word order, while clauses with nominative predicates have non-eventive interpretation, obligatorily require the predicate to be marked for number and gender features identical to the subject and can have a predicate-subject order. Based on this, I claim that clauses with accusative predicates, unlike their nominative counterparts, contain a functional element which introduces eventivity, controls the phi-features of the predicate and blocks movement of the predicate to clause initial position. Consequently, I argue that accusative case must be assigned by the functional element which introduces the eventivity. However, I claim that the eventivity is not associated with the head of the small clause which is responsible for predication, contra Citko (2008), nor with the matrix verb which selects the small clause contra Matushansky (2008). I argued that the eventivity projection must be an independent functional projection below Pred° . The alternation in predicate case-marking is, thus, due to the presence or absence of this functional head. That is, predicates are assigned accusative when the eventive functional head is present. In the absence of this functional head, however, I claim, following Pereltsvaig (2001), that the predicate receives the default Case.

2.5. Chapter five

Chapter five discusses copulaless clauses and the verbal copulas of Geez, namely *konä* and *halläwä* which are used in order to indicate tense, aspect and mood. With regard to copulaless clauses, I defended the view that they are full clauses based on the facts that; (1) their subjects are assigned nominative, (2) they are embedded under a complementizer which embeds

only finite clauses, and (3) they move their subjects preceding the complementizer

With regard to the copular verbs, I showed that they also differ in terms of predicate selection, agreement and case-marking of NPs and APs. I argued that this is due to the fact that Geez is similar to Amharic having more than one BE: one (*konä*) selecting small clause complements and involving subject raising and the other (*halläwä*) selecting an NP complement and involving possessor raising. Regarding the case-marking, however, I showed that Geez exhibits different pattern from Amharic. The subject raising copula has nominative subjects and accusative predicates, while possessor raising copula has nominative possessee and dative possessor. I argued that such difference is due to the fact that the eventivity functional projection is always present within small clause complements of Geez subject raising verbal copula, and that Geez has a structural dative Case.

2.6. Chapter six

In chapter six, I discussed pronoun and prepositional copular clauses of Geez. I argued that these copulas are used to indicate that the predication, identity, location and possession relationship is inherent as opposed to verbal copulas which are used to indicate tense, aspect and mood. Pronoun copulas are used when the predicational/identity relationship between the subject and the predicate is inherent as opposed to contingent, while prepositional copulas are used when the relationship between the locatee and the location or the possessee and the possessor is inherent. Since the difference between inherent and contingent relationship is duration, I consider that the functional projection which they introduce as a duration projection (DurP). With regard to their syntax, I argue that pronoun copulas, which appear with all types of predicates just like the verbal copula *konä*, selects small-clause complements and involve subject raising while prepositional copulas, which appear only with PPs and NPs like the verbal copula *halläwä*., selects NP complements and involve possessor raising.

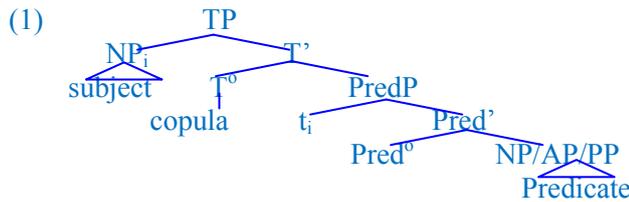
3. Some theoretical implications

The analysis which I provided for Amharic and Geez copular clauses sheds light on some theoretical assumptions, namely (a) on the syntactic structure

of copular constructions and the role of copular elements, and (b) on the relationship between BE and HAVE . I will discuss each of them in turn.

3.1. Syntactic structure of copular clauses

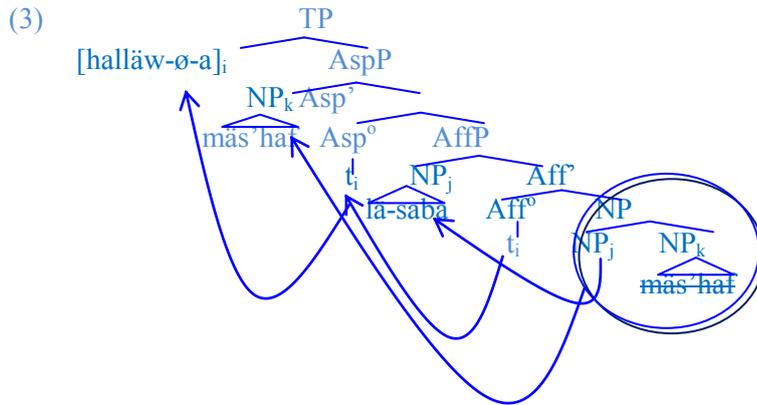
As I mentioned above, since Stowell (1981), the widely accepted analysis of copular constructions is that they involve a small clause and a copula inserted in order to support T⁰. The syntactic derivation of copular clauses then proceeds in such a way that the copula at TP establishes agreement with the subject of the small clause in order to check its uninterpretable phi-features. The subject is assigned nominative Case as a byproduct of the agreement it enters with the copula. The subject, then, moves to spec, TP in order to fulfill the EPP feature of T. Since Bowers (1993), the small clause is assumed to be headed by a functional head known as Pred⁰. Accordingly, copular clause are assumed to have a structure in (22):



Whether the structure in (22) accommodates all types of copular clauses or not, however, has been an issue of debate. Rapoport (1987), Rothstein (1995), Perelsvaig (2001), for example, argue that identity clause do not contain Pred⁰, and claim that in this case the copula is a lexical verb which takes two arguments. The analysis of copular clauses of Amharic and Geez as subject and possessor raising constructions adds another argument that (22) is not the only available structure of copular constructions. The analysis indicates that the structure in (22) may vary along three dimensions. Firstly, the syntactic analysis of copular clauses in Amharic and Geez suggests that copular clauses do not necessarily involve small clauses. In addition to small clauses, copular elements can also take NP complements (2)a, which may also take a possessor as in (2)b that undergoes raising like (3), as I argued in chapters three and five:

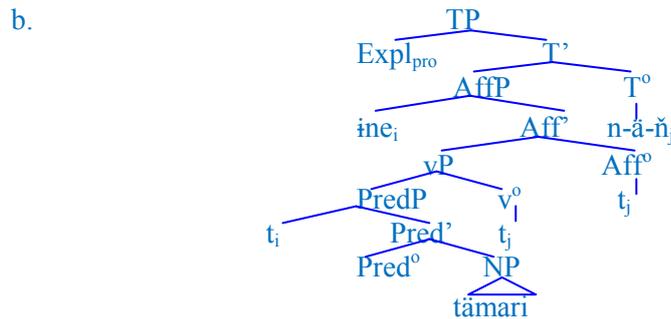
- (2) a. halläw-ä mäs'haf Geez
 be.perf-3MSG_S book
 There is a book.

- b. halläw-ø-a mäs'haf lä-saba
 be.perf-3MSG_S-3FSG_O book to-Saba
Saba has a book.



Secondly, as we saw with impersonal copulas in Amharic, the subject of the small clause does not necessarily raises to spec, TP. It can also raise to an intermediate functional projection. In other words, the copula is inserted to support not only T°, but also Aff°, as I showed with the impersonal and the possessor raising copulas in chapter four and five (cf. (3)&(4)):

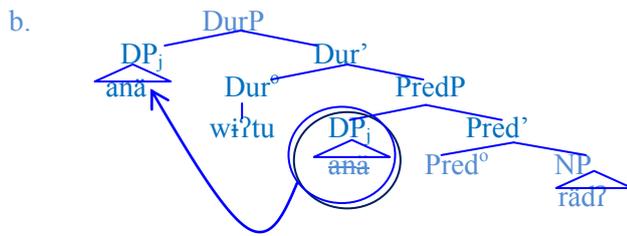
- (4) a. ine tämari n-ä-ñ Amharic
 I student be.PRES-3MSG_S-1SG_O
I am a student.



Thirdly, the contrast between non-verbal (pronoun and prepositional) copulas and verbal copulas in Geez suggests that copular clauses may not be marked for tense, aspect or mood. Instead, they may be atemporal and

contain a functional projection which is responsible for determining whether the predication, identity, location or possession relationship is inherent or contingent. In this case, the functional projection may be what I call duration projection (DurP) since the two relationships differ in terms of duration. Accordingly, as I showed in chapter six, clauses with non-verbal copulas like (5)a are analyzed as in (5)b:

- (5) a. anä wiʔtu rädʔ
 I he student
 I am a student.



3.2. On the relationship between BE and HAVE

Another important issue that copular constructions in Amharic and Geez shed light on is the relationship between BE and HAVE. Theoretically speaking there are two proposals with regard to the relation between BE and HAVE. These are proposals of Freeze (1992) and Kayne (2000) on the one hand and that of Moro (1997) on the other hand. Both proposals agree that BE and HAVE have the same underlying structure. They propose two different ideas regarding why they are spelled-out as BE and HAVE. According to Freeze and Kayne, BE is spelled-out as HAVE when a preposition is incorporated to it. Moro (1997), on the other hand, claims that the BE is spelled-out as HAVE when it takes an external argument. I will show their arguments in detail in the sections that follow:

3.2.1. Have = be + P(reposition)

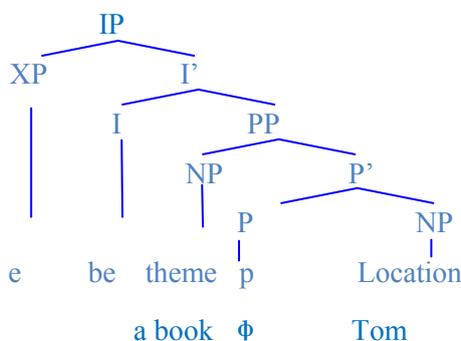
Freeze (1992) and Kayne (2000) consider HAVE as the spell-out of BE and an incorporated P. This incorporated P originates as a head of the complement of BE. The incorporation takes place after the P undergoes a head-to-head movement to Infl where BE originates. Then the combination

of BE and the raised P is spelled-out as 'HAVE'. Schematically the simplified version of their proposal can be represented as follows:

(6) $[BE[PP[P'[P^0][NP]]]] \rightarrow [BE+P^0i[PP[P'[t_i][NP]]]] \rightarrow [HAVE[PP[P'[t_i][NP]]]]$

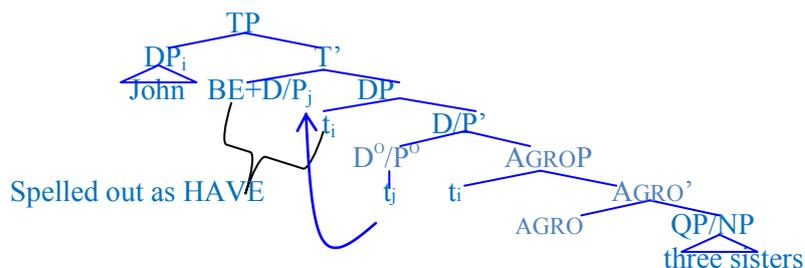
(7) is derivation of the English sentences 'Tom has a book' by Freeze (1992:588), and (8) is the analysis of 'John has three sisters' by Kayne based on his discussion:

(7) a.



b. $Tom_j [be+P_i] a\ book\ t_i\ t_j$
Toma has a book'

(8)



Both Freeze and Kayne assume that there is an abstract P, which originates in the complement of BE. Freeze supports his assumption by the presence of BE and overt P sentences which may also have a 'have' alternative in other languages. See for example, the following Portuguese example he mentioned:

(9) a. o menino tem fome. Freeze (1992:587)
 The child has hunger
The child is hungry.

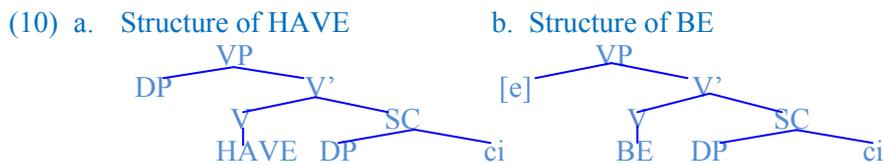
- b. o menino esta com fome.
 The child is with hunger
The child is hungry.

According to Freeze, the account of an abstract P in languages like English in (7) is parallel to the visible lexical expressions of BE and P in the Portuguese case. The reason why P is not overtly seen adjacent to BE in English, unlike in the Portuguese, is because it moves to INFL before spell out. In this case, what is spelled-out as HAVE is the combination of BE and the incorporated P. Kayne, on the other hand, assumes an abstract P on the basis of two more general assumptions that English allows empty prepositional complementizers (Kayne 1981) and that DPs are similar to CPs⁹² (Szabolcsi 1987).

Generally, according to Freeze and Kayne, whether BE is spelled-out as HAVE is determined by whether the preposition is incorporated to it or not. If there is no incorporated preposition, it is spelled out as BE. If the preposition from the complement position is incorporated, it is spelled out as HAVE.

3.2.2. *HAVE= BE+ external argument*

Moro (1997) argues that HAVE (Italian *avere*) and BE (Italian *essere*) have the same underlying structure. The BE and HAVE alternation is the result of whether there is an external argument or not. If there is an external argument, the verb is spelled-out as HAVE. If there is no external argument, it is spelled-out as BE. The following is the structure Moro (1997: 237) proposed for them:



Moro’s argument is based on the presence of the clitic *ci* ‘there’, which he considers a proredicate, with both *essere* and *avere* clauses as follows:

⁹² Note that according to Kayne’s analysis, ‘BE’ selects the possessive DP complement. In this regard Kayne’s analysis of BE is similar to my analysis of existential BE which involves possessor raising.

- (11) a. **ci-sono** molti libri (Moro 1997: 236)
there-are many book.PL
there-are many books.
- b. **i** ragazzi **ci** hanno molti libri
the boy.PL **there-have** many book.PL
the boys there-have many books

According to Moro, the propredicate clitic *ci* ‘there’ is base generated as the predicate of the small clause complement as in (10) before it raises to the prominent position of the clause. Accordingly, the derivation of (11)a is like (12), with the clitic originating as predicate of the small clause and raising to the copula:

- (12) [_{IP} *ci* sono] [_{SC}[_{DP} molti libri] *t_i*]

Since *ci* is present with *avere* as in (11)b, Moro claims that *avere* also takes a small clause complement, suggesting that both *avere* and *essere* have the same underlying structure, except that *avere* contains one additional DP, *i ragazzi*, which Moro claims to be an external argument.

3.2.3. *The relation between BE and HAVE in Amharic and Geez*

The analysis which I provided for Amharic and Geez copular clauses provides another dimension on the relation between BE and HAVE. That is, Amharic and Geez also witness that BE and HAVE have the same underlying structure. However, their difference is not due to preposition incorporation (contra Freeze 1992, Kayne 2000) nor due to the presence/absence of an external argument (contra Moro 1997). It is rather due to whether possessor raising has taken place or not: HAVE is an existential BE which involves possessor raising.

As we saw from chapter three, five and six, the existential BE and HAVE are expressed by the same copular elements. The existential BE is interpreted as BE when it is marked only for subject agreement (cf. (13) & (15)a), and it is interpreted as HAVE when it is marked for subject and object agreement (cf. (3) & (15)b). As I argued in those chapters, the existential BE shows this kind of agreement depending on whether it involves possessor raising or not. This means that when there is possessor raising, the existential BE takes two agreement markers and is interpreted as

HAVE. When there is no possessor raising, the existential BE is marked only for subject agreement and it is interpreted as BE. This suggests that HAVE and existential BE have the same underlying structure, and that their difference originates from their derivational history: whether the derivation involves possessor raising or not.

- (13) a. saba i-bet wist' **all-äčč** Amharic
 Saba at-house inside **be.PRES-3FSG_S**
Saba is at the home.
- b. saba mämhir/tällik'/i-bet wist' **näbbär-äčč**
 Saba teacher/ tall/at-house inside **be.PST-3FSG_S**
Saba was a teacher/tall/at home.
- (14) a. saba mämhir-očč **all-u-at**
 Saba teacher-PL **be.PRES-3PL_S-3FSG_O**
Saba has teachers.
- b. saba mämhir-očč **näbbär-u-at**
 Saba teacher-PL **be.PST-3PL_S-3FSG_O**
Saba had teachers.
- (15) a. halläw-u wistä gädam Geez
 be.PERF-3MPL_S inside field
They were in the field.
- b. halläw-ø-a mäs'ha f lä-saba
 be.PERF-3MSG_S-3FSG_O book to-Saba
Saba have/had a book.

4. Summary

In this chapter, I summarize the major points and claims I made in the preceding chapters. In section 2, I discussed the major focal points of each chapter of the dissertation and showed the major claims I made in order to explain the variation between the copular clauses in Amharic and Geez. In section 3, I discussed two theoretical implications of the analysis I made. I showed that the analysis of the copular clauses in Amharic and Geez sheds light on two major issues: on the internal syntactic structure of copular clauses and on the relationship between BE and HAVE. regarding the

internal structure of copular clauses, I showed that the analysis which I proposed for Amharic and Geez copular constructions sheds light on three aspects: (a) not all copular constructions involve small clause, (b) the copula is inserted to support not only T^0 , but also Aff^0 and (c) copular clauses may not be marked for tense, aspect or mood. Regarding the relationship between BE and HAVE, I showed that Amharic and Geez copular clauses provide another dimension of relation: HAVE is an existential BE which involves possessor raising.

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Appendix

Questionnaire to elicit data about non-verbal predication in Amharic and Geez

Introduction:

Dear Informant,

This questionnaire is prepared to elicit data for a research project on non-verbal predication in Ethiopian languages. The questionnaire has three parts. In the first part, you are asked to translate the given English sentences into the languages for which you are asked to do so. In the second part, you are asked to provide all possible word orders for the given sentences. In part three, you are requested to give the negative and interrogative counterparts of the given sentences. All the translations and the required sentences have to be given. If you have any problem in filling out the questionnaire, please feel free to contact the data collector through the given address.

Thank you for your cooperation

Identification

Language: _____

Date(s) of data collection: _____

Part one: Affirmative primary and secondary Predication.

Translate the following English sentences into _____

(1) Primary predication

Predicational copular clauses:

- a. Jonas is tall _____
Jonas is a student _____
Jonas is in the/a house _____
- b. Jonas was tall _____
Jonas was a student _____
Jonas was in a/the house _____
- c. Jonas will be tall _____
Jonas will be a student _____

Jonas will be in the/a house _____

Equational clauses:

Jonas is the student _____

Jonas was the student _____

Jonas will be the student _____

Jonas is Peter _____

Jonas was Peter _____

Jonas will be Peter _____

Finfinne is Addis Ababa _____

Finfinne was Addis Ababa _____

Finfinne will be Addis Ababa _____

Existential clauses:

There is/are (a) student(s) in the field: _____

There was/were (a) student(s) in the field _____

There will be (a) student(s) in the field _____

Locative clauses:

The student(s) is/are in the field _____

The student(s) was/were in the field _____

The student(s) will be in the house _____

Possessive clauses:

Saba has a book _____

Saba had a book _____

Saba will have a book _____

Saba has the book _____

Saba had the book _____

Saba will have the book _____

(2) Secondary predication:

ECM verbs:

The man considered John foolish/ a student

Saba considered the girl a student/ (to be) the student

Saba considered the student to be the girl

Saba considered the girl to be in the house

Resultatives:

The man painted the house yellow

Depictives:

Saba drank the coffee hot _____

Jonas ate the meat raw _____

Saba /john ate the meat nude _____

Verbs of Naming/calling

They called him Theodros _____

They nominated him chairman _____

Part Two: Word Order:

Are there other possible orders of the clauses (1a-e)? If so, give all the possible orders (you can use a different paper if the possible word orders are more than one).

Predicational copular clauses

Jonas is tall _____

Jonas is a student _____

Jonas is in the/a house _____

Jonas was tall _____

Jonas was a student _____

Jonas was in the/a house _____

Jonas will be tall _____

Jonas will be a student _____

Jonas will be in the/a house _____

Equational clauses:

Jonas is the student _____

Jonas was the student _____

Jonas will be the student _____

Jonas is peter _____

Jonas was peter _____

Jonas will be peter _____

Finfine is Addis Ababa _____

Finfine was Addis Ababa _____

Finfine will be Addis Ababa _____

Existential clauses:

There is/are (a) student(s) in the field

There was/were (a) student(s) in the field

There will be (a) student(s) in the field

Locative clauses:

The student(s) is/are in the field

The student(s) was/were in the field

The student(s) will be in the house

Possessive clauses:

Saba has a book _____

Saba had a book _____

Saba will have a book _____

Saba has the book _____

Saba had the book _____

Saba will have the book _____

Can the predicates and the subjects of the secondary predication in (2a-d) be found in a different order? If so give all possible orders.

ECM verbs:

The man considered John foolish/ a student

Saba considered the girl a student/ (to be) the student

Saba considered the student to be the girl

Saba considered the girl to be in the house

Resultatives:

The man painted the house yellow

Depictives:

Saba drank the coffee hot

Jonas ate the meat raw

Saba /John ate the meat nude

Verbs of Naming/calling

They called him Theodoros

They nominated him chairman

Part three: Negation and interrogation in Copular clauses:

Give the negative forms of clauses from (1a-e)

Predicational copular clauses:

Jonas is tall: negative _____

Interrogative 1¹ _____

Interrogative 2 _____

interrogative 3 _____

Jonas was tall: negative _____

interrogative 1 _____

¹ There can be three interrogative forms for a single clause: (a) yes/no questions, (b) wh-question for the subject, and (c) wh-question for the Predicate/non-subject. Give all of them

- interrogative 2 _____
- interrogative 3 _____
- Jonas will be tall: negative _____
- interrogative 1 _____
- interrogative 2 _____
- interrogative 3 _____
- Jonas is a student: negative _____
- interrogative 1 _____
- interrogative 2 _____
- interrogative 3 _____
- Jonas was a student: negative _____
- interrogative 1 _____
- interrogative 2 _____
- interrogative 3 _____
- Jonas will be a student: negative _____
- interrogative 1 _____
- interrogative 2 _____
- interrogative 3 _____
- Jonas is in the/a house :negative _____
- interrogative 1 _____
- interrogative 2 _____
- interrogative 3 _____
- Jonas was in the/a house: negative _____
- interrogative 1 _____
- interrogative 2 _____
- interrogative 3 _____
- Jonas will be in the/a house: negative _____
- interrogative 1 _____
- interrogative 2 _____
- interrogative 3 _____

Equational clauses:

- Jonas is the student: negative _____
- interrogative 1 _____
- interrogative 2 _____
- interrogative 3 _____
- Jonas was the student: negative _____
- interrogative 1 _____
- interrogative 2 _____

interrogative 3 _____
 Jonas will be the student: negative _____
 interrogative1 _____
 interrogative 2 _____
 interrogative 3 _____
 Jonas is peter: negative _____
 interrogative1 _____
 interrogative 2 _____
 interrogative 3 _____
 Jonas was peter: negative _____
 interrogative1 _____
 interrogative 2 _____
 interrogative 3 _____
 Jonas will be peter: negative _____
 interrogative1 _____
 interrogative 2 _____
 interrogative 3 _____
 Finfine is Addis Ababa: negative _____
 interrogative1 _____
 interrogative 2 _____
 interrogative 3 _____
 Finfine was Addis Ababa: negative _____
 interrogative1 _____
 interrogative 2 _____
 interrogative 3 _____
 Finfine will be Addis Ababa: negative _____
 interrogative1 _____
 interrogative 2 _____
 interrogative 3 _____

Existentials clauses:

There is/are (a) student(s) in the field
 negative _____
 interrogative1 _____
 interrogative 2 _____
 interrogative 3 _____

There was/were (a) student(s) n the field
 negative _____

interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

There will be (a) student(s) in the field

negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Locatives clauses:

The student(s) is/are in the field

negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

The student(s) was were in the field

negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

The student(s) will be in the house

negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Possessives clauses:

Saba has a book: negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Saba had a book: negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Saba will have a book: negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Saba has the book: negative _____

interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____
Saba had the book: negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2: _____
interrogative 3 _____
Saba will have the book negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Negation of Secondary Predication:

ECM verbs:

The man considered john foolish/ a student

negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Saba considered the girl a student/ (to be) the student

negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Saba considered the student to be the girl

negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Saba considered the girl to be in the house

negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

Resultatives: The man painted the house yellow

negative _____
interrogative1 _____
interrogative 2 _____

interrogative 3 _____
Depictives: Saba drank the coffee hot _____
negative _____
interrogative 1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____
Jonas ate the meat raw: negative _____
interrogative 1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____
Saba /john ate the meat nude :negative _____
interrogative 1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____
Verbs of Naming/calling: they called him Theodros
negative _____
interrogative 1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____
They nominated him chairman _____
negative _____
interrogative 1 _____
interrogative 2 _____
interrogative 3 _____

-----**The end**-----

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Het onderwerp van deze dissertatie is non-verbale predikatie – proposities waarin het hoofdpredikaat een NP, AP of PP is – in twee Ethiopische Semitische talen, nl. het Amhaars en het Gees. Met een focus op zinnen met koppelwoorden onderzoek ik fenomenen die we niet vinden in beter gekende talen. Het Amhaars heeft drie koppelwerkwoorden die in de aantonende wijs gebruikt worden. Deze koppelwerkwoorden verschillen zowel in agreement (ze laten default agreement toe) als in de lexicale categorie waarmee ze gecombineerd kunnen worden. Bovendien vinden we in Amhaarse NP en AP predikaten een alternantie tussen nominatief en accusatief, afhankelijk van de individual of stage-level interpretatie van het predikaat. Het Gees heeft non-verbale predikatie met of zonder koppelwoord dat bovendien niet noodzakelijk werkwoordelijk is. Net als in het Amhaars verschillen Gees koppelwerkwoorden in agreement, het type predikaat waarmee ze kunnen combineren en de naamvalsmarkering op AP en NP predikaten. Daarbovenop beschikt het Gees ook over voornaamwoordelijke en voorzetselkoppelwoorden die – zoals ik zal aantonen – zich systematisch als koppelwerkwoorden gedragen op twee punten na, nl. het feit dat ze zich eerder richten op inherente dan op contingente predikatie en het feit dat ze andere naamvalstoekenningseigenschappen hebben.

Ik zal een syntactische analyse van zinnen met koppelwerkwoorden in het Amhaars en het Gees voorstellen die een verklaring biedt voor de genoemde variatie. Ik beargumenteer dat het verschil tussen koppelwerkwoorden wat betreft agreement en predikaattypen te wijten is aan het feit dat het om verschillende typen werkwoorden gaat – persoonlijke en onpersoonlijke aan de ene kant en subject-raising en possessor-raising aan de andere kant. Dit suggereert dat we te maken hebben met meer dan één BE in deze talen. Wat het verbale/non-verbale contrast betreft in de koppelwoorden in het Gees, beargumenteer ik dat de non-verbale koppelwerkwoorden gebruikt worden voor inherente predikatie, terwijl de verbale variant voor contingente predikatie gebruikt wordt. Dit verklaart dan ook waarom de laatste variant tijd- en

aspectmarkeerders kan dragen. Wat betreft zinnen zonder koppelwoorden in het Geez claim ik dat we ook hier te maken hebben met full clauses. Om de naamvalsmarkering op NPs en APs te analyseren zal ik beargumenteren dat nominatiefmarkering hier moet worden gezien als het ontbreken van een naamval, terwijl de accusatief toegekend wordt door een functioneel hoofd in de small clause die semantisch eventiviteit toevoegt.

Curriculum Vitae

Mulusew Asratie wondem was born on the 7th of January 1972 in Felegebirhan, Gojjam, Ethiopia. He attended his primary and secondary education in Felegebirhan and Debrework primary and secondary schools, respectively and graduated in 1992. In 1994, he got a diploma from Kotebe College of teachers' education in Ethiopian languages and literature. After teaching Amharic for four years in Grawa secondary school, he joined Addis Ababa University and graduated with a BA in Ethiopian Languages and Literature in 2000. In 2002 and 2003, he taught linguistics at Dilla College of teachers' education, which was then under Debu University. In 2005 he got his MA in linguistics from Addis Ababa University. Since 2006 he has been teaching linguistics at Addis Ababa University. In 2009 he was given a study leave from his university and started his PhD research in Utrecht University focusing on the non-verbal predication in Amharic and Geez. The research was part of the huge project entitled **Cross-linguistic Marking of Non-verbal Predication** which was carried out by Ora Matushansky by the financial grant of NWO. Currently, he is chairman of the Department of Amharic language, Literature and Folklore at Addis Ababa University.