



Full Length Research Paper

Imperfective Viewpoint in Afaan Oromoo: Morphosyntactic and Semantic Aspects^a

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Submission Date: December 26/2019

Acceptance Date: January 01/2020

Abstract

Language expresses everything which is relevant to human knowledge (encyclopedic world). The means of conceptualizing this knowledge is called eventuality. Eventuality refers to happenings, occurrences, situations, states, etc., which are expressed using predicates in clause structure. This study examines imperfective viewpoint, which is one of the two a temporal (unaffected by time) dimensions (the other is perfective) of eventuality in Afaan Oromoo. It presents three families of imperfective (habitual, prospective and continuative) by analyzing their morphosyntactic and semantic features. Methodologically, written texts were collected from Afaan Oromoo written web corpora and textbooks of grades 9-12. The data are evaluated and interpreted by selected key informants and our introspection. The discussion shows that the constructions with -a, -u and -i on verbal stems are referred to as habitual aspect markers. The preference of these markers relies on the syntactic subjects of the clauses in question. The other member of imperfective in Afaan Oromoo, prospective, is denoted by -f(i) on verbal nominal stems along with the copula -da 'be' or tur- 'was', or existential/presentative verb *ɗgir-* 'exist', where the copula or the existential verb indicates the tense of the situation. The last member of imperfective is continuative which is shown by -aa on verbal stems with the existential verb along with *ɗgir-* 'exist' or past copula tur- 'was'. In brief, the results show that the eventuality expressed by any of the three imperfective viewpoints in Afaan Oromoo is understood by the viewer as an occurrence, happening or state which is unbounded, uncompleted and iterated.

Key Terms: Afaan Oromoo, Continuative, Eventuality, Imperfective, Viewpoint aspect

^a This manuscript is part of my PhD dissertation under the supervision of Professor Baye Yimam.

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Axereeraa

Afaan dhimmoota beekumsa dhala namaa waliin walqabatan hunda ibsuuf tajaajila. Qorannoo hiikaa keessatti tarsiimoon beekumsi kunittiin yaadrimeessaamu taatee (eventuality) jedhamuun beekama. Taateen wantoota ykn haalawwan addunyaa (universe) keessatti rawwatamaniifi afaaniin ibsaman hunda ofkeessatti hammata. Kayyoon qorannoo kanaas Afaan Oromoo keessatti caasaa taateewwan hinraawwatamiin (imperfective viewpoint aspect) xiinxaluu dha. Malli qorannoo itti dhimma bahame mala iddatteessuu kaayyoo (purposive sampling) yoota'u kunis kitaaba barataa kan Afaan Oromoo kutaalee 9-12fi marsariitii barreeffamoota Afaan Oromoo qaban keessaa himoota kaayyoo qorannoo kanaatiif tajaajilan funaanuuni. Bu'uuruma kanaan afaanicha keessatti taateewwaan hinraawwatamiin akaakuuwwan sadi akka qaban qorannoo kanaan addabaafameera. Kanneenis madaqqee (habitual), ittifufaa (continuative) firaajjuu (prospective) jedhamu. Akaakuuwwan taateewwanii kunniin kan addabaafaman amalalat-himaa (morphosyntactic) qabaniini. Bu'aan qorannoo kanaa keessatti latiiwwan -a, -u fi -i gocharratti ida'amuun taateewwan madaqqee akka agarsiisan adda baheera. Kana malees, taateewwan ittifufa agarsiisan latii-aagocharratti ida'uun Akkasumas jecha gargaara adgir- ykn tur- jedhu dhuma himaarratti ida'uuni. Miseensi taateewwan hinraawwatamiin innis adaffaaraajjuu yoota'u kun immoolatii-f(i) jedhu goch-maqaa (verbal nominal) irratti ida'uun ijaarama. Walumaa galatti, taateewwan hinraawwatamiin Afaan Oromoo keessatti caasaalee sadan armaan olitti dheeramaniin ibsama.

Jechoota Ijoo: *Afaan Oromoo, taatee, taatee itti fufaa, mitraawwatamaa; kallattii xumuraa*

1. Introduction

In the semantic classification of verbs, eventuality (state-of-affair or event) has two categories. These are situation aspect and viewpoint aspect. If an eventuality is semantically conceptualized as having internal temporal features, such as dynamicity, durativity and (a)telicity, it is categorized as situation aspect. Situation aspect, in turn, is classified into five: stative, activity, accomplishment, achievement and semelfactive^b. At the same time, an eventuality is perceived to have complete or indivisible wholes, thus viewpoint aspect. Whereas the temporal features primarily distinguish the inherent meanings of situations through lexical elements, mainly verbals found in clauses, the complete (total) or indivisible wholes consider the views of the speakers. The differences between the state-of-affairs in the two forms are ascribed to versatile lexical and grammatical features which are correlated at clause level. Due to the complexity of these features in or across languages, there are no consensus on how they should be treated (Binnick, 1991, 2006; Comrie, 1976, p. 4; Croft, 2012; Dowty, 1977, 1979; Guéron & Lecarme, 2008; Michaelis, 2004; Saeed, 2009, p. 137; Smith, 1997; Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997, p. 92). With all the controversies around eventuality, I treat the two forms of state-of-affairs (situation aspect and viewpoint aspect)

^b For the details of the five situation types, refer to Smith, 1997 and Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997.

as independent, but highly related notions. We, thus, deal with viewpoint aspect in this study.

Viewpoint aspect is the term which is used in Smith (1991, 1997) to refer to verbal or grammatical aspect. It is a widespread grammatical category which is found in most, if not in all languages of the world (Dahl, 2000). It focuses on marking “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie, 1976, p. 3). The markers of viewpoint aspects do not show any clear distinctions of temporal situations as an eventuality has the possibility to be described by two viewpoint aspects: *John wrote a letter* and *John was writing a letter*.

There are two universally accepted viewpoint aspects whose morphological, syntactic and semantic features vary widely: perfective and imperfective (Binnick, 2006, p. 248; Brinton, 1988, p. 53; Comrie, 1976, p. 25; Dahl, 1985, p. 92; Olsen, 1994, p. 207). Perfective deals with external view of eventuality as a single whole. It expresses termination or completion of an eventuality. In addition, this viewpoint focuses on a situation in its entirety, including initial and final endpoints. Contrarily, imperfective provides partial view as it expresses the on-going (internal) nature of an eventuality. In other words, imperfective viewpoints focus on part of a situation, including neither initial nor final endpoints (Mani et al., 2005, p. 14; Smith, 1997).

Imperfective is characterized with the internal temporal structure of eventuality, describing its duration from within, with no or little focus on endpoints. Though there are languages which describe imperfective as a single class, there are languages which categorize it as habitual and progressive. Habitual viewpoint refers to successive occurrences of the same eventuality; if an eventuality happens several times, then, all repetitions are considered as a single instance of the eventuality. All habitual eventuality types have a common feature in that they occur iteratively for an extended time: for example, ‘She goes to church every Sunday’. Progressive viewpoint aspects, contrarily, describe eventuality which is non-iterative but continuous. They do not refer to repetition or iteration of a situation, but continuous activity that has unbounded phases/stages. Generally, these viewpoint aspects are indicated by grammatical features that contrast in forming a closed system (Bhat, 1999; Comrie, 1976, p. 33). This study, therefore, is aimed at uncovering the structures of imperfective with its subclasses in Afaan Oromoo.

2. Statement of the Problem

Afaan Oromoo is a language found under Lowland East Cushitic branch of Afroasiatic family. It is spoken in Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya and Sudan in great number (Gemetchu^c, 1993, p. 27, Griefenow-Mewis, 2001:9, Tadesse, 2004, p. 14). It is an inflectional language with rich morphological and syntactic features of verb conjugations (Debela, 2010, p. 3, Kebede, 2009). This study is deals with the various types of morphosyntactic and semantic features of imperfective viewpoints aspect, which is one of the two principal viewpoint aspects (the other is perfective) in the language.

^cThe spelling of the name is preferred by the author.

Several studies have been conducted on the phonology (Abera, 1988; Lloret, 1997), morphology (Bender & Mulugeta, 1976; Lloret, 1987, 1989; Wakweya, 2014; Yabe, 2007; Zelalem, 2014), syntax (Baye, 1981, 1986, 1987, 1988; Debela & Meyer, 2003, 2006; Dubinsky et al., 1988), grammar (Gragg, 1976; Griefenow-Mewis, 2001; Heine, 1981; Owens, 1985; Stroomer, 1995) and dialectology (Blažek, 2010; Fedá, 2015; Kebede, 1996, 2005, 2007, 2009; Stroomer, 1984) of Afaan Oromoo. These are only a few of such studies which have contributed to the structural and typological aspects of the language. In addition to these, the semantics of adpositions^d and the constructions of motion eventuality (Debela, 2006, 2007, 2010; Debela & Meyer, 2008; Samuel, 2007), and aspect and tense (Shimelis, 2016) have also been studied in the language.

Despite all of these studies, only Shimelis (2016) has discussed aspect and tense, which is a very good work, but with a lot of vague concepts in the classification of perfective and imperfective aspects. The present study, thus, gives detailed and fully-fledged classification of only imperfective viewpoint aspect in the language.

3. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is investigating the morphosyntactic and semantic classification of imperfective viewpoint aspect encoded in Afaan Oromoo. The following are the specific objectives:

- Identifying the morphological structures of habitual, prospective and continuative aspects;
- Uncovering the syntactic features of habitual, prospective and continuative aspects;
- Showing the unbounded, iterative and uncompleted features of imperfective viewpoint aspect in the language.

4. Review of Empirical literature: Aspect and Tense in Afaan Oromoo

In the Hararge variety of Afaan Oromoo, viewpoint (grammatical) aspects (termed as *aspects* in Shimelis, 2016) and tenses are indicated morphologically by inflection of verbs, and syntactically through combinations of main verbs, auxiliaries and deictic adverbs which are peripheral constituents. Viewpoint aspects are generally categorized into perfective and imperfective, and tenses into past and non-past (present and future). Structurally, viewpoint aspects overlap with tenses because past tenses are associated with perfective viewpoints while non-past tenses denote imperfective viewpoints (Shimelis, 2016).

In the language, imperfective has two complementary distributions which are determined by the natures of clauses: independent and dependent. Independent imperfective expresses affirmative matrix clauses while dependent imperfective describes the rest of the types of clauses. Semantically, imperfective includes prospective, habitual and progressive as its subclasses. Prospective viewpoints reveal eventuality types which are about to occur or happen. The language uses copula clauses with verbal nouns to express prospectives, such

^dAdposition is the word class which consists of preposition and postposition (Brenda, 2014, p. 59).

as *bituu-fi*^e ‘to buy’ or *bituukoo-ti* ‘I am about to buy’ (Lit. ‘It is my buying’). In addition, the viewpoints are expressed in examples, like *rakkoo-tusi ?eega* ‘trouble awaits you’ (Shimelis, 2016, p. 130). Concerning the structure of the copula in prospective aspect, I have slight difference with Shimelis, as explained in 6.2.2 below.

With regard to habitual imperfective, either past or present situations are expressed using the inflectional morpheme *-i* or *-a* suffixed to stems after agreement inflectional morphemes, such as *isii-n nu gaafat-t-i* ‘She visits (Lit. asks) us’ and *?inni nu gaafat-a* ‘He visits (Lit. asks) us’, respectively. Progressive imperfective reveals on-going situations of past or non-past time. The peripheral structure that refers to progressive imperfective is the existential *djir-* ‘exist’ along with main verbs and the locative postpositions *?itti* ‘to’ or *?irra* ‘on’, as in *?inni haamaa-rra djir-a* ‘He is on mowing’ (Shimelis, 2016, p. 126-133). Here too, I have identified variant forms of habitual markers and past copula beside the findings of Shimelis (See 6.2.1 below).

On the basis of Shimelis (2016), the Hararge variety has the classes of viewpoint aspects which are expressed in inflectional morphemes to show the perspectives of the speakers/writers. Imperfective aspects use the inflectional suffix *-i* or *-a* on main verbs while the perfective ones use *-e* with singular subjects. Tenses are implied in verbs which are marked for aspect though they are peripherally indicated by auxiliaries or temporal adverbials.

Generally, the structural and semantic notions of aspects and tenses in the Hararge variety of Afaan Oromoo are examined to have morphological and periphrastic expressions (Shimelis, 2016). Despite its discussion of several subclasses of viewpoint aspects, the study has gaps concerning classifications of viewpoint aspects, and interactions of situation aspects with viewpoint aspects. The present study, thus, sets morphosyntactic and semantic criteria for the classification of imperfective viewpoint aspects, and fills the gaps left by Shimelis (2016).

5. Materials and Methods

To conduct this study, several library works, data gathering trips and elicitation of written texts have been made. Considerably, written web corpora, textbooks of grades 9-12, native speakers of Western (Macha) variety and introspection are used as sources of data to maximize the validity of the findings. In collecting additional data, group discussions were made to check the intelligibility of the texts and the correctness of translations.

The study is purely qualitative in its nature. It is based on corpus-driven data as one of its sources. As Geeraerts (2006) proposes, corpus-driven approach is one of the fundamental sources of linguistic data because it simplifies the analysis of the actual patterns of language use. It also utilizes a large and principled collection of natural texts, so it is essential to explore, examine and interpret eventuality in Afaan Oromoo. Hence, relevant clauses (sentences) were elicited or collected from Afaan Oromoo written web corpus. Afaan

^eSince Afaan Oromoo writing system is loosely equivalent to phonemic transcription with few exceptions, the data in the discussion section of this paper will be consistently presented using three-line data system, i.e., IPA (phonemic) transcription, morpheme-by-morpheme glossing and free English translation.

Oromoo written web corpus has been crawled and developed by The HaBit Project & Ethiopian Language Technology Group in 2016, and displayed on the Internet^f. The sample clauses were selected on the basis of the relevance of their verbs to the study. For this purpose, I employ purposive sampling technique. Accordingly, clauses with verbs referring to each imperfective viewpoint aspect were taken as samples for analysis. Afaan Oromoo textbooks of grades 9-12 were the other data sources. The four textbooks were prepared by the Ministry of Education (MOE) and Oromia Education Bureau in 2013. As the main objective of this study is the investigation of the imperfective viewpoint aspect, grammar contents are selected from each textbook for elicitation and description using purposive sampling.

The data extracted from the corpora and the textbooks were supported by conducting group discussions (informant tests or judgments) and introspections. Accordingly, native speakers of Western (Macha) dialect of Afaan Oromoo were provided with sample clauses for interpretation and crosschecking, including judging the intelligibility and acceptability of the structures among speakers of the language. Besides, the resource persons were requested to differentiate the meanings of clauses with similar verbs through the addition of constituents, such as adverbials, arguments, etc. In view of this, 12 Afaan Oromoo native speakers from Ambo, Jimma and Nekemt areas with equal number of representation participated as resource persons. From these, 6 are non-educated and another 6 are college and university graduates. The selection of the two groups minimizes influence of second/foreign language and lexical/syntactic borrowing. To triangulate the data obtained from the corpora, textbooks and the native speakers, I used introspection and added more information for better development of the discussion. In the process of crosschecking, I have made significant modifications of the data (clauses) from the textbooks and the web corpora on the basis of informants' judgment, intuitions and mutual intelligibility.

In the analysis, I employed Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) as theoretical model. In RRG, clauses/sentences are described in terms of logical structure to reveal communicative functions and grammatical features, such as semantic roles, predicates, etc. available in a language. To describe clauses/sentences in any language, Dowty (1991) proposed lexical decompositions of predicate structures. RRG analyzes clause structures by using Layered Structure of Clause (LSC) model as a general framework which is originally proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984). LSC is composed of three elements (constituents): Nucleus, core and periphery. Nucleus has predicate (prototypically verb, but there are nominal, adjectival and adpositional elements in statives), and core is a larger unit that consists of nucleus and argument/s of the predicate. The last unit is periphery, which has non-arguments (adjuncts) like temporal and locative modifiers of the core (Van Valin, 2004, p. 205-206). The refined data of the sample LSCs were presented and analyzed categorically for ease of presentation, description and interpretation. The LSCs were presented and described by using appropriate morphological annotations, glossing and translation.

^f The address for the written web corpus is: <http://tekstlab.uio.no/ethiopia/>

6. Result and Discussion

6.1. Introduction

Imperfective viewpoint is a grammatical feature which describes internal (non-complete or unbounded) composition of situations. It encodes general, on-going, habitual or extended situations. Its spans coincide with parts of the temporal schema of situations. In this respect, it focuses on open situations, but it does not provide information about their endings. Through this perspective, only an internal part of the eventuality or part of similar state-of-affairs can be seen. It leaves open the temporal domain which hosts the eventuality. In another word, there is no information about the terminal point or whether the situation goes on. Hence, imperfective never indicates the endpoints of situations (Smith, 1997). In Afaan Oromoo, this viewpoint is morphologically marked as indicated in (1) below⁸.

- (1) a. *gurb-iff-i* *mana-saa* *ʔidʒaar-a*
 boy-SG.DEF-NOM house-his build-IMPF
 ‘The boy builds/will build his house.’
- b. *gurb-iff-i* *mana-saa* *ʔidʒaar-aa* *dʒir-a*
 boy-SG.DEF-NOM house-his build-CONT exist-IMPF
 ‘The boy is building his house.’
- c. *gurb-iff-i* *mana-saa* *ʔidʒaar-aa* *tur-e*
 boy-SG.DEF-NOM house-his build-CONT was-PFV
 ‘The boy was building his house.’

The nucleus in (1) is a creation verb *ʔidʒaar-* ‘build’ of accomplishment, which has dynamic, durative and telic features. Despite such features, speakers may view the situations with the same verb in either of (a-c) above. These are all considered as imperfective since they denote situations which have internal parts. For example, (a) expresses a situation which has divisible parts. The beginning of the situation is the point at which the building task starts, and the unexpressed end is the point where the building finishes, making complete entity. In the meantime, the event could pass through several phases of building. On the other hand, (b&c) reveal that the speaker views the situations of building while they are/were on-going (continuing), so only the internal part is visible to the speaker. The beginning and the end of the building situations are out of the focus of the viewer.

In a nutshell, imperfective viewpoint is a grammatical feature which is realized in particular morphemes. It is quite different from situation aspects which are purely inherent to lexical contents of Layered Structure of Clauses (LSCs) of situations. With this, I distinguish different families of imperfective as follows.

6.2. Families of Imperfective Viewpoint

As stated above, imperfective focuses on part of a situation, so it gives no information about the final point. In the morphology of Afaan Oromoo, it is part of the agreement with the

⁸As stated in footnote (e) above, all Afaan Oromoo data are presented using phonemic transcription; in which gemination is denoted by doubling consonant and vowel length is represented by doubling vowel symbols.

syntactic subject of the LSC. Imperfective has three families: habitual, prospective and continuative.

6.2.1. Habitual Aspect

Situations in habitual aspect express dynamic or static state-of-affairs which occur or happen usually, ordinarily, habitually or customarily. They indicate the internal structures (non-complete nature) of eventuality (Bybee et al., 1994; Comrie, 1976; Dahl, 1985; Smith, 1997). Afaan Oromoo expresses habitual imperfective through morphosyntactic means. The examples below show different situations of habitual aspect.

- (2) a. *boontuu-n waa?ee koo ni-jaad-t-i [nijaaddi]^h*
 Bontu-NOM about my FOC-think-3FS-HAB
 ‘Bontu thinks about me.’
- b. *lookoo-n ?ittoo ni-dandam-t-i*
 Loko-NOM stew FOC-taste-3FS-HAB
 ‘Loko tastes stew.’
- (3) a. *boontuu-n waa?ee koo ni-jaad-t-i [nijaaddi] tur-e*
 Bontu-NOM about my FOC-think-3FS-HAB was-PFV
 ‘Bontu used to think about me.’
- b. *lookoo-n ?ittoo ni-dandam-t-i tur-e*
 Loko-NOM stew FOC-taste-3FS-HAB was-PFV
 ‘Loko used to taste stew.’

In Afaan Oromoo, there are specific categories of stative (static and unbounded/atelic) situations whose LSCs show the habitual aspect in two forms. The first uses the default (non-past) forms of predicates, as in (2), and the second uses past forms, as in (3). The general forms of LSCs are viewed as denoting extended situations, not as incidental moments, but the entire period. For example, the state of *jaad-* ‘think’ by the cognizer *boontuu* ‘Bontu’ in (2a) protracts for indefinite time, but it does not iterate. In addition, *dandam-* ‘taste’ occurs habitually by the perceiver *lookoo* ‘Loko’ in (2b), and holds for unspecified period of time in the state-of-affair. The habitual imperfective marking morpheme in these examples is *-i*.

Contrary to (2), the LSCs in (3) denote habitual (HAB) aspect in the past. However, the statives no longer occur in the non-past time. The past tense is expressed by the auxiliary *tur-* ‘was’ which has the perfective aspect marker *-e*. Despite the perfective-imperfective paradox with the auxiliary verb and the perfective marker *-e*, the main verb is morphologically marked by habitual imperfective marker *-i*, as those in (2).

In short, stative situations are morphologically marked to show habitual imperfective as shown above. The occurrence of the grammatical morphemes does not affect the inherent temporal features of the situations, except that they simply indicate the view of the speaker/writer towards the eventuality in question. Similar to statives, achievements (instantaneous and bounded/telic situations) too are subject to habitual aspect marking, as in (4&5) below.

^hThroughout this paper, the data presented in [] are surface structures of those in the left side.

- (4) a. *?ani jeroo hed-tuu furtuu-n gat-a*
 I time much-FS key-NOM loose-HAB
 ‘I loose key many times.’
- b. *hooggan-iffi-marii dafee t’umur-a*
 leader-SG.DEF-NOM discussion quickly conclude-HAB
 ‘The leader quickly concludes the discussion.’
- (5) a. *?ani jeroo hed-tuu furtuu-n gat-a tur-e*
 I time much-FS key-NOM loose-HAB was-PFV
 ‘I used to loose key many times.’
- b. *hooggan-iffi-marii dafee t’umur-a tur-e*
 leader-SG.DEF-NOM discussion quickly conclude-HAB was-PFV
 ‘The leader used to conclude discussion quickly.’

The LSCs in (4) have achievement verbs *gat-* ‘loose’ (a) and *t’umur-* ‘conclude’ (b), both of which have habitual aspect marker *-a* for the syntactic subjects *?ani* ‘I’ and *hoogganiiffi* ‘the leader’, respectively. The suffix refers to the arguments in unspecified time frame. Otherwise, it does not change the inherent dynamic and instantaneous features of the situations. On the other hand, (5) has the same lexical verbs and habitual marker with the past copula *tur-* ‘was’ and the perfective marker *-e*. In these examples, the event occurred in the past, but no longer occurs in non-past time. In a related concept, activity and accomplishment situations, both of which have dynamic and durative features, are marked for habitual aspect, as illustrated below.

- (6) a. *seena-n dirree keessa fiig-t-i [fiigdi]*
 Sena-NOM field in run-3FS-HAB
 ‘Sena runs in the field.’
- b. *barii-n konkolaataa ?oof-a*
 Bari-NOM car drive-HAB
 ‘Bari drives car.’
- (7) a. *seena-n dirree keessa fiig-t-i [fiigdi] tur-e*
 Sena-NOM field in run-3FS-HAB was-PFV
 ‘Sena used to run in the field.’
- b. *barii-n konkolaataa ?oof-a tur-e*
 Bari-NOM car drive-HAB was-PFV
 ‘Bari used to drive car.’
- (8) b. *boruu-n biiraa t’armufii tokko k’ofa dug-a*
 Boru-NOM bear bottle one only drink-HAB
 ‘Boru drinks only a bottle of bear.’
- b. *dadaa-n ?abidda-rra-tti bak’-a*
 butter-NOM fire-LOC-LOC melt_INTR-HAB
 ‘Butter melts on fire.’
- (9) a. *boruu-n biiraa t’armufii tokko dug-a tur-e*
 Boru-NOM bear bottle one drink-HAB was-PFV
 ‘Boru used to drink a bottle of bear.’
- b. *dadaa-n ?abidda-rra-tti bak’-a tur-e*

butter-NOM fire-LOC-LOC melt_INTR-HAB was-PFV
 ‘The butter used to melt on fire.’

In (6-9), I find the verbs *fiig-* ‘run’, *ʔoof-* ‘drive’, *dug-* ‘drink’ and *bak’-* ‘melt’, all of which have dynamic and durative features with habitual reading. In (6&8), the reference timeⁱ is included in an interval corresponding to the duration of the activities (6) and accomplishments (8). Morphologically, habitual activities and accomplishments are marked by the variant *-i* for third person feminine singular, as in (6a), and by *-a* for third person masculine singular subjects, as in (6b) and (8a&b). As can be seen, habitual aspects are not homogeneous pieces of imperfective, rather they are highly affected by dynamic features in order to have interval which conveys that they are viewed as non-complete eventuality.

In (7&9), on the other hand, the LSCs have past habitual reading indicated by *tur-* ‘was’ in addition to the LSCs of the habitual aspects in (6&8). These allomorphs of imperfective refer to characterizations of intervals which are anterior to the reference time. The difference between past and non-past habitual is that past habitual has copula with perfective marker *-e*. The other difference lies on the time of occurrence of the situations. While non-past habitual includes time of reference, past habitual antecedes time of reference. The last situation type compatible with habitual imperfective is semelfactive (instantaneous and unbounded/atelic), as in (10&11) below.

- (10) a. *dʒiraa-n ni-ʔutaal-a*
 Jira-NOM FOC-jump-HAB
 ‘Jira jumps.’
 b. *daaʔim-ni ʔidʒa lip’s-a*
 baby-NOM eye blink-HAB
 ‘The baby blinks his eye.’
- (11) a. *dʒiraa-n ni-ʔutaal-a tur-e*
 Jira-NOM FOC-jump-HAB was-PFV
 ‘Jira used to jump.’
 b. *daaʔim-ni ʔidʒa lip’s-a tur-e*
 baby-NOM eye blink-HAB was-PFV
 ‘The baby used to blink his eye.’

The situations in (10&11), like the others, express usual and customary occurrence of eventuality. In (10), they denote the jumping by the argument *dʒiraa* ‘Jira’ (a) and the blinking of eye by *daaʔima* ‘the baby’ (b) for regular and extended time including the time of reference. Such visibility of the situations is marked by the suffix *-a* on the verbs *ʔutaal-* ‘jump’ and *lip’s-* ‘blink’. Similarly, the extended instantaneous happenings occur prior to the time of reference in (11). Otherwise, all of them refer to non-complete situations.

Generally, habitual aspects in Afaan Oromoo denote iterative, extended, unbounded and uncompleted situations. In the language, they are of two types: non-past and past habitual.

ⁱReference time or time of reference (often called *utterance time*) is the temporal interval which extends from the beginning to the end of the actual situation (state-of-affair) denoted by LSC (Borik, 2006).

Non-past habitual includes the time of reference, whereas past habitual occurs prior to the time of reference. They both refer to non-complete eventuality extended regularly in time.

6.2.2. Prospective Aspect

Another category of imperfective is prospective aspect. This is described differently by semanticists; For example, Comrie (1976), Dahl (1985), Frawley (1992), Van Baar (1994) and Wekker (1976) label it as “be going to” or “about to”. On the other hand, Cinque (1999) and Heine (1994) use the term “proximative” or “unrealis”, instead of prospective. Yet, scholars, such as Abbott (1991) and Robinson and Armagost (1990) express it as “unrealized” or “immediate (future)”, whereas Heine (1992) refers to it as “the ALMOST-aspect”. Despite terminological disparities, prospective in literature primarily indicates upcoming state-of-affairs. The speaker in this viewpoint expresses state-of-affairs which are about to occur. Basically, many languages have overt means, such as morphemes, super-lexical items and phrases/clauses to encode prospective meanings in imperfective. Thus, entities in the state-of-affairs are about to undergo changes expressed in LSCs (Bybee et al., 1994; Comrie, 1976; Dahl, 1985; Frawley, 1992; Shimelis, 2016).

Afaan Oromoo, for example, has prospective imperfective which can be expressed by morphological means, such as the derived verbal nominal marker *-uu* along with prospective marker *-f(i)* and the copula *-da* ‘be’/ *tur-* ‘was’ or the existential/presentative *džir-* ‘exist’, which are possibly left out (omitted) for simplification reason. The vowel *i* on the prospective marker is possibly epenthetic vowel for phonotactic purpose. In addition, syntactic systems or possessive particles, like *koo* ‘my’, *kee* ‘your’, *ʔifee* ‘her’, etc. and imperfective forms of lexical verbs, such as *deem-* ‘go’, *kaʔ-* ‘stand up’, *jaad-* ‘think’, etc. along with the above verbal nominal marker are utilized to denote prospective (Crass & Meyer, 2008; Shimelis, 2016). Although these are the possibilities, I only focus on the morphosyntactic features of prospective aspect across situations because the syntactic and pragmatic means of prospective marking in Hararge variety is already discussed by Shimelis (2016). This variety is not significantly different from the other varieties with respect to prospective meanings though there are slight differences on the epenthetic vowel *i* and the presence/absence of the copulas or existential verb.

Prospective is denoted by the features having V’-*uu-f(i)*+COP structure, where the copula can be deleted for performance or simplification purpose. In the template, V’ represents verbal stem, *-uu* is derived nominal marker, *-f(i)* is prospective marker. The aspect indicates that an eventuality is expected to be realized in the near future of present time. It is realized when the situation is imminent. Accordingly, its morphosyntactic features are illustrated subsequently below.

- (12) a. *ʔinni ʔarabiffa bar-uu-fi-da*
 he Arabic know-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘He is about to know Arabic.’
- b. *ʔani ʔasteer džibb-uu-f(i) tur-e*
 I Aster hate-VN-PROS was-PFV
 ‘I was about to hate Aster.’
- c. *ʔifee-n bakk-iffa jaad-atff-uu-f džir-t-i*

she-NOM place-SG.DEF think-MID-VN-PROS exist-3FS-IMPF
 ‘She is about to remember the place.’

The verbs *bar-* ‘know’, *djibb-* ‘hate’ and *jaad-* ‘think’ in (12) are all statives on the basis of their temporal features. When the derived nominal marker *-uu* is attached to these verbs, the resulting words are verbal nominals. On the verbal nominals, the prospective marker *-f(i)* followed by the copula/auxiliary variants *-da* ‘be’ in (a), *tur-* ‘was’ in (b) and *djir-* ‘exist’ in (c) express stative predicates which are or were about to happen. The forms for prospective aspect are the same across all subjects. The prospective meanings obtained by these do not change the inherent meanings of the situations in focus. For example, *bar-* ‘know’ in (a) has static, durative and unbounded/atelic features before and after the structure with prospective. However, only the internal structure of the situation is viewed as non-complete to the speaker since it has not begun at the time of reference. Nonetheless, there are causative pre-states that could lead to the changes in state-of-affairs of the prospective situations. The others, (b&c), have similar features to (a). Besides, dynamic situations, such as achievements, have prospective aspect, as in (13) below.

- (13) a. *garee-n keejna tap’a kana moh-uu-fi-da*
 team-NOM our game this win-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘Our team is about to win this game/competition.’
- b. *hirmaat(t)-ot-ni marii sana t’umur-uu-fi-da*
 participant-PL-NOM discussion that conclude-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘The participants are about to conclude that discussion.’
- c. *lol(t)-oot-ni nak’amte gah-uu-fi-da*
 soldier-PL-NOM Nekemt reach-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘The soldiers are about to reach Nekemt.’
- d. *k’awwee-n duka? -uu-fi-da*
 gun-NOM shoot-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘The gun is about to shoot.’

In (13), the prospective marking suffix *-fi* refers to the future propositions indicated in the LSCs. This morpheme is the same across persons, genders and numbers. Speakers use it to add pre-state to the dynamic situations. These pre-states are predicted in the arguments, which are not in the states described by the LSCs, but they are going to happen/occur. For example, *garee keejna* ‘our team’ in (a) has not won the game yet, but it is going to *moh-* ‘win’, i.e., it is currently marking the pre-conditions which lead to *moh-* ‘win’. Similarly, [*hirmaattonni*] ‘participants’ in (b) have not *t’umur-* ‘conclude’ their discussion, but they are going to do it after the time of reference. Likewise, those in (c&d) express prospective aspect.

When participants are in pre-states of situations, they probably take place after the time of reference. Thus, in achievement, prospective aspect has causative pre-states which lead to inferences in their occurrences. Otherwise, they do not change the meanings of the achievements. Similarly, the examples in (14) illustrate prospective aspect in activities and accomplishments.

- (14) a. *barsiisaa-n daree keessa-a bah-uu-fi-da*
 teacher-NOM classroom in-ABL go_out-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘The teacher is about to go out of the classroom.’
- b. *keessummootni buna dug-uu-fi-da*
 guest-PL-NOM coffee drink-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘The guests are about to drink coffee.’
- c. *tolaa-n mana-saa ?idjaar-uu-fi-da*
 Tola-NOM house-his build-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘Tola is about to build his house.’
- d. *gammadaa-n sangaa-saa gurgur-uu-fi-da*
 Gemeda-NOM ox-his sell-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘Gemeda is about to sell his ox.’

In (14), LSCs in (a&b) are activities and in (c&d) are accomplishments. The verbs *bah-* ‘go out’, *dug-* ‘drink’, *?idjaar-* ‘build’ and *gurgur-* ‘sell’ have the derived nominal marker *-uu*, the prospective *-fi* and the matrix clause marking copula *-da*. Based on the interlocutors’ interpretations, these situations refer to plans for durative and dynamic eventuality. They express perspectives on the situations foreseen subsequently to some temporal orientation point or time of reference. The syntactic subjects *barsiisaa* ‘teacher’, *keessummoota* ‘guests’, *tolaa* ‘Tola’ and *gammadaa* ‘Gemeda’ in (a-d), respectively, are arguments with volition and intention to act on the directed situations toward relative futures.

In the main, the prospective aspect of activities and accomplishments is interpreted as the plan or intention to do something or to be on the point of doing something. Regarding, the temporal ingredients of prospective, time of reference is taken as transition and planning point for the situations to occur. The last situation type that occurs with prospective aspect is semelfactive, as exemplified below.

- (15) a. *lammeessaa-n k’ufa?-uu-fi-da*
 Lemesa-NOM cough-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘Lemesa is about to cough.’
- b. *ballat’uu-n ?utaal-uu-fi-da*
 Beletu-NOM jump-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘Beletu is about to jump.’
- c. *daradzeen ?idza-saa lip’s-uu-fi-da*
 Dereje-NOM eye-his blink-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘Dereje is about to blink his eye.’
- d. *masarat balbala rukut-uu-fi-da*
 Meseret.NOM door knock-VN-PROS-COP
 ‘Meseret is about to knock at the door.’

In (15), the LSCs denote preparation stages to subsequent instantaneous and dynamic situations. The coming into existence of situations is realized soon after reference time. For instance, the *k’ufa?*- ‘coughing’ of *lammeessaa* ‘Lemesa’ in (a) occurs soon after the reference time. The speaker could see some indications (pre-conditions) that Lemesa is going to cough. However, the pre-state of this situation does not affect its inherent temporal

features. The prospective of LSCs in (b-d) is similar to the one in (a). Therefore, prospective aspect of semelfactive expresses a stage/point just prior to the beginning of the situation.

From semantic point-of-view, the prospectivity of each situation aspect slightly differs in its inference. For example, the prospective aspect of stative indicates causative prediction or speculation of state-of-affair. In achievements and semelfactives, the prospective reveals preparatory stages (pre-states). Contrarily, the prospective of activities and accomplishments denotes plan or possibility for the state-of-affair which is about to occur. In all situations, the aspect does not affect the three inherent temporal features: dynamicity, durativity and telicity.

In conclusion, Afaan Oromoo has prospective aspect which is denoted by the infinitival or verbal nominal marker *-uu*, prospective marker *-f(i)* and the copula or existential. Accordingly, it expresses that the state-of-affairs are/were going to happen/occur. The suffix is consistent in all conjugations. It is also consistent across the situation aspects in question: statives, achievements, activities, accomplishments and semelfactives. In LSCs with prospective aspect, interlocutors understand that the situation is about to occur. Hence, they know or suppose that initial point of the situation is visible to them. To recapitulate, situations in prospective aspect are neither true nor false during the time of reference, but are speculative of what is/was to happen.

6.2.3. Continuative Aspect

Imperfective also denotes situations which are on-going, continuing or proceeding with no final points. Such non-complete situations are described in grammar as continuative, or often called progressive aspect. In the typological and semantic literature, continuative and progressive aspects are used interchangeably to refer to the category of imperfective viewpoint. However, they are significantly different in a strict sense. Essentially, continuative aspect covers dynamic and static predicates, but progressive is usually reserved for dynamicity of verbs or predicates. Hence, continuative aspect denotes non-complete and non-habitual on-going or continuing (dynamic or static) situations, whereas progressive aspect expresses gradual dynamic processes which require force, intention or volition on temporal space (Comrie, 1976; Jones, 2010; Timberlake, 2007; Xiao & McEnery, 2004).

Continuative aspect (often called continuation or continuous aspect) is categorized under imperfective viewpoint. Typologically, languages of the world may vary in their possession of continuative and/or progressive aspects. In some languages, such as English, progressive and continuative aspects are synonymous. However, languages, such as Turkish and Chinese (Cantonese), use different categories for continuative and progressive aspects (Mair, 2012; Matthews & Yip, 1994; Po-Chin & Rimmington, 2016; Underhill, 1985; Williams, 2001; Xiao & McEnery, 2004). Despite considerable problems of demarcation between the continuative and progressive categories regarding typological taxonomies and empirical facts in individual languages, Comrie (1976) proposed that the progressive can be considered as a sub-type of the continuative. Notwithstanding the fact that the two categories share dynamicity as common feature, but they are families of two categorically different state-of-affairs: progressive is to situation aspect, and continuative is to viewpoint aspect.

As regards the above distinctions of continuative and progressive aspects, it can be argued that Afaan Oromoo has both types of semantic eventuality. Progressive structures of situation aspects will be treated independently as derived-level activity in the forthcoming manuscript. Continuative aspects convey (continuous) imperfective viewpoint in the speakers' perspective. To make the arguments clearer, I present continuative aspect of situations. Afaan Oromoo is one of the languages which semantically (not necessarily morphosyntactically) distinguish continuative and progressive aspects. In statives, continuative expresses the continuation of the static situations with no implied initial and final points in time of reference. CONTINUATIVE (CONT) has non-complete, internal view or continuing dynamic or static phases of situations. The examples below indicate statives with continuative aspect.

- (16) a. *barat(t)-oot-ni daree keessa taa?-aa dʒir-u/tur-an-i*
 student-PL-NOM classroom in sit-CONT exist-IMPF/was-PL-PFV
 'Students exist/were sitting in the classroom.'
- b. *?isaan hawaasaa keessa dʒiraat-aa dʒir-u/tur-an-i*
 they Hawasa in live-CONT exist-IMPF/was-PL-PFV
 'They exist/were living in Hawasa.'

The posture verb *taa?-* 'sit' in (16a) and the existential verb *dʒiraat-* 'live' in (16b) attach continuative aspect marker *-aa* to encode that the situation is/was on-going in or before utterance time. Basically, the LSCs can often be ambiguous. For example, [*barattoonni*] *daree keessa taa?aa dʒiru* 'Students are (lit. exist) sitting in the classroom.' in (a) can mean: (i) the students are temporarily on the process of taking seats; or (ii) the students are all in static positions of sitting on chairs. Likewise, the past form of the same clause, [*barattoonni*] *daree keessa taa?aa turani* 'Students were sitting in the classroom.' has ambiguous interpretation. It may mean: (i) the students were temporarily on the process of taking seats, or (ii) they were on static positions. For the two interpretations of the LSCs, those in (i) refer to derived-level situation aspects with resultant intervals. However, the interpretations in (ii) are the target of the present discussion, continuative aspect. They, thus, describe the states of being on sittings, but not yet finished at the reference time. These ambiguities of the LSCs are handled syntactically by using the converb forms, such as *-ee* or *-ii* on the main verb along with the existential or auxiliary verb, as [*barattoonni*] *daree keessa taa?anii ture* 'The students had sat down in the classroom'.

Similarly, the stative predicate in (b) expresses the living (*dʒiraat-*) of the argument *?isaan* 'they' to imply the continuing state. In (a&b), consequently, the interpretations in (ii) refer to static, but not dynamic eventuality, so they are acceptable with continuative aspects as viewing on-going situations at reference time. Furthermore, one cannot get clue as to when they began existing in the state-of-affairs or when they end it, without context or co-text. On the other hand, achievements have continuative aspect in slightly different interpretations, as in (17) below.

- (17) a. *foddaa-n sun f'ab-aa dʒir-a/tur-e*
 window-NOM that break-CONT exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 'That window exists/was breaking.'

- b. *garee-n keeyna moh-aa dʒir-a/tur-e*
 team-NOM our win-CONT exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 ‘Our team exists/was winning.’

When achievements are used in the continuative forms, as in (17), they do not refer to the changes of states, but their preludes are interpreted to be in process or continuation. The prototypical temporal (dynamic, instantaneous and telic) features of *fʼab-* ‘break’ in (a) and *moh-* ‘win’ in (b) indicate that they are inherently achievements. Different morphemes are attached to these verbal elements to derive complex situations or to denote viewpoints. The above LSCs, for example, present the situations from internal perspectives by the temporal span of the continuing viewpoints. In (a), the event of *fʼab-* ‘breaking’ of *foddaa* ‘window’ has not reached its last point due to the existence of the suffix *-aa* and the auxiliary *dʒir-/tur-* ‘exist/was’. However, there are non-temporal indications which show the breaking has already begun. Similarly, the event of *moh-* ‘win’ in (b) is not linguistically closed, or has not reached the last point of winning due to the occurrence of the same suffix.

The continuative in both examples focus the preliminary stages of the achievements, with no information as to their outcome. Therefore, the aspect allows inferences about beginnings and endings, whose distinctions are brought out by linguistic contexts that involve open or closed readings in present or past time of reference. Having looked at the specifics of continuative aspect in achievements, I proceed to temporally related situation aspects in their dynamic feature, i.e., activities, as in (18&19) below.

- (18) a. *kuulanii-n kʼullubbii mur-aa dʒir-t-i/tur-t-e*
 Kulani-NOM onion chop-CONT exist-3FS-IMPF/was-3FS-PFV
 ‘Kulani exists/was chopping onion.’
 b. *tolaa-n kʼot-aa dʒir-a/tur-e*
 Tola-NOM plow-CONT exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 ‘Tola exists/was on plowing.’
- (19) a. *kuulanii-n kʼullubbii mur-uu-rra dʒir-t-i/tur-t-e*
 Kulani-NOM onion chop-VN-LOC exist-3FS-IMPF/was-3FS-PFV
 ‘Kulani exists/was on chopping onion.’
 b. *tolaa-n kʼonna-rra dʒir-a/tur-e*
 Tola-NOM farm-LOC exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 ‘Tola exists/was on farm.’

The LSCs in (18&19) have continuative aspects which are indicated morphologically. The continuative aspect of activities is manifested in two ways, i.e., (a&b). In essence, activities are inherently durative, so they have internal stages implied by their temporal features. The continuative aspect of *mur-* ‘chop’ in (18a) and *kʼot-* ‘plow’ in (18b) denotes non-complete or unbounded eventuality. The start and finish of the situations are not known or not important, but only the process is. The aspect shows that the situations are temporarily on-going, hence continuative.

Continuative aspect can also be conveyed by another cliticized locative adposition, *-rra*^j. The LSCs of durative and dynamic situations with this morpheme illustrate typical semantic ranges and changes. Widely but not universally, *-rrais* attached to (verbal) nominal stems along with the auxiliary *ɖʒir-/tur-* ‘exist/was’; it is equal to the suffix *-aa* with the same auxiliary to denote continuative aspect. This form seems to be the source of continuative in locative constructions. For example, in (19a), the predicate with the verbal nominal element *muruu-rra* ‘on chopping’ reveals that the argument *kuulanii* ‘Kulani’ is in the act of chopping the patient *k’ullubbii* ‘onion’. If the act of chopping terminates in the time of reference, the speaker does not use such expressions. Likewise, the predicate with the nominal *k’onna-rra* ‘on plow’ in (19b) indicates that the argument *tola* ‘Tola’ is on the activity of *k’onna* ‘farm or plow’. Thus, the continuation of the situations is viewed as imminent in their interpretations. Nonetheless, the inherent features of the activities are not affected by the continuative aspect marker *-aa* and the the cliticized locative particle *-rra*. Similar to activities, Afaan Oromoo has accomplishments which employ the same suffixes, as in (20&21) below.

- (20) a. *takluu-n kubbaa fimallis-(i)tti dabars-aa ɖʒir-a/tur-e*
 Teklu-NOM ball Shimelis-LOC pass-CONT exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 ‘Teklu presents/was passing the ball to Shimelis.’
- b. *naggaa-n laak’ana-saa jaat-aa ɖʒir-a/tur-e*
 Nega-NOM lunch-his eat-CONT exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 ‘Nega presents/was eating his lunch.’
- (21) a. *takluu-n kubbaa fimallis-(i)tti dabars-uu-rra ɖʒir-a/tur-e*
 Teklu-NOM ball Shimelis-LOC pass-VN-LOC exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 ‘Teklu presents/was on passing the ball to Shimelis.’
- b. *naggaa-n laak’ana-rra ɖʒir-a/tur-e*
 Nega-NOM lunch-LOC exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 ‘Nega exists/was on lunch.’

The difference between accomplishments and activities in their prototypical sense is telicity. Whereas accomplishments are telic, activities are atelic; otherwise, both situation aspects are durative and dynamic. The continuative aspect of accomplishments denotes that the state-of-affairs are temporarily on-going. For example, the actor *takluu* ‘Teklu’ in (20a) is in the process of *dabars-* ‘passing’ *kubbaa* ‘ball’ to the goal, *fimallis* ‘Shimelis’, where the ball has not reached its destination as long as the LSC is concerned. In another LSC, (20b), *naggaa* ‘Nega’ is in the process of having *laak’anasaa* ‘his lunch’, but not finished yet. Hence, the claim here is that the situations are viewed by the speakers as having internal stages prior to their potential culmination. To encode continuative aspect, the LSCs in (21a&b) utilize the marker *-rra* with auxiliary *ɖʒir-/tur-* ‘exist/was’, similar to activities in (19a&b).

On the whole, the LSCs in (20&21) can only mean that the situations are continuing, either in the non-past or past time of reference. The aspect presents intervals of the situations that

^j*-rra*, which is locative case marking suffix, is postpositional enclitic reduced from the postposition *ɖirra* through cliticization (Mohammed, 2008).

include neither the initial nor the final endpoint. With this on accomplishment, I describe semelfactive in (22) below.

- (22) a. *daaʔim-ni k'ufaʔ-aa dʒir-a/tur-e*
 baby-NOM cough-CONT exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 'The baby exists/was coughing.'
- b. *keessummaa-n balbala rukut-aa dʒir-a/tur-e*
 stranger-NOM door knock-CONT exist-IMPF/was-PFV
 'Stranger exists/was knocking at the door.'

Semelfactives are instantaneous and atelic eventuality, so their progressive and continuative aspects are quite different from the prototypical senses. The progressive aspect mainly indicates iteration or repetition of semelfactives over temporal spaces, hence derived-level activities of the multiple-event type. However, the continuative aspect, such as in (26a&b), is neutrally viewed by the speaker as focusing on the internal stages of the iterative or repetitive situations. For instance, the act of *k'ufaʔ-* 'cough' by *daaʔimain* (a) is on-going at the time of reference, but not terminated yet. In the same way, the act of *rukut-* 'knock' by *keessummaa* 'stranger' in (b) is continuing as far as the LSC is concerned. These viewpoints do not affect the inherent temporal features of the situations.

The morphological feature of imperfective shows the features of situation aspects. Markedly, continuative aspect is synonymous with progressive aspect in its imposition of the stage property. However, it categorically describes the non-complete phases, whereas progressive describes the dynamicity of derived-level situations. Even so, the two categories are highly synonymous with their manifold and various morphological and syntactic similarities, i.e., they both use *-aa* and copula or auxiliary. Altogether, I have detected complex interactions and semantic (not formal) differences between progressive and continuative aspects in Afaan Oromoo.

Generally, analysis of imperfective viewpoint shows that habitual, prospective and continuative aspects are used across all situation aspects at various degrees. Based on the descriptions so far, I can say that all aspects of imperfective inherit properties of the situations that they focus. While habitual employs different aspectual morphemes depending on the person, number and gender of the arguments, prospective aspect uses the form *V'-uu-f(i)+COP* consistently across arguments of any type. On the other hand, continuative aspect has *-aa* on the verbal stems along with existential/auxiliary *dʒir-/tur-* 'exist/was'. One typical feature of continuative aspect is that it makes use of the suffix *-rra* on the (verbal) nominal stems in the predicates of activities and accomplishments, whose common temporal features are durative and dynamic.

7. Conclusion

This study gave a detailed account of imperfective viewpoint aspect in Afaan Oromoo. Semantically, imperfective is the notion by which a speaker/writer encodes unbounded, uncompleted, iterated, etc. situations through different morphosyntactic structures. The main claim made in this study is that imperfective viewpoint has typical morphosyntactic features to reveal the view or perspective of the speaker or writer. Accordingly, the three families of

imperfective, i.e., habitual, prospective and continuative, are morphologically marked. Yet, I have noted that all morphological types of the viewpoint play significant roles for successful expressions of situations.

Habitual aspect is the default/unmarked type of imperfective with the suffixes *-a*, *-u* and *-i* as its expression. These are in agreement with syntactic subjects of LSCs. Prospective aspect has a consistent structure with $V' -uu-f(i)+COP$, where V' is verb stem, *-uu* is verbal nominal (derived nominal) marker, *-f(i)* is prospective marker and COP represents copula forms, like *-da* 'be', *tur-* 'was' or existential/presentative verb *djir-* 'exist'. Here, the copula or existential verb marks tense of the situation. The third type of imperfective, continuative aspect, has $V' -aa+djir-$ 'exist'/*tur-* 'was', where *djir-* 'exist' marks present tense, and *tur-* 'was' denotes past tense of the situation. This structure is homonymous with progressive construction of situation aspects, but semantically different, where continuative denotes dynamic and static temporal features and progressive expresses dynamic feature only. These three subtypes of imperfective vivid the situation as in occurrence with extended time. The situation also happens to occur with respect to time of reference or in process without regard to its beginning or end.

In conclusion, I can say that imperfective viewpoint aspects have several structural and semantic features in situations. Their classifications rely on the perspective/view of the speakers/writers and the morphological features of the situations in focus. Accordingly, there are inconsistencies in the morphological representation of imperfective across LSCs with different subjects. From the three subcategories of imperfective, habitual aspect is considered as default reading. On the other hand, I have claimed through the discussion of the data at hand that the three readings of imperfective readings rely on specific morphosyntactic and semantic natures of the predicates. I have also shown such relations of morphological forms and their syntactic structure. In our discussion of continuative, I have argued that the viewpoint is conceptualized as iterated/repeated eventuality, but not homogenous predicate. The overall observation enables us to argue that imperfective viewpoint is structurally and semantically complex in representing the cognitive aspects of understanding the language. Furthermore, the viewpoint aspect markers, which commonly interact with agreement markers, decide the families of imperfective.

List of Abbreviations

3FS	third person feminine singular
ABL	ablative
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
DEF	definitive
FOC	focus
FS	feminine singular
HAB	habitual
IMPF	imperfective
INTR	intransitive
LOC	locative
LSC	layered structure of clause
MID	middle
NOM	nominative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PROS	prospective
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
SG	singulative
V'	verb
VN	verbal nominal

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