Full Length Research Paper

Aspectual Coercion in Afaan Oromoo

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Abstract

Eventuality is loosely defined as a state-of-affair in the encyclopedic world. It is linguistically represented or denoted by verbs, verb phrases, clauses and sentences, and is temporally categorized into situation aspect and viewpoint aspect. Whereas the former deals with the features of predicates, the latter is determined to the perspective or view of speakers towards a specific state-of-affair. Aspectual coercion in relation to eventuality or situation aspects refers to the modification or alteration of the temporal and aspectual properties of a verb or predicate based on the context or syntactic structure of a sentence, impacting how the eventuality or situation is interpreted or expressed. This phenomenon occurs when the aspectual interpretation of a verb is coerced to align with the requirements of the sentence's occurrence or happening. The main purpose of this study is to present linguistic factors which trigger situation aspects to be shifted or coerced into derived ones in Afaan Oromoo. The study relies on the fundamental distinction between situation and viewpoint aspects proposed by Dowty (1979), and modified in Role and Reference Grammar of Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) as well as the two-component theory of Smith (1997). The results indicate that adverbials of (a) telic extents shift one type of situation aspect, such as activity, to derived ones (e.g., accomplishment). In addition, spatial adjuncts co-occur with clauses of situations in the coercion process. Not only these, the co-occurrence of quantized or cumulative internal argument with a clause coerces/shifts a situation into another. Altogether, the coerced situation aspects reveal semantic notions which are distinguished from prototypical situation aspects.

Key Terms: *Afaan Oromoo; aspectual coercion/shift; (a)telicity; eventuality; situation aspect*

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Jijjiiramummaa Haala Raawwii Afaan Oromoo Keessatti

Axereeraa

Yaadrimeen taatee beekumsa addunyummaa waliin walqabatee haala jiruuf jireenyaa kamiyyuu calaqqisiisuun ibsama. Haalli kunimmoo afaan keessatti gochima, gaalee gochimaa, ciroo, himaafi kkf. bakka bu'a. Akaakuu yeroorratti xiyyeeffachuun taateen haala raawwii jechaa fi haala raawwii ilaalchaa jedhamee bakka lamatti qoodama. Inni duraa amala gochimaa kan ibsu yoo ta'u, inni lammaffaammoo ilaalcha dubbattoonni haalota adda addaarratti qaban waliin hidhata qaba. Jijjiiramummaa haala raawwii (aspectual coercion) jechuun haala ykn caasaa galumsa hima tokkoorratti hundaa'uun amaloota yeroofi akaakuuwwan gochimootaa ykn himootaa fooyyessuu ykn jijjiiruu kan agarsiisudha. Kunis akkaataa taateen ykn haalli sun ittiin hiikamu ykn ibsamu irratti dhiibbaa uuma. Kaayyoon qorannoo kanaa inni guddaan gochimoonni ykn ciroowwan yeroo ibsitoota adda addaa waliin hiriiran hiika hima tokkoorratti jijjiirama akkamii akka fidan Afaan Oromoo keessatti agarsiisuudha. Qorannoon kun garaagarummaa haalota raawwii armaan olii gidduu jiru kan Dowty (1979), Van Valinfi LaPolla (1997)fi Smith (1997) dhiyeessan bu'uura godhachuun gaggeessame. Bu'aan qorannoo kanaa kan agarsiisu gochibsoonni mitfumfummaa ibsan gochima galma hinqabne (fkn. deeme) tokko gara gochima galma qabutti (fkn. gara manaatti deeme) jijjiiruu akka danda'an agarsiisa. Kana qofa osoo hintaane, ibsitoonni kanneen akka lakkoofsaafi kuufamaa hima tokko keessatti yeroo gaalee maqaa waliin hiriiran hiika hima sanaa nijijjiiru. Walumaa galatti, qorannichi ibsitoonni gara garaa yeroo hima keessatti ciroowwaniifi gochimoota waliin hiriiran hiika bu'uuraa himichaa gara biraatti jijjiiru. Kunimmoo Afaan Oromoo keessatti hiikni kan agarsiifamu jechoota gurguddoo kanneen akka maqaafi gochimaa qofaarratti bu'uureffachuun osoo hinta'iin ibsitoota gara garaa isaan waliin hiriiran xiyyeeffannaa keessa galchuudhaan ta'uu agarsiisa.

Jechoota Ijoo: *Afaan Oromoo, haala raawwii jechaa, jijjiiramummaa haala raawwii, (mit-)fufummaa, taatee*

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1. Introduction

In everyday communication, language is mainly concerned with the description of processes, occurrences, states and happenings, all of which are understood as eventuality in linguistics and philosophy. They are recognized as what happen in the real world, what people do, understand, anticipate and remember. Much of human behavior is guided by understanding such experiences (Alvarez and Hyman, 1998: 219; Radvansky and Zacks, 2014; Van Voorst, 1988).

Eventuality is mostly generic, and may be controlled or uncontrolled based on animacy, intention or volition of agent/force. It is expressed by verbs, verb phrases, clauses/sentences, and is linguistically and philosophically characterized by the logical connection of arguments and predicate structures. It is defined as segments of time (temporal) at a given location, which are perceived as having beginnings and endings. It has significant roles in the organization of the grammars of languages (Dowty, 1977, 1979).

As the studies on eventuality go back to more than two centuries, its descriptions and categorizations significantly vary. Along with the variations, verbs are much more difficult from the viewpoint of categorization as they represent eventuality. Eventuality does not come clearly individuated in space or

time, nor can it be physically manifested, in the way that objects can. Due to this, its studies have been carried out by categorizing it into two main divisions: AKTIONSART (Situation Aspect) and (Viewpoint) Aspect, both of which have received no universally accepted definitions (Davidson, 1980).

The German term AKTIONSART, which literally means 'kind of action', was introduced to the Germanic tradition to refer to verbal lexical meanings. It is described in different ways in linguistics. For instance, it indicates an implicit classification of situational expressions. It is considered as aspectual character, situation aspect and lexical aspect by different authors. Its concept is also explained in terms of whether an entity/object is in dynamic/static state, terminative/non-terminative, or durative/instantaneous in its existence (Brintonm, 1988; Dahl, 1985; Decker, 2001: 5; Olsen, 1994: 9; Smith, 1986: 100; Vendler, 1967).

On the other hand, (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: 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*. In this study, situation aspect (AKTIONSART), but not viewpoint aspect, is discussed.

Aspectual coercion refers to the process by which the temporal and aspectual properties of a verb are modified or altered in order to match the requirements of a specific sentence or context. This phenomenon occurs when the aspectual interpretation of a verb is coerced or forced to align with the situation or eventuality described in the sentence. For example, in a sentence like "John started to run," the verb "start" is typically associated with an atelic or non-terminative aspect, indicating that the action of running has begun but has not necessarily reached a conclusion. However, in this particular sentence, the verb "start" is coerced into a telic or terminative aspect, suggesting that the action of running has a specific endpoint or goal. Aspectual coercion thus allows for the adjustment of verb aspect to accurately convey the intended meaning in a given sentence or context (Dölling, 2014: 189).

Afaan Oromoo belongs to the Lowland East Cushitic branch under Afroasiatic phylum. It is spoken by the Oromoo people who reside mainly in Ethiopia (Griefenow-Mewis, 2001; Megerssa, 1993; Mous, 2012). These people are the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia, and are about 27.5 million according to the 2007 Census with a 2.89% growth rate projected to be 37.5 million in 2019 (CSA, 2013). They have existed in the country for a long period of time side by side with Semitic, Omotic and Nilosaharan speaking neighbors (Goshu, 2010; Hordofa, 2009; Mous, 2012). In Ethiopia, the main dialect clusters of the language are Maccaa (Western), Tuulamaa (Central), Walloo-Rayyaa (Northern), Arsii (Southeastern), Harargee/Baareentuu (Eastern) and Booranaa (Southern) (Negesse, 2015: 7). There is no officially assigned standard dialect in Afaan Oromoo (Appleyard, 2009: 809; Goshu, 2010: 4-6; Hordofa, 2009: 1-5).

In Afaan Oromoo, aspectual coercion (situation aspect shift) is one of the most common linguistic features preferred by speakers in everyday communication. The linguistic factors which trigger the derivation of shifted situation aspects are morphemes (such as the progressive, deverbal, and pluractional markers), time and space adverbials, and argument coercion (quantized/quantified arguments vs. bare/non-quantized plurals). In the process of situation aspect shift, a situation is coerced into another,

such as from stative to activity, or may remain in the same category. The situations shift to structures with different interpretations.

The main objective of this study is describing aspectual coercion/shift in Afaan Oromoo. The following are, therefore, the specific ones.

- Describing the coercion of temporal features in situation aspects;

- Explaining the spatial features associated with situation aspect shift;

- Showing the roles of arguments in situation aspect shift.

2. Research Methods

This study is qualitative in its nature. The data for this study were obtained from grades 9-12 Afaan Oromoo textbooks and written web corpora[a], both of which are judged and significantly modified by Maccaa (Western) dialect speakers. The corpus was developed on the basis of exhaustive written texts available electronically on the Internet, and it can be very useful linguistic reference and source from which samples are extracted for various purposes. In the corpus, clauses having verbs with their schematic meanings for each situation aspect/type were excerpted and categorized under the relevant class of situation aspects in Afaan Oromoo. These were selected on the basis of the relevance of their verbs to the eventuality. For this purpose, we employ purposive sampling technique.

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. They are organized incorporating several chapters under which there are lessons related to language skills, literature, vocabulary and grammar. 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) elicitation and introspections. Accordingly, native speakers of Maccaa (Western) 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 Nekemte 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, we used introspections and added more information for better development of the discussion. In the process of crosschecking, we 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.

The refined data of the sample structures were presented and analyzed categorically for ease of presentation, description and interpretation. In the study, the clauses/utterances which describe similar types of eventuality were categorized based on PROTOTYPES and domains of their verbs. Then, the clauses were presented and described by using appropriate morphological annotations with the implementation of IPA transcription, glossing and translation suggested by Leipzig University (2014).

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[a] The corpus was developed by The HaBit Project & Ethiopian Language Technology Group in 2016, and
   displayed on http://tekstlab.uio.no/ethiopia/

3. Results and Discussions

This section deals with the presentation and description of the data on situation aspect shift in Afaan Oromoo. There are different kinds of situation aspect shift in the language. These involve temporal and space adverbials/adjuncts, and quantization/cumulatively of arguments/nouns. The switch between temporal adverbials such as from time-span to durative-delimitative, or vise-versa changes a situation aspect to another. On the other hand, the presence or absence of space adjuncts (locative adverbials) converts a situation aspect into another. Lastly, quantized or cumulative internal arguments shift situation aspects. These are presented and discussed in the sections below.

3.1 Aspectual Shift Coerced by Temporal Adverbials

Temporal adverbials are used to identify the types of predicates in the clauses of situation aspects in Afaan Oromoo. They convey the extents of (a)telicity of the temporal features, which determine the types of situation aspects. For example, adverbials of time-span or atelic-extents (NP-*f* adverbials, *saʔaatii lamaaf*[b] 'for two hours') denote the duration of on-going state-of-affairs. Such adverbials shift telic situations to atelic ones. In contrast, adverbials of durative-delimitatives, such as NP+*keessatti*, *saʔaatii lama keessatti* 'in two hours', denote process with culmination. Time point adverbials, like NP-*rra-tti*[c], *saʔaatii lamarratti* 'at/on two o'clock', convey a punctual eventuality. Besides, endpoints, such as *hanga*+NP-*tti*, *hanga saʔaatii lamaatti* 'until two o'clock', denote a final point of a process. Hence, they shift atelic situations to telic ones. Overall, temporal adverbials exclusively define predicate classes of clauses. The following subsections present the interaction between telic vs. atelic temporal adverbials.

3.1.1. Adverbials of Atelic-extents

Adverbials of atelic-extents (often called duration adjuncts or time-span adverbials) indicate a stretch of time (Hasselgard, 2010; Kiss, 2009). Afaan Oromoo employs adpositional phrases for adverbial functions. These have the structure NP-f, where the NP refers to quantified time (such as *gujjaa tokko* 'one day', *waggaa ʃan* 'five years', *dak'iik'aa kudan* 'ten minutes', etc.) with long terminal vowels, and -*f* is the postpositional element, which is equivalent to 'for'. This postpositional enclitic of the temporal NP is homophonous with the dative case marker in the language. The adverbials can only be used felicitously with non-culminated dynamic or static situations. They shift predicates of instantaneous and/or telic situations to durative and atelic, that is, semelfactives, achievements and accomplishments to derived activities, as shown in (1&2) below.

(1a) */dʒiraa-n   k'uf-aʔ-ø-e*
Jira-NOM   cough-INC-3MS-PFV
'Jira coughed.'

(1b) *dʒiraa-n   dak'iik'aa   kudani(i)-f   k'uf-aʔ-ø-e*
Jira-NOM   minute   ten-for   cough-INC-3MS-PFV
'Jira coughed for ten minutes.'

(2a) *ʔinni   balbala   rukut-ø-e*
he   door   knock-3MS-PFV
'He knocked on the door.'

(2b) *ʔinni   dak'iik'aa   ʃani(i)-f   balbala   rukut-ø-e*
he   minute   five-for   door   knock-3MS-PFV
'He knocked on the door for five minutes.'

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[b] The linguistic data of the target language are presented using phonemic transcription (IPA symbols); gemination is represented by double consonant and vowel length is represented by double vowel.

[c] NP-*rra-tti* can also be used interchangeably with NP-*tti* in literature, such as Griefenow-Mewis (2001). The deep structure of these adverbials is NP-*ʔirra-ʔitti* (*ʔirra*='on' (LOC), *ʔitti*=LOC).

In (1&2) (a), *k'uf-aʔ-* 'cough' and *rukut-* 'knock' express semelfactives, which occur instantly. From the structure, it is clear that the arguments *ʤiraa* 'Jira' and *ʔinni* 'he' undergo or initiate the happenings of coughing and knocking on the door, just once. On the other hand, those in (1&2) (b) are iterative, denoting multiple-events of coughing and knocking. The adverbials *dak'iik'aa kuɗaniif* 'for ten minutes' and *dak'iik'aa ʃaniif* 'for five minutes' shift the scopes of the predicates to iterative readings and to higher processes. For example, if a person does the act of k'ufaʔ- 'cough' for an extended time, as in (1b), it means that he/she does the act again and again for the specified time. The same situation happens in *balbala rukut-* 'knock on the door' in (2b).

The iterated (multiple-event) situations consist of a series of events with short duration, hence durative. Clauses of such type represent activities which are derived from other situations. The adverbials, thus, clearly distinguish between instantaneous and durative predicates since they indicate a number of repeated instances of the same event. The shifting process occurs when there is a real disparity between the interval required for a single-event (semelfactive) and the adverbial intervals.

In a related concept, achievements have similar temporal features with semelfactives, except that they are telic unlike semelfactives which are atelic. Achievements too shift to derived situation aspects with the addition of atelic-extent adverbials in the predicate structures of their clauses, as in (3&4) below.

(3a) *ʤiraa-n   dorgommii   moh-ø-e*
      Jira-NOM   competition   win-3MS-PFV
      'Jira won the race/competition.'

(3b) *ʤiraa-n   saʔaatii   lama(a)-f   dorgommii   moh-ø-e*
      Jira-NOM   hour   two-for   race   win-3MS-PFV
      'Jira won the race/competition for two hours.'

(4a) *ʔakiliiluu-n   mar-iʧʧa   t'umur-ø-e*
      Aklilu-NOM   discussion-SG.DEF   conclude-3MS-PFV
      'Aklilu concluded the discussion.'

(4b) *ʔakiliiluu-n   mar-iʧʧa   dak'iik'aa   ʃani(i)-f   t'umur-ø-e*
      Aklilu-NOM   discussion-SG.DEF   minute   five-for   conclude-3MS-PFV
      'Aklilu concluded the discussion for five minutes.'

The verbs *moh-* 'win' and *t'umur-* 'conclude' in (3&4) (a), along with their arguments *ʤiraa* 'Jira' and *ʔakiliiluu* 'Aklilu', express achievements. They denote instantaneous happenings with a telic feature. However, those in (3&4) (b) are acceptable only if they coerce to iterative readings. Literally, a competition is won instantly, or a discussion is concluded instantly with no extended durations despite the preliminary situations which are not formally parts of the situations. These situations suggest that there can be transitions to processes when triggered by *saʔaatii lamaaf* 'for two hours' and *dak'iik'aa ʃaniif* 'for five minutes'. Then, they result in iterative occurrences at which *ʤiraa* 'Jira' and *ʔakiliiluu* 'Aklilu' act. In the situations with the adverbials, the culmination points of *moh-* 'win' and *t'umur-* 'conclude' are coerced to become point, and then turn to processes by being iterative. Consequently, achievements shift to multiple-event activities when they co-occur with time-span adverbials.

Thirdly, clauses of accomplishments co-occur with time-span adverbials to shift the telic features of situations to atelic-extents. The predicates may have telic/atelic verbs with quantized (numerically specified) internal arguments. In the following clauses, there are quantized internal arguments, but the atelic-extent adverbials shift the situations to derived ones.

(5a) *ʤiraa-n   mana-saa   Ɂiʤaar-ø-e*
      Jira-NOM   house-his   build-3MS-PFV
      'Jira built his house.'

(5b) *ʤiraa-n   waggaa   ʃani(i)-f   mana-saa   Ɂiʤaar-ø-e*
      Jira-NOM   year   five-for   house-his   build-3MS-PFV
      'Jira built his house for five years.'

(6a) *Ɂajiʃaa-n   ʃurraabii   kana   hoɗɗ^{d}-(i)-t-e*
      Ayisha-NOM   sweater   this   knit-EpV-3FS-PFV
      'Ayisha knitted this sweater.'

(6b) *Ɂajiʃaa-n   ʃurraabii   kana   torbee   tokko(o)-f   hoɗɗ-(i)-t-e*
      Ayisha-NOM   sweater   this   week   one-for   knit-EpV-3FS-PFV
      'Ayisha knitted this sweater for a week.'

Clauses in (5&6) (a) denote accomplishments. The adverbials *waggaa ʃaniif* 'for five years' and *torbee tokkoof* 'for a week' in (5&6) (b) shift the telic readings to atelic ones, i.e., derived level activities. The events are interpreted as processes which are not associated with outcomes or natural endpoints. Hence, these derived activities have incompatible parts, telic predicates (verb constellation) *manasaa Ɂiʤaare* 'built his house' and *ʃurraabii kana hoɗɗite* 'knitted this sweater' with atelic durative adverbials *waggaa ʃaniif* 'for five years' and *torbee tokkoof* 'for a week'. Often, such coercions are required to prevent the mismatch between the situation aspects of verbal expressions and the aspectual constraints of their adverbial modifiers. The literal readings of the clauses are incompatible with our knowledge of the world because humans cannot build a house for ten years, or one cannot knit a sweater for a week without interruption. Consequently, the situations are coerced into habitual interpretations since they can be taken as referring to the acts of *ʤiraa* 'Jira' and *Ɂajiʃaa* 'Ayisha' as habituals which last for a specified time.

Generally, the domain of atelic-extent adverbials is restricted to process predicates without endpoints (atelic). The shifts which occur due to these adverbials are destined to minimize the conflict between linguistic and non-linguistic contexts, so they result in unacceptable readings or interpretations, but well-matched the situations. Notably, the meanings obtained after the coercion/shift consist of materials beyond the contributions of the clauses themselves because the adverbials enrich the original (basic-level) situations with encyclopedic knowledge. Moreover, because of the co-occurrence of these adverbials, the semantic scopes of the clauses extend to incorporate discourse contexts of situations. It is, thus, the temporal adverbials that enforce various interpretations of shifted/coerced situation aspects.

3.1.2. Adverbials of Telic-extents

Adverbials of telic-extents co-occur with clauses to show endpoints of state-of-affairs. They denote endpoints of durative or interpreted instantaneous situations (Hasselgard, 2010). This function is marked remarkably in different temporal adverbials in Afaan Oromoo. These are durative-delimitatives, such as NP+*keessatti*, e.g., *saɁaatii lama keessatti* 'in two hours', time point (NP-*rra-tti*, e.g., *saɁaatii lamarratti*) and endpoint (*hanga*+NP-*tti*, e.g., *hanga saɁaatii lamaatti* 'until two o'clock') adverbials. The function is to specify the boundaries within which a telic (bounded) situation falls.

From the five situation aspects (stative, activity, achievement, semelfactive and accomplishment), statives are static (non-dynamic) in temporal features, so their atelic feature cannot shift to a telic one when they co-occur with adverbials of telic-extent. On the other hand, accomplishments and achievements have telic feature by default, so there is no change whether or not they co-occur with adverbials of telic-extents. However, semelfactives and activities shift to derived telic situations,

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^{d} *hoɗɗ-* 'knit/sew' is often referred to as *daw-* 'sew' in different places of the Western variety.

possibly to derived achievements and/or accomplishments if they have the adverbials in their predicates. In the following examples, we illustrate the coercion of atelic situations into telic counterparts due to their co-occurrence with the above three adverbials of telic-extents.

(7) *daaʔim-ni   dak'iik'aa   tokko   keessa-tti   hat't'iff-at-ø-e*
    baby-NOM   minute   one   in-LOC   sneeze-INC-3MS-PFV
    'The baby sneezed in a minute.'

(8) *ʤiraa-n   dak'iik'aa   kuɗan   keessa-tti   biʃaan   daak-ø-e*
    Jira-NOM   minute   ten   in-LOC   river   swim-3MS-PFV
    'Jira swam in the river in ten minutes.'

The adverbials *dak'iik'aa tokko keessatti* 'in a minute' and *dak'iik'aa kuɗan keessatti* 'in ten minutes' co-occur with clauses of semelfactive (7) and activity (8) to bring changes in state-of-affairs to desired effects. The changes are culminated at the final points of *dak'iik'aa tokko* 'one minute' and *dak'iik'aa kuɗan* 'ten minutes', hence telic reading. Regarding the semantic nature of the verbs *hat't'iffat-* 'sneeze' and *daak-* 'swim', the first is instantaneous, whereas the second is durative. However, the interpretation in (7) is odd because the sneezing point is stretched over a period of time, and then culminates to last state. Unless *daaʔima* 'the baby' habitually takes preparation stage (preparatory time) of almost a minute which is a kind of slow-motion, the derived achievement is implausible. Contrarily, if the durative-delimitative time is as short as a (micro)-second, the derived situation is most likely to occur.

In addition to these adverbials, there are time point adverbials which coerce atelic situations to telic readings in Afaan Oromoo, as in (9&10) below.

(9) *ʤiraa-n   saʔaatii   tokko-rra^e-tti   biʃaan   daak-ø-e*
    Jira-NOM   hour   one-on-LOC   river   swim-3MS-PFV
    'Jira swam in the river at one o'clock.'

(10) *daaʔim-ni   dak'iik'aa   tokko-rra-tti   hat't'iff-at-ø-e*
    baby-NOM   minute   one-on-LOC   sneeze-INC-3MS-PFV
    'The baby sneezed at/on a minute.'

In (9&10), time point adverbials *saʔaatii tokkorratti* 'at one o'clock' and *dak'iik'aa tokkorratti* 'at/on a minute' co-occur with activity and semelfactive verbs. In (9), the adverbial *saʔaatii tokkorratti* 'at one o'clock' does not mean that the act of *daak-* 'swim' occurs in a moment, but it means that it begins at one o'clock since time point adverbials do not identify any sub-event. In other words, the situations with time point adverbials cannot be interpreted literally as durative. However, there is a slight difference in the situation in (10), where the time point *dak'iik'aa tokkorratti* 'at/on a minute' defines the occurrence: a sub-event of *hat't'iffat-* 'sneeze'.

Despite their compatibility with durative-delimitative adverbials, as (7&8) above, derived accomplishments and achievements consist of durative processes and of culminations. On the other hand, they also show that they have resultative states when they co-occur with time point adverbials, as in (9&10). Since accomplishments are incompatible with such adverbials due to the durative temporal feature, the derived situations in (9&10), refer to typically instantaneous, derived achievements. Yet, there is another adverbial which shifts atelic situations into telic ones, as in (11&12) below.

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^e *-rra* is a postpositional/ enclitic which is reduced form of *ʔirra* 'on'.

(11) *daaʔim-ni   hanga   dak'iik'aa   tokko(o)-tti   hat't'iff-at-ø-e*
baby-NOM   until   minute   one-LOC   sneeze-INC-3MS-PFV
'The baby sneezed until the end of a minute.'

(12) *dʒiraa-n   hanga   saʔaatii   tokko(o)-tti   biʃaan   daak-ø-e*
Jira-NOM   until   hour   one-LOC   river   swim-3MS-PFV
'Jira swam in the river until the end of one hour (one o'clock).'

In (11&12), endpoint adverbials *hanga dak'iik'aa tokkootti* 'until one minute' and *hanga saʔaatii tokkootti* 'until one hour (one o'clock)' co-occur with semelfactive and activity verbs *hat't'iffat-* 'sneeze' and *daak-* 'swim', respectively. The co-occurrence of these adverbials with the atelic verbs makes the situations temporally delimited. The resulting situations have the interpretation that the acts of *hat't'iffat-* 'sneeze' and *daak-* 'swim' have been taking place continuously till they reach the specified endpoints/times. Thus, they reiterate until they reach the last points, that is, *hanga dak'iik'aa tokkootti* 'until one minute' and *hanga saʔaatii tokkootti* 'until one hour (one o'clock)', respectively. In consequence, endpoint adverbials shift semelfactives and activities to derived accomplishments.

In sum, some situation aspects shift to derived when they co-occur with different time adverbials. These are mainly time-span (NP-*f*), durative-delimitative (NP+*keessatti*), time point (NP-*rra-tti*) and endpoint (*hanga*+NP-tti) adverbials. While the first shifts/coerces telic situations to atelic readings, the others shift atelic situations to telic readings. Accordingly, the derived situations possess different readings/interpretations which seem odd at first glance, but plausible in discourse (communication) contexts. Having discussed the contribution of temporal adverbials in situation aspect shift, we now proceed to the roles of spatial adjuncts (adverbials) in situation aspect shift in the next subsection.

3.2 Aspectual Shift Coerced by Space Adjuncts

Space adjuncts (also called adverbials of space) are elements, such as adpositional phrases, which refer to circumstances of space; location, direction, goal, path or distance. Based on language-specific word orders, they exist at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of clauses. Goal adjuncts are one of the different circumstances of space adjuncts. These are represented by means of adpositional phrases to realize endpoints of complex motion state-of-affairs. In aspectual shift, any atelic verb in clauses can have telic interpretation when it appears in appropriate contexts to telicity. In view of this, every activity situation has accomplishment counterpart due to the existence of adjuncts of telic-extents, such as goals in motion eventuality (Dowty, 1979; Hasselgard, 2010).

Particular to Afaan Oromoo, spatial adjuncts are represented by prepositional phrases which precede verbs in predicate structures. Regarding aspectual shift, goal adjuncts are identified as playing prominent roles in changing atelic situations to telic ones. They denote the destinations, targets or endpoints of motion eventuality. These adjuncts are represented by *gara*+NP-*tti*, where the NP stands for the space, location or destination in spatial dimensions.

Clauses with non-directed motion verbs refer to atelic situations, namely activities. When such events co-occur with goal adjuncts which convey destinations of movements, the resulting situations become telic in their temporal features, as in (13-15) below.

(13) *lolaa-n*   *gara*   *mana(a)-tti*   *jaaʔ-ø-e*
      flood-NOM   to   house-LOC   flow-3MS-PFV
      'The flood flew to the house.'

(14) *lammaa-n*   *gara*   *dirree-tti*   *deem-ø-e*
      Lema-NOM   to   field-LOC   go-3MS-PFV
      'Lema went to the field.'

(15) *joonaas*   *konkolaataa*   *gara*   *ʔamboo-tti*   *ʔoof-ø-e*
      Yonas.NOM   car   to   Ambo-LOC   drive-3MS-PFV
      'Yonas drove a car to Ambo.'

The adjuncts *gara manaatti* 'to the house', *gara dirreetti* 'to the field' and *gara ʔambootti* 'to Ambo' in (13-15) determine the telic features of the situations. The verbs are *jaaʔ-* 'flow', *deem-* 'go' and *ʔoof-* 'drive', which are semantically non-agentive, self-agentive and agentive in that order. From the clauses, one can easily depict that the endpoints of the movements are the places which are mentioned in the adjuncts, namely, *mana* 'house/home', *dirree* 'field' and *ʔamboo* 'Ambo', respectively. If the same clauses occurred without the adjuncts, the temporal feature of the situations would be atelic.

The adverbials in the above clauses have two roles. First, they show that the situations are categorized as goal-directed motions. In addition, they reveal the paths which lead to the destinations (telic points). In the clauses, the movers progress through multiple-events in order to reach the telic points.

In short, goal/space adjuncts syntactically appear in the predicates of clauses to shift atelic to telic readings. They compose resulting situations which delimit the final location of the theme argument. Semantically, the verbs and the adjuncts (adverbials) contribute to the meanings of directed-motion constructions. Thus, they are associated with the whole templates, but not with any particular elements in the clauses.

3.3 Aspectual Shift Coerced by Quantization/Cumulativity of Arguments

Situation aspects also shift/coerce to derived counterparts due to the atemporal nature of internal arguments in the predication of clauses. The internal arguments are assigned by the verbs they are linked with in predication. The distinction between telic and atelic situations has direct link with quantization and cumulativity of nominal arguments in predicates (Dowty, 1979; Krifka, 1998).

Quantization is the process of subdividing entities into small and finite number of levels/pieces, but measurable amounts. It is expressed through quantification of the nominal arguments which have incremental nature in the predicates. The verbs with numerically specified internal arguments denote events standing in a single relation with such arguments which have direct referential properties. The arguments are termed as incremental themes, quantized arguments, gradual patients, etc. in the semantic literature. On the other hand, cumulativity is described by the existence of non-quantified internal arguments in predicates. The non-quantified internal arguments are also termed as bare plurals, generic arguments, cumulative arguments, non-quantized arguments, etc. (Krifka, 1989, 1998; Tenny, 1987, 1994). We use incremental themes or quantized arguments, and generic or bare plurals as representative expressions in this study since they do not make any semantic changes amongst themselves.

As regards (a)telicity, clauses with quantized arguments have telic, whereas those with bare plurals have atelic features. The two linguistically encoding distinctions depend on encyclopedic knowledge of viewers. For instance, telic predicates have particular manifestations in their inherent endpoints, such as results, goals, limits, products, culminations, etc., but atelic predicates lack these. The events denoted by telic predicates necessarily come to end when the results are reached, unlike atelic counterparts (Dowty, 1991; Verkuyl, 1972, 1993).

When we attest these atemporal features of predicates in Afaan Oromoo, we get differences between situation aspects with quantized arguments and bare plurals. There are verbs of variable telicity which

give rise to telic and atelic interpretations due to the nature of internal arguments. The situations which convey variations are those with creation and consumption verbs. These internal arguments undergo incremental changes over the course of the state-of-affairs, as shown in (16-17) below.

(16a) */namoo-n   man(n)-een   ʔiʤaar-ø-e*
     Namo-NOM   house-PL   build-3MS-PFV
     'Namo built houses.'

(16b) *namoo-n   man(n)-een   ʃan   ʔiʤaar-ø-e*
     Namo-NOM   house-PL   five   build-3MS-PFV
     'Namo built five houses.'

(17a) *baaʃʃaa-n   wandaboo   hodɗ-ø-e*
     Basha-NOM   dress   knit-3MS-PFV
     'Basha knitted dress.'

(17b) *baaʃʃaa-n   wandaboo   ʃan   hodɗ-ø-e*
     Basha-NOM   dress   five   knit-3MS-PFV
     'Basha knitted five dresses.'

The verbs *ʔiʤaar-* 'build' and *hodɗ-* 'knit' in (16&17) refer to creation eventuality. However, they assign internal arguments with different semantic features, such as generic or bare plurals in (16&17) (a) and quantized (quantified) arguments in (16&17) (b). Due to the generic nature of the internal arguments in (16&17) (a), how many *manneen* 'houses' were built or how many *wandaboo* 'dresses' were knitted cannot be delimited. Hence, these situations have atelic readings. Contrarily, the verbs in (16&17) (b) describe building and knitting events which progress through *manneen ʃan* 'five houses' and *wandaboo ʃan* 'five dresses' in their various stages of completion. When the five houses and the five sweaters are done, then the building and knitting events also end. Therefore, *manneen ʃan* 'five houses' and *wandaboo ʃan* 'five dresses' are quantized arguments because they correspond to the temporal progresses which lead to the endpoints of the situations.

When the predicates have bare plurals, as in (16&17) (a), they have atelic readings (activities), but when they assign quantized arguments, as in (16&17) (b), they have telic readings (accomplishments). Similarly, consumption verbs have atelic or telic interpretations based on the nature of the internal arguments, as in (18-19) below.

(18a) *tolaa-n   buna   ɗug-ø-e*
     Tola-NOM   coffee   drink-3MS-PFV
     'Tola drank coffee.'

(18b) *tolaa-n   buna   ʃinii   lama   ɗug-ø-e*
     Tola-NOM   coffee   cup   two   drink-3MS-PFV
     'Tola drank two cups of coffee.'

(19a) *geetuu-n   biddeenᶠ   ɲaat-ø-e*
     Getu-NOM   bread   eat-3MS-PFV
     'Getu ate biddeena/bread.'

(19b) *geetuu-n   biddeena   tokko   ɲaat-ø-e*
     Getu-NOM   bread   one   eat-3MS-PFV
     'Getu ate one biddeena/bread.'

ᶠ *biddeena* is a kind of bread which is thin, and has small holes on its top.

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The verbs *dug-* 'drink' and *ɲaat-* 'eat' in (18&19) co-occur with non-specified (generic) and quantized arguments. In (18&19) (a), the acts of drinking and eating happened without clear measurement or terminal points. Except that the events of *dug-* 'drink' and *ɲaat-* 'eat' happened on non-specified (generic) nominals *buna* 'coffee' and *biddeena* 'bread', there are no clear culmination points for the situations, thus atelic reading. However, the same verbs in (18&19) (b) co-occur with quantized arguments. Hence, multiple-events of drinking and eating or ingesting continue with the arguments *buna ʃinii lama* 'two cups of coffee' and *biddeena tokko* 'one *biddeena*/bread' until they are finished. The quantized arguments are observed when the consumers eat them up piece-by-piece till the containers appear empty (18b), hence telic readings (accomplishments).

Semantically, the subparts of the quantized references cannot have the same quantity, so the predicates are telic. For example, *tolaan buna ʃinii lama duge* 'Tola drank two cups of coffee' in (18b) means that *tolaa* 'Tola' consumed coffee only till the liquid in the two cups finished. In order to reach the last point of the drinking event, the consumer may use several sips repeatedly (iteratively). Contrary to this, if the predicate has bare plural, the overall event is the same as the cumulative. For instance, *buna duge* 'drank coffee' in (18a) can be interpreted as half (or less) a cup of coffee, more than one cup of coffee, or infinite number of cups of coffee; thus, the clauses with non-specific nominal have atelic readings. The case of *ɲaat-* 'eat' in (19a&b) is similar to the multiple-events of drinking *buna* 'coffee'.

4. Conclusion

In this study, we have indicated that some situations in Afaan Oromoo shift or coerce to derived ones due to the existence of different linguistic factors. The process of shifting is triggered by syntactic and semantic features. Accordingly, different temporal and spatial adjuncts co-occur with the clauses of situation aspects. As far as the results of the process are concerned, derived activities and accomplishments (a)telic and durative temporal readings are produced.

On the other hand, the idea of quantization and cumulativity of internal arguments is that the distinction between non-specific (generic) and quantized arguments has a direct link with the (a)telicity feature of situation aspects. Consequently, the effect of internal arguments is eminent in shifting situation aspects. Such shift has syntactic and semantic combinations because the effects of internal arguments on the (a)telicity of predicates are triggered by structural configurations in the lexical representation of internal arguments and verbs in the clauses. The internal arguments in the situation aspects are created or consumed over time in utilizing verbs of creation and consumption. They provide a scale or series of increments that agree with the events at various times or in various stages of completion. Thus, quantized arguments measure out situations to convey telic features, whereas bare plurals do not measure out them so that they show atelic readings. Finally, we suggest that linguistic studies should be conducted on the language and other Ethiopian languages with due emphasis on aspectual coercion in order to propose event and argument structures denoted in these languages.

List of Abbreviations

3FS	third person feminine singular
3MS	third person masculine singular
DEF	definitive
EpV	Epenthetic Vowel
INC	inchoative
LOC	locative
MID	middle
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
SG	singulative

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Acknowledgement