

TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD IN Kəstanəñña

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS**



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LINGUISTICS**


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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the tense, aspect and mood system of Kəstanəñña. Kəstanəñña is an Ehtio-Semitic language. Kəstanəñña verbs employ various consonantal and vowel patterning to express the grammatical categories aspect and mood. Kəstanəñña verbs show a clear aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective aspects. The variation is indicated by the morphological shape of the verb bases and agreement markers. In addition to aspect, Kəstanəñña can distinguish between past and non-past tense. Tense, as a grammatical category, can only be indicated in the perfect, in prospective aktionsart and in the imperfective aspect. In the perfective aspect there is no special marker for tense. In Kəstanəñña, a perfect is formed by attaching the converb marker -m to a verb in the perfective aspect. Kəstanəñña has a periphrastic construction which denotes specific temporal readings of a situation. There are two morphologically recognized mood categories, namely the imperative and the jussive. The imperative and jussive of triradical verbs have an identical pattern. However, affirmative imperative and jussive can be distinguished by different subject markers. Kəstanəñña, like the other Northern Gurage languages, distinguishes affirmative main-clause verbs in the indicative mood from subordinate, negative and non-indicative verbs by means of morphological main verb markers. The main verb markers encompass a set of suffixes, which are morphosyntactic conditioned.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1, 2, 3	Person
AUX	Auxiliary verb
C	Consonant
CVM	Converb marker
COP	Copula
ej	Ejective
F	Feminine
IMP	Imperative
IPV	Imperfective aspect
JUS	Jussive
MVM	Main verb marker
NEG	Negative
NP	Noun phrase
NPAST	Non-past tense (i.e., present and/or future tense)
PL	Plural
PAST	Past tense
PERF	Perfect
PF	Plural feminine
PM	Plural masculine
PV	Perfective aspect
SF	Singular feminine
SG	Singular
SM	Singular masculine
TAM	Tense, aspect and mood
V	Vowel
vd	Voiced
vl	Voiceless
VN	Verbal noun
∅	Zero morpheme
*	Ungrammatical expression/form



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the description of tense, aspect and mood (TAM) in Kəstanəñña. The actual description of the TAM system commence in chapter four and chapter five. In this chapter, we consider issues pertaining to the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of the Kistane and their language, the significance and the scope of the study.

1.1. The Language and the People

Kəstanəñña is mainly spoken in the Gurage Zone that is situated to the southwest of Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital city. The Gurage Zone constitutes the southernmost area of Semitic-speaking people which live in a kind of enclave that is geographically disconnected from other Semitic-speaking people living in the northern part of Ethiopia and in Eritrea. The Gurage Zone is surrounded by Oromo speakers in the north, northeast and northwest, by Yemsa speakers in the west, and by Hadiyya speakers in the south and southwest.

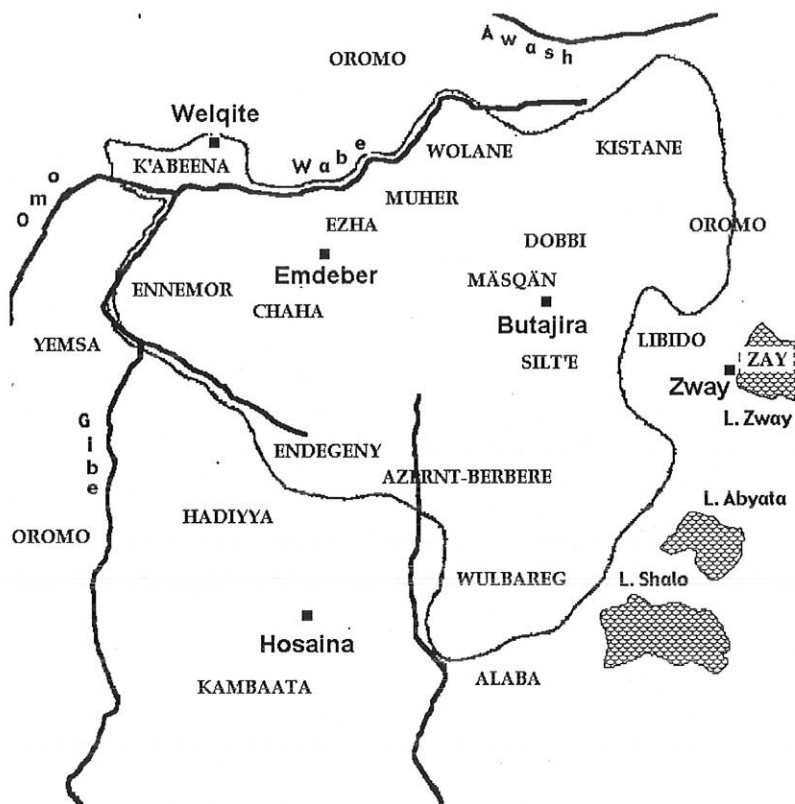


Figure 1: Gurage Area (Adapted from Leslau 1979b: vii)

According to Hetzron (1977: 21) “the question is whether Gurage is to be considered as one branch of South Ethiopic, with internal dialectical division, or there is no entity ‘Gurage’ at all, but an agglomerate of Semitic languages of different origins assembled in one area.” Hetzron (1977) favors the second interpretation concluding that the term Gurage is a geographical term rather than a genetic linguistic term. Leslau (1965), in contrast, considers the various Gurage varieties as descendents of a single proto-Gurage language without taking a clear stance regarding the dialect vs. language division. As a result of this controversy,

there is still no commonly accepted classification of all known Gurage varieties (see Meyer 2011: 122 for an overview)

Scholars who are engaged in Ethio-Semitic studies agree on three major subdivisions within the Gurage group: Northern, Eastern and Western. However, as to the members constituting each branch, there are different views among scholars. Leslau (1968) for instance, classifies the languages (dialects as he calls them) as follows: Silt'e Wolane and Zay belong to East Gurage; Chaha, Geto, Ezha, Gumer, and Endegegn – and probably also Muher, Mesqan and Dobbi – belong to Western Gurage; and Kəstanəñña as the sole representative of Northern Gurage. Hetzron (1972, 1977), on the other hand, classifies Kəstanəñña and Dobbi as belonging to a single genetic sub-group that with the addition of Muher forms the *typological* unit Northern Gurage. Hetzron (1972:119) investigates shared morphological innovations among the various Gurage varieties. The place Kəstanəñña assumes within the Ethio-Semitic language family is presented in Figure 2.

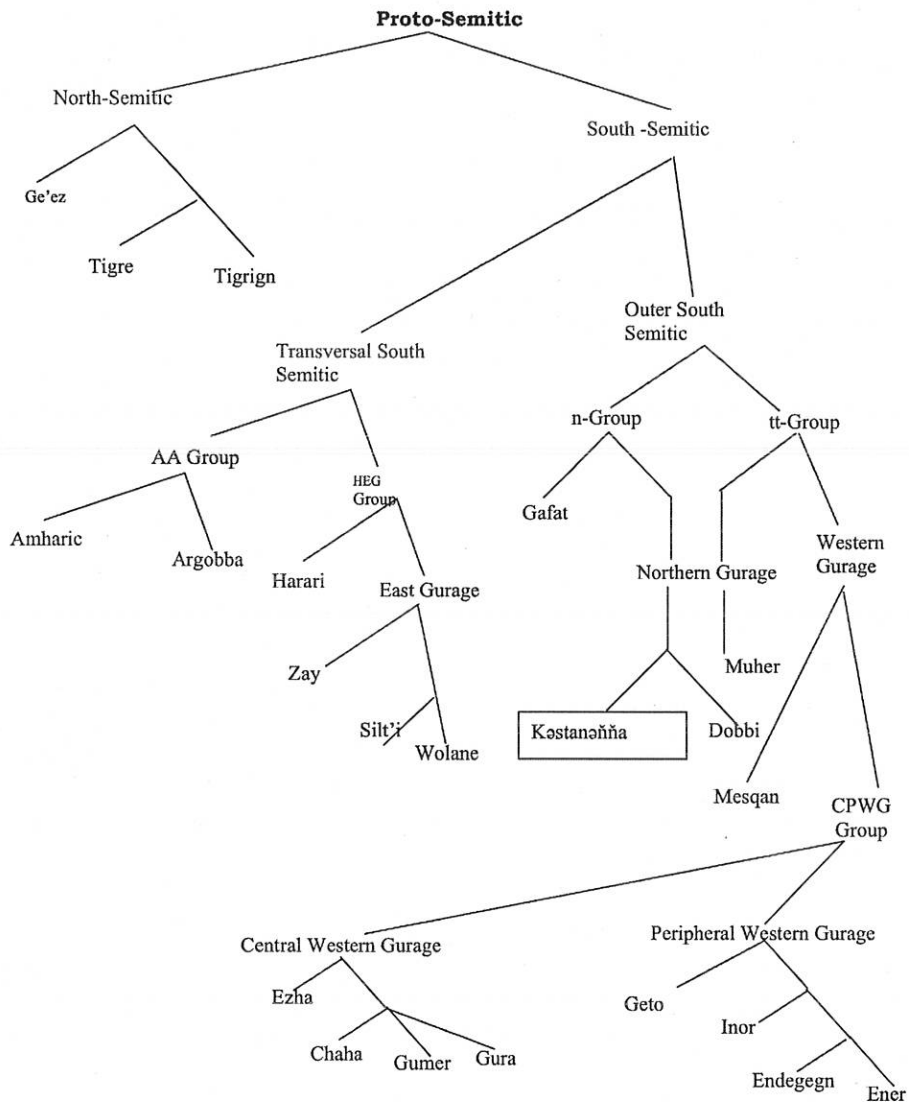


Figure 2: Classification of the Ethio-Semitic (Adapted from Hetzron 1972: 119)

The area of the Kistane people within the Gurage Zone is bordered by Oromo speakers in the north and east, by Wolane speakers in the west, and by Mesqan speakers in the south. The main occupation of the Kistane is farming. They predominantly cultivate the staple food *ənsət* ‘false banana’. According to Lewis (2009) the population of Kistane people amounts to 251,000.

The Kistane people are also referred to as *Aymälläl* or as *Soddo*. But the “speakers call themselves Kistane ‘Christian’ and their language *Kəstanəñña*” (Leslau 1968: v). In this work, the name of *Kəstanəñña* is used to designate the language and Kistane to refer to the people who speak this language.

Ethio-Semitic languages are better studied than many other languages in Ethiopia. However, most Gurage varieties, including *Kəstanəñña*, are still not well described. Although there are a few previous studies on *Kəstanəñña*, they are mostly of comparative nature or focusing on specific grammatical aspects of the language. No comprehensive study of the TAM system in *Kəstanəñña* has been done so far. Thus the present paper is an attempt to fill this gap in the grammatical description of *Kəstanəñña*, and also to add further data for the cross-linguistic research on TAM systems.

1.2 General Objective

The main objective of this study is to examine how aspect, tense and mood are realized in *Kəstanəñña*. This includes the following specific objectives:

- To show how aspect, tense, and mood are encoded in Kəstanəñña grammar, and
- To analyze the interaction of aspect and tense in Kəstanəñña

1.3 Significance of the Study

Tense, aspect and mood are grammatical categories associated with verbs. This research deals with a part of Kəstanəñña grammar that has not been treated in such detail by other researchers. The present study, therefore, tries to fill the gap and contribute to the knowledge of tense aspect and mood in Kəstanəñña. The study may also encourage further description on Kəstanəñña. In addition, it may serve as a resource material for other researchers on other aspects of the variety.

1.4 Limitation of the Study

This study is mainly based on linguistic questionnaires, i.e. no text data were considered. Therefore, some less frequent forms of Aktionsarten or other forms of interactions between verb semantics and tense-aspect morphemes could be missing. In addition, the study focus mainly on triradical verbs, irregular verbs as well as mono-, bi- and quadriradical verbs were not considered in detail. Because Etio-Semitic languages basically have roots consisting three radicals. Moreover, the study focus on verbs in main clauses, subordination was not considered.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Previous Research on Kəstanəñña

In this section, I will present the relevant literature in two groups. The first includes those works that have a direct relation with the present study; the second group includes research works on Kəstanəñña which are less relevant for the present study.

The works that have a direct relation with the present study are the following: Hetzron (1977) gives a brief account of the comparative grammar of the Gunnän Gurage languages. His comparison includes phonological, morphological and syntactic features of Kəstanəñña and other Gurage languages. In addition, a historical survey of the classification of the Gunnän Gurage languages is presented. The last section of his work contains annotated texts from various Gunnän Gurage languages including Kəstanəñña. Previously, in Hetzron (1968), the main verb markers of Kəstanəñña in comparison with the other Northern Gurage languages Dobbi and Muher were discussed. Hetzron (1972) gives a comparative description of the major branches of Ethiopian Semitic languages. A detailed investigation of the Gurage languages is also made and their genetic similarities and differences are precisely explained.

Goldenberg (1968) discusses Kəstanəñña phonology and parts of its grammar along with brief information about the people and the language. He deals in particular with vowels and supra-segmental features such as stress, pitch and length. The

morphological section concentrates mainly on identifying inflectional elements with respect to gender, number and person for subject and object agreement on verbs. He also raises some points on verbal compounds of Kəstanəñña.

Bedilu (2010) describes Kəstanəñña morphology and verb construction types. His work consists of two major parts in eight chapters. The first part describes the morphology of the language and the second part deals with verb construction types of the language.

Leslau (1968) gives an outline of the phonological features of Kəstanəñña. Furthermore it contains various texts and their translations. The texts manifest the political, social, economic and cultural life of the Kistane.

Tesfaye Sima's (1986) MA thesis on sound patterns in Kəstanəñña consists of three major sections. The first section describes consonant and vowel phonemes together with their allophones. Tesfaye recognizes twenty-three consonants and six vowel phonemes. He states that the vowel [ə] is used for breaking initial consonant clusters and three-term consonant clusters in any other position. In section two, the application of phonological rules, such as palatalization, labialization, etc., are discussed and analyzed with adequate examples. In the last section, he deals with suprasegmental features, such as consonantal length, pitch, stress and intonational patterns of the language. In general, Tesfaye provides a comprehensive phonological description of a language.

The second group research works on Kəstanəñña which are less relevant for the present study includes the following: Leslau (1979a), an etymological dictionary of Gurage in three volumes, contains an Kəstanəñña-English wordlist with more than 1000 entries.

Assebe Buli's (1981) MA thesis explores social aspects of Kəstanəñña with special attention to the language use in Bui, the bilingualism among Kəstanəñña speakers, and their attitude towards their own language and to others languages.

The BA thesis of Getachew Kidane (1982) provides a contrastive analysis between Amharic and Kəstanəñña. Furthermore, it contains some information with regard to the derivation of nouns from verbs.

Tesfaye Abera (1990) deals with the structure of the noun phrase based in the framework of the X-bar theory.

Admasu Sima (1987), in his senior essay, deals with the adjectives of Kəstanəñña. He identifies different types of adjectives in the language.

Even though the above works deal with phonological, morphological and syntactic aspects of Kəstanəñña, none of them contains a detailed description of the tempus, aspect and mood system in Kəstanəñña.

2.2 Phonological Sketch of *Kəstanəňña*

2.2.1 Phonemes

According to Goldenberg (1968: 66-67), *Kəstanəňña* has six vowel phonemes, namely ε , a , e , i , o , and u . The vowel [ə] is used as a device for indicating syllabification in Goldenberg's (1968) transcription and does not function as a phoneme. Leslau (1968: 6) states that *Kəstanəňña* has 7 vowels (see Table 1), i.e. he considers the vowel ə to be a phoneme, and 26 consonants (see Table 2). The vowel ə also serves as an epenthetic vowel. It is used for breaking initial consonant clusters and three-term consonant clusters in any other position.

Table 1: Vowel Phonemes in Kəstanəňña (Based on Leslau 1968: 6)

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	ε	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Table 2: Consonant Phonemes in *Kəstanəñña* (Based on Leslau 1968: 6)

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	vl		<i>t</i>		<i>k kʷ</i>	
	vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g gʷ</i>	
	ej		<i>tʰ</i>		<i>kʰ kʷʰ</i>	
Affricate	vl			<i>č</i>		
	vd			<i>č̣</i>		
	ej			<i>čʰ</i>		
Fricative	vl	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>h</i>
	vd		<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>		
Nasal		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>		
Liquid			<i>l, r</i>			
Approximant		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

Tesfaye (1986) does not consider the labialized velars *kʷ*, *gʷ*, and *kʷʰ* to be phonemes in *Kəstanəñña* but allophones of velar stops. This study, however, adapted the consonant and vowel phonemes given in Table 1 and Table 2, respectively, in transcribing the data.

2.2.2 Morphophonological Rules

The main morphophonological rules¹ of *Kəstanəñña* have been identified in Leslau (1968: 7-8), Tesfaye Sima (1986: 16-20) and Bedilu Wakjira (2010: 5-7). These rules

¹ According to Payne (2006: 63), morphophonological rules are defined as follows: “When a morpheme changes its shape in response to the sounds that surround it in a particular context, linguists often call the variation morphophonemics (or morphophonology), and the patterns that describe the appearance of the allomorphs morphophonemic rules (or morphophonological rules).”

are given in advance to facilitate better understanding of the TAM description. The major phonological processes in Kəstanəñña are palatalization, assimilation, vowel deletion, and merge of vowels.

2.2.2.1 Morphophonological Palatalization

According to Leslau (1968: 7) and Bedilu Wakjira (2010: 7), Kəstanəñña verbs in the imperfective aspect, and jussive and imperative mood have the gender marker *-i* to refer to a second person singular feminine subject. This gender marker triggers the process of morphophonological palatalization, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Palatalization Triggered by the Feminine Gender Marker *-i*

Underlying form		Surface representation
a. * <i>tweddin</i>	→	<i>təweğgin</i> t-wedd-i-n 2-love.IPV-SF-MVM 'you (will) love'
b. * <i>tgessin</i>	→	<i>təgeššin</i> t-gess-i-n 2-refuse.IPV-SF-MVM 'you (will) refuse'
c. * <i>tgerzin</i>	→	<i>təgeržin</i> t-gerz-i-n 2-become_old.IPV-SF-MVM 'you (will) become old'
d. * <i>sberi</i>	→	<i>səberi</i> səber-i break.IMP-2SF 'break'

As can be seen in Table 3, the alveolar consonants, /d, s, z/ change into their corresponding palatal consonants /ǧ, š, ž/ when they are followed the front vowel -i. The alveolar liquid /r/ is not palatalized, as shown in Table 3d. In addition to the palatalization of alveolar occlusives, the mid-central vowel ϵ immediately preceding the consonant to which the feminine gender marker -i is attached – regardless whether the consonant is palatalized – changes to the front vowel e. Note that other instance of the vowel -i do not trigger palatalization, as, for instance, when it serves as main verb marker (see Table 11).

2.2.2.2 Assimilation of Consonants

The process of assimilation can be complete or partial, as shown in the following example:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------|---|------------------|-------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>at-zibber-</i> | → | <i>azzibber-</i> | ‘cause to return’ |
| | b. | <i>at-sebber-</i> | → | <i>assibber-</i> | ‘cause to break’ |
| | c. | * <i>senbet</i> | → | <i>sembet</i> | ‘Saturday’ |

As can be observed in (1a) and (1b), the alveolar plosive *t* of the underlying causative morpheme *at-* completely assimilates to the first consonant of the stem to which it is attached. As can be observed in (1c), partial assimilation occurs with the underlying nasal *n* which is changed to *m* when immediately followed by a labial consonant. The change of the vowel ϵ to *i* in (1b) is due to the causative derivation in which verbs of type A change into verbs of type B (see section 4.1.2 for a definition of verb types).

2.2.2.3 Vowel Deletion

When two central vowels of different morphemes form sequences, the first of them is deleted, as can be observed in example (2) below.

- (2) a. *yε-abi* (GEN-father) → *yabi* 'of father'
b. *wε-εž* (VN-see) → *wεž* 'to see'

The sequence of two non-central vowels from different morphemes usually yields the insertion of the glides *y* or *w* between them (see example (8) below), with one exception. When the personal pronoun suffix of the 1SG *-ku* with perfective verbs is followed by the main verb marker *-i* (see section 4.1.5), the vowel *u* of the personal pronoun suffix is deleted, as shown in (3).

- (3) *k'errεs-ku-i* → *k'errεski*
begin.PV-1SG-MVM
'I began'

2.2.2.4 Merge of Vowels

When the central vowel *ε* occurs in a sequence with the round back vowel *u*, they merge to *o*, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. *arεššē-ε-u* → *arεššo*
build.PV-3SM-MVM
'he built'
b. *arεššē-he-u* → *arεššeho*
build.PV-2SM-MVM
'you built'

As can be observed in (4a), the 3SM personal pronoun suffix *-ε* merges with the main verb marker *-u* to form *-o*.

2.3. General Typological Features of *Kəstanəñña*

Kəstanəñña is an Ethio-Semitic language and, thus, displays the main typological features of this language group. The most frequent order of constituents in *Kəstanəñña* is S (subject)-O (object)-V (verb):

- (5) *k^wa ge areššo*
S O V
k^wa ge arešše-ε-u
he house build.PV-3SM-MVM
'He built a house.'

According to Payne (2006:212), there are many ways that languages express a genitive relation between nouns. In some languages, the relation is marked on the head noun, rather than the genitive noun. In *Kəstanəñña*, the possessor precedes the head noun and is marked by the prefix *yε -*.

- (6) *yεk^wa ge*
yε-k^wa ge
GEN-he house
'his house'

Furthermore, the adjective precedes its head noun in *Kəstanəñña*:

- (7) *melkamma gered*
 ADJ N
 beautiful girl
 'a beautiful girl'

According to Payne (2006: 216-18), three basic semantico-syntactic roles of nouns in argument position can be distinguished cross-linguistically, namely, the subject for intransitive clauses (S), the subject for transitive clauses (A), and the direct object for transitive clauses (O). In a nominative-accusative system, case marking on nouns treat S and A in the same way, morphosyntactically. In such a system, S and A are frequently unmarked but O is marked. The morphosyntactic grouping of S and A together can be called the nominative case while the distinct morphosyntactic treatment of the O role is the accusative case. According to Leslau (1968: 10), *Kəstanəňña* is a nominative-accusative language. However, the accusative case is only marked with definite objects by the prefix *ye-* or sometimes also *ne -*:

- (8) *yegeyi aźžo.*
ye -ge-i aźže -ε -u
 ACC-house-DEF see.PV-3SM-MVM
 'He saw the house.'

Verbs in *Kəstanəňña* are very complex. They consist of a consonantal root which may occur in varying vocalizations (see section 4.1). Furthermore, a verb obligatorily contains a personal pronoun affix referring to the subject of the clause (see section 4.1.4). Affirmative main-clause verbs in the indicative mood, furthermore, are followed by main verb markers (4.1.5). Negation is marked by prefixes, *al-* for perfective verbs, *a-* for jussive verbs, and *t-* for imperfective verbs

(see sections 4.1.6 and 4.6.3). The negative marker *t-* for main-clause imperfective verbs is only occurs in *Kəstanəñña* but in no other Ethio-Semitic language. Furthermore, the negation may trigger a change of the vocalization pattern, as shown in (9)

- (9) a. zibbero
zibber-ε-u
return.PV-3SM-MVM
'He returned'
- b. alzebberε
al-zəbber-ε
NEG-return.PV.NEG-3SM
'He didn't return'

2.4. *Aspect and Tense*

Aspect is a grammatical category showing the internal temporal constituency of events or states (Payne 1997: 238). According to Comrie (1976:6), aspect is concerned with the continuity or completion of an action or event. Many languages express aspectual meanings by analytic means that involve a verb and another lexical element; other languages express aspect morphologically on the verb. Among the aspectual categories found in language are perfective, imperfective, progressive, habitual, prospective, inceptive, etc. Not all of them are realized in every language.

According to Comrie (1976: 73), Dahl (1985: 80), and Bybee et al. (1994: 54), aspectual distinctions can easily be observed in the domain of perfectivity/past tense. The perfective aspect views situation as bounded temporally. It can not be

simultaneous with the moment of speech; in non-past reading, the perfective aspect is sometimes interpreted as certain future. The perfective aspect is most often connected with a past-tense reading, less often with a future reading, and it is usually lacking with a present reading or else reinterpreted. Comrie (1976:16) stated, "The perfective aspect indicates a view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of various separate phases that make up a situation."

According to Bybee et al. (1994), although the perfective aspect and the simple past tense are very similar to each other there is one important difference between them. The simple past tense marker is more grammaticalized than a marker for perfectivity. Other differences between simple past tense and perfective aspect have to do with their interaction with the lexical semantics of verbs. The perfective morpheme seems to interact with the lexical semantics of the verb, while past-tense morpheme does not. The actual manifestation of this difference can be seen in the way that perfectives apply to stative verbs. In some languages, perfectives do not apply at all to stative verbs while pasts commonly do. When perfectives apply to stative verbs, the effect is usually to signal a present state, not a past one. The perfective aspect can sometimes imply a future reading, but the simple past tense is not used with a future reading (Bybee et al. 1994: 91-95).

In discussing perfective aspect, it is often necessary to refer to the difference between states, events and processes. According to Comrie (1976: 13) "states are static, i.e., continue as before unless changed, whereas events and processes are

dynamic, i.e., require a continual input of energy if they are not come to an end.” Similarly, Payne (2006: 103) claims that states inherently do not involve activity or change. But processes denote a situation that involves change overtime either voluntary or involuntary. Actions are situations that are initiated by some conscious or unconscious force but do not necessarily involve an affective participant. The two broad categories of verbs are dynamic and stative, with dynamic verbs denoting a process, activity, action, or event.

Imperfective views the situation not as a bounded whole, but rather from within, with explicit reference to its internal structure (see Comrie 1976: 24). According to Bybee et al. (1994: 317), the imperfective aspect subsumes various meanings, like habituality, continuity, progressivity, etc. Comrie (1976: 25) also claims that the imperfective aspect is subdivided into a number of distinct categories, the most typical sub-division of imperfective aspect are shown in Figure 3 below.

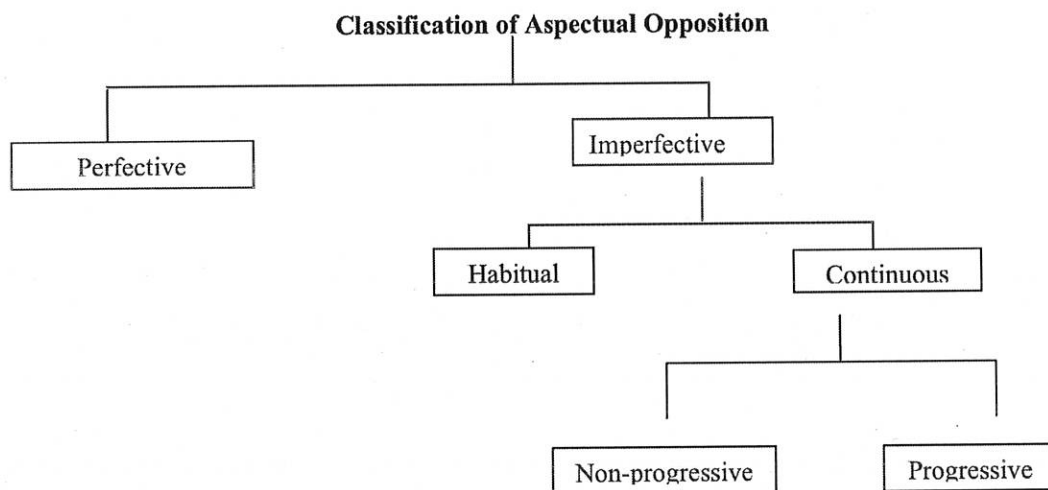


Figure 3: Classification of Aspectual Oppositions (Adapted from Comrie 1976:25)

The hierarchical organization in Figure 3 shows perfective and imperfective to be the broadest ranging categories, with habitual and continuous dividing up the imperfective range. Continuous is divisible into progressive (for dynamic verbs) and non-progressive (for stative verbs). Figure 3 suggests that a progressive would become a continuous by generalizing it to apply to static verbs as well as dynamic ones. Comrie (1976) also provides an analysis of the relation among the various sub-categories of the imperfective aspect including definitions of these sub-categories of Figure 3. Comrie (1976: 23) defines the imperfective aspect as a category of the verb which views a situation from within. Habitual situations, in contrast, are characteristic for an extended period of time (Comrie 1976: 28-29). The continuous is defined as “imperfective that is not occasioned by habitually”

(Comrie 1976: 33) and progressive is continuousness combined with non-stative meaning (Comrie 1976: 35).

In contrast to aspect, forms of the verb establishing the temporal setting of the situation with regard to a reference point are called *tense*. Thus tense is a deictic category that relates states and events to some reference time, usually to the moment of utterance (Payne 1997: 236).

According to Comrie (1985: 8), the sum total of expressions for locating in time can be divided into three classes. The largest class is that composed of lexically composite terms, as English expression of the type *five minutes after John left*, the second class is a set of lexical items which include *now, today, yesterday*, and the third class is the set of grammaticalized expression of location in time. According to Comrie (1985), there is a major distinction between the kinds of location in time concepts that are characteristically grammaticalized or lexicalized. Grammaticalization refers to integration into the grammatical system of a language,² while lexicalization refers merely to integration into the lexicon of the

² According to Bybee et al. (1994:4-6), grammaticalization is a process of syntactic and morphological change in which a lexical item (a word) becomes a grammatical morpheme. This involves a semantic change from concrete to abstract, called 'semantic bleaching', phonetic reduction and complete or partial loss of morphological inflection. For instance, English *gonna* (future marker) passed a two-stage process. First, the expression *going to* shifted from its literal meaning to a future, then, phonetic reduction changed *going to* into *gonna*.

language (Comrie 1985: 10). If a language expresses the time of action or state without grammatical morphemes, only by lexical items, it is said to be tenseless. This implies that tense is a grammatical rather than a lexical category. Tense is marked by grammatical morphemes such as affixes, auxiliaries, reduplication, etc. (Bybee et al. 1994:2).

The reference point of time can be the moment of utterance or some other time determined by context. Whereas reference to the moment of utterance constitutes absolute tense, reference to time determined by context constitutes relative tense (Comrie 1985: 8). Absolute tenses take the present moment as deictic center, i.e. the time of utterance. Given the present moment as deictic center, the three basic tenses are present, past and future (Comrie 1985: 122). Present tense is used to speak of states and processes which hold at the moment of speech, but which began before the present moment and may well continue beyond the present moment (Comrie 1985: 38). Comrie (1985) also explained that in many languages the present tense is used in habitual aspectual readings, as in English *John goes to work at eight o'clock* (everyday).

The past tense refers to a situation that took place at some time prior to the moment of utterance (Comrie 1985: 24). When we talk about the future, we are either talking about someone's plans, intentions or obligations, or we are making a prediction or extrapolation from the present state of the world (Dahl 1985: 56).



According to Comrie (1976: 66) both tense and aspect are connected with time but in different ways.

2.5 Perfect

A third category, neither aspect nor tense, is the perfect (Comrie 1976: 52). Aspect is concerned with different ways of representing the internal temporal constitution of a situation, while tense situates the verbal situation to a reference point in time. The perfect is different from these categories, since it tells us nothing directly about the situation itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation. Generally, the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation.

According to Bybee et al. (1994: 61-63), anterior (or perfect) situations occur prior to the reference time, and are relevant to the situation at reference time. This is different from a simple past or perfective, where the situation is reported for its own sake and independent of its relevance to any other situation. Perfect may occur with past or present tense marking.

2.6 Mood

The grammatical category, which signals how a speaker chooses to put a proposition into context is known as mood (Bybee 1985: 165). According to Payne (1997: 244), some linguists use the terms mood, mode and modality interchangeably. Others prefer to restrict the use of the term mood to the types expressed by verbal inflections, and the term modality to those indicated by modal auxiliaries. Still others use modality as a super-ordinate label for the grammatical

category as a whole. In this study the term mood is defined as a verbal category expressed morphologically on the verb.

According to Palmer (1986: 2), mood is not expressed in all languages within the verbal morphology. Bybee et al. (1994: 177), distinguish between four types of modality: agent-oriented, speaker-oriented, epistemic, and subordinating.

The grammatical terms used in my study focus only on speaker-oriented modality, i.e., imperative, jussive and prohibitive (negative imperative). Imperative is the verb form used for direct commands in the second person. If there are also first and third person forms, the meaning can still be that of an imperative with the first and third persons being interpreted as 'Let us, let him, etc.' Jussive is the verb form by which the speaker is encouraging or inciting someone to action. Prohibitive is the mood for expressing negative commands (Bybee et al. 1994: 179).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The present study is based on primary linguistic data, which were elicited through interviews with one native speaker of Kəstanəñña in the village of Dachi (uttered [dač'i]) in the Kistane area and one native speaker of Kəstanəñña in Addis Ababa.

As the researcher is not a native speaker of the language, the Kəstanəñña data were elicited by using Amharic as metalanguage. The data were collected during a one-week stay at Dachi in December 2011 and in Addis Ababa. My language consultants were Mr Shanko Jenbola (35 years old) and Mrs Amarech Asfaw (57 years old). Both were born and brought up in the Kəstanəñña-speaking village Dachi. In addition to their mother tongue, Kəstanəñña, they speak Amharic. Shanko obtained a BA degree in English and is working as secondary school teacher in Addis Ababa. Amarech is a farmer. She is still living in Dachi.

The present work is purely descriptive in nature. It is based exclusively on elicited data regarding TAM and previous works dealing with related fields of Kəstanəñña grammar. The data were elicited by using a questionnaire, which was prepared in Amharic (see Appendix). The data were recorded and then transcribed phonetically. Based on previous works on Kəstanəñña, the phonetic data were later transformed into a broader phonemic transcription.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 *verb Morphology*

Kəstanəñña has a complex verbal structure made up of consonantal roots, vowels and specific gemination patterns. The consonantal root conveys the lexical meaning of verbs. The vowels and the gemination patterns, which convey grammatical information such as aspect or mood, always appear intersected with the consonantal roots.

4.1.1 Verb Root

Baye (2000: 44-54) argues that verbs in Ethio-Semitic languages basically have roots consisting of three consonants or radicals. Some verbs, which synchronically only contain one or two radicals, originated in triradical verbs historically. These non-triradical verbs are formed by root reduction. Thus, mono- and biradical verbs are results of reduction of original radicals. Radicals, which commonly disappear in the course of time are the gutturals *ʔ*, *h*, *x* and approximates *w* and *y* (see Hetzron 1977: 75-76).

Kəstanəñña verb roots consist of consonants ranging from one to four. Table 4 shows examples for each group in the perfective aspect.

Table 4: Perfective Base of Verb Roots with Various Radicals

Number of Radicals	Root	Perfective Base	imperfective Base	Gloss
Monoradical	š-	šɛ-	-šɛ-	'want'
Biradical	q-r	qirr-	-qirra-	'remain'
Triradical	l-b-s	lɛbbɛs-	-lɛbs-	'wear'
Quadriradical	m-s-k-r	məsekkər-	-msekkər-	'witness'

4.1.2. Verb Type

According to Leslau (1968: 16), verbs in Ethio-Semitic languages are categorized in different types based on the vowel occurring after the first radical and on the gemination pattern of the second radical. There are three frequent verb types in Kəstanəñña, which are commonly called type A, type B and type C. Leslau (1968: 16) defined each of these types as follows:

- Type A: the vowel *ɛ* follows the first radical in the affirmative indicative mood and the second radical is geminated only in the perfective aspect;
- Type B: the vowel *i* follows the first radical in the affirmative indicative mood and the second radical is always geminated;
- Type C: the vowel *a* follows the first radical and the second radical occurs is geminated only in the indicative mood but not in the jussive mood.

The following table presents the possible verb type in *Kəstanəñña*.

Table 5: Verb Types in the Affirmative Perfective and Imperfective Aspect

Type	Root	Perfective Base	Imperfective Base	Gloss
A	s-b-r	<i>sebber-</i>	<i>-sebr-</i>	‘break’
B	z-b-r	<i>zibber-</i>	<i>-zibbər-</i>	‘return’
C	g-b-z	<i>gabbəz-</i>	<i>-gabbəz-</i>	‘invite’

As can be observed from the above table, the second radical geminates in the perfective conjugation all the three types. Type B and C geminate the second radical in the imperfective base but not type A. Type B verbs change the vowel *i* to *ε* in the imperative and the jussive (see section 4.6).

4.1.3. Verb Base

The perfective base from triradical roots in *Kəstanəñña* has the general shape $C_1VC_2C_2\epsilon C_3-$ plus personal pronoun suffix. The imperfective base of triradical verbs has the shape $-C_1VC_2(C_2)C_3-$ plus personal pronoun affixes which consist of prefixes (for indicating the person) and suffixes for number and gender. The following table shows the two verb bases for each verb type.

Table 6: Bases of Triradical Verbs in the Perfective and Imperfective Aspect

Type	Perfective Base	Perfective Template	Imperfective Base	Imperfective Template	Gloss
A	<i>sebber-</i>	$C_1\epsilon C_2C_2\epsilon C_3-$	<i>-sebr-</i>	$-C_1\epsilon C_2C_3-$	‘break’
B	<i>zibber-</i>	$C_1iC_2C_2\epsilon C_3-$	<i>-zibbər-</i>	$-C_1iC_2C_2C_3-$	‘return’
C	<i>gabbəz-</i>	$C_1aC_2C_2\epsilon C_3-$	<i>-gabbəz-</i>	$-C_1aC_2C_2C_3-$	‘invite’

4.1.4. Personal Pronoun Affixes

Bedilu (2010:103) stated that the linear ordering of personal pronoun affixes is *person–number–gender*. The personal pronoun affixes are divided into two sets depending on the aspect and mood of the verb. In the perfective aspect, the personal pronouns are exclusively suffixes. The following table shows the personal pronoun suffixes of the verb *k'errēs-* ‘begin’ in the perfective base. Note that the personal pronoun suffixes are obligatorily followed by main verb markers in affirmative clauses.

Table 7: Subject Agreement with Perfective Verbs

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>k'errēski</i> k'errēs-ku-i begin.PV-1SG-MVM ‘I began’	<i>k'errēsno</i> k'errēs-ne-u begin.PV-1P-MVM ‘we began’
2M	<i>k'errēsko</i> k'errēs-kε-u begin.PV-2SM-MVM ‘you began’	<i>k'errēskaṃun</i> k'errēs-kmu-n begin.PV-2PM-MVM ‘you began’
2F	<i>k'errēsšin</i> k'errēs-ši-n begin.PV - 2SF – MVM ‘you began’	<i>k'errēskaṃan</i> k'errēs-kma-n begin.PV-2PF-MVM ‘you began’

Person	Singular	Plural
3M	<i>k'errɛso</i>	<i>k'errɛsmun</i>
	k'errɛs-ɛ-u	k'errɛs-mu-n
	begin.PV-3SM-MVM	begin.PV-3PM-MVM
	'he began'	'they began'
3F	<i>k'errɛsetti</i>	<i>k'errɛsman</i>
	k'errɛs-ett-i	k'errɛs-ma-n
	begin.PV-3SF-MVM	begin.PV-3PF-MVM
	'she began'	'they began'

In the singular conjugation, the suffix *-ku* refers to first person subjects, *-kɛ* to second person masculine subjects, *-ʃi* to second person feminine subjects, *-ɛ* to third masculine and *-ett* to third person feminine subjects. In the plural conjugation, *-nɛ* refers to first person subjects, *-kmu* to second person masculine, *-kma* to second person feminine subjects, *-mu* to third person masculine and *-ma* to third person feminine subjects.

In the suffixes for the first person singular and the second person, the initial *k* changes to *h* when the suffix is attached to a verb ending in a vowel. This alternation is exemplified in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Alternation *h~k* in Subject Agreement Markers in the Perfective Aspect

	Occurrence of <i>k</i>		Occurrence of <i>h</i>
a.	<i>sebberki</i> sebber-ku-i break.PV-1SG-MVM 'I broke'	e.	<i>beššehi</i> bešše-hu-i weep.PV-1SG-MVM 'I wept'
b.	<i>sebberko</i> sebber-ke-u break.PV-2SM-MVM 'you broke'	f.	<i>beššeho</i> bešše-he-u weep.PV-2SM-MVM 'you wept'
c.	<i>sebberkəmun</i> sebber-kmu-n break.PV-2PM-MVM 'you broke'	g.	<i>beššehmun</i> bešše-hmu-n weep.PV-2PM-MVM 'you wept'
d.	<i>sebberkəman</i> sebber-kma-n break.PV-2PF-MVM 'you broke'	h.	<i>beššehman</i> bešše-hma-n weep.PV-2PF-MVM 'you wept'

As can be observed in Table 8, the personal pronoun suffix starts with the velar stop *k* when the verb ends in a consonant but with the fricative *h* when the verb ends in a vowel.

Unlike the perfective conjugation, the markers identifying the subject in the imperfective verb conjugation occur as prefixes or as discontinuous morphemes consisting of prefix plus suffixes. Except the second person feminine, all singular subjects and the first person plural subject are identified by prefixes only while the remaining plural subjects have an additional number- and gender-marking suffix besides a prefix for indicating the person.

Table 9: Subject Agreement with Imperfective Verbs

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ək'ersu</i> ε-k'ers-u 1SG-begin.IPV-MVM 'I (will) begin'	<i>nək'ersu</i> n-k'ers-u 1P-begin.IPV-MVM 'we (will) begin'
2M	<i>tək'ersu</i> t-k'ers-ø-u 2-begin.IP-SM-MVM 'you (will) begin'	<i>tək'ersəmun</i> t-k'ers-mu-n 2-begin.IPV-PM-MVM 'you (will) begin'
2F	<i>tək'eršin</i> t-k'ers-i-n 2-begin.IPV-SF-MVM 'you (will) begin'	<i>tək'ersəman</i> t-k'ers-ma-n 2-begin.IPV-PF-MVM 'you (will) begin'
3M	<i>yək'ersu</i> y-k'ers-u 3SM-begin.IPV-MVM 'he begins/will begin'	<i>yək'ersəmun</i> y-k'ers-mu-n 3-begin.IPV-PM-MVM 'they (will) begin'
3F	<i>tək'ersi</i> t-k'ers-i 3SF-begin.IPV-MVM 'she begins/will begin'	<i>yək'ersəman</i> y-k'ers-ma-n 3-begin.IPV-PF-MVM 'they (will) begin'



As illustrated in Table 9, the bare prefix ε- identifies first person singular subjects; *t-* indicates second person singular masculine and third person singular feminine subjects, *y-* third person singular masculine subjects, and *n-* first person plural subjects. The discontinuous morphemes *t...-i* indicates second person singular feminine subjects, *t...-mu* and *t...-ma* identify second person plural masculine or feminine subjects, respectively, while the discontinuous morphemes *y...-mu* and *y...-ma* identifies third person plural masculine or feminine subjects, respectively.

Generally, the personal pronouns affixes of the perfective aspect are suffixes, while in the imperfective aspect the markers identifying the subject occur as prefixes or as discontinuous morphemes consisting of prefix plus suffix.

Table 10: Summary of Subject Agreement Affixes with Perfective and Imperfective Verbs

Person	Perfective Aspect	Imperfective Aspect
Singular		
1SG	-ku/-hu	ε -
2SM	-k ε /-h ε	t- ... \emptyset
2SF	-š <i>i</i>	t- ... -i
3SM	- ε	y-
3SF	- <i>ett</i>	t-
Plural		
1PL	-n ε	n-
2PM	-kmu/-hmu	t- ... -mu
2PF	-kma/hma	t- ... -ma
3PM	-mu	y- ... -mu
3PF	-ma	y- ... -ma

4.1.5 Main Verb Markers

Like other Northern Gurage languages, independent-affirmative indicative verbs are morphologically distinguished from subordinate, negative, or non-indicative (e.g., jussive or imperative) verbs by a set of main verb markers. These markers take the absolute final position in the main clause and encompass of the allomorphs -u, -n and -i. The following table presents the perfective and imperfective conjugations of the main verb for 'build', i.e., *arešš ε -* and *-areš-*, respectively.

Table 11: Main Verb Markers with Perfective and Imperfective Verbs

Person	Perfective Aspect	Imperfective Aspect
Singular		
1SG	<i>ge areššchi</i> ge arešše-hu-i house build.PV-1SG-MVM 'I built a house'	<i>ge arešu</i> ge ε-areš-u house 1SG-build.IPV-MVM 'I (will) build a house'
2SM	<i>ge areššeho</i> ge arešše-he-u house build.PV-2SM-MVM 'you built a house'	<i>ge tarešu</i> ge t-areš-ø-u house 2-build.IPV-SM-MVM 'you (will) build a house'
2SF	<i>ge areššeshin</i> ge arešše-ši-n house build.PV-2SF-MVM 'you built a house'	<i>ge tarešin</i> ge t-areš-i-n house 2-build.IPV-SF-MVM 'you (will) build a house'
3SM	<i>ge areššo</i> ge arešše-ε-u house build.PV-3SM-MVM 'he built a house'	<i>ge yarešu</i> ge y-areš-u house 3SM-build.IPV-MVM 'he will build/builds a house'
3SF	<i>ge areššetti</i> ge arešše-ett-i house build.PV-3SF-MVM 'she built a house'	<i>ge tarešin</i> ge t-areš-i house 3SF-build.IPV-MVM 'she will build/builds a house'

Person	Perfective Aspect	Imperfective Aspect
1PL	<i>ge areššeno</i> ge arešše-ne-u house build.PV-1P-MVM 'We built a house'	<i>ge narešu</i> ge n-areš-u house 1P-build.IPV-MVM 'We (will) build a house'
2PM	<i>ge areššchmun</i> ge arešše-hmu-n house build.PV-2PM-MVM 'You built a house'	<i>ge tarešmu</i> ge t-areš-mu-n house 2-build.IPV-PM-MVM 'You (will) build a house'
2PF	<i>ge areššchman</i> ge arešše-hma-n house build.PV-2PF-MVM 'You built a house'	<i>ge tarešman</i> ge t-areš-ma-n house 2-build.IPV-PF-MVM 'You (will) build a house'
3PM	<i>ge areššemun</i> ge arešše-mu-n house build.PV-3PM-MVM 'They built a house'	<i>ge yarešmun</i> ge y-areš-mu-n house 3-build.IPV-PM-MVM 'They (will) build a house'
3PF	<i>ge areššeman</i> ge arešše-ma-n house build.PV-3PF-MVM 'They built a house'	<i>ge yarešman</i> ge y-areš-ma-n house 3-build.IPV-PF-MVM 'They (will) build a house'

The selection of the one of the allomorphs *-u*, *-n* and *-i* is determined by the person of the subject. According to Bedilu (2010:99), the main verb marker *-t* attach after object marker in third person singular feminine and masculine. In addition, there occur phonological processes. For instance, in the perfective conjugation, the vowel *-o* of the second person singular masculine, the third person singular masculine and the first person plural results from the merger of the underlying vowel *ε* with the main verb marker *-u* (see also section 2.2.2.4).

Table 12: Summary of Main Verb Markers

Person	Perfective Aspect	Imperfective Aspect
Singular		
1SG	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
2SM	<i>-u</i>	<i>-u</i>
2SF	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>
3SM	<i>-u</i>	<i>-u</i>
3SF	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>
Plural		
1PL	<i>-u</i>	<i>-u</i>
2PM	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>
2PF	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>
3PM	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>
3PF	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>

4.1.6 Verb negation

Kəstanəñña marks negation by a prefix attached to the inflected verb. The prefix *al-* negates verbs in the perfective aspect while the prefix *t-* negates imperfective main clause verbs. Table 13 below shows examples for negated perfective and imperfective verbs for each verb type.

Table 13: Negation According to Verb Types

Type	Negative Perfective	Negative Imperfective
A	<i>alsebere</i>	<i>tisebr</i>
	al-seber-ε	t-y-sebr
	NEG-break.PV.NEG-3SM	NEG-3SM-break.IPV
	'he did not break'	'he will/does not break'
B	<i>alzebbere</i>	<i>tizebbər</i>
	al-zebber-ε	t-y-zebbər
	NEG-return.PV.NEG-3SM	NEG-3SM-return.IPV.NEG
	'he did not return'	'he will/does not return'
C	<i>algabεze</i>	<i>tigabbəz</i>
	al-gabez-ε	t-y-gabbəz
	NEG-invite.PV.NEG-3SM	NEG-3SM-invite.IPV
	'he did not invite'	'he will/does not invite'

As shown in Table 13, negated main verbs are not followed by a clause-final main verb marker. In addition, negated verbs of type B and C change their gemination and vocalization pattern, i.e., the typical vowel *i* following the first radical of affirmative type B verbs is replaced by the vowel *ε* in negation, and the second radical of type C verbs is not geminated in negated perfective verbs. In addition, Bedilu (2010:116) stated that negation of imperfective in the subordinate clause is marked by the prefix *a-*.

CHAPTER FIVE

ASPECT, AKTIONSART, PERFECT, TENSE AND MOOD

5.1. Aspect

5.1.1. Perfective

In *Kəstanəñña*, the stative and dynamic verbs in the perfective aspect yield different readings with regard to the time implication of the verbal event or action. The following examples illustrate this situation in the perfective conjugation.

(10) *k^wa ambessa gəddelo*

k^wa *ambessa* *gəddel-e-u*
he lion kill.PV-3SM-MVM
'He killed a lion.'

(11) *k^ya astemari honetti*

k^ya *astemari* *hon-ett-i*
she teacher be(come).PV-3SF-MVM
'She became/is a teacher.'

(12) *k^ya əññetti*

k^ya *əññε-ett-i*
she sleep.PV-3SF-MVM
'She sleeps.'

The action verb *gēddel-* ‘kill’ in (10) indicates the completion of the action and has, therefore, time implication referring to the past tense. The stative verbs *hon-* ‘become’ in (11) and *əññε-* ‘sleep’ in (12), in contrast, imply present-tense as the state is still observable at the time of utterance.

Moreover, the verbs in the perfective aspect can only co-occur with specific time expression for the past, but not with adverbs referring to a habitual action.

Observe the example below:

- (13) a. *edi təlameñ tēgebeyayen allefki*
edi təlameñ tē-gebeya-yen allef-ku-i
I yesterday to-market-to go.PV-1SG-MVM
‘I went to the market yesterday’
- b. **edi kulmgoy tēgebeyayen allefki*
edi kulmgoy tē-gebeya-yen allef-ku-i
I always to-market-to go.PV-1SG-MVM
‘I used to go the market’

As shown in (13a), the perfective action verb ‘go’ can co-occur with the past-time adverb *təlameñ* ‘yesterday’. But when the habitual adverbial phrase *kulmgoy* ‘always’ is used instead, as in (13b), the construction will be unacceptable. In English, however, the expression *I used to go market* is acceptable. This is due to

the fact that the verb in Kəstanəñña is marked for aspect but in English, it is marked for tense. Example (13b) provides strong evidence that Kəstanəñña verbs are marked for aspect rather than for tense.

Kəstanəñña action verbs in the perfective aspect normally have only past time reference. But in certain contexts, a few motion verbs may refer to a future action which is considered to be absolutely certain. Observe the examples below:

- (14) *mett'ahi – akk'əsmā!*
mett'a-hu-i akk'əs-ma
come.PV-1SG-MVM wait.IMP-2PF
'I will come (soon), wait!'

- (15) *bəlma, allefki*
bəl-ma allef-ku-i
say.IMP-2PF go.PV-1SG-MVM
'Good by, I will go '

The perfective verbs *mett'a-* and *allef-* in (14) and (15) refer to an action in the immediate future but not in the past.

Generally, Kəstanəñña verbs in the perfective aspect denote states with present time reference, and actions with past or rarely with future time reference without any tense marker. Only the inherent verb semantics or the discourse contexts are responsible for the various time implications.

5.1.2. Imperfective

The imperfective aspects of Kəstanəñña verbs have different interpretation (ambiguous). It can denote a verbal action as habitual or continuous and may have a present or future time implication. Observe the example below:

- (16) *kʷa tɛgɛbɛyayɛn yalfu*
kʷa tɛ-gɛbɛya-yɛn y-alf-u
he to-market-to 3SM-go.IPV-MVM
i 'He goes to the market.'
ii 'He will go to the market.'

- (17) *kʷa mɛt'haf yanɛbbu*
kʷa mɛt'haf y-anɛbb-u
he book 3SM-read.IPV-MVM
i 'He reads the book.'
ii 'He will read the book.'

As illustrated in (16) and (17), the imperfective main verbs *-alf-* 'go' and *-anɛbb-* 'read' are ambiguous between a continuous and habitual reading. The ambiguity may be avoided by using specific adverbial expressions, such as *ahu* 'now' for a continuous reading or *kulmgoy* 'always' for a habitual reading, as indicated below.

- (18) *kʷa ahu tɛgɛbɛyayɛn yalfu*
 kʷa ahu tɛ-gɛbɛya-yɛn y-alf-u
 he now to-market-to 3SM-go.IPV-MVM
 'He goes to the market now.'
- (19) *kʷa kulmgoy tɛgɛbɛyayɛn yalfu*
 kʷa kulm-goy tɛ-gɛbɛya-yɛn y-alf-u
 he all-time to-market-to 3SM-go.IPV-MVM
 'He always goes to the market.'
- (20) *kʷa ahu mɛt'haf yanɛbbu*
 kʷa ahu mɛt'haf y-anɛbb-u
 he now book 3SM-read.IPV-MVM
 'He reads a book now.'
- (21) *kʷa kulmgoy mɛt'haf yanɛbbu*
 kʷa kulm-goy mɛt'haf y-anɛbb-u
 he all-time book 3SM-read.IPV-MVM
 'he always reads a books'

Unlike action verbs, the imperfective aspect of some stative verbs denotes only future situations. Observe the example below.

- (22) *kʷa astɛmari yəhonu*
 kʷa astɛmari y-hon-u
 he teacher 3SM-be come.IPV-MVM
 'he will be a teacher'

According to Comrie (1976: 25), continuous actions may be either non-progressive (that is, stative) or progressive. Therefore, although imperfective

aspect and progressive aspect are quite similar, the progressive has a more narrowly defined meaning than the imperfective. In particular, progressives make reference to the internal structure of events, but are not used to describe habitual actions, nor stative ones. The habitual aspect describes “a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period” (Comrie 1976:28).

According to Bybee et al (1994:45) English distinguishes habitual and continuous in the past by the phrases *used to do* and *was doing*. Other languages use the past imperfective for both habitual and continuous. Dahl (1985: 117) states that “PAST is predominantly morphologically marked, and in most of these cases suffixally. There are a number of exceptions: in the Semitic languages, imperfective past is usually marked by the (past tense) copula” (Dahl 1985: 117).

Kəstanəñña speakers use an imperfective verb plus the invariable past-tense auxiliary *nebbər* to express habitual or continuous actions in the past. Observe the following example:

- (23) *k^wa tɛgɛbɛyayɛn yalf nɛbbɛr*
 k^wa tɛ-gɛbɛya-yɛn y-alf nɛbbɛr
 he to-market-to 3SM-go.IPV AUX.PAST
 i 'He used to go to the market.'
 ii 'He was going to the market.'

Example (23) is ambiguous between past progressive and past habitual. The sentence (24a) and (24b) are disambiguated by using specific adverbs.

- (24) a. *k^wa tɔlamɛɲ tɛgɛbɛyayɛn yalf nɛbbɛr*
 k^wa tɔlamɛɲ tɛ-gɛbɛya-yɛn y-alf nɛbbɛr
 heyesterday to-market-to 3SM-go.IPV AUX.PAST
 'He was going to the market yesterday'
- b. *k^wa kulmgoy tɛgɛbɛyayɛn yalf nɛbbɛr*
 k^wa kulm-goy tɛ-gɛbɛya-yɛn y-alf nɛbbɛr
 he all-time to-market-to 3SM-go.IPV AUX.PAST
 'He used to go to the market.'

As illustrated above, a past habitual action is expressed by an imperfective verb followed by the past-tense auxiliary *nɛbbɛr* plus the adverbial expression *kulmgoy* 'always'. The past continuous is expressed by an imperfective verb with the past-tense auxiliary *nɛbbɛr* and the time adverb *tɔlamɛɲ* 'yesterday'.

As can be observe from the above discussion, a verb in the imperfective aspect in *Kəstanəñña* can occur with reference to past and non-past situations. A past imperfective is constructed by a combination of imperfective verb plus the past-tense auxiliary *nɛbbɛr* whereas the non-past is formed from imperfective verbs

followed by the main verb markers.

5.1.3. Sub-Summary on the Aspect-Tense Distinction

Kəstanəñña verbs are primarily marked for aspect. Among the aspectual categories, we find the perfective-imperfective opposition. The two aspects are marked by verb inflection. Imperfective verbs commonly imply that the verbal situation occurs in the non-past but, when combined with a past-tense auxiliary, a verb in the imperfective can also refer to situations in the past. The perfective aspect has typically a past-time implication. However, the aspect of a verb interacts with the inherent verb semantics in a typical way for aspect languages. Stative verbs in the perfective aspect have a present-time implication and in the imperfective aspect a future time implication whereas action verbs in the perfective commonly have a past time implication. With a few motion verbs, the perfective aspect can even have a certain future reading.

5.2. Aktionsart

Aktionsart is a German word denoting the aspectual distinctions lexically inherent in the meaning of the verb itself (Comrie 1976: 67), i.e. meanings like the beginning of an action, the prospective, etc. I extend this use of the term aktionsart also to include periphrastic constructions denoting specific temporal readings of a situation.

5.2.1. Progressive

A progressive action takes place simultaneously with the moment of reference, i.e., ‘to be in the process of’ is called progressive (Comrie 1976: 12). Kəstanəňña speakers can form the progressive by using a copula clause with the construction *bε-VN lalε* as complement, i.e., the locative prefix *bε-* ‘at’ followed by the verbal noun denoting the action in progress which in turn is followed by the postposition *lalε* ‘top’.

- (25) a. *k^wa tεgebeyayen bεwεlef lalen*
k^wa tεgebeya-yen bε-wεlef-lalε-n
he to-market-to at-go.VN-top-COP.3SM
‘He is going to the market’
- b. *k^wa ge bεwaršlalen*
k^wa ge bε-warš-lalε-n
he house at-build.VN-top-COP.3SM
‘He is building a house’

As is evident from the example above, the construction consisting of the verbal nouns *warš* ‘to build’ and *wεlf* ‘to go’ embraced by the discontinuous morpheme *bε- ...-lalε* expresses a progressive action, i.e., an action in the process at the moment of speech. The present tense is expressed by the copula *-n*. The progressive form can also be used in the past simply by replacing the copula *-n* by the past tense copula *nεbber* as shown below.

- (26) *k^wa tegebeyayen beweleflal nebber*
k^wa te-gebeya-yen be-welef-lale nebber
 he to-market-to at-go.VN-top COP.3SM
 'He was going to the market.'

The word *nebber* with the subject agreement suffix in example (26) functions as a copula in the past. The progressive can only be formed from action verbs. When applied to stative verbs, the construction becomes unacceptable.

5.2.2 Prospective

The construction expressing the notion that an event is imminent to happen is known as prospective (Comrie 1976: 64). In *Kəstanəñña*, the prospective is encoded by the morpheme *-yyen* 'about' and the non past-tense auxiliary *-n*.

Observe the example below:

- (27) *k^wa ambessa yagedlāyyenən*
k^wa anbessa y-gedl-yyen-n
 he lion 3SM-kill.IPV-about-AUX.NPAST
 'He is about to kill the lion.'

In sentence (27), the imminent action in the future is composed of the imperfective main verb *yagedl* 'he kills/will kill' plus the directional morpheme *-yyen*. The copulative verb *-n* is used as the non past tense auxiliary. In prospective aktionsart *-n* does not inflected for the grammatical feature person, number and gender. The same imminent action can also be expressed in the past

by changing the non past-tense auxiliary *-n* into the past-tense auxiliary *nɛbber*, as shown below.

- (28) *k^wa ambessa yəgɛdləyyɛn nɛbber*
 k^wa ambessa y-gɛdl-yyɛn nɛbber
 he lion 3SM-kill.IPV-about AUX.PAST
 ‘He was about to kill the lion.’

The distinction between (27) and (28) is not only one of tense. While the action in (27) has the potential to be fulfilled, it is clear that the action denoted in (28) did not take place although it was intended.

5.2.3. Inceptive

The inceptive focuses on the beginning or starting point of an action (Bybee 1985: 21). In *Kəstanəñña*, the inceptive is expressed by a periphrastic construction consisting of the verbal noun as complement to the verb *k’errɛs-* in the perfective aspect. Observe the example below:

- (29) *wobla k’errɛso*
 wobla k’errɛs-ɛ-u
 eat.VN begin.PV-3SM-MVM
 ‘He begins to eat.’

5.3. Perfect

Kəstanəñña can also form a perfect. According to Hetzron (1972: 59), the present perfect is formed by attaching the morpheme *-m* to an inflected verb in the perfective aspect in a main clause. In my study too, Kəstanəñña speakers use this kind of expressions. Thus, a present perfect is expressed by using a verb in the perfective aspect followed by the morpheme *-m*. Observe the example below.

- (30) a. *səbbərem*
 səbbər-ε-m-∅
 break.PV-3SM-CVM-NPAST
 ‘He has broken (it).’
- b. *əññettəm*
 əññε-ett-m-∅
 sleep.PV-3SM-CVM-NPAST
 ‘She is sleeping.’

Although the two Kəstanəñña sentences in example (30) occur in the same construction, they are translated variously into English. The example (30a) refers to a past situation with some relevance to the moment of utterance (i.e., something was broken prior to the moment of utterance and is still broken), whereas, in (30b), a situation started in the past but still continues at the moment of utterance. The reason for the two different English meaning for the sentence in (30) is the inherent semantics of the verbs involved. While (30a) is formed from an action verb, (30b) contains a stative verb. Thus, as it was the case with the perfective aspect, the use of either stative or active verbs also

yields different readings in the perfect construction.

The morpheme *-m* attached to verbs in (30) is a converb marker. It occurs with perfective, imperfective, and jussive verbs to denote a sequence of verbal events, as show in (31).

(31) a. *bellam allefo*

bella-ε-m allef-ε-u
eat.PV-3SM-CVM go.PV-3SM-MVM
'He ate and went.'

b. *yəbelam yalfu*

y-bela-m y-alf-u
3SM-eat.IPV-CVM 3SM-go.IPV-MVM
'He eats and goes. /He will eat and go.'

c. *yeblam yelef!*

ye-bla-m ye-εlef
3SM-eat.JUS-CVM 3SM-go.JUS
'Let him eat and go!'

The present tense in (30) is indicated by a zero morpheme following the converb marker. Subsequently, a past perfect is formed from the converb of a perfective verb plus the past-tense auxiliary *nebber*. Observe the example below:

(32) a. *sebberem nebber*

sebber- ε -m nebber
break. PV-3SM-CVM AUX.PAST
'He had broken (it).'

b. *əññettəm nəbber*

əññε-ett-m

nəbber

sleep.PV-3SF-CVM

AUX.PAST

‘She had slept’

5.4. Tense

Kəstanəñña has two tenses: past and non-past. Non-past tense is expressed by the present-tense auxiliary *-n* in prospective aktionsart (see also 5.2.2) or by zero morpheme in perfective converb (see 5.3). The past tense is expressed by the invariable past-tense auxiliary *nəbber* following perfective converb (see 5.3) or a verb in the imperfective as shown below.

(33) *yalf nəbber*

y-alf

nəbber

3SM-go.IPV AUX.PAST

‘He used to go.’

‘He was going.’

In (33), a durative or habitual past reading is expressed by using the imperfective aspect of a verb followed by the past-tense auxiliary *nəbber*. By using the imperfective aspect alone, the speaker can express progressive or habitual verbal situation in the present or future. However, progressivity and habituality is part of the reading of the imperfective aspect, i.e., these readings in general are related to aspect and not to tense (Comrie 1976: 25). So, the aspectual meaning in (33) is expressed by the main verb, but the past tense by the past-tense auxiliary *nəbber*. When an affirmative main-clause



imperfective verb is marked for past tense by the auxiliary *nebb̄er*, it cannot also be followed by the main verb markers, i.e., main verb marker and past-tense auxiliary *nebb̄er* are in complementary distribution. However, main verb markers are not tense marker because they attach to perfective and imperfective verbs.

Tense, as a grammatical category, can only be indicated with verbs in the perfect construction, in aktionsart and with verbs in the imperfective aspect. In the perfective aspect there is no special marker for tense. The past reading, which is usually found in this aspect, results from the semantics of the perfective aspect marker plus the inherent semantics of the verb (see discussion in 5.1).

5.5. Mood

According to Palmer (1986: 21), mood is not expressed in all languages within the verbal morphology. In *Kəstanəñña*, in addition to grammatical tense and aspect, the jussive and imperative moods are expressed morphologically on the verb. The following table shows examples for the jussive and imperative base for each verb type.

Table 14: Jussive/Imperative Bases of Triradical Verbs

Type	Root	Jussive Base	Jussive Template	Imperative Base	Imperative Template	Gloss
A	s-b-r	-sber-	-C ₁ C ₂ εC ₃ -	sber-	C ₁ C ₂ εC ₃ -	'break'
B	z-b-r	-zεbbər-	-C ₁ εC ₂ C ₂ C ₃ -	zεbbər-	C ₁ εC ₂ C ₂ C ₃ -	'return'
C	g-b-z	-gabz-	-C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ -	gabz-	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ -	'invite'

As can be observed from the above table, the jussive and the imperative bases are identical. The second radical geminates only in verbs of type B. Unlike aspectual forms with the vowel *i* following the first radical in type B verbs, the vowel *ε* is found instead of *i* in the jussive/imperative base of these verbs.

Generally, all speaker-oriented moods use the same verb form but different subject markers.

5.5.1. Jussive

The jussive mood is used to express an indirect command or the speaker is encouraging or inciting someone to perform an action (Bybee 1985: 179). In *Kəstanəñña*, the jussive uses personal pronoun circumfixes to refer to the subject, as it was the case with verbs in the imperfective aspect. The following table shows the personal pronoun circumfixes with the verbs *-sber-* 'break', *səggər-* 'change', and *-galb-* 'gallop' in the jussive mood.

Table 15: Inflection of Triradical Jussive Verbs

Person	Singular	Plural
Type A		
1	<i>nəsber</i> nɛ-sbɛr 1SG-break.JUS 'let me break'	<i>nəsber</i> n-sbɛr 1P-break.JUS 'let us break'
3M	<i>yəsber</i> yɛ-sbɛr 3SM-break.JUS 'let him breaks'	<i>yəsberm</i> yɛ-sbɛr-m 3-break.JUS-PM 'let them break'
3F	<i>təsber</i> t-sbɛr 3SF-break.JUS 'let her breaks'	<i>yəsberma</i> yɛ-sbɛr-ma 3-break.JUS-PM 'let them break'
Type B		
1	<i>nɛsɛggər</i> nɛ-sɛggər 1SG-change.JUS 'let me change'	<i>nəsɛggər</i> n-sɛggər 1P-change. JUS 'let us change'
3M	<i>yɛsɛggər</i> yɛ-sɛggər 3SM-change.JUS 'let him change'	<i>yɛsɛggərmu</i> yɛ-sɛggər-mu 3-change.JUS-PM 'let them change'
3F	<i>təsɛggər</i> t-sɛggər 3SF-change.JUS 'let her change'	<i>yɛsɛggərma</i> yɛ-sɛggər-ma 3-change.JUS-PF 'let them change'

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>nεgalb</i> nε-galb 1SG-gallop.JUS 'let me gallop'	<i>nəgalb</i> n-galb 1P-gallop.JUS 'let us gallop'
3M	<i>yεgalb</i> yε-galb 3SM-gallop.JUS 'let him gallops'	<i>yεgalbmu</i> yε-galb-mu 3-gallop.JUS-PM 'let them gallop'
3F	<i>təgalb</i> t-galb 3SF-gallop.JUS 'let her gallops'	<i>yεgalbma</i> yε-galb-ma 3-gallop.JUS-PF 'let them gallop'

The personal pronoun affixes with jussive verbs are similar to the affixes used with verbs in the imperfective aspect with one difference. With affirmative jussive verbs, the prefix denoting subjects in the first person singular and in the third person is followed by the vowel ε, i.e., *nε-* or *yε-*, respectively. Table 16 summarizes the personal pronoun affixes for the jussive conjugation.

Table 16: Summary of Subject Agreement Affixes with Jussive Verbs

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>nε-</i>	<i>n-</i>
3M	<i>yε-</i>	<i>yε- ... -mu</i>
3F	<i>t-</i>	<i>yε- ... -ma</i>

5.5.2. Imperative

Unlike verbs in the jussive mood and negative imperative mood, the person prefix *t-* is not realized in the affirmative imperative mood. Thus, in the affirmative imperative mood, only gender and number suffixes are attached to the verb base. The following table shows the different verb types in the imperative mood.

Table 17: Imperative with Triradical Verbs

Person	Singular	Plural
Type A		
2M	<i>səbər</i> səbər-ø break.IMP.2SM 'break!'	<i>səbərmu</i> səbər-mu break.IMP-2PM 'break!'
2F	<i>səbəri</i> səbər-i break.IMP-2SF 'break!'	<i>səbərma</i> səbər-ma break.IMP-2PF 'break!'
Type B		
2M	<i>zəbbər</i> zəbbər- ø return.IMP-2SM 'return!'	<i>zəbbərmu</i> zəbbər-mu return.IMP-2PM 'return!'
2F	<i>zəbbəri</i> zəbbər-i return.IMP-2SF 'return!'	<i>zəbbərma</i> zəbbər-ma return.IMP-2PM 'return!'
Type C		



Person	Singular	Plural
2M	<i>gabz</i>	<i>gabzəmu</i>
	<i>gabz-∅</i>	<i>gabz-mu</i>
	invite-IMP	invite.IMP-2PM
	‘invite!’	‘invite!’
2F	<i>gabži</i>	<i>gabzəma</i>
	<i>gabz-i</i>	<i>gabz-ma</i>
	invite.IMP-2SF	invite.IMP-2PF
	‘invite!’	‘invite!’

5.5.3. Prohibitive

The negative imperative or negative command is known as prohibitive (Bybee 1985: 179). In *Kəstanəñña*, the prohibitive is formed by the negative marker *a-* plus personal prefix *t-* which does not occur with affirmative imperative verbs.

Table18: Negative Imperative

Person	Singular	Plural
2M	<i>assəber</i>	<i>assəbermu</i>
	<i>a-t-sber</i>	<i>a-t-sber-mu</i>
	NEG-2SM-break.IMP	NEG-2-break.IMP-PM
	‘Don’t break!’	‘Don’t break!’
2F	<i>assebri</i>	<i>assəberma</i>
	<i>a-t-sber-i</i>	<i>a-t-sber-ma</i>
	NEG-2-break.IMP-SF	NEG-2-break.IMP-PF
	‘Don’t break!’	‘Don’t break!’

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we recapitulate the major points discussed in the preceding chapters on tense, aspect and mood in Kəstanəñña. The aim of this study was to give a baseline description of the TAM system in Kəstanəñña, one of the Gurage languages.

As the discussion in chapter four shows, Kəstanəñña has a complex verb structure, consisting of radicals, vowels and personal pronoun affixes. Furthermore, Kəstanəñña verbs employ various consonantal and vowel patterning to express the grammatical categories aspect and mood.

In our discussion of aspect, Kəstanəñña verbs show a clear aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. The variation is indicated by the morphological shape of the verb bases and agreement markers. Hence, a triradical verb has the pattern $[C_1\varepsilon C_2C_2\varepsilon C_3]$ for type A, $[C_1iC_2C_2\varepsilon C_3]$ for type B, and $[C_1aC_2C_2\varepsilon C_3]$ for type C in the perfective aspect, but $[-C_1\varepsilon C_2C_3-]$ for type A, $[C_1iC_2C_2C_3]$ for type B, and $[C_1aC_2C_2C_3]$ for type C in the imperfective aspect. The personal pronoun affixes with perfective verbs are suffixes, while imperfective verbs mark their subject by discontinuous morphemes consisting of prefixes and suffixes.



In our discussion of mood, it was stated that there are two morphologically recognized mood categories, namely the imperative and the jussive. The imperative and jussive of triradical verbs have an identical pattern, namely $[C_1C_2\varepsilon C_3]$ for type A, $[C_1\varepsilon C_2C_2C_3]$ for type B and $[C_1aC_2C_3]$ for type C. However, affirmative imperative and jussive can be distinguished by different subject markers, i.e., the imperative lacks the person marker *t*.

Kəstanəñña, like the other Northern Gurage languages, distinguish affirmative main-clause verbs in the indicative mood from subordinate, negative and non-indicative verbs by means of morphological main verb markers. The main verb markers encompass a set of suffixes, namely *-u*, *-n*, and *-i*, which are allomorphs whose distribution depends on the subject of the verb.

Verbs in the perfective aspect focus on the inherent rightmost border of a verbal event. With dynamic or action verbs, the perfective aspect, consequently, implies a past-time reference. However, with stative verbs, the perfective aspect implies a present-time reference. Furthermore, a few expressions with motion verbs in the perfective aspect can be interpreted with a future meaning.

Kəstanəñña verbs in the imperfective aspect are ambiguous between progressive and habitual. This ambiguity can be avoided by using specific adverbial constructions. Furthermore, a verb in the bare imperfective can imply present or

future situations depending on the inherent verb semantics. Furthermore, verbs in the imperfective aspect can also be given a past-time reading by attaching the past-tense auxiliary

In addition to aspect, *Kəstanəñña* can distinguish between past and non-past tenses. The non-past tense is expressed by the non past auxiliary *-n* in periphrastic aktionsart constructions or by a zero morpheme with in the perfect construction. Past tense is uniformly expressed by invariable past-tense auxiliary *nəbbər*. Tense, as a grammatical category, can only be indicated in the perfect, in prospective aktionsart and in the imperfective aspect. In the perfective aspect, there is no special marker for tense. The past meaning, which is usually found in this aspect, interacts with the verb semantics.

Kəstanəñña has a perfect which is formed by attaching the converb marker *-m* to a verb in the perfective aspect. The perfect occurs in two tenses. The present perfect tense is formed from verbs in the perfective aspect plus the converb marker *-m* without any tense marker, but the past perfect tense is formed by using the past-tense auxiliary *nəbbər*.

Periphrastic constructions are denoting specific temporal readings of a situation. In *Kəstanəñña*, the verbal nouns with the discontinuous morphemes *bε- ... -lale* and the verbal noun followed by the perfective verb *k'ərrəso* expresses

progressive and inceptive aktionsart of an action respectively. The progressive can be expressed with past or non-past tense reference but not the inceptive. Another aktionsart is the prospective which is encoded by a verb in the imperfective aspect followed by the morpheme - *əyyen* 'towards'. This aktionsart can also occur in past and non-past tenses.

Generally, it is possible to conclude that *Kəstanəñña* verbs are marked primarily for aspect and mood rather than tense.

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Appendix: QUESTIONNAIRE ON TAM IN KƏSTANƏŃŃA

NO	VERBS	GLOSS
1.	səbbərə	'he broke'
2.	təŃŃa	'he sleeps'
3.	gəddele	'he killed'
4.	mellese	'he returned'
5.	hone	'he became'
6.	hedə	'he went'
7.	gabbəze	'he invited'
8.	šətt'	'he sold'
9.	arəğğə	'he became old'
10.	serra	'he worked'
11.	ğəmmərə	'he began'
12.	wəddədə	'he loved'
13.	fellege	'he wanted'
14.	k'erre	'he remained'
15.	ləbbəse	'he wore'
16.	mətt'a	'he came'
17.	anəbebe	'he read'
18.	gallebe	'he galloped'

NO	NOUNS	GLOSS
1.	ambessa	'lion'
2.	gəbɛya	'market'
3.	sɛw	'man'
4.	astemari	'teacher'

	ADVERBS	GLOSS
1.	zɛwɛtr	'always'
2.	təlantəna	'yesterday'
3.	ahun	'now'
4.	nege	'tomorrow'
5.	kɛand amet bɛfit	'a year ago'
6.	kɛhaya amet bɛfit	'twenty years ago'
7.	kɛand amet bɛhwala	'one year later'
6.	kɛhaya amet bɛfit	'twenty years later'

Personal pronouns

ənɛ	'I'
antɛ	'you (SM)'
anči	'you (SF)'

əssu	'he'
əsswa	'she'
ənnantɛ	'you'(M/F)
ənnɛsu	'they'(M/F)
əñña	'we'

SENTEENSE

1. əssu ambessa gɛddɛlɛ
2. əssu astɛmari honɛ
3. əssu tɛñña
4. əssu tɛlantɔna wɛdɛ gɛbɛya hɛdɛ
5. mɛtt'hu t'ɛbk'ɛñ
6. bɛl hedku
7. əssu tɛlantɔna wɛdɛ gɛbɛya
yɛhed nɛbbɛr
8. əssu wɛdɛ gɛbɛya yɛhedal
9. əssu astɛmari yɛhonal
10. əssu sɛbro^wal
11. əssu tɛñnto^wal

GLOSS

- 'he killed a lion'
- 'he became a teacher'
- 'he sleeps'
- 'he went to market yesterday'
- 'I will come(immediately), wait!'
- 'ciao, I will go (immediately)'
- 'he was going to the market
yesterday'
- 'he goes to the market '
- 'he will go to the market'
- 'he will be a teacher'
- 'he has broken'
- 'he is sleeping'

12. əssu səbro nəbbər 'he had broken'
13. əssu tənñəto nəbbər 'he had slept'
14. əssu kand amet befit məstawot səbro^{wal} 'he has broken a mirror a year ago'
15. əssu təlantəna məstawot səbro nəbbər 'he had broken a mirror yesterday'



Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own original work and has not been presented for any other degree and that all sources of materials used for the study have been duly acknowledged.

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