

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS**

TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD (TAM) IN WOLAYTA

BY

DEGEFU DALKE

**June, 2012
Addis Ababa**

TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD (TAM) IN WOLAYTA

**A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE SCHOOL
OF GRADUATE STUDIES ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER'S OF ART IN GENERAL LINGUISTICS**

**BY
Degefu Dalke**

**June, 2012
Addis Ababa**

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Department of Linguistics

This is to certify that the Thesis prepared by Degefu Dalke, entitled Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) in Wolayta and submitted in partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of masters of Arts in General linguistics compiles with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the examining committee:

Examiner _____ Signature _____ date _____

Examiner _____ Signature _____ date _____

Advisor _____ Signature _____ date _____

Chief of Department or Graduate program coordinator

Abstract

TAM in Wolayta

Degefu Dalke

Addis Ababa University, 2012

This study explores tense, aspect and mood in the Wolayta language. Wolayta is one of the main languages of the Ometo group of the Omotic family, which belongs to the Afro-asiatic language phylum. It is spoken in the south west part of Ethiopia by about 1, 7 million people. The study presents an in-depth description of tense, aspect and mood in affirmative declarative clauses, negative declarative clauses and interrogatives. The thesis identifies and discusses tense, aspect and mood marking morphemes and their interaction with agreement and negation markers. Aspectual distinctions include perfective aspect, imperfective aspect, progressive aspect, ingressive aspect and iterative aspect. Furthermore, present perfect tense and future tense morphemes are discussed. In addition, speaker-oriented, agent-oriented and epistemic modalities/ moods are explained next to various kinds of imperatives and hortative.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to praise the Almighty God, the one I consider to be the ultimate creator of language, for His enabling, for the valor and vigor he gave me to endure all the difficulties and finalize my studies in general and this thesis in particular.

I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Dr. Anne-Christie Hellenthal, for her continued, patient and self-sacrificing support in bringing this study to its present form. Without her critical insights and suggestions this study would have been greatly lacking in linguistic incisiveness and cohesiveness.

I am keen to convey my deepest gratitude to my wife W/o Netsanet Jembere to encourage me to continue my education and for carrying all household responsibility of mine on top of her.

My deepest love and thanks goes to my son Kalkidan Degefu and my daughter Blen Degefu for their relentless endeavor to make me happy and successful in my education. Kiki, and Nanni, you are always in the special place of my heart.

My especial thanks goes to Ato Admasu Ayza and his wife W/o Siraye Chala who sacrificed a lot socially as well as financially throughout my study. Adme, I couldn't get words to express what I feel all except saying thank you again and again!

My deepest gratitude goes to Dr. Ronny Meyer, who spent his precious time reading first draft of this thesis and gave me valuable comment. His intellectual guidance and material support also contributed a lot to this thesis to be completed successfully.

I must express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Tolemariam Fufa who also spent his precious time reading first draft of this thesis and gave me valuable comment.

I am also grateful to my brother Dessalegn Dalke, Ato Fantu Moliso and Ato Bekele Lakew for their benevolent attitude and financial support during my study.

I still express my gratitude to Dr. Sacha Develle and Areka Town chief administrators for their positive attitudes and financial support and for those who helped me in one way or the other throughout this study.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my informants Ato Addisu Bogale and Petros Fola who took their time to give their replies as critically as possible to all questions raised.

LIST OF FIGURE

Title	Pages
Figure 1: Omotic Family Overview based on Fleming (1976)	4

LIST OF TABLES

Title	Pages
Table 1: Consonant Inventory.....	5
Table 2: Vowel inventory	5

Abbreviations

ABS: Absolutive case

ACC: accusative case

ADM: Admonative mood

AFM: Affirmative form

AgrS: Subject agreement

CNV: Converb

DEC: Declarative mood

DUB: Doubt

EMP: Emphatic Imperative mood

FUT: Future tense

HOR: Hortative mood

IMP: Imperative mood

IMPV: Imperfective aspect

IN: Infinitive

INT: Interrogative mood

ITR: Iterative aspect

NEG: Negative form

NOM: Nominative case

OPT: Optative mood

PERM: Permissive interrogative

PFV: Perfective aspect

PREP: Present perfect tense

PHR: Prohibitive mood

PROG: Progressive aspect

1SG: First person singular

2SG: Second person singular

3FSG: Third person feminine singular

3MSG: Third person masculine singular

1PL: First person plural

2PL: Second person plural

3PL: Third person plural

CHAPTER ONE

Background of the Study

1.1. Introduction

This study aims to give a descriptive account of Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) in Wolayta, one of the Omotic languages of Ethiopia. The study explores, in detail, ‘Tense, Aspect and Mood’ markers in affirmative declarative clauses and their interaction with other elements such as agreement, negation and interrogatives.

1.2. The People

Wolayta is the self-name of the people who are the native speakers of the Wolayta language. They are known by different names which include Wolaytta, Welaitta, Welamo and Wolaamo. However, today the last two are not favored by the people themselves and they are also not pleased to be addressed by these two names because these are offensive terms. They are not self-referent terms of Wolayta.

Wolayta has 1, 707, 079 native speakers according to the 2007 population and housing census of Ethiopia. The majority of Wolayta speakers reside in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People’s Regional State of Ethiopia. Wolayta speakers also use the name Wolayta in order to refer to the land they live in. Its total area is about 3500sq. km. Farming and trade are basic activities for the people. Wolayta is an independent administrative zone. The zone has a well-organized infrastructure to communicate easily internally as well as externally. The main town of the zone is Soddo, which is located about 330km south of Addis Ababa. Lamberti and Sottile (1997:15) give a vivid picture of the location:

The Wolayta people are surrounded by populations to the west such as the Dawro, the K'ucca, the Boredda and the Gamo and to the south who speak other Omoto dialects that are very similar to Wolayta. The T'ambaro, Kambata and Sidama people, who speak Burji-Sidamo languages, are to the east and to the north. The Bilatte River separates the Sidama from the Wolayta.

1.3. The Language and Its Classification

Wolayta and Wolaittattuwa are common names for the language. It can also be referred to as Wolaitta Doonaa (lit. 'mouth of Wolayta') or Wolaitta K'aalaa (lit. 'word of Wolayta'). There are several different spellings for this language in the Latin alphabet from previous written works. These include Wolaytta, Wolaitta, Wolayta and Welaita which are used by Lamberti and Sottile (1997), Adams (1983), Bekale (1989), Aklilu (2010), Bender (1987) and others. Although the first three are commonly used, I use 'Wolayta' in this thesis, paying my respect to Bekale (1989) and Aklilu (2010).

Wolayta is an Omotic language of the Afroasiatic phylum, which consists of 25 to 30 languages /dialects (Hayward, 2003). Fleming (1976) divides the Omotic language family into Western and Eastern Omotic. Wolayta belongs to Western Omotic. The eastern branch is subdivided into the North east, which consists of the Ari and Dime languages, and the South East, which contains Banna, Hamar and Karo. Western Omotic further branches into the Kafa-Gimojan and Maji languages. The former consists of Gimojan and Kafa languages, and the latter consists of three languages: Nao, Sheko and Maji. Gimojan branches into three groups: Omoto, Yem and Bench. Biniyam (2008) states that the

Ometo cluster is the principal group and consists of closely related languages and varieties of languages.

Fleming (1976) divides this Ometo cluster into South, West, East and North. The South consists of Maale and the West comprises the Basketto and Doko-Dollo languages. Haro, Kachama, Koyra and Zayse are part of the East. Wolayta belongs to the Northern Ometo, along with languages such as Gamo, Gofa and Dawro.

Later classifications (Fleming 1976, Bender 1976; 1986; 2000) do not differ with regard to Wolayta although classification of other branches is changed, so I found Fleming's (1976) classification preferable in this thesis.

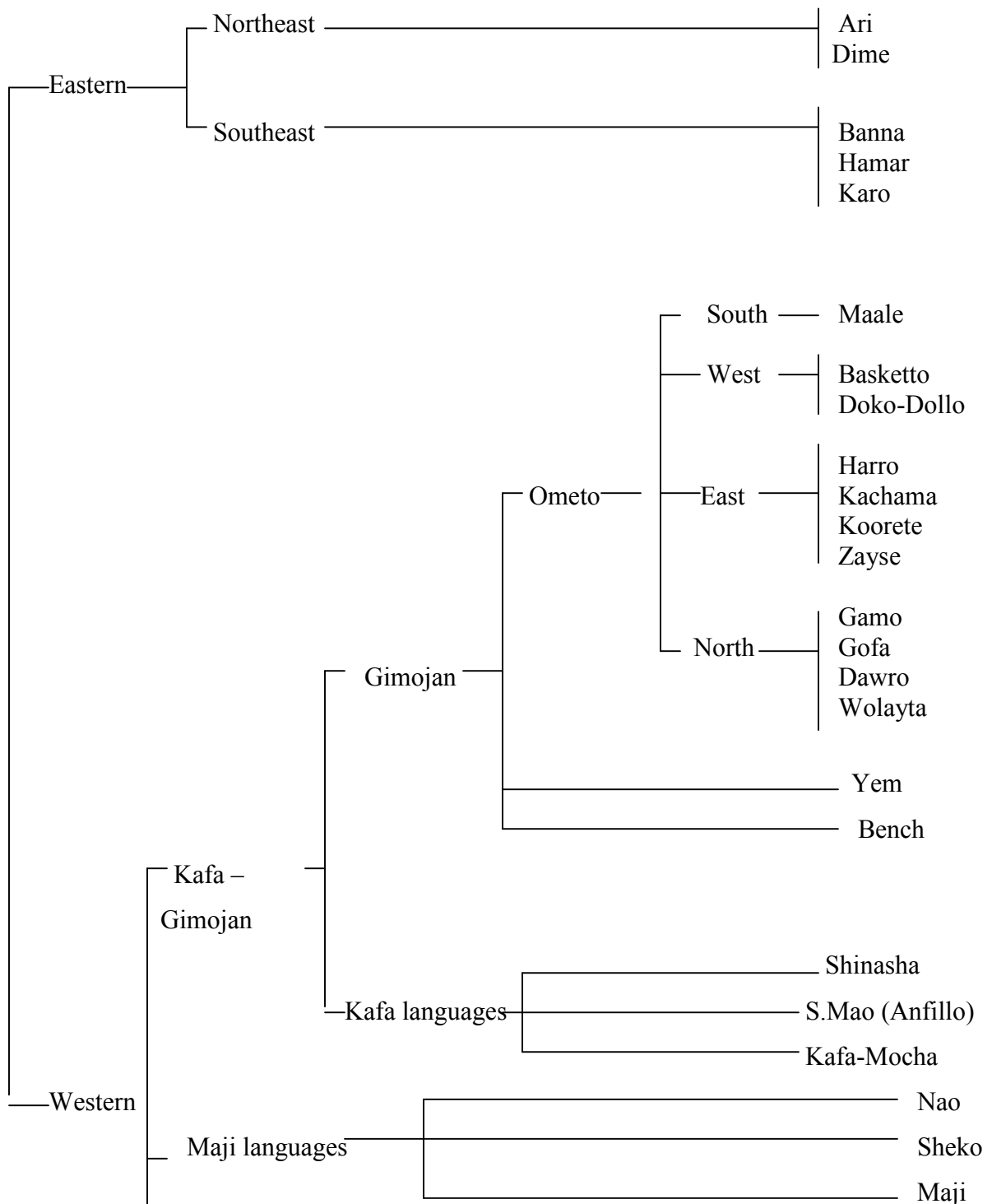


Figure 1: Omotic Family Overview based on Fleming (1976)¹

¹Figure adapted from Azeb (2006) and Aklilu (2010)

The following two tables present the phoneme inventory of Wolayta.

Table 1: Consonant Inventory²

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palato alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d	tʃ dʒ		k g	ʔ
Fricative	Φ	s z	ʃ dʒ			h
Ejective	p'	s' t'	ts'		k'	
Implosive	ɓ	ɗ				
Nasal	m	n				
Liquid		r	l			
Glide				y	w	

Table 2: Vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i, ii		u,uu
Mid	e,ee		o,oo
Open		a,aa	

1.4. Objective

The general objective of the study is to provide a linguistic description of Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) in the Wolayta language. The specific objectives are the following:

- To describe the interaction of Tense, Aspect and Mood, in affirmative declarative clauses and negative declarative clauses.

² These two tables are adapted from Azeb (2006) and Aklilu (2010)

- To explain the interaction of Tense, Aspect and Mood with other elements such as transitivity (in verb level), negation, interrogatives, and agreement.
- To illustrate how Tense, Aspect and Mood are used by providing ample examples.

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study will make the following practical contributions:

- It will serve for preparation of dictionaries, teaching materials and other related pedagogical materials by concerned bodies in the Wolayta zone.
- It will help as a spring board for further research.
- It will extend the knowledge of Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) in the language.
- It will contribute to the further classification of Ometo.

1.6. Methodology

The methodology employed in the research is elicitation where the native speakers of Wolayta language are interviewed; as well as introspection, where the researcher himself is a source of data, since he is native speaker of the language. My informants are Addisu Bogale and Petros Fola. Addisu was born in Boloso Sore Woreda, Sore Homba which is about 80km to West part of Wolayta from the zone center. He is now a first year M A student at Addis Ababa University in the Department of TEFL. Petros was born in Kindo Koysa woreda, Sorto which is about 40km to South West part of Wolayta from the zone center. He teaches in elementary school holding diploma in language teaching. Both are native speakers. The data is collected during two field trips in October 2011 to Wolayta Zone. The data include phrases, clauses and sentences. Prior to collecting the data, word

paradigms, phrases, clauses and sentences showing Tense, Aspect and Mood in a variety of situations were prepared in the languages which are common for both the informants and the researcher, in this case Wolayta and Amharic. The data then is elicited and phonemically transcribed. After collecting data, it is analyzed and a proper description is provided based on the morpho-syntactic facts of the language.

My intention was to split morphemes into single units to investigate what each morphemes marks in Wolayta for tense, aspect, mood or agreement. However, its result was problematic because of the complexity of the Wolayta language. For example, the imperfective affirmative declarative form of the verb *b-* 'go' is *b-aysi* and the negative counterpart is *b-ikke* for first person singular to mean 'I go/am/was going' vs. 'I don't go/am/was not going.' Both the affirmative and negative suffixes express agreement, however, there is no identical morpheme to be described as agreement marker morpheme, and both sentences are declarative though it is not obviously marked. Therefore, the fused suffix *-aysi* expresses imperfective affirmative declarative for first person singular and the fused morpheme *-ikke* expresses imperfective negative declarative for first person singular. For more detail see chapters two up to four.

Scholars also agree that the Wolayta language is complex to split morphemes. 'The complexity of the Wolaytta language did not allow us to carry out an exhaustive study of the language...' (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 6). '..., the complexity of Wolaitta conjugation is daunting' (Bender 2000: 28). Thus, based on the data after investigating the morphology finally I decided to 'lump' the morphemes rather than split them.

1.7. Delimitation of the Study

The study assesses Tense, Aspect and Mood in Wolayta. The thesis focuses only on affirmative declarative clauses, negative declarative clauses and interrogatives on main verbs in Wolayta.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. Review of Previous Research

Tucker and Bryan (1956), one of the first publications on the Wolayta language, only mentioned the location of the people and the publication of one Gospel. Their work does not contain an analytical discussion.

Yitebarek (1970) investigated Wolayta verbs in his thesis for the Bachelor of Arts degree in Ethiopian languages and literature. He classified the verb, and analyzed various approaches in the conjugation of the verb. He separated the verb stem from the affixes of tense, person, gender and negative markers.

Getachew (1975) described affixes of nouns and adjectives. His work mainly focused on the grammatical gender and number affixes.

Ohman & Hailu (1976) gave a brief grammatical description of Wolayta. They started their discussion comparing consonants and vowels in Wolayta and Amharic. They then investigated the similarity of syllabic structure to Amharic and pointed out the existence of loan words from Amharic. There are also explanations for cases, genders, definiteness, demonstratives, adjectives, postpositions, conjunction, interjections, verbs, tenses, voice, negatives and questions. They provide three ways for making negation. The first one uses *de?e-na or bawa* 'there is not'. The second one makes use of *gid-ena* 'not'. The third is verbal negation.

Adams (1983) offered an overview of the phonology and syntax of Wolayta. He used a tagmemic approach. This work provides a more detailed description of the language than the earlier works. Tense, Aspect and Mood are given a brief treatment in the part about syntax. However, it does not tell us the type of tense in the language, and it also does not analyze morphemes into units to see interaction of grammatical categories such as Tense, Aspect and Mood.

Yitebark (1983) studied the phonology of the language. He began with consonants, vowels and their variants. Then he extended to syllables and to the phonological processes. He closed his discussion on the suprasegmentals such as stress, and intonation.

Senait (1984) analyzed different case morphemes which included personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. She identified the base form of the pronouns and showed their forms in different clauses.

Bekale (1989) investigated the case system in Wolayta. He discussed the case morphology, case assignment in nominative and accusative in terms of verbal heads, postpositions, and complement.

Lamberti and Sottile (1997) made an overview of the grammar of Wolayta. Their analysis on tense, aspect and mood is better than the other earlier works. They analyze four different tenses: present tense, future tense, 'aorist tense' and 'past tense'. They use Tense as a cover term both for tense and aspect.

Hirut (1998) looked into the orthographic problem of Wolayta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro which are represented by an acronym WOGAGODA. This acronym refers to a sort of

artificially mixed dialect formed out of the four dialects. She mentioned facts like representing non-existing morphemes, not representing the existing morphemes, compound letters and lack of uniformity in symbolizing sounds of common features, confusing letters and letter representing different sounds from what they represent in English alphabet as problems of this orthography. She suggested avoiding extra and unnecessary symbols that do not represent making the orthography loyal for all dialects and to make symbols by associating with each other as solution for the detected problems.

Wakasa, M. (2002) observed the use of *-ett-*. He shows that as this single element can serve various purposes such as expressing passive, reciprocal and various other categories.

Azeb (2006) discussed the sound system, tone-accent, nominal derivation, gender and definiteness in Wolayta. She explained nouns, adjectives, adverbs and pronouns and covered subject agreement, aspect, negation and modality. She makes a distinction between negative perfective and negative imperfective: In declarative sentences, e.g. negative perfective: *biikke* 'I did not go'; negative imperfective: *be?-ikke* 'I do /will not see'. She tried to show subject agreement marker variation. The discussion of Tense, Aspect and Mood is only limited to perfective and imperfective aspect and it does not analyze Mood, Tense and also Aspect in detail. She offered a brief look at simple declarative clauses and complex clauses too.

Azeb (2007) analyzed non-verbal predication. She mentioned that some qualifying expression can only be made using verbal predicates. She extends her discussion to case

marking, word order of non-verbal clause and the suffix *-tte (nne)*. She also briefly outlined the main features of the morphology and syntax relevant to non-verbal classes.

Wakasa, M. (2008) made an overview of the grammar of the Wolayta. The discussion is only limited to the declarative sentences.

Aklilu (2010) presents the description of negation in Wolayta. He identified and analyzed negative marking morphemes and the way in which sentences, constituents of sentences, and clauses are negated. Tense, aspect and mood were also treated briefly in his analysis of negation. Mood is discussed better than tense and aspect though not exhaustively.

There are also scholars who have written in closely related languages. One of them, Allan (1976), provided a grammatical sketch of Kullo. Another is Biniyam (2008) who described aspects of Koorete.

Hirut (2003) analyzed the grammar of Haro in comparison to the Ometo Linguistic group.

The present study differs from all of the above in that it tries to provide an in-depth analysis of Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM). It identifies Tense, Aspect and Mood marking elements and describes the interaction of the elements with different grammatical categories such as agreement.

2.2. Review Literature on TAM

2.2.1. Aspect

While tense tells us something about when the situation takes place, the category of aspect tells us how the situation unfolds. That is, aspect is a means of marking whether the situation is viewed as complete or not, whether it is a repeated action or an action in progress.

Girma and Meyer (2001: 144), based on Maslov (1988: 63) and Bybee et.al. (1994: 54, 125) state the following:

Both aspect and tense categories are closely related to time concepts. In contrast to tense, aspect is not a deictic category which locates the action/state in time. Aspect can be defined as the internal constituency of a situation without any explicit reference to the moment of speech. This category can generally be divided into perfective and imperfective aspects. While the perfective aspect views the situation as bounded temporally, the imperfective aspect "... views the situation not as a bounded whole, but rather from within, with explicitly reference to its internal structure."

The term *Aktionsart* is also used in the literature, which is used in the sense of 'inherent aspectual meaning'. This term is used to mark that aspectual distinctions are marked lexically, rather than grammatically, Comrie (1976: 6-7) does not use the term on account of conflicting uses of the term in Slavic linguistics, while Dahl (1985: 26-7) also avoids using the term, as it is not a necessary term (as do Bybee et al. 1994).

As far as the meaning of the perfective and imperfective aspects are concerned and their respective limits, there are some slightly different opinions given by various scholars.

Comrie (1976: 16) takes the view that the use of the perfective aspect shows the action as a whole, without taking individual parts of that action into account. Dahl (1985: 74) criticizes that view and points out that there are cases in which the action is viewed as a whole, yet there are languages in which the imperfective aspect must be used. He opts to use prototype definitions (1985: 78), according to which the prototypical use of a perfective aspect is one in which the verb denotes a single event, has a well-defined result (or end-state) and has past time reference. It also tends to denote a punctual event. The further away from this prototype, the more likely it is that an imperfective aspect is used. Imperfectivity views the situation not as a bounded whole but it disregards boundaries focusing on the 'internal constituency' of the situation (cf. Comrie 1976 : 24 , Bybee et al. 1994 : 125).

Besides the perfective and imperfective aspect, there are other aspect types that can be expressed by means of separate morphemes. There are a number of such aspects, not all can be discussed. The most common ones include the progressive, which indicates that the action is in progress. Although it has been proposed to view progressive as a type of imperfective (see Comrie 1976: 25), there are enough differences between the two to view them as separate aspects. As Bybee et al. (1994: 139) mention, progressives often turn into general markers of imperfective aspect.

Habitual aspect refers to situations in which the speaker wishes to mark that the action she /he is describing occurs more than once. According to Comrie (1976: 27-8), the habitual shows the action described is ‘characteristic of an extended period of time’ so that the action is essentially a characteristic feature of that period. In addition, languages may make a distinction between past and present habitual to distinguish whether the characteristic feature is still holding or not. The English habitual phrase *used to* is past habitual because it refers to situations that no longer hold. The sentence *he used to walk to school* can only be used if the subject no longer walks to school.

There is a morphological issue if a language has aspect and tense morphemes, the aspect morphemes are usually found closer to the verb root (Bybee 1985). The reason is that morphemes closer to the root are more relevant to the meaning of the verb. Aspectual morphemes, being more derivational than inflection, have a higher degree of likelihood of changing the meaning of the verb than tense morphemes (which are more inflectional).

Another term that is used in the literature is perfect. The perfect is a category that has elements in common of both aspect and tense.

The perfect is characterized as a past event with relevance for the present. In the sentence *John has left*, the past event of *John’s having left* has relevance for the present, because the sentence entails that John has not returned yet. The difference between *John has left* and the simple past *John left* is that the simple past portrays an event as being in the past without any repercussions for present events. In *John left* the question of whether John has come back or not is left open.

It is well-known that the English perfect differs from the perfect in many other languages in that the English perfect is not compatible with specific time references (a), although general time reference are fine (b):

a. * John has left at 5 o'clock last Tuesday

b. I have seen Fred today

(Comrie 1976: 54).

In languages such as Russian and Spanish sentences such as (a) are perfectly grammatical. The English perfect (also known as present perfect) differs from the past and future perfect, in those cases a specific time reference is acceptable (Comrie 1985:79), as in *John had arrived on Tuesday*

The present perfect is usually kept distinct from the past and future perfect. In some languages there is a present perfect but no past or future perfect (e.g., Swahili, Wolayta) while in others there is present and past perfect but no future perfect (e.g., Maltese). In yet others, all three exist, but are marked differently. For instance in Luganda, the present perfect is marked synthetically, but the others analytically (see Comrie 1985: 80 and Dahl 1985: 152).

Bybee et al. (1994: 54) call the perfect an anterior, a category which also includes the past anterior. It is defined as a reference to a situation prior to the reference time and which holds at reference time.

Comrie (1976) discusses various types of the category perfect, which Dahl (1985: 133) refers to as 'uses' of the perfect. Comrie's types are: perfect of result, experiential perfect, perfect of persistent situation, and the perfect of recent past.

The perfect of persistent situation is exemplified in sentences like *I have been waiting for hours*. Despite the fact that a past situation holds in the present (the implication the sentence is that the speaker is still waiting), in many languages this sentence is translated as a simple present tense. Comrie (1976: 60) speculates that this may be a property unique to the English perfect, but Dahl (1985: 136-7), who calls it a universal perfect, cites nine other languages (such as Estonian, Kikuyu, Amharic, and Wolof) that have a Universal Perfect.

The experiential perfect is used to refer to situations that happened (at least once) in the past, as in *I have visited Paris*.

In many languages, the perfect can be combined with other aspects and tenses. In English it is normal for the perfect to be combined with the progressive. If the perfect is restricted to a specific aspect, it is always the perfective aspect. The perfective aspect inherently deals with actions that are bounded, and actions that are bounded in the past are finished and are therefore a natural partner for perfects (see Comrie 1976: 64).

Based on the above literature, in this study, I prefer to use the perfective /imperfective opposition.

2.2.2. Tense

In traditional grammar, tense is considered only as a category of the verb on the basis of its morphological attachment to the verb (cf. Comrie 1985:12 and Lewis 1986: 48 as cited in Girma and Meyer 2001:143). However, the category of tense is also closely connected

to the whole sentence (cf. Comrie 1985:12, Lyons 1968:305 and see also Girma and Meyer 2001:143).

The semantic category of tense is usually defined as the linguistic representation of time. That is, tense tells us where the action or event reported on in the utterance is located in time (Past, Present or Future). This means that tense is a deictic category (cf. Comrie 1985:14, Lyons 1968:305) as it tells us something about the location of a situation¹ with respect to a fixed point of view. This point of view is the time at which the sentence is uttered and is referred to as the moment of speech.

Most, if not all, work on tense is ultimately based on the terminology used in Comrie (1985). The basic idea is to describe tenses with three parameters: speech time, the time at which the statement was uttered (the moment of speech), event time, the time at which the event described in the utterance takes place, and reference time, the time against which event time is measured.

When speech time and reference time are identical, events are measured against the moment of speech and we speak of absolute tense. When event time is/comes before speech time, we are dealing with past time. When event time and speech time (moment of speech) are identical (or at least overlap) the present tense must be used, and when event time comes after speech time, we have an instance of future tense.

When reference time is distinct from situation we speak of relative tense. In the sentence *John had left by 5:00 yesterday*, event time takes place before reference time (5:00 yesterday) which in turn takes place before speech time (now). Event time is measured

¹ "Situation" is a generalized term to express processes, events, states, etc. of a verb (Comrie 1985:5).

against reference time and, secondly, against speech time. We can make finer distinctions and the next two sections will discuss the two categories in brief.

2.2.2.1. Absolute Tense

As mentioned above, there are three absolute tenses; present, past and future. It can be that a language formally distinguishes between all the three in having separate morphology for each tense. If a language combines past and present tense, we have a future-non future opposition.² When a language combines present and future, we have a past-non past opposition (cf. Comrie 1985:44). If a language has no grammatical morpheme to indicate a tense distinction, then we essentially have a tense-less language, cf. Girma and Meyer (2001:144).

The present tense is used when the event time overlaps with the speech time. It is barely possible for event time and speech time to be identical, for instance if we are dealing with performative verbs. Normally event time and situation time overlap, but are not identical.

Given that the present tense is cross-linguistically the most un-marked tense, it can acquire meanings that are not strictly temporal in nature. One such example is habitual aspect, which is illustrated in Comrie's (1985:39) example *John goes to work at eight o'clock (every day)*. Situation time and event time do not have to overlap here, but it can be argued that such sentences refer to habits and as such are true at situation time. A past habitual aspect would not be true at situation time. A related example is that of universal tense: universally true statements, such as *roses are red, violets are blue*. These are universally true statements, including situations.

² This can also be described as a distinction in mood, or a realis/irrealis distinction.

The past tense is more complicated as it can refer to a whole host of interpretations. In its simplest form, a past tense refers to situations that took place before the speech time (moment of speech) (cf. Comrie 1985: 41), but there are other considerations at work as well. First, the matter of truth arises. Since the past is immutable, one could think that past events are the most certain, but this turns out not to be the case. In many languages, English included, a past tense can be used for modal notions. Another matter is whether the action wholly took place before the moment of speech, and thus no longer holds at or even after the moment of speech.

Future tense is the one tense which is very close to being part of the modal system, because one cannot be certain of events in the future. Some languages lack a category future (cf. Dahl 1985:108) and it is used as mood rather than tense, but there are languages in which the future is most often marked morphologically (cf. Dahl 1985:105).

In many languages even finer distinctions can be made in the tense system by adding degrees of remoteness. If a language makes remoteness distinctions, it will usually do so in the past rather than in the future (there are no remoteness distinctions in the present) and usually not more than two or three. There are languages with more distinctions. Comrie (1985:87) mentions several dialects of the Bantu language Bamileke.

2.2.2.2. Relative Tense

A relative tense is a tense whose reference point is not the moment of speech, but rather a point on the timeline separate from both speech and event. In the sentence *John had eaten by the time Mary came back* the event time of John's having eaten is before the reference

time of Mary's coming back. Both are before the Speech time. This is schematized on a time line.

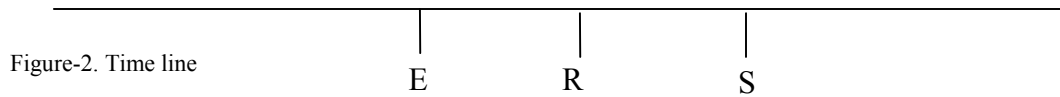


Figure-2. Time line

E= event time (*John's eating*)

R= reference time (*Mary's coming back*)

S= Speech time (The moment of speech)

In above figure we are dealing with a pluperfect tense (or 'past in the past'), which is marked in English with the past tense of the auxiliary verb *have*, rather than with an inflectional morpheme (as in the case with the English simple past tense which takes *-ed*).

Another term that is used in the literature is perfect. The perfect is a category that has elements in common of both aspect and tense.

The perfect is characterized as a past event with relevance for the present. In the sentence *John has left*, the past event of *John's having left* has relevance for the present, because the sentence entails that John has not returned yet. The difference between *John has left* and the simple past *John left* is that the simple past portrays an event as being in the past without any repercussions for present events. In *John left* the question of whether John has come back or not is left open.

It is well-known that the English perfect differs from the perfect in many other languages in that the English perfect is not compatible with specific time references (a), although general time reference are fine (b):

a. * John has left at 5 o'clock last Tuesday

c. I have seen Fred today

(Comrie 1976: 54).

In languages such as Russian and Spanish sentences such as (a) are perfectly grammatical. The English perfect (also known as present perfect) differs from the past and future perfect, in those cases a specific time reference is acceptable (Comrie 1985:79), as in *John had arrived on Tuesday*

The present perfect is usually kept distinct from the past and future perfect. In some languages there is a present perfect but no past or future perfect (e.g., Swahili, Wolayta) while in others there is present and past perfect but no future perfect (e.g., Maltese). In yet others, all three exist, but are marked differently. For instance in Luganda, the present perfect is marked synthetically, but the others analytically (see Comrie 1985: 80 and Dahl 1985: 152).

Bybee et al. (1994: 54) call the perfect an anterior, a category which also includes the past anterior. It is defined as a reference to a situation prior to the reference time and which holds at reference time.

Comrie (1976) discusses various types of the category perfect, which Dahl (1985: 133) refers to as 'uses' of the perfect. Comrie's types are: perfect of result, experiential perfect, perfect of persistent situation, and the perfect of recent past.

The perfect of persistent situation is exemplified in sentences like *I have been waiting for hours*. Despite the fact that a past situation holds in the present (the implication the sentence is that the speaker is still waiting), in many languages this sentence is translated as a simple present tense. Comrie (1976: 60) speculates that this may be a property unique to the English perfect, but Dahl (1985: 136-7), who calls it a universal perfect, cites nine other languages (such as Estonian, Kikuyu, Amharic, and Wolof) that have a Universal Perfect.

The experiential perfect is used to refer to situations that happened (at least once) in the past, as in *I have visited Paris*.

In many languages, the perfect can be combined with other aspects and tenses. In English it is normal for the perfect to be combined with the progressive. If the perfect is restricted to a specific aspect, it is always the perfective aspect. The perfective aspect inherently deals with actions that are bounded, and actions that are bounded in the past are finished and are therefore a natural partner for perfects (see Comrie 1976: 64).

2.2.3. **Mood**

Bybee et al. (1994: 176) state that the term mood and modality are not so easy to define as tense and aspect. They define modality as the grammaticalization of speakers' attitudes and opinions. Mood describes the speaker's attitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood. It sometimes describes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to him or herself (Payne 1997). Lyons (1968) states that mood is a class of sentences that present simple statement of fact irrespective of

a speaker's opinion toward what one is saying. The definition is designed to cover what others classify as mood and modality.

Bybee et al. (1994) classified modality into three types:

- i) Speaker oriented modality. All directives which impose or propose some course of action or pattern of behavior such as imperative, optative, which were considered as mood, are categorized as speaker-oriented modality.
- ii) Agent-oriented modality which reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate. It can be expressed by lexical or grammatical morphemes. Obligation, necessity, ability and desire are included in this classification.
- iii) Epistemic modality which applies to assertions and indicates the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the propositions. The commonly expressed epistemic modalities are possibility, probability and certainty. I would like to pursue Bybee's classification in this study.

'The term mood, mode and modality are often used interchangeably, though some linguists make distinctions among these terms' (Payne, 1997). Mood (Lyons 1968), mode (Payne 1997). Mood and modality (Bybee et al. 1994) among others. I prefer to use the term 'mood' in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1. The Analysis of the Wolayta TAM System

3.1.1. Basic System

As already pointed out in section 1.6 above, the structure of TAM in Wolayta is too complex to analyze exhaustively however, I tried to put it in two main sections: basic system where main verb is directly inflected for gender, number, and person and extended system where it is analyzed, mostly, periphrastically and/or attaching TAM marker morphemes to the main verb and then inflecting for gender, number, and person.

3.1.1.1. Aspect

3.1.1.1.1 Perfective Aspect

Perfective aspect is expressed in verb suffixes. The suffixes are fused to mark subject agreement and declarative mood or non- declarative mood as well. In Wolayta perfective action is specified as it happened or completed in the past.

The perfective affirmative declarative sentence is expressed by the suffix *-aasi* for first person singular as in (1a), *-adasa* for second person singular as in (2a), *-iisi* for third person masculine singular as in (3a), *-ida* for first person plural as in (4a), *-ideta* for second person plural and for one or more respected person(s) as in (5a and 8a) *-aasu* for third person feminine singular as in (6a) and *-idosona* for third person plural and for one or more respected person(s) as in (7a and 9a). In four of these forms (first, second and third person plurals and second person singular), an element *-d-* is present, whereas none of the imperfective forms contains a *-d-* (see 3.1.1.1.2.). Therefore, perfective affirmative

declarative paradigm is characterized by *-d-*, although if we look at the individual forms there is no single consistent perfective marker present.

The perfective negative declarative sentence is expressed by the suffix *-abikke* for first person singular as in (1b), *-abakka* for second person singular as in (2b), *-ibenna* for third person masculine singular as in (3b), *-ibokko* for first person plural as in (4b), *-ibekketa* for second person plural and for one or more respected person(s) as in (5b and 8b). *-abukku* for third person feminine singular as in (6b) and *-ibokkona* for third person plural and for one or more respected person(s) as in (7b and 9b). The element *-b-* characterizes the perfective negative declarative for all persons. It is illustrated with the verb *b-* ‘go’ below.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. a. | tá (taani) | b-aasi |
| | I | go-PFV: AFM: 1SG: DEC |
| | ‘I went.’ | |
| b. | tá (taani) | b-abikke |
| | I | go-PFV: NEG: 1SG: DEC |
| | ‘I didn’t go.’ | |
| 2. a. | ne (neeni) | b-adasa |
| | you | go-PFV: AFM: 2SG: DEC |
| | ‘You went.’ | |
| b. | ne (neeni) | b-abakka |
| | you | go-PFV: NEG:2SG: DEC |
| | ‘You didn’t go.’ | |

third person masculine singular begins the suffix when it is attached to a verb root or stem in perfective and progressive forms both for affirmative and negative forms. A suffix that is attached to the main verb root or stem in imperfective aspect for affirmative forms (see 3.1.1.1.3.) also begins by an *-a* for first and second person singulars, and third person feminine singular. But there is no such consistency in negative imperfective forms.

Generally, mostly, in Wolayta a suffix attached to the main verb root or stem for first person singular and third person feminine singular begins by long *-aa*. For third person masculine singular usually the suffix begins by long *-ii*. On the other hand, a morpheme that is suffixed to the main verb or verb stem for second person singular usually begins by a short *-a* whereas a short *-i* begins the suffix for first, second and third person plurals. Exceptionally, the suffix *-idaa-dan* (see 3.1.2.3.4 below) which expresses doubt begins by *-i* for all persons.

3.1.1.1.2. Interrogative

According to Aklilu (2010), Wolayta makes/forms polar interrogatives and content interrogatives in different ways. Both involve inflectional ways of showing interrogation. Like declarative verbs, interrogative verbs in Wolayta show affirmative and negative polarity.

3.1.1.1.2.1. Perfective Polar Interrogatives

‘Affirmative polar interrogative verbs in Wolayta can be either informative or permissive’ (Aklilu 2010:24). The informative is used in order to give information about

something. Polar interrogative verbs have identical forms as the declarative ones, but differ only in their intonational pattern. In polar question, the intonational pattern associated to the verb and even to the whole proposition is rising, which is not the case in declarative negatives.

The sentences (10a- 18a) express affirmative informative polar interrogative, perfective aspect and agreement for each person and number. The paradigms (10b-18b) are the negative counter parts for each person and number. The affirmative form is expressed using the fused morphemes *-idaná* for first person singular, *-adí* for second person singular, *-adé* for third person feminine singular, *-idé* for third person masculine singular, *-idetí* for second person plural and for one or more respected person(s), *-idó* for first person plural, and *-idoná* for third person plural and for one or more respected person(s) respectively. As we can see above the element *-d-* characterizes all persons for affirmative informative polar interrogative perfective aspect. In section 3.1.1.1.1 above we have seen that *-d-* characterizes some persons but not all for perfective affirmative declarative paradigms.

10. a. *tá (taani)* *m-idaná*
 I eat-INT: AFM: PFV: 1SG
 ‘Did I eat?’

 b. *tá (taani)* *m-abikkiná*
 I eat-INT: NEG: PFV: 1SG
 ‘Didn’t I eat?’

11. a. ne (neeni) m-adí
 you eat-INT: AFM: PFV: 2SG
 ‘Did you eat?’
- b. ne (neeni) m-abikkí
 you eat-INT: NEG: PFV: 2SG
 ‘Didn’t you eat?’
12. a. á m-adé
 she-NOM eat-INT: AFM: PFV: 3FSG
 ‘Did she eat?’
- b. á m-abekké
 she-NOM eat-INT: NEG: PFV: 3FSG
 ‘Didn’t she eat?’
13. a. ínte m-idetí
 you (pl) eat-INT: AFM: PFV: 2PL
 ‘Did you eat?’
- b. ínte m-ibeeketí
 you (pl) eat-INT: NEG: PFV: 2PL
 ‘Didn’t you eat?’
14. a. ínte m-ideti
 you sg./pl. polite eat-INT: AFM: PFV: 2SG/PL
 ‘Did you eat?’

- b. íínte m-ibekketí
 you sg./pl. polite eat-INT: NEG: PFV: 2SG/PL
 ‘Didn’t you eat?’
15. a. íí m-idé
 he: NOM eat-INT: AFM: PFV: 3MSG
 ‘Did he eat?’
- b. íí m-ibenné
 he: NOM eat-INT: NEG: PFV: 3MSG
 ‘Didn’t he eat?’
1. 16. a. nu (nuuni) m-idó
 we eat-INT: AFM: PFV: 1PL
 ‘Did we eat?’
- b. nu (nuuni) m-ibokkó
 we eat-INT: NEG: PFV: 1PL
 ‘Didn’t we eat?’
2. 17. a. éti m-idoná
 they: NOM eat-INT: AFM: PFV: 3PL
 ‘Did they eat?’
- b. éti m-ibokkoná
 they: NOM eat-INT: NEG: PFV: 3PL
 ‘Didn’t they eat?’
3. 18. a. éti m-idoná
 3sg. /pl. polite: NOM eat-INT: AFM: PFV: 3SG/3PL
 ‘Did they /he/she eat?’

In the case of second person plural when we say *ʔekkókkóo*, we are asking someone for permission. But if we say *ʔekkókkóni* or *ʔekkttenné*, we are talking for ourselves to act something in agreement, to mean ‘Let us do something or let us act on something.’

3.1.1.1.3. Imperfective Aspect

In Wolayta the imperfective aspect is also fused with subject agreement and declarative mood both in affirmative and negative forms. Generally, in Wolayta the imperfective affirmative declarative sentence is expressed by the presence of *-aysi* for first person singular *-aasa* for second person singular, *-eesi* for third person masculine singular, *-ausu* for third person feminine singular *-oosi* for first person plural *-eeta* for second person plural and for one or more respected person(s) and *-oosona* for third person plural and for one or more respected person(s).

The imperfective negative declarative sentence is expressed by *-ikke* for first person singular, *-akka* for second person singular, *-enna* for third person masculine singular, *-ukku* for third person feminine singular, *-okko* for first person plural, *-ekketa* for second person plural and for one or more respected person(s) and *-okkona* for third person plural and for one or more respected person(s). Negatives mostly include a geminated *-kk-*, but the third masculine singular has *-nn-*.

The imperfective aspect can be used to express habitual situations to indicate that the action occurs more than once by the inflection of the main verb in imperfective aspect depending on the information or context provided. There is no separate habitual aspect marker.

- b. nu (nuuni) ʔuy-okko
we drink-IMPV: NEG:1PL: DEC
‘We don’t drink/are/were not drinking.’
- 26.a. íinte ʔuy-eeta
you (pl) drink-IMPV: AFM:2PL: DEC
‘You drink/are/were drinking.’
- b. íinte ʔuy-ekketa
you (pl) drink-IMPV: NEG:2PL: DEC
‘You don’t drink/are/were not drinking.’
- 27.a. íinte ʔuy-eeta
you sg./pl. polite drink-IMPV: AFM: 2SG/PL: DEC
‘You drink.’
- b. íinte ʔuy-ekketa
You sg. /pl. polite drink-IMPV: NEG: 2SG/PL: DEC
‘You don’t drink/are/were not drinking.’
28. a. éti ʔuy-oosona
they-NOM drink-IMP : AFM:3PL: DEC
‘They drink/are/were drinking.’
- b. éti ʔuy-okkona
they-NOM drink-IMPV: NEG:3PL: DEC
‘They don’t drink.’

29. a. *éti* *ʔuy-oosona*
 3sg. /pl. polite: NOM drink-IMPV: AFM: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They drink /He /She/drinks.’
 ‘They are/were drinking/He/She is/was drinking.’
- b. *éti* *ʔuy-okkona*
 3sg./pl.polite-NOM drink-IMPV: NEG: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They don’t /She /He doesn’t drink.’
 ‘They are/were not drinking/He/She is/was not drinking.’

3.1.1.1.3.1. Imperfective Polar Interrogative

The sentences (30a-38a) express affirmative interrogative imperfective aspect and agreement for each person and number. And the sentences (30b-38b) are the negative counter parts. The affirmative imperfective interrogative is expressed using the fused morphemes *-ianá* for first person singular, *-áy* for second person singular and for third person feminine singular, *íi* for third person masculine singular, *-eetí* for second person plural and for one or more respected person(s), *-ió* for first person plural, and *-ioná* for third person plural and for one or more respected person(s) respectively.

The negative imperfective interrogative is expressed using the fused morphemes *-ikkiná* for first person singular, *-ikkí* for second person singular, *-ekké* for third person feminine singular *-enné* for third person masculine singular, *-ekketí* for second person plural and for one or more respected person(s), *-okkó* for first person plural, and *-okkoná* for third person plural and for one or more respected person(s) respectively. It is illustrated using monoradical verb *m-* ‘eat’ below.

30. a. tá (taani) m-ianá
 I eat-INT: AFM: IMPV: 1SG
 ‘Do I eat?’
- b. tá (taani) m-ikkiná
 I eat-INT: NEG: IMPV: 1SG
 ‘Don’t I eat?’
31. a. ne (neeni) m-áy
 you eat-INT: AFM: IMPV: 2SG
 ‘Do you eat?’
- b. ne (neeni) m-ikkí
 you eat-INT: NEG: IMPV: 2SG
 ‘Don’t you eat?’
32. a. á m-áy
 she-NOM eat-INT: AFM: IMPV: 3FSG
 ‘Does she eat?’
- b. á m-ekké
 she-NOM eat-INT: NEG: IMPV: 3FSG
 ‘Doesn’t she eat?’
33. a. íí m-íí
 he-NOM eat-INT: AFM: IMPV: 3MSG
 ‘Does he eat?’

- b. íí m-enné
 he-NOM eat-INT: NEG: IMPV: 3MSG
 ‘Doesn’t he eat?’
34. a. íínte m-eetí
 you (pl) eat-INT: AFM: IMPV: 2PL
 ‘Do you eat?’
- b. íínte m-ekketí
 you (Pl) eat-INT: NEG: IMPV: 2PL
 ‘Don’t you eat?’
35. a. íínte m-eetí
 you sg./pl. polite eat-INT: AFM: IMPV: 2SG/2PL
 ‘Do you eat?’
- b. íínte m-ekketí
 you sg./pl.polite eat-INT: NEG: IMPV: 2SG/2PL
 ‘Don’t you eat?’
36. a. nu(nuuni) m-íó
 we eat-INT:AFM:IMPV:1PL
 ‘Do we eat?’
- b. un(nuuni) m-okkó
 we eat-INT:NEG:IMPV:1PL
 ‘Don’t we eat?’

39. a. ó naʔá-a t'eeg-ay
 whose boy-ABS call-INT: AFM: IMPV: 2SG/ 3FSG
 ‘Whose son do you /does she call?’
- b. ó naʔá-a t'eeg-ikki
 whose boy-ABS call-INT: NEG: IMPV: 2SG
 ‘Whose son don’t you call?’
- c. ó naʔá-a t'eeg-ekke
 whose boy-ABS call-INT: NEG: IMPV: 3FSG
 ‘Whose son doesn’t she call?’

Therefore, I excluded the rest example paradigms to avoid duplication.

3.1.1.2. Tense

3.1.1.2.1. The Simple Future

The simple future tense is expressed in Wolayta by only one invariable suffix form *-ana* for all persons as in (40 - 48). The negative form is inflected for agreement and mood.

If we want to negate simple future tense, we use the negative form imperfective aspect (see 3.1.1.1.2 examples 21b-29b above) as they are identical. It is illustrated below with monoradical verb *b-* ‘go’.

40. tá (taani) b-ana
 I go-FUT
 ‘I will go.’

41. ne (neeni) b-ana
 you go-FUT
 ‘You will go.’
42. íí b-ana
 he-NOM go-FUT
 ‘He will go.’
43. á b-ana
 she-NOM go-FUT
 ‘She will go.’
44. nu (nuuni) b-ana
 we go-FUT
 ‘We will go.’
45. íínte b-ana
 you (Pl) go-FUT
 ‘You will go.’
46. íínte b-ana
 you sg./pl.polite go-FUT
 ‘You will go.’
47. éti b-ana
 they-NOM go-FUT
 ‘They will go.’

b. mittá-a mit' -enna-n y-a
 Wood-ABS collect-NEG-in come-2SG

‘Come without collecting the wood!’

50. a. mittá-a mit' -idi y-iite
 wood-ABS collect-CNV come-2PL

‘Collect the wood and come!’

b. mittá-a mit' -enna-n y-iite
 wood-ABS collect-NEG-in come-2PL

‘Come without collecting the wood!’

The imperative can also be used to express a ‘wish or hope of the speaker in a main clause representing the speakers will’ (Bybee et al. 1994:179; 321).

Wolayta expresses a wish or hope in imperative mood tonally in the verb forms. The vowel that is attached to the verb root which inflects for subject agreement must carry high tone to express imperative mood. Normally, the vowel *-á* is attached to the verb for second person singular and *-ité* for second person plural. Here is the illustration using the verb *ditf^htf^h* - ‘grow’.

51. ditf^htf^hi-á

grow-2SG: IMP

‘May you grow up!’

52. ditf^htf^hi’-ité

grow-2PL: IMP

‘May you grow up!’

3.1.1.3.1.1. Emphatic Imperative form

Wolayta expresses strong command using emphatic imperative. The affirmative emphatic imperative is expressed by the suffix *-ikki* for second person singular and *-ekketi* for second person plural while the negative emphatic imperative is expressed using the suffix *-oppikki* for second person singular and *-oppekketi* for second person plural. It is illustrated using the verb *t'eeg-* 'call' bellow.

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 53. a. | naʔ-á | t'eeg-ikki |
| | boy-ACC | call-EMP: AFM: IMP: 2SG |
| | 'Call the boy!' | |
| b. | naʔ-á | t'eeg-opp-ikki |
| | boy-ACC | call-NEG-EMP: IMP: 2SG |
| | 'Don't call the boy!' | |
| 54. a. | naʔ-á | t'eeg-ekketi |
| | boy-ACC | call-EMP: AFM: IMP: 2PL |
| | 'call the boy!' | |
| b. | naʔ-á | t'eeg-opp-ekketi |
| | boy-ACC | call-NEG-EMP: IMP: 2PL |
| | 'Don't call the boy!' | |

3.1.1.3.1.2. Hortative Imperative

Bybee et al. (1994:321) state that in hortative mood 'the speaker is encouraging or inciting someone to action'.

In Wolayta the hortative imperative mood is used to express indirect command in that it is complementary to the imperative. Hortative imperative mood is also expressed

lexically using verb forms. The verb is inflected for person and number being marked by *-u* for third person feminine singular, *-o* for third person masculine singular and *-ona* for third person plural in affirmative forms as in (55a-57a) respectively.

The negative hortative for subject agreement is expressed by *-uppu* for third person feminine singular, *-oppo* for third person masculine singular, and *-oppona* for third person plural as in (55b-57b). It is illustrated using the verb *y-* ‘come’.

55. a. Y-u
come-3FSG: AFM
‘Let she come!’
- b. Y-uppu
come-3FSG: NEG
‘Let her not come!’
56. a. Y-o
come-3MS: AFM
‘Let him come!’
- b. Y-oppo
come-3MSG: NEG
‘Let him not come!’
57. a. y-ona
come-3PL: AFM
‘Let them come!’

- b. y-oppona
come-3PL: NEG
'Let them not come!'

3.1.1.3.2. Prohibitive

According to Bybee et al. (1994: 321) prohibitive is 'the mood for expressing negative command' to a second person. Like the admonitive mood, in Wolayta prohibitive mood varies for number and person. It doesn't show tense- aspect distinction as illustrated using the verb *botʃʃ*- 'touch' as in 58 and 59.

58. botʃʃ-oppá
touch-2SG: NEG: PRH
'Don't touch (it)!'

59. botʃʃ-oppité
touch-2PL: NEG: PRH
'Don't touch (it)!'

3.1.1.3.3. Admonitive

Bybee et al. (1994: 179; 321) state admonitive is used for issuing a warning to a second person. The form doesn't show tense-aspect distinction. But it inflects for number and person. Mostly, Wolayta expresses the admonitive for someone who ignored a prior command. The suffix *-akká* which is attached to a verb root is used to form the negative admonitive verb for second person singular and *-ekketá* for second person plural as in (60

and 61). The affirmative form is expressed in the same way as that of the imperative (see 4.2.1. above).

60. Mehiyá-a sóo ekk-akká
 Cattle-ABS home take-2SG: NEG: ADM
 ‘Don’t you bring the cattle home?’

61. Mehiyá-a sóo ekk-ekketá
 Cattle-ABS home take-2PL: NEG: ADM
 ‘Don’t you bring the cattle home?’

It can also be formed using pre-verb like *b-* ‘go’ suffixed with converb marked *-aada* for first person singular and *-iidi* for second person plural as in (62) and (63) but it doesn’t carry the admonative marker which is attached to the final verb *ekk-* ‘take’. In this case the message to be imparted is stronger than the one expressed above (60 and 61).

62. b-aada mehiyá-a sóo ekk-akká
 go-2SG: CNV cattle-ABS home take-2SG: NEG: ADM
 lit. ‘Don’t you go and take the cattle home!’
 ‘Don’t you go and bring the cattle home!’

63. b-iidi mehiyá-a sóo ekk-ekketa
 go-2PL: CNV cattle-ABS home take-2PL: NEG: ADM
 lit. ‘Don’t you go and take the cattle home!’
 ‘Don’t you go and bring the cattle home!’

3.1.2. 'Extended' system

As already mentioned in section 3.1.1 above, this section includes verb forms which are constructed mostly periphrastically and/or attaching TAM marker morphemes to the main verb and then inflecting for gender, number and person.

3.1.2.1. Other Aspects

3.1.2.1.1. Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect is also expressed in verb suffixes. However, there is no differentiation by verb inflection for past or present associated with progressive aspect. The context must provide information on the precise time the action or event in the progressive aspect took place. For example, one can say:

a) *Zino ne t'eegiyo-wode, ta t'aaf-aydda de?-aysi*

Yesterday you call time I write-PROG exist-IMPV: AFM: 1SG: DEC

'I was writing by the time you were calling me yesterday.'

b) *Ha??i ne t'eegiyo-wode, ta t'aaf-aydda de?-aysi*

Now you call time I write-PROG exist-IMPV: AFM: 1SG: DEC

'Now I am writing by the time you are calling me.'

As it is clearly revealed in the examples above the time adverbs *zino* 'yesterday' and *ha??i* 'now' provide the context when the action took place.

Progressive aspect is expressed in Wolayta periphrastically by using the suffixes *-aydda* which is used for singulars as in (64a, 65a and 67a) and *-iiddi* for plurals, for third person masculine singular and for one or more respected person(s) as in (66a, 68a, 69a, 70a, 71a

and 72a) to make subject agreement both for affirmative and negative forms. The auxiliary *de?*- 'exist' grammaticises the structure rather than providing semantic value to the given structure. It is inflected in the imperfective aspect both for affirmative and negative forms for agreement.

- | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------------|
| 64. a. | tá (taani) | b-aydda | de?-aysi |
| | I | go-PROG | exist-IMPV: AFM: 1SG: DEC |
| | 'I am /was going.' | | |
| b. | tá (taani) | b-aydda | de?-ikke |
| | I | go-PROG | exist-IMPV: NEG: 1SG: DEC |
| | 'I am /was not going.' | | |
| 65. a. | ne (neeni) | b-aydda | de?-aasa |
| | you | go-PROG | exist-IMPV: AFM:2SG: DEC |
| | 'You are/were going.' | | |
| b. | ne (neeni) | b-aydda | de?-akka |
| | You | go-PROG | exist-IMPV: NEG: 2SG: DEC |
| | 'You are /were not going.' | | |
| 66. a. | íí | b-iiddi | de?-eesi |
| | he-NOM | go-PROG | exist-IMPV: AFM:3MSG: DEC |
| | 'He is /was going.' | | |
| b. | íí | b-iiddi | de?-enna |
| | he-NOM | go-PROG | exist-IMPV: NEG:3MSG: DEC |
| | 'He is /was not going.' | | |

67. a. á b-aydda deʔ-ausu
 she-NOM go-PROG exist-IMPV: AFM:3FSG: DEC
 ‘She is /was going.’
- b. á b-aydda deʔ-ukku
 she-NOM go-PROG exist-IMPV:NEG:3FSG: DEC
 ‘She is/was not going.’
68. a. nu (nuuni) b-iiddi deʔ-oosi
 we go-PROG exist-IMPV:AFM: 1PL:DEC
 ‘We are/were going.’
- b. nu(nuuni) b-iiddi deʔ-okko
 we go-PROG exist-IMPV: NEG:1PL: DEC
 ‘We are/were not going.’
69. a. íinte b-iiddi deʔ-eeta
 you (pl) go-PROG exist-IMPV: AFM:2PL: DEC
 ‘You are/were going.’
- b. íinte b-iiddi deʔ-ekketa
 You (Pl) go-PROG exist-IMPV: NEG: 2PL: DEC
 ‘You are /were not going.’
70. a. íinte b-iiddi deʔ-eeta
 you sg. /pl. polite go-PROG exist-IMPV: AFM: 2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You are/were going.’

b. ínte b-iiddi deʔ-ekjeta
 you sg./pl. polite go-PROG exist-IMPV:NEG:2SG/PL: DEC

‘You are/were not going.’

71. a. éti b-iiddi deʔ-oosona
 they NOM go-PROG exist-IMPV: AFM:3PL: DEC

‘They are /were going.’

b. éti b-iiddi deʔ-okkona
 they-NOM go-PROG exist-IMPV: NEG: 3PL: DEC

‘They are/were not going.’

72. a. éti b-iiddi deʔ-oosona
 3sg. /pl.polite go-PROG exist-IMPV: AFM: 3SG/PL: DEC

‘They are /were going.’ / ‘He/she is /was going.’

b. éti b-iiddi deʔ-okkona
 3sg. /pl. polite go-PROG exist-IMPV: NEG: 3SG/PL: DEC

‘They are /were not going.’ / ‘He /she is/was not going.’

The same form which only defers in attaching the future form marker suffix *-ana* to the auxiliary *deʔ-* is used to express future progressive which describes the situation in its development.

The negative form is not formed uniformly rather it can be expressed by using the negative form of progressive aspect (see 3.1.2.1.1 above) or simple future tense (see 3.1.1.2.1 above). For this reason I leave out the negative form from the paradigms below.

- 73 tá (taani) b-aydda deʔ-ana
 I go-PROG exist-FUT
 lit. ‘I will exist going.’
 ‘I will be going.’
- 74 ne (neeni) b-aydda deʔ-ana
 you go-PROG exist-FUT
 lit. ‘You will exist going.’
 ‘You will be going.’
- 75 íí b-iiddi deʔ-ana
 he-NOM go-PROG exist-FUT
 lit. He will exist going.
 ‘He will be going.’
- 76 á b-aydda deʔ-ana
 she-NOM go-PROG exist-FUT
 lit. ‘She will exist going.’
 ‘She will be going.’
- 77 ínte b-iiddi deʔ-ana
 you (pl) go-PROG exist-FUT
 lit. ‘You will exist going.’
 ‘You will be going.’

78	ínte	b-iiddi	de?-ana
	you sg./pl.plite	go-PROG	exist-FUT
	lit. ‘You will exist going.’		
	‘You will be going.’		
79	éti	b-iiddi	de?-ana
	they-NOM	go-PROG	exist-FUT
	lit. ‘They will exist going.’		
	‘They will be going.’		
80	éti	b-iiddi	de?-ana
	3sg. /pl. polite-NOM	go-PROG	exist-FUT
	lit. ‘They/He/ She will exist going.’		
	‘They /He/ She will be going.’		

3.1.2.1.2. Ingressive Aspects

According to Comrie (1976:19) ingressive aspect is used to ‘indicate the beginning of a situation in perfective forms of some verbs’.

Wolayta expresses two distinct ingressive aspects: one which describes the action which is going to be started after a short period of time and another which describes the action in its starting point. The aspects are formed using periphrastic construction in which the main verb is in infinitive form followed by perfective or imperfective form depending on the information provided. For convenience, the action that is going to be started after a

short period of time is considered to be future ingressive and the action that is in its starting point is considered to be past ingressive in this thesis.

3.1.2.1.2.1. Ingressive Past

The ingressive past is formed through the same periphrastic process applied to express the future ingressive. The two differs in that the future ingressive displays the auxiliary **han-** ‘happen’ in the imperfective aspect, while the past ingressive is characterized by the inflection of the auxiliary **doomm-** ‘begin’ in the perfective aspect.

- 81 a. tá (taani) t'aaf-anaw doomm-aasi
 I write-IN begin-PFV: AFM: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I started to write.’
- b. tá (taani) t'aaf-anaw doom-abikke
 I write-IN begin-PFV: NEG: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I didn’t start to write.’
- 82 a. ne (neeni) t'aaf-anaw doomm-adasa
 you write-IN begin-PFV: AFM:2SG: DEC
 ‘You started to write.’
- b. ne (neeni) t'aaf-anaw doomm-abakka
 you write-IN being-PFV: NEG: 2SG: DEC
 ‘You didn’t start to write.’
- 83 a. íí t'aaf-anaw doomm-iisi
 he-NOM write-IN begin-PFV: AFM:3SG: DEC
 ‘You started to write.’

- b. íí t'aaf-anaw doomm-ibenna
 he-NOM write-IN begin-PFV: NEG:3SG: DEC
 'He didn't start to write.'
- 84 a. á t'aaf-anaw doomm-aasu
 she-NOM write-IN begin-PFV: AFM:3FSG: DEC
 'She started to write.'
- b. á t'aaf-anaw doomm-abukku
 She-NOM write-IN being-PFV: NEG: 3FSG: DEC
 'She didn't start to write.'
- 85 a. nu (nuuni) t'aaf-anaw doom-ida
 we write-IN being-PFV: AFM:1PL: DEC
 'We started to write.'
- b. nu (nuuni) t'aaf-anaw doomm-ibokko
 we write-IN begin-PFV: NEG: 1PL: DEC
 'We didn't start to write.'
- 86 a. íinte t'aaf-anaw doomm-ideta
 you (pl) write-IN begin-PFV: AFM:2PL: DEC
 'You started to write.'
- b. íinte t'aaf-anaw doomm-ibekketa
 you (pl) write-IN begin-PFV: NEG:2PL: DEC
 'You didn't start to write.'

3.1.2.1.2.2. Ingressive future

Wolayta expresses the future ingressive to describe the situation that is going to be started in short period of time and it always refers to an action that is not yet started but the preparation period of that action is almost finished. Formally, it consists of a periphrastic construction, where the main verb appears in the infinitive, while the auxiliary *han-* ‘happen’ which follows the main one, is inflected in the imperfective aspect both for affirmative and negative constructions as illustrated below.

90 a. tá (taani) b-anaw han-aysi
I go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM: 1SG: DEC

‘I am going to go.’

b. tá (taani) b-anaw han-ikke
I go-IN happen-IMPV: NEG: 1SG: DEC

‘I am not going to go.’

91 a. ne (neeni) b-anaw han-aasa
you go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM:2SG: DEC

‘You are going to go.’

b. ne (neeni) b-anaw han-akka
you go-IN happen-IMPV: NEG:2SG: DEC

‘You are not going to go.’

92 a. íí b-anaw han-eesi
he-NOM go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM:3MSG: DEC

‘He is going to go.’

- b. íí b-anaw han-enna
 he-NOM go-IN happen-IMPV: NEG:3MSG: DEC
 ‘He is not going to go.’
- 93 a. á b-anaw han-ausu
 she-NOM go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM:3FSG: DEC
 ‘She is going to go.’
- b. á b-anaw han-ukku
 she-NOM go-IN happen-IMPV: NEG:3FSG: DEC
 ‘She is not going to go.’
- 94 a. nu (nuuni) b-anaw han-oosi
 we go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM:1PL: DEC
 ‘We are going to go.’
- b. nu (nuuni) b-anaw han-okko
 we go-IN happen-IMPV: NEG:1PL: DEC
 ‘We are not going to go.’
- 95 a. íínte b-anaw han-eeta
 you (Pl) go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM:2PL: DEC
 ‘You are going to go.’
- b. íínte b-anaw han-ekketa
 you (pl) go-IN happen-IMPV: NEG:2PL: DEC
 ‘You are not going to go.’

- 96 a. íinte b-anaw han-eeta
 you sg./pl. polite go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM:2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You are going to go.’
- b. íinte b-anaw han-ekketa
 you sg./pl. Polite go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM: 2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You are not going to go.’
- 97 a. éti b-anaw han-oosona
 they-NOM go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM:3PL: DEC
 ‘They are going to go.’
- b. éti b-anaw han-okkona
 they-NOM go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM:3PL: DEC
 ‘They are not going to go.’
- 98 a. éti b-anaw han-oosona
 3sg. /pl. polite go-IN happen-IMPV: AFM: 3SG/3PL: DEC
 ‘They are going to go.’ / ‘He/she is going to go.’
- b. éti b-anaw han-okkona
 3sg. /pl. polite go-IN happen-IMPV: NEG: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They are not going to go.’ / ‘He /She is not going to go.’

3.1.2.1.3. Iterative Aspect

Iterative aspect refers to a situation that is repeated. The situation would restrict the range of interpretation that can be given to imperfective form of the given verb (Comrie 1976:42). Payne (1997:241) states that iterative aspect is where a punctual event takes place several times in succession. In Wolayta it can be expressed using the morpheme *-erett-* which is immediately attached to the main verb. Iterative aspect can be inflected in perfective or imperfective based on the context in the situation. In the perfective aspect the speaker is talking about iterative action that is completed or bounded whereas in the case of imperfective it is about iterative action that is unbounded or not yet completed. The analysis is given below.

Perfective form

- 99 a. tá (taani) ment-erett-aasi
I break –ITR-PFV: AFM: 1SG: DEC
'I broke repeatedly.'
- b. tá (taani) ment-erett-abikke
I break-ITR-PFV: NEG: 1SG: DEC
'I didn't break repeatedly.'
- 100 a. ne (neeni) ment-erett-adasa
You broke-ITR-PFV: AFM: 2SG: DEC
'You broke repeatedly.'

- b. ne(neeni) ment -erett-abakka
 You break-ITR-PFV: NEG: 2SG: DEC
 ‘You didn’t break repeatedly.’
- 101 a. íí ment-erett-iisi
 he-NOM break- ITR-PFV: AFM:3MSG: DEC
 ‘He broke repeatedly.’
- b. íí ment-erett-ibenna
 he-NOM break – ITR- PFV: NEG:3MSG: DEC
 ‘He didn’t break repeatedly.’
- 102 a. á ment-erett-aasu
 she-NOM break-ITR-PFV: AFM: 3FSG: DEC
 ‘She broke repeatedly.’
- b. á ment-erett-abukku
 she-NOM break-ITR-PFV: NEG:3FSG: DEC
 ‘She didn’t break repeatedly.’
- 103 a. nu (nuuni) ment-erett-ida
 we break-ITR-PFV: AFM:1PL: DEC
 ‘We broke repeatedly.’
- b. nu (nuuni) ment-erett-ibokko
 we break -ITR-PFV: NEG:1PL: DEC
 ‘We didn’t break repeatedly.’

- 104 a. íinte ment -erett-ideta
 you (pl) break -ITR-PFV: AFM:2PL: DEC
 ‘You broke repeatedly.’
- b. íinte ment-erett-ibekketa
 you (pl) break-ITR-PFV: NEG:2PL: DEC
 ‘You didn’t break repeatedly.’
- 105 a. íinte ment-erett-ideta
 you sg./pl. polite break-ITR-PFV: AFM: 2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You broke repeatedly.’
- b. íinte ment-erett-ibekketa
 you sg./pl. polite break-ITR-PFV: NEG: 2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You didn’t break repeatedly.’
- 106 a. éti ment-erett-idosona
 they-NOM break-ITR-PV: AFM:3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They broke repeatedly.’
- b. éti ment-erett-ibokkona
 they –NOM broke-ITR-PFV: NEG:3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They didn’t break repeatedly.’
- 107 a. éti ment-erett-idosona
 3sg. /pl.polite break- ITR-PFV: AFM: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They /He/ She broke repeatedly.’

- b. éti ment-erett-bokkona
 3sg./pl.polite break-ITR-PFV: NE: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They /He / She didn’t break repeatedly.’

Imperfective form

- 108 a. tá (taani) ment-erett-aysi
 I break- ITR- IMPV: AFM: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I break /am /was breaking repeatedly.’
- b. tá (taani) ment-erett-ikke
 I break –ITR-IMPV: NEG: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I don’t break /am /was not breaking repeatedly.’
- 109 a. ne (neeni) ment-erett-aasa
 You break –ITR-IMPV: AFM: 2SG: DEC
 ‘You break /are/ were breaking repeatedly.’
- b. ne (neeni) ment-erett-akka
 you break –ITR-IMPV: NEG:2SG: DEC
 ‘You don’t break/ are / were not breaking repeatedly.’
- 110 a. íí ment-erett-eesi
 he-NOM break-ITR-IMPV: AFM:3MSG: DEC
 ‘He breaks /is/was breaking repeatedly.’
- b. íí ment-erett-enna
 he-NOM break-ITR-IMPV: NEG: 3MSG:DEC
 ‘He doesn’t break /is /was not breaking repeatedly.’

- 111 a. á ment-erett-ausu
 she-NOM break-ITR-IMPV: AFM:3FSG: DEC
 ‘She breaks /is/ was breaking repeatedly.’
- b. á ment-erett- ukku
 she –NOM break –ITR-IMPV: NEG:3FSG: DEC
 ‘She doesn’t break /is/ was not breaking repeatedly.’
- 112 a. nu(nuuni) ment-erett-oosi
 we break-ITR-IMPV: AFM:1PL: DEC
 ‘We break /are /were breaking repeatedly.’
- b. nu (nuuni) ment-erett-okko
 we break-ITR-IMPV: NEG:1PL: DEC
 ‘We don’t break /are/ were not breaking repeatedly.’
- 113 a. íinte ment-erett-eta
 you (pl) break- ITR- IMPV: AFM:2PL: DEC
 ‘You break /are/ were breaking repeatedly.’
- b. íinte ment-erett-ekketa
 you (pl) break –ITR- IMPV: NEG:2PL: DEC
 ‘You don’t break /are/ were breaking repeatedly.’
- 114 a. éti ment-erett-oosona
 they-NOM break-ITR-IMPV: AFM:3PL: DEC
 ‘They break/are/ were breaking repeatedly.’

- b. éti ment-erett-okkona
they-NOM break-ITR-IMPV: NEG:3PL: DEC
‘They don’t break /are/ were not breaking repeatedly.’
- 115 a. éti ment-erett-oosona
3sg. /pl. polite break-ITR-IMPV: AFM: 3SG/PL: DEC
‘They breake /He/She breaks repeatedly.’
- b. éti ment-erett-eta
3sg. /pl. polite break –ITR-IMPV: NEG: 3SG/PL: DEC
‘They don’t He/she doesn’t break repeatedly.’
- 116 a. íinte ment-erett-eta
you sg./pl. polite break –ITR-IMPV: AFM:2SG/PL: DEC
‘You break repeatedly.’
- b. íinte ment-erett-ekketa
you sg./pl.polite break-ITR- IMPV: NEG: 2SG/PL: DEC
‘You don’t break repeatedly.’

3.1.2.1.4. Punctual Events

According to Comrie (1976:42) punctual aspect means the quality of a situation that doesn’t last in time or is not conceived of as lasting in time, one that takes place momentarily and punctual situations do not have any duration, not even duration of a very short duration. Punctual events are those which have no internal temporal structure because they occur in an instant of time (Payne 1997: 241).

In Wolayta punctual aspect is expressed as inherent to the lexical meaning. An example is the verb *heddijf*-‘sneeze’. The verb is inflected in perfective aspect as illustrated in (117-125) below.

- 117 a. tá (taani) heddijf–aasi
 I sneeze-PFV: AFM: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I sneezed.’
- b. tá (taani) heddijf-abikke
 I sneeze-PFV: NEG: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I don’t sneeze.’
- 118 a. ne (neeni) heddijf-adasa
 You sneeze-PFV: AFM: 2SG: DEC
 ‘You sneezed.’
- b. ne (neeni) heddijf-abakka
 you sneeze-PFV: NEG:2SG: DEC
 ‘You didn’t sneeze.’
- 119 a. íí heddijf-iisi
 he-NOM sneeze-PFV: AFM:3MSG: DEC
 ‘He sneezed.’
- b. íí heddijf-ibenna
 He-NOM sneeze-PFV: NEG: 3MSG: DEC
 ‘He didn’t sneeze.’

- 120 a. á heddfif-aasu
 she-NOM sneeze-PFV:AFM:3FSG: DEC
 ‘She sneezed.’
- b. á heddfif-abukku
 She-NOM sneeze-PFV: NEG: 3FSG: DEC
 ‘She didn’t sneeze.’
- 121 a. nu (nuuni) heddfif-ida
 we sneeze-PFV: AFM: 1PL: DEC
 ‘We sneezed.’
- b. nu (nuuni) heddfif-ibokko
 we sneeze-PFV:NEG:1PL: DE C
 ‘We didn’t sneeze.’
- 122 a. íinte heddfif-ibokko
 you (pl) sneeze-PFV: AFM:2PL: DEC
 ‘You sneezed.’
- b. íinte heddfif-ibekketa
 you (pl) sneeze-PFV: AFM:2PL: DEC
 ‘You didn’t sneeze.’
- 123 a. íinte heddfif-ideta
 you sg./pl. polite sneeze-PFV: AFM: 2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You sneezed.’

- b. *íinte* *heddfj-ibekketa*
 You sg. /pl. polite sneeze-PFV: NEG: 2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You didn’t sneeze.’
- 124 a. *éti* *heddfj-idosona*
 they-NOM sneeze-PFV: AFM:3PL: DEC
 ‘They sneezed.’
- b. *éti* *heddfj-ibokkona*
 they-NOM sneeze-PFV: NEG:3PL: DEC
 ‘They didn’t sneeze.’
- 125 a. *éti* *heddfj-idosona*
 3sg. /pl. polite sneeze-PFV: AFM: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘He /She/They sneezed.’
- b. *éti* *heddfj-ibokkona*
 3sg. /pl. polite sneeze-PFV: NEG: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘He/She /They didn’t sneeze.’

3.1.2.2. Other Tense

3.1.2.2.1. The Present Perfect Tense

Wolyta expresses the present perfect tense using two different morphemes. The one which with *aytf-/itf-* variation and the other with a morpheme *arg-/irg-* variation. Both (*aytf-/itf-* and *arg-/irg-*) are followed by perfective affirmative or perfective negative constructions. *aytf-/itf-* is used both with transitive and intransitive verbs and *arg-/irg-* is used with transitive verbs but not with intransitive ones.

The affirmative present perfect tense with both transitive and intransitive verbs is expressed by suffixing *-ayt/-* to the main verb followed by perfective affirmative or perfective negative forms for first person singular as in (126a), for second person singular as in (127a) and for third person feminine singular as in (129a), and *-it/-* for third person masculine singular as in (128a), for first person plural as in (130a), for second person plural as well as for one or more respected person(s) as in (131a and 132a), and for third person plural as well as for one or more respected person(s) as in (133a and 134a). Likewise the negative present perfect tense can be suffixed. It is illustrated using examples under a1 as in (126-134) below.

The form of both affirmative and negative present perfect construction suffix is changed when the main verb is a transitive one. The affirmative present perfect form with transitive verb is suffixed to the main verb by *-arg-* followed by perfective affirmative or perfective negative forms for first person singular as in (126b), for second person singular as in (127b) and for third person feminine singular as in (129b) and *-irg-* for third person masculine singular as in (128b), for first person plural as in (130b), for second person plural as well as for one or more respected person(s) as in (131b and 132b), and for third person plural as well as for one or more respected person(s) as in (133b and 134b). Likewise the negative present perfect tense with transitive verbs can be suffixed which is illustrated using examples under b1 as in (126-134) below. Here is the illustration with intransitive verb *y-* ‘come’ and transitive verb *imm-* ‘give’.

- 126a. tá (taani) y-aytʃ-aasi
 I come-PREP- PFV: AFM: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I have come.’
- a1. tá (taani) y-aytʃ-abikke
 I come-PREP- PFV: NEG: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I haven’t come.’
- b. tá (taani) imm-arg-aasi
 I give-PREP- PFV: AFM: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I have given.’
- b1. tá (taani) imm-arg-abikke
 I give-PREP- PFV: NEG: 1SG: DEC
 ‘I haven’t given.’
- 127 a. ne (neeni) y-aytʃ-adasa
 you come-PREP- PFV: AFM: 2SG: DEC
 ‘You have come.’
- a1. ne(neeni) y-aytʃ-abakka
 you come –PREP- PFV: NEG:2SG: DEC
 ‘You haven’t come.’
- b. ne (neeni) imm-arg-adasa
 you give-PREP- PFV: AFM:2SG: DEC
 ‘You have given.’

b1. ne (neeni) imm-arg-abakka
you give-PREP- PFV: NEG:2SG: DEC

‘You haven’t given.’

128a. íí y-itf-iisi
he-NOM come-PREP- PFV: AFM:3MSG: DEC

‘He has come.’

a1. íí y-itf-ibenna
he-NOM come-PREP- PFV: NEG:3MSG: DEC

‘He hasn’t come.’

b. ii imm-irg-iisi
he-NOM come-PREP- PFV: AFM:3MSG: DEC

‘He has given.’

b1. ii imm-irg-ibenna
he-NOM give-PREP- PFV: NEG:3MSG: DEC

‘He hasn’t given.’

129 a. á y-aytf-aasu
she-NOM come-PREP- PFV: AFM:3FSG: DEC

‘She has come.’

a1. á y-aytf-abukku
she-NOM come-PREP- PFV: NEG:3FSG: DEC

‘She hasn’t come.’

- a1. íinte y-itf-ibekketa
 you (pl) come-PREP- PFV: NEG:2PL: DEC
 ‘You haven’t come.’
- b. íinte imm-irg-ideta
 you (P1) give-PREP- PFV: AFM:2PL: DEC
 ‘You have given.’
- b1. íinte imm-irg-ibekketa
 you (pl) give-PREP- PFV: NEG:2PL: DEC
 ‘You haven’t given.’
- 132a. íinte y-itf-ideta
 you sg./pl. polite come-PREP- PFV: AFM:2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You have come.’
- a1. íinte y-itf-ibekketa
 you sg./pl. polite come-PREP- PFV: NEG:2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You haven’t come.’
- b. íinte imm-irg-ideta
 you sg./pl. polite give-PREP- PFV: AFM:2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You have given.’
- b1. íinte imm-irg-ibekketa
 you sg./pl. polite give-PREP- PFV: NEG:2SG/PL: DEC
 ‘You haven’t given.’

- 133 a. éti y-itf-idosona
 they-NOM come-PREP- PFV: AFM: 3PL: DEC
 ‘They have come.’
- a1. éti y-itf-ibokkona
 they-NOM come-PREP- PFV: NEG: 3PL: DEC
 ‘They haven’t come.’
- b. éti imm-irg-idosona
 they-NOM give-PREP- PFV: AFM: 3PL: DEC
 ‘They have given.’
- b1. éti imm-irg-ibokkona
 they-NOM give-PREP- PFV: NEG: 3PL: DEC
 ‘They haven’t given.’
- 134a. éti y-itf-idosona
 3sg./pl/polite-NOM come-PREP- PFV: AFM: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They have come /He /She has come.’
- a1. éti y-itf-ibokkona
 3sg. /pl. polite-NOM come-PREP- PFV: NEG: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They haven’t come /He/ She hasn’t come.’
- b. éti imm-irg-idosona
 3sg. /pl. polite-NOM give-PREP- PFV: AFM: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They have given /He /she has given.’

b1. éti imm-irg-ibokkona
 3sg./pl.polite-NOM give-PREP-PFV: NEG: 3SG/PL: DEC
 ‘They haven’t given /He/she hasn’t given.’

3.1.2.3. Other Moods

3.1.2.3.1. Certainty

According to Bybee et al. (1994:180) in certainty the speaker has a good reason for supposing that the proposition is true. In certainty the speaker is emphasizing that the proposition is true (1994: 321). Wolayta expresses certainty in identical way as that of the simple future tense both for affirmative and negative forms. For the detail see 3.2.2.1. above.

3.1.2.3.2. Obligation

Obligation reports the existence of external, social conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action (Bybee et al. 1994:177). Wolayta expresses obligation using either *koff-ees* (lit. ‘he needs’) or *bess-ees* (lit. ‘he shows’) which inflect in imperfect and the main verb preceding this verb is normally in infinitive form. The auxiliary has no semantic value in this case. It simply grammaticises the structure.

135a. oonné ba áwaa bontf-anaw bes-eesi
 anyone his father respect-IN show-IMPV: AFM: DEC
 ‘Any one must respect his/her father.’

b. oonné ba áwaa bontf-anaw bess-enna
 anyone his father respect-IN show-IMPV: NEG: DEC
 ‘Anyone must not respect his/her father.’

136a. oonné ba áwaa bontf-anaw koff-eesi
 anyone his father respect-IN need-IMPV: AFM: DEC
 ‘Anyone must respect his/her father.’

b. oonné ba áwaa bontf-anaw koff-enna
 anyone his father respect-IN need-IMPV: NEG: DEC
 ‘Any one must not respect his/her father.’

3.1.2.3.3. Ability

According to Bybee et al. (1994: 177) ability reports the existence of internal enabling conditions in the agent with respect to the predicate action. The verb *danday-* ‘able’ is inflected in imperfective aspect in Wolayta to express ability and the main verb is in infinitive form. It is formed in the same way as that of the ingressive future (see 3.1.2.1.2.2) and ingressive past (see 3.1.2.1.2.1 above), but the ingressive past is aspectually perfective.

137 a. íí gupp-anaw danday-eesi
 he-NOM jump-IN able-IMPV: AFM: DEC
 ‘He is able to jump.’

b. íí gupp-anaw danday-enna
 he-NOM jump-IN able –IMPV: NEG: DEC

‘He isn’t able to jump.’

138. a. éti gupp-anaw danday -oosona
 they –NOM jump-IN able –IMPV: AFM: DEC

‘They are able to jump.’

b. éti gupp-anaw danday-okkona
 They-NOM jump-IN able-IMPV: NEG: DEC

‘They are not able to jump.’

3.1.2.3.4. Probability

In probability the speaker is indicating that the situation described in the proposition is possibly true (Bybee et al. 1994:320). In Wolayta probability is expressed by using a periphrastic construction. The elements are the main verb and the auxiliary *han-* ‘happen’. This auxiliary follows the main verb and is inflected in the imperfect. The main verb, on the other hand, is tied to its auxiliary by means of the conjunction *-dan* which expresses doubt in the past.

139 a. tá (taani) t'aaf-idaa-dan han-aysi
 I write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: AFM: DEC

‘I probably wrote.’

b. tá (tanni) t'aaf-idaa-dan han-ikke
 I write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: NEG: DEC

‘Probably I didn’t write.’

140. a. ne (neeni) t'aaf-idaa-dan han-aasa
you write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: AFM: DEC
‘Probably you wrote.’
- b. ne (neeni) t'aaf-idaa-dan han-akka
you write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: NEG: DEC
‘Probably you didn’t write.’
141. a. íí t'aaf-idaa-dan han-eesi
he-NOM write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: AFM: DEC
‘Probably he wrote.’
- b. íí t'aaf-idaa-dan han-enna
he-NOM write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: NEG: DEC
‘Probably he didn’t write.’
142. a. á t'aaf-idaa-dan han-ausu
she-NOM write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV:AFM:DEC
‘Probably she wrote.’
- b. á t'aaf-idaa-dan han-ukku
she-NOM write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: NEG: DEC
‘Probably she didn’t write.’
143. a. nu (nuuni) t'aaf-idaa-dan han-oosi
we write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: AFM: DEC
‘Probably we wrote.’

- b. nu (nuuni) t'aaf-idaa-dan han-okko
 we write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: NEG: DEC
 'Probably we didn't write.'
144. a. íinte t'aaf-idaa-dan han-eeta
 you (pl) write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: AFM: DEC
 'Probably you wrote.'
- b. iinte t'aaf-idaa-dan han-ekketa
 you (pl) write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: NEG: DEC
 'Probably you didn't write.'
145. a. íinte t'aaf-idaa-dan han-eeta
 you sg./pl. polite write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: AFM: DEC
 'Probably you wrote.'
- b. íinte t'aaf-idaa-dan han-ekketa
 you sg./pl. polite write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: NEG: DEC
 'Probably you didn't write.'
- 146 a. éti t'aaf-idaa-dan han-oosona
 they-NOM write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: AFM: DEC
 'Probably they wrote.'
- b. éti t'aaf-idaa-dan han-okkona
 they-NOM write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV: NEG: DEC
 'Probably they didn't write.'

147a. éti t'aaf-idaa-dan han-oosona
 3sg./pl.polite-NOM write-CNV-DUB happen-IMPV:AFM: DEC

‘Probably they /he/she wrote.’

b. éti t'aaf-idaa-dan han-okkona
 3sg. /pl. polite-NOM write-CNV-DUB happen –IMPV: NEG: DEC

‘Probably they /he/she didn’t write.’

CHAPTER FOUR

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter gives the highlight of the findings of the study.

1. Typologically Wolayta mostly employs morphological operations to express the distinctions in its TAM aspect. The tense and aspect markers are fused with other inflectional categories such as agreement and negation.
2. Mood is often taken as a completely separate category (cf authors Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985) but in Wolayta TA and M and polarity are all fused as has been show in the basic system. (Hayward 2005 is one of the scholars who draw attention to this unique feture of Ometo languages).
3. Perfective affirmative declarative paradigm is characterized by *-d-* although in the individual forms there is no single consistent perfective marker present.
4. Negative declarative sentences mostly include a geminated *-kk-* except third person masculine singular which has *-nn-*.
5. Perfective negative declarative sentence is characterized by the element *-b-*.
6. Progressive aspect is expressed periphrastically by using suffixes *-aydda* for singulars and *-iiddi-* for plurals, third person singular and for respected person(s). The auxiliary *de?* is used to grammaticise the structure. Progressive aspect is also used to express present or past progressive when present or past temporal adverbs are used.
7. Habituality is expressed using imperfective aspect, but there is no separate habitual aspect marker.
8. Future ingressive describes situations that are going to be started in short period of

time. It is a periphrastic construction where the main verb appears in the infinitive, while the auxiliary *han-* ‘happen’ which follows the main one is inflected in the imperfective aspect both for affirmative and negative forms. Past ingressive is formed through the same periphrastic process applied to the future ingressive but the auxiliary *doom-* ‘begin’ is inflected in the perfective aspect for the past ingressive.

9. Punctual events are expressed in perfective aspect.
10. Iterative aspect is constructed using the morpheme *-erett-* which is immediately attached to the main verb followed by perfective or imperfective suffixes based on the context in the situation.
11. Affirmative present perfect tense with both transitive and intransitive verbs is characterized by suffixing *-ayt/-* to the main verb followed by perfective affirmative or perfective negative forms for first and second singular persons and third person feminine singular whereas *-it/-* for first, second and third plural persons and third masculine singular person.
12. When the main verb is transitive one, the form of both affirmative and negative present perfect tense is suffixed *-arg-* for first and second person singulars and for third person feminine singular while first, second and third person plurals and third masculine singular person are suffixed *-irg-* followed by perfective affirmative or perfective negative.
13. Affirmative simple future tense is constructed using invariable morpheme *-ana* for all persons. The negative form mostly includes the geminated *-kk-* but third person masculine singular has *-nn-*. It is identical to the negative declarative sentences (see number 3 above).

14. Affirmative future progressive is expressed using a periphrastic construction consisting the future form of the verb *de?*- ‘exist’ preceded by the single form of the main verb. The verb is inflected in progressive form suffix *-aydda* for singulars and *-iiddi* for plurals and for third person masculine singular.
15. Imperative mood is expressed lexically. Affirmative emphatic imperative is formed by suffixing *-ikki* for second person singular and *-ekketi* for second person plural. The morpheme *-opp-* is attached to the main verb to negate the structure followed by the affirmative suffix.
16. Negative admonitive is formed by attaching the morpheme *-akká* to a verb root for second person singular whereas *-ekketá* for second person plurals.
17. Prohibitive is constructed by attaching the morpheme *-opp-* to a verb root followed by subject marker.
18. There is no single consistent affirmative interrogative marker present in individual forms rather it is fused with other elements such as agreement and imperfective aspect. Negatives mostly characterized by *-kk-*, but third masculine singular person has *-nn-*.
19. Affirmative perfective informative polar interrogative is characterized by an element *-d-* for all persons.
20. Probability is expressed periphrastically using the auxiliary *han-* ‘happen’ followed by the main verb and inflected in the imperfective aspect. The main verb is tied to its auxiliary by means of the conjunction *-dan* which expresses doubt in the past.
21. Obligation is constructed using *koff-ees* (lit. he needs) or *bess-ees* (lit. he shows).
22. Ability is expressed using the verb *danday-* ‘able’

Bibliography

- Adams, Bruce A. 1983. A Tagmemic Analysis of the Wolayta Language. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of London.
- Aklilu Abera. 2010. Negation in Wolayta. Un published Master Thesis. Addis Ababa University.
- Allan, Edward J. 1976. Kullo. In *Non-Semitic Language of Ethiopia*, eds. M.L. Bender. 324-350. East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University.
- Azeb Amha. 2006. Wolaita. In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*: eds. K. Brown. Vol. 13, 607-612. Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.
- Azeb Amha. 2007. Non-Verbal Predicate on Wolayta. In *Deictics, Copula and Focus in the Ethiopia Convergence Area*, eds. Joachim Crass and Ronny Meyer, 99-117. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Bekale Seyum. 1989. The Case System in Wolayta Language (GB Approach). Unpublished Master Thesis. Addis Ababa University.
- Bender, L. M. 2000. *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*. LINCOM EUROPA.
- Bender, L. M. 1986. Proto-Omotic Phonology and Lexicon. In *Cushetic-Omotic Papers from the International Symposium on Cushetic and Omotic Languages*, eds. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 6-9. Humburg: Helmut Buske Verlag Humburg.
- Biniyam Sisay. 2008. Aspects of Koorete verb Morphology. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Oslo.

- Bybee, J.L. 1985. *Morphology. A Study of the Relation between Meaning and Form.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bybee, J.L. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World.* Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Central Statistics Agency. 2008. Summary and Statistical Report of 2007 Population and Housing Census
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, B. 1985. *Tense.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahl, Ö. 1985. Tense and Aspect System. Oxford: Basil Black Well.
- Fleming, Harold. 1976. Omotic Overview. In *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, eds. M. L. Bender. 299-323. East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University Press.
- Getachew Talachew. 1975. The Grammatical Genders and Numbers in Relation to Nouns and Adjectives in Wolayta. Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University.
- Girma Awgichew and Meyer, Ronny. 2001. A reexamination of tense in Amharic.
- Hayward, R.J. 2003. 'The Empty Quarter of Afroasiatic Linguistics.' In *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar II: Selected Papers from the Fifth Conference of Afroasiatic Languages*, ed. Jacqueline Lecarme, 241-261. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hirut Woldemariam. 1998. Problem of 'WOGAGODA' Orthogrpahy. In Interdisciplinary Seminar of the Institute of Ethiopia Studies. Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

- Hirut Woldemariam. 2003. The Grammar of Haro with Comparative Notes on the Ometo Linguistic Group. Unpublished dissertation, Addis Ababa University.
- Lamberti, Marcello and Robert Sottile. 1997. *The Wolayta Language*. Cologne, Rüdiger Köppe.
- Lyons, J. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maslov, J.S. 1988. Resultative, Perfect, and Aspect. In: Nedjalkov, V. (ed.): *Typology of resultative constructions*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing company, 63-85.
- Ohman, Walter and Hailu Fulasa. 1976. Wolayta. In *Language in Ethiopia*, eds. M.L. Bender. 155-164. London: Oxford University Press.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax. A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Senait Mulugeta. 1984. The Pronouns in Wolayta. Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University.
- Sim, R. J. 1994. Wolaita. In *the Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, ed. R.E. Asher (in chief), Vol. 19, 4988-4989. Oxford, New York, Seoul, Tokyo: Pergamo Press.
- Tucker, A.N and M.A Bryan 1956. *The non-Bantu Languages of North Eastern Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Wakasa, M. 2002. *A note on the –ett- Derivation in Wolayta*. Tokoyo: Tokoyo University Press.

Wakasa, M. 2008. Descriptive Study of the Modern Wolayta Language. Doctoral Dissertation. Tokiyo: Tokiyo University.

Yitebarek Ejigu. 1970. Wolayta Verbs. Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Addis Ababa University.

Yitebarek Ejigu. 1983. The Phonology of Wolayta (Generative Approach). Unpublished Master Thesis, Addis Ababa University.

Appendices

Appendix A: Paradigm 1

imm-‘give’

1. Perfective

Affirmative, declarative

1SG imm-aasi

2SG imm-adasa

3FSG imm-aasu

3MSG imm-iisi

1PL imm-ida

2PL imm-ideta

3PL imm-idosona

Affirmative, interrogative

1SG imm-idana

2SG imm-adi

2FSG imm-ade

3MSG imm-ide

1PL imm-ido

2PL imm-ideti

3PL imm-idona

Negative, declarative

1SG imm-abikke

2SG imm-abakka
3FSG imm-abukku
3MSG imm-ibenna
1PL imm-ibokko
2PL imm-ibekketa
3PL imm-ibokkona

Negative, Interrogative

1SG imm-abikkiná
2SG imm-abikkí
3FSG imm-abekké
3MSG imm-ibenné
1PL imm-ibokkó
2PL imm-ibekketí
3PL imm-ibokkoná

2. Imperfective

Affirmative, declarative

1SG imm-aysi
2SG imm-aasa
3FSG imm-ausu
3MSG imm-eesi
1PL imm-oosi
2PL imm-eeta
3PL imm-oosona

Affirmative, interrogative

1SG imm-ianá

2SG imm-ay

3FSG imm-ay

3MSG imm-íí

1PL imm-ió

2PL imm-eetí

3PL imm-ioná

Negative, declarative

1SG imm-ikke

2SG imm-akka

3FSG imm-ukku

3MSG imm-enna

1PL imm-okko

2PL imm-ekketa

3PL imm-okkona

Negative, interrogative

1SG imm-ikkiná

2SG imm-ikkí

3FSG imm-ekké

3MSG imm-enné

1PL imm-okkó

2PL imm-ekketí

3PL imm-okkoná

3. Progressive

Affirmative, declarative

1SG imm-aydda
2SG imm-aydda
3FSG imm-aydda
3MSG imm-iiddi
1PL imm-iiddi
2PL imm-iiddi
3PL imm-iiddi

4. Imperative /Optative

Affirmative

2SG imm-a
2PL imm-ite

Negative

2SG imm-opp-a
2PL imm-oppite

Appendix A: Paradigm 2

ʔer – ‘Know’

1. Perfective

Affirmative, Declarative

1SG ʔer-aasi
2SG ʔer-adasa
3FSG ʔer-aasu
3MSG ʔer-iisi
1PL ʔer-ida
2PL ʔer-ideta

3PL ʔer-idosona

Affirmative, Interrogative

1SG ʔer-idaná

2SG ʔer-adí

3FSG ʔer-adé

3MSG ʔer-idé

1PL ʔer-idó

2PL ʔer-idetí

3PL ʔer-idoná

Negative, declarative

1SG ʔer-abikke

2SG ʔer-abakka

3FSG ʔer-abukku

3MSG ʔer-ibenna

1PL ʔer-ibokko

2PL ʔer-ibekketa

3PL ʔer-ibokkona

Negative, interrogative

1SG ʔer-abikkiná

2SG ʔer-abikkí

3FSG ʔer-abekké

3MSG ʔer-ibenné

1PL ʔer-ibokkó

2PL ʔer-ibekketí

3PL ʔer-ibokkoná

2. Imperfective

Affirmative, declarative

1SG ʔer-aysi

2SG ʔer-aasa

3FSG ʔer-ausu

3MSG ʔer-eesi

1PL ʔer-oosi

2PL ʔer-eeta

3PL ʔer-oosona

Affirmative, Interrogative

1SG ʔer-ianá

2SG ʔer-ay

3FSG ʔer-ay

3MSG ʔer-íi

1PL ʔer-ió

2PL ʔer-etí

3PL ʔer-ioná

Negative, Declarative

1SG ʔer-ikke

2SG ʔer-akka

3FSG ʔer-ukku

3MSG ʔer-enna

1PL ʔer-okko

2PL ʔer-ekketa

3PL ʔer-okkona

Negative, Interrogative

1SG ʔer-ikkiná

2SG ʔer-ikkí

3FSG ʔer-ekké

3MSG ʔer-enné

1PL ʔer-okkó

2PL ʔer-ekkefi

3PL ʔer-okkoná

3. Progressive

Affirmative, declarative

1SG ʔer-aydda

2SG ʔer-aydda

3FSG ʔer-aydda

3MSG ʔer-iiddi

1PL ʔer-iiddi

2PL ʔer-iddi

3PL ʔer-iiddi

4. Imperative/Optative

Affirmative

2SG ʔer-a

2PL ʔer-ite

Negative

2SG ʔer-opp-a

2PL ʔer-opp-ite