An Analysis of Complex Event Representation in Amharic Texts

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Amharic is a Semitic language spoken in Ethiopia. Focusing on data from texts written in Amharic, this paper studies complex event constructions and event integration. The most frequent pattern found for the expression of complex events is the verb-framed pattern using more than one clause. However, the satellite-framed pattern is much preferred for the expression of the inchoative aspect. Simple sentences that do not seem to encode complex events may also serve to express complex events.

Keywords: Amharic, texts, complex event, event integration

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1. Introduction

In this paper, I aim to contribute to the study of complex event constructions and event integration through the analysis of textual data in Amharic. In terms of structure, section 2.1 below discusses the relevance of text analysis in the context of this paper. Section 2.2 gives a brief sketch of Amharic grammar relevant to the discussion. The sources used in the present study are set out in section 2.3. Section 3 presents attested examples and comments on these. Section 3.1 deals with expressions of motion with a co-event, section 3.2 with expressions of state change, section 3.3 with various expressions of temporal contouring or of aspect, and section 3.4 briefly deals with expressions of some limited types of action correlating. Section 4 presents an analysis of the observations in section 3.

Section 5 concludes the discussion, mentioning the merits of text analysis and directions for future research.

2. Background of the present study

2.1. Usefulness of text analysis for the study of complex event constructions

Methods that elicit target constructions, accompanied by well prepared questionnaires, are known to be effective and essential for cross-linguistic research. However, such methods have their own limitations. Elicitation can elucidate only certain aspects of languages, and not others. In the field of complex event constructions, for example, a language may allow expressions typical of both satellite- and verb-framed languages for a macro event. However, one of these may occur more frequently than the other in actual language use. In such a case, we might decide the type of the language in question on this basis. This would be difficult if we relied solely on the elicitation method.

For example, in some languages, motion verbs may rarely co-occur with the expression of co-events, despite the co-occurrence being perfectly grammatical. Alternatively, some languages may allow the inchoative aspect expression 'started to do,' but may prefer the form 'did.' In such languages, event integration of complex events is possible, but there may be a strong tendency not to utilize it. It is essential to note such tendencies in studying event integration of complex events. In short, for a language to be able to integrate events is one thing, and to prefer doing so is another. However, the relevant tendencies seem to be difficult to notice solely through elicitation.

Thus, the analysis of text is also important for the study of complex event constructions or event integration. Bearing this importance in mind, I present in this paper an analysis of complex event construction and event integration in Amharic using text data.

2.2. Outline of the Amharic language

Amharic is a Semitic language that belongs to the Afro-asiatic family or phylum. Although it was originally a language of the northwestern part of Ethiopia, it is now widely spoken and understood throughout the country as a lingua franca or 'working language.' According to the census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia in 2007, there are 21,631,370 'mother tongue' speakers of the language.

Amharic can be classified as an SOV language, unlike many other Semitic languages, such as Arabic and Hebrew. Note, however, that Amharic has prepositions (in addition to postpositions). The predicate verb in both main and subordinate clauses in Amharic agrees with the subject in person, number, and gender. Simple finite verb forms are classified into five major forms: perfective, imperative, optative, imperfective, and converb. Verbs in the perfective, the imperative, and the optative are used as main verbs, whereas those in the imperfective and converb are not. The perfective, imperative, and

converb are composed of a stem followed by a conjugational suffix, whereas the imperfective and optative have also prefixes. The imperfective and converb are combined with a form of the verb of existence with or without some modification into compound imperfective and converb forms, respectively, which are used as main verbs. In the glosses for the examples in the present paper, detailed morphological boundaries are not shown.

Amharic has some prefixial conjunctions that are combined to the imperfective or perfective to form various subordinate forms. In addition to independent personal pronouns, Amharic has possessive pronominal suffixes, which are attached to nominals, and pronominal object suffixes, which are attached to verbs. The latter are inserted between a verb stem and the verb of existence in the case of compound forms, as if they were infixes. The boundaries of such seemingly infixial pronouns are shown by '=,' instead of '-,' in this paper. Note that while '=' appears twice in Amharic transcription, since it indicates boundaries of an "infix," it appears only once in the corresponding English gloss, which does not use "infixes."

Amharic also has benefactive-dative and malefactive-locative pronominal suffixes on the verb. Although these can be analyzed as a form of preposition followed by a kind of dependent personal pronoun, the composition is ignored in the glosses for the examples in the present paper.

In Amharic, a preposition and a postposition may be used simultaneously, as if they formed a circumposition, to express an adpositional notion. As in many other Ethiopian languages, Amharic has plenty of preverbs, which roughly resemble onomatopoeia. These are used in combination with some verbs, such as 'to say' and 'to do,' which lose their original meaning in most cases. For further detailed information on Amharic, see Leslau (1995).

2.3. Materials used in the present study

The text data used in the present study were drawn from the four books listed below. These are all fictional stories for children that were published in Ethiopia.

ዳንኤል ነጋሽ /Daniel Negash/ (Ethiopian Calendar (EC) 1991) ቹቹ በጐዳና /cuccu bë-gᵂädana/ *Chuchu in the street*, Vol. 1. Addis Abeba: Mega. 37 pages.

ገበየሁ አየለ /Gebeyehu Ayele/ (EC 1978, 1991 [2nd impression]) ጥንቸሉ ጴጥሮስ /t'əncälu p'et'ros/ *Rabit Peter*. Addis Abeba: Mega. 31 pages.

ሜሪ ጃዕፈር /Meri Jaifer/ (EC 1982) ቦላቦ /bolabo/ *Bolabo* (horse's name). Addis Abeba: Kuraz. 18 pages.

ተስፋዬ ገ/ማርያም /Tesfaye Gebre Maryam/ (EC 1982) የግችሊ ሜዳ /yä-gəccəlle meda/ *Gichile's Field*. Addis Abeba: Kuraz. 14 pages.

I read through these books and selected expressions relevant to the present study of complex event constructions and event integration. The expressions are presented and discussed in the next section.

3. Comments on examples attested in the texts

Talmy (2000: 213) says that the macro-event, a certain type of event complex, can be conceptualized as composed of two simpler events and the relation between them, and is also amenable to conceptualization as a single fused event and, accordingly, to expression by a single clause. He also says that the macro-event pertains to as many as five distinct types of event: motion, temporal contouring (aspect), state change, action correlating, and realization. In this paper, I deal with only the events about which I was able to obtain enough data for analysis.

3.1. Motion and its manner, cause, etc.

The texts contain examples in which 'əyyä + perfective' (hereafter 'əyyä form'), meaning 'while ~ing,' expresses a manner of motion. Examples appear in (1) to (4) below.

(1) bəccawən   <u>əyyä-rot'ä</u>   wädä   mängäd-u   mähal
    he.alone   while-run.PFV.3SG.M   ALL   road-DEF   center
    gäbba.[1]
    enter.PFV.3SG.M
    'He ran alone into the center of the road.' (Tesfaye 1982: 7)

(2) <u>əyyä-rot'ä</u>   wädä   ato   məkru   **hedä**.
    while-run.PFV.3SG.M   ALL   Mr.   (person name)   go.PFV.3SG.M
    'He ran to Mr. Mikru.' (Tesfaye 1982: 14)

(3) kä-tämari-wocc-u   gar   <u>əyyä-tägaffa</u>
    COM-student-PL-DEF   COM   while-push.each.other.PFV.3SG.M
    wädä   təmhərt   bet   **gäbba**.
    ALL   study   house   enter.PFV.3SG.M
    'Pushing each other with the students, he entered into the school.' (Daniel 1991: 26)

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[1] In the examples below, framing events are indicated by bold face, and co-events are underlined.

(4) q̠äss   əyy-alä   wädä   mähal   **hedä**.
     PRV   while-say.PFV.3SG.M   ALL   center   go.PFV.3SG.M
     'He went to the center slowly (lit. saying *q̠äss*).' (Gebeyehu 1991[2]: 12)

Concomitance as a co-event of motion can also be expressed by the *əyyä* form, as in (5) and (6). The difference between this and manner probably tends to have the character of a gradient, as Talmy (2000: 46) suggests.

(5) əyy-aläqqäsä   wädä   dar   s-**iwät'a**   ...
     while-cry.PFV.3SG.M   ALL   shore   when-come.up.IPFV.3SG.M
     'When he, crying out, came up to the shore ...' (Gebeyehu 1991[2]: 19)

(6) bezu   bezu   əyy-alä
     (person name)   (person name)   while-say.PFV.3SG.M
     gʷädana-w   wəst'   **gäbto**   ...
     street-DEF   inside   enter.CVB.3SG.M
     'He entered into the street saying 'Bezu, Bezu!', and ...' (Daniel 1991: 25)

The examples in (1) to (6) above show the verb-framed pattern, as the core-schematic component (i.e., motion) shows up in the main verb at the end of each example. However, note also that the co-events are expressed in subordinate clauses introduced by *əyyä*. In other words, the above examples are (parts of) complex sentences. Furthermore, the *əyyä* form can co-occur with verbs other than motion verbs, and their subjects may be different, as in the example in (7) taken from Leslau (1995: 662).

(7) əyy-anäbbäbä   s'ägur-u-n   täqort'=äw=alläcc.
     while-read.PFV.3SG.M   hair-his-ACC   cut.C.IPFV.3SG.F=3SG.M
     'She cuts his hair while he is reading.'

The *əyyä* form in (7) expresses an independent event. I believe that this is the fundamental function of the *əyyä* form, and that this function can be detected even in (1) to (6). Thus, in my opinion, the events are not integrated in the above constructions. Certainly, the events are not represented by a single clause, whereas Talmy's (2000: 215–216) definition of event integration seems to regard representation by a single clause as important. Note also Croft et al.'s (2010) claim that the degree of integration of the complex event in the verb framing construction is less than that in the satellite framing construction.

A manner of motion can also be expressed by converbial forms in Amharic. Consider the example in (8).

(8) <u>roc'c'e</u>   **lədräs-bbat.**
    run.CVB.1SG   reach.OPT.1SG-LOCINS.3SG.F
    'Let me run and get to her!' (Daniel 1991: 25)

However, there were few similar examples in the current data. There was another example of the converb of the verb for 'run' followed by the verb for 'reach,' one example of the converb of the verb for 'run' followed by the verb for 'return,' and some examples with the converb of the verb for 'say' with a preverb followed by another motion verb, as in (9).

(9) <u>qäss</u>   <u>bəlo</u>   kä-bet   lä-**mäwt'at**   ...
    PRV   say.CVB.3SG.M   ABL-house   DAT-go.out.VN
    'In order to go out of the house slowly (lit. having said *qäss*) ...' (Tesfaye 1982: 3)

Putting aside the expression of manner of motion for the time being, in general, we can see the temporal order of the two events in examples of the 'converb + motion verb' construction: the converb expresses the preceding event and the motion verb expresses the following event. In (10), for example, the parents' separation from human beings precedes their entrance into the forest, and the events cannot be understood to have occurred in the opposite order. The two events can also not be understood to be simultaneous. The same applies to the example in (11). This is not surprising, as the main function of the converb is the expression of a preceding event. The subject of the converb may or may not be the same as that of the main verb.

(10) wälaj-occ-u   kä-säw   täläyyətäw
     parent-PL-his   ABL-man   be.separeted.CVB.3PL
     c'akka   yä-gäbbu-t   ...
     forest   REL-enter.PFV.3PL-DEF
     '(The time) when his parents fell away from human beings and entered the forest is ...' (Meri 1982: 3)

(11) yä-sport   qumt'a-w-ən   läbso   c'amma-w-ən
     GEN-sports   short.pants-his-ACC   put.on.CVB.3SG.M   shoe-his-ACC
     adrəgo   wädä   c'äwäta   lä-mähed   ...
     do.CVB.3SG.M   ALL   game   DAT-go.VN

'In order to wear his sport shorts, and wear his shoes, and go to the game ...'
(Tesfaye 1982: 3)

Let us now return to the expression of manner of motion. Note, for example, that in (8) above, it is easy to understand that the speaker's running precedes his reaching the destination. Thus, two different non-simultaneous events are expressed in two different clauses. This construction exhibits the verb-framed pattern, as the core-schematic component (i.e., motion) shows up in the main verb at the end of the sentence, as in the case of the *əyyä* form.

This kind of analysis can also be applied to other converbial examples expressing a manner of motion. Some of these, including that in (9) above, appear to express two simultaneous events, but this is not the case, in my opinion,[2] leading, in turn, to my conclusion that the events are not integrated in these examples. In either case, however, whether or not events are simultaneous is not relevant to the present discussion. What is important is that events are not represented by a single clause, as in the case of the *əyyä* form. Thus, what is said about the *əyyä* form below example (7) applies here too.

In the sentence in (12), coordinated clauses are used, although motion and its cause, rather than manner, are expressed. This is another example of the expression of a complex event by two separate clauses. Note also that, according to Croft et al. (2010), the coordination construction is the least integrated. This is another example of the avoidance of event integration.

(12) bä-ruq-u   mätta-nna   t'əru   gəb   **agäbba**.
     LOCINS-far-DEF   hit.PFV.3SG.M-and   good   goal   make.enter.PFV.3SG.M
     'He shot (the ball) from a distance, and he scored a good goal.' (Tesfaye 1982: 9)

The data yielded one example in which a manner of motion was expressed by means of 'preverb + the locative-instrumental preposition *bä* + verbal noun for the verb 'say.'' In this case, a prepositional phrase expresses a co-event together with a preverb, as in (13).

(13) rot't'   bä-malät   wädä   ləj-occ-u   **hedo**   ...
     PRV   LOCINS-say.VN   ALL   child-PL-DEF   go.CVB.3SG.M
     'He went to the children trotting (lit. in saying *rot't'*), and ...' (Tesfaye 1982: 5)

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2 Leslau (1995: 360) discusses a circumstantial usage of the gerund (i.e., converb). In such cases, however, the converb expresses an event that precedes logically, not temporally, or the converbial verb is aspectually inchoative (i.e., it means 'to become X' rather than 'to be X'). Note also that the converbial construction is not used when the two events are truly simultaneous in that their duration is exactly the same, such as 'to spend X-ing.' See Wakasa (1996) for details on this issue.

As the motion is expressed by a main verb (of a subordinate clause), (13) exhibits a verb-framed pattern. In terms of the degree of event integration, it is higher than that in the examples above, as a complex event (i.e., motion and its manner) is expressed in one clause. I am unsure whether prepositional phrases are common in the world's languages as a means of expressing co-events, but the study of complex event constructions and event integration should not ignore them, and certainly not if the language under discussion has them.

The examples in (14) and (15) are similar. The form 'preposition + noun somehow related to a verb (perhaps deverbal noun)' is used.

(14) gəmmaš-u   säw   <u>bä-cəkkola</u>   **yərrammädal**.
      half-DEF   man   LOCINS-haste   walk.C.IPFV.3SG.M
      'Some people are walking hastily.' (Daniel 1991: 25)

(15) <u>əndä   əbd</u>   yämm-**irot'u**-t   ...
      like   crazy   REL-run.IPFV.3PL-DEF
      '(The reason why) they run like crazy ...' (Tesfaye 1982: 11)

In (16) below, the relative clause can be regarded as expressing a manner of motion. As the main verb (of a subordinate clause) expresses a path of motion, this might be an example of the verb-framed pattern. Here, the complex event is expressed by two separate clauses: a relative clause expressing a manner of a motion and a matrix (converbial) clause expressing a core-schematic component. In this sense, the degree of integration is low. However, the relative clause is so highly dependent on the subject of the matrix verb that it and the following noun comprise a single syntactic unit, i.e., a noun phrase. In this sense, the degree of integration is high.

(16) bä-hayl   yämm-<u>ibärr</u>   mäkina   **mät'to**   ...
      LOCINS-power   REL-fly.IPFV.3SG.M   car   come.CVB.3SG.M
      'A car which was speeding (lit. flying with power) came, and ...' (Tesfaye 1982: 8)

3.2. State change

Complex events expressing changes of state were generally expressed by two clauses in the present data: one for the cause and the other for the change. Thus, the constructions are similar to those with the *əyya* form or the converb discussed in 3.1. In short, they are not cases of event integration, in my opinion. The data contained three cases with state

change expressed by the converb construction, as in (17), and one case by coordination, as in (18).

(17) kä-gənb   gar   tälattəmäw   əndih
      COM-stone.wall   COM   collide.CVB.3PL   like.this
      yä-**täsäbabbäru**-t   ...
      REL-smash.PFV.3PL-DEF
      '(The reason) why (the cars) collide with the stone wall and smashed like this is ...'
      (Tesfaye 1982: 10)

(18) abbat-e-m   säkkaram   honä-nna   **motä**.
      father-my-as for   drunkard   become.PFV.3SG.M-and   die.PFV.3SG.M
      'As for my father, he become a drunkard, and died.' (Daniel 1991: 35)

The data also contained examples with a subordinating conjunction, as in (19). Of course, a subordinating conjunction adds a certain nuance or meaning, related to reasons, hypotheses, etc., to a sentence expressing a state change. Unlike converbial and coordinated constructions, such examples have apparently not been fully considered in the study of complex event constructions. However, this kind of subordinate construction, which exhibits a verb-framed pattern and whose degree of integration is relatively low, should be positioned somewhere in the typological continuum or classification system.

(19) əndä-ňňa   bərd-ənna   s'ähay   b-iffärarräq-bbəh
      like-we   coldness-and   sun   if-do.in.turns.IPFV.3SG.M-MAL.2SG
      fit-əh   **yəssänät'at't'äqal**.
      face-your.M   crack.in.many.places.C.IPFV.3SG.M
      'If you are exposed to coldness and the sun in turns like us, your face will be full of chapping.' (Daniel 1991: 34)

3.3. Temporal contouring

As for the explicit expression of completion/termination aspect, three examples occurred in the data. One of these, given in (20), used the converb.

(20) gundan-occ-u-n   arragfäw   kä-**c'ärräsu**
      ant-PL-DEF-ACC   brush.off.CVB.3PL   ABL-finish.PFV.3PL
      bä-hʷala   ...
      LOCINS-back

'After they finished brushing off the ants (lit. brushed off the ants and finished it), ...' (Daniel 1991: 13)

The remaining two examples used a deverbal noun and an aspectual verb 'to finish, stop' (see (21) and (22)).

(21) <u>səra-w-ən</u>   sə-**ttəc'ärrəsu**   ...
work-DEF-ACC   when-finish.IPFV.2PL
'When you have finished the work, ...' (Gebeyehu 1991[2]: 2)

(22) yä-mit't'u   <u>läqso</u>   **qomä**.
GEN-(person name)   crying   stop.PFV.3SG.M
'Mitu's crying stopped (i.e., Mitu stopped crying).' (Daniel 1991: 8)

These three examples exhibit a verb-framed pattern in that the core-schematic component (i.e., aspect) is expressed in the main verb of the clause. Whereas in (20), which has a converbial clause, the complex event is not integrated, this is more difficult to judge in (21) and (22). In these, the complex events in question are integrated in that they are expressed in a simple clause, but note that the events might not even be regarded as complex, as (21) and (22) are straightforward simple clauses with no embedded elements.

With regard to the inchoative aspect, on the other hand, the data yielded many examples. Of these, 26 used 'simple imperfective + *jämmär* (began, started),' seven used 'verbal noun + inflected form of the verb *jämmärä* (to begin, to start),' six used 'deverbal noun + the verb *jämmärä*,' and one example occurred of the causative *asjämmärä* 'to make begin.' Examples appear in (23) to (30).

(23) bəccawən   <u>yəgalb</u>   **jämmär**.
he.alone   gallop.IPFV.3SG.M   began
'He began to gallop by himself.' (Meri 1982: 4)

(24) kä-meda   ahəyya-yitu   gar   <u>yənor</u>   **jämmär**.
COM-field   donkey-DEF.F   COM   live.IPFV.3SG.M   began
'He began to live with the see-zebra.' (Meri 1982: 8)

(25) bä-tära-ccäw   bä-hayl   <u>yəc'c'awwätu</u>   **jämmär**.
LOCINS-turn-their   LOCINS-power   play.IPFV.3PL   began
'They began to play powerfully in their turn.' (Tesfaye 1982: 9)

(26) säffi-w   gʷädana   lay   yərot'   **jämmär**.
      wide-DEF   street   on   run.IPFV.3SG.M   began
      'He began to run in the street.' (Daniel 1991: 32)

(27) kä-säw   täläyyətäw   c'akka   wəst'   mänor
      ABL-man   be.separeted.CVB.3PL   forest   inside   live.VN
      jämmäru.
      begin.PFV.3PL
      'Having separated from human beings, they began to live inside the forest.' (Meri 1982: 7)

(28) and   ləj   kä-zaf-u   lay   mäwräd   **jämmärä**.
      one   child   ABL-tree-DEF   on   descend.VN   begin.PFV.3SG.M
      'He began to descend from the top of the tree.' (Daniel 1991: 32)

(29) färäs-occ-u   bä-mulu   gəlbiya   **jämmäru**.
      horse-PL-DEF   LOCINS-full   gallop   begin.PFV.3PL
      'The horses began to gallop fully.' (Meri 1982: 16)

(30) lä-mäddäbäq   ruc'c'a-w-ən   **jämmärä**.
      DAT-hide   running-his-ACC   begin.PFV.3SG.M
      'He began to run to hide himself.' (Daniel 1991: 32)

jämmär after the simple imperfective, which appears in (23) to (26), is derived from the verb *jämmärä* 'to begin.' However, it is not inflected in terms of person, number, and gender, although its inflected perfective forms may be used instead. Thus, we can assume that it has been sufficiently grammaticalized to be regarded as a particle, or even as a verb suffix. On this assumption, we can further suggest that this construction exhibits a satellite-framed pattern, and that the degree of event integration is higher, unlike the many cases discussed above.

As for the constructions with verbal or deverbal nouns, like (27) to (30), the same points mentioned above regarding (21) and (22) apply. That is, these constructions exhibit a verb-framed pattern, and the events are integrated, as they are expressed within a single clause, but there is the possibility that the events are not even regarded as complex, as they are expressed in simple sentences[3].

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[3] As an aside, as can be seen from the comparison of the pairs (23) and (29), (24) and (27), and (26) and (30), different constructions are possible for the same co-event (i.e., to gallop, to live, and to run, respectively). Although the condition under which each of these is used would be relevant to the study of complex event constructions, I leave the matter open.

Gradualness is expressed with the *əyyä* form plus a grammaticalized motion verb, as can be seen in (31) and (32). Here the framing expression (i.e., gradual aspect) is expressed by both the *əyyä* form and the grammaticalized motion verb in the main clause. This is reminiscent of a double framing pattern in the sense of Croft et al. (2010). As the *əyyä* form is used here, the discussion about the degree of integration presented below example (7) in 3.1 applies here[4].

(31) məššət-u   **əyyä-**<u>gäffa</u>   s-**ihed**   ...
      evening-DEF   while-push.PFV.3SG.M   when-go.IPFV.3SG.M
      'When the evening is coming (lit. goes while pushing), ...' (Daniel 1991: 17)

(32) **əyyä-**<u>qännäsä</u>   **mät't'a**.
      while-decrease.PFV.3SG.M   come.PFV.3SG.M
      'It is getting fewer and fewer.' (Daniel 1991: 17)

Proximative aspect, 'when ... be about to,' is expressed by the purpose subordinating conjunction *lə* + simple imperfective verb + the temporal subordinating conjunction *sə* + the simple imperfective of the verb 'to say.' The purpose subordinating conjunction *lə* + simple imperfective verb roughly corresponds to the *to*-infinitive construction in English. Consider the examples in (33) and (34).

(33) wädä   männafǎša   bota-w   **l-**<u>igäbu</u>   s-**ilu**   ...
      ALL   park   place-DEF   to-enter.IPFV.3PL   when-say.IPFV.3PL
      'When they were about to enter the park, ...' (Daniel 1991: 9)

(34) tänästo   **l-**<u>irot'</u>   s-**il**   ...
      stand.up.CVB.3SG.M   to-run.IPFV.3SG.M   when-say.IPFV.3SG.M
      'When he, having stood up, was about to run, ...' (Daniel 1991: 25)

Although the construction in (33) and (34) does not contain a pure quotation or reported speech, it is somehow related to a quotation construction. I surmise that a quotation in Amharic does not constitute a clause by itself, or at least not in every case (see Wakasa 2013: 195). If this is the case, the construction in (33) and (34) can be regarded as a simple clause, and thus a case of event integration. However, as the construction is not a typical quotation construction, this may not be the case. The construction also resembles a double framing construction, in which events are most

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[4] However, (31) and (32) do not have the literal sense of *əyyä* 'while.' Thus, the events can be regarded as integrated, at least conceptually. I am grateful to Kazuhiro Kawachi for his personal comment in this regard.

highly integrated, according to Croft et al. (2010), in that the framing expression (i.e., aspect) is expressed twice, i.e., in the purpose subordinating conjunction *lə* and in the verb 'to say.' Judging from these issues, the construction may be more integrated than is a complex sentence.

The verb *täzägagga* in (35) below is a reduplicated derivative of the verb *täzägga* 'to become closed,' which is, in turn, a passive derivative of the verb *zägga* 'to close.' The reduplicated verb *täzägagga* expresses plurality of the event expressed by the base form, *täzägga* 'to become closed,' and it appears to mean 'to become closed one after another' here. Thus, the repetition aspect is expressed by means of reduplication or word derivation. Unfortunately, to my knowledge, the semantics and productiveness of reduplicated derived verbs in Amharic have not yet been comprehensively studied, least of all in terms of their theoretical implications in the study of complex event constructions or event integration.

(35) suq-occ-u-m   **<u>täzägaggu</u>**.
      shop-PL-DEF-too   be.closed.many.times.PFV.3PL
      'The shops were also closed one after another.' (Daniel 1991: 17)

There were no further examples of the repetition aspect expressed by reduplication in the data. Rather, this was generally expressed by adverbial or non-head elements, including the converb of the verb 'to return' in both its Vi and Vt forms. Such constructions are presented in (36) to (39).

(36) **mälləsäh**   <u>tamät'a</u>=lləňň=alläh.
      return(Vt).CVB.2SG.M   bring.C.IPFV.2SG.M=BEN.2SG
      'Do you bring (it) for me again (lit. you having returned)?' (Daniel 1991: 13)

(37) **tämmälləso**   ənd-<u>ayhed</u>   ...
      return(Vi).CVB.3SG.M   in.order.to-go.NEG.IPFV.3SG.M
      'In order for him not to go again (lit. he having returned) ...' (Daniel 1991: 15)

(38) **əndägäna**   ruc'c'a-w-ən   <u>täyayazä</u>-w
      again   running-his-ACC   engage.PFV.3SG.M-3SG.M
      'He started his running again.' (Daniel 1991: 22)

(39) **bä-tädägagami**   <u>masraddat</u>   ənd-allä-bbät   ...
      LOCINS-what.is.repeated   explain.VN   that-exist.3SG.M-MAL.3SG.M

'... that he has to explain (lit. explaining exists against him) again and again' (Daniel 1991: 15)

With regard to (36) and (37), the complex events are not integrated, as the converb is used and the events are expressed by more than one clause. However, the converb in such cases may be so grammaticalized that it can be regarded as an adverb. In that respect, these are similar to (38) and (39). Aspectual expressions by means of adverbials, such as those in (38) and (39), exhibit a non-head-framed pattern (Matsumoto 2003).

3.4. Action correlating

To express the notion of concert, the converb of *abbärä* 'to join with,' which may or may not be followed by an object suffix, is used, as in (40) and (41).

(40) **abrän**   <u>hedän</u>   ǝnnǝt'äyyǝq=accäw=allän.
     join.CVB.1PL   go.CVB.1PL   ask.C.IPFV.1PL=3PL
     'Let's go together (lit. we having joined with) and ask them.' (Daniel 1991: 31)

(41) **abro**-ňň   yämm-<u>ic'c'awwät</u>   ašangullit   näw.
     join.CVB.3SG.M-1SG   REL-play.IPFV.3SG.M   doll   COP.3SG.M
     'He is a doll that plays with me (lit. he having joined with me).' (Daniel 1991: 1)

The above examples exhibit a non-head-framed pattern, in which complex events are as non-integrated as in the converb construction that follows the V-framed pattern. Amharic also has another non-head-framed construction, in which the comitative postposition *gar* 'with' is used with or without the comitative-ablative preposition *kä* 'with, from' preceding it (see (42)).

(42) bezawit   yämm-ǝttǝbbal   ləj   **gar**
     (person name)   REL-be.said.IPFV.3SG.F   child   COM
     näw   yämm-<u>ǝmmar</u>-äw.
     COP.3SG.M   REL-learn.IPFV.1SG-DEF
     'It is with the girl who is called Bezawit that I am learning.' (Daniel 1991: 26)

4. Analysis of the observations

The observations in section 3 can be roughly summarized as in the columns below. With regard to the two right-most columns, I have omitted an entry in cases where I was unable to classify the construction. In the Framing column, D stands for 'double-framed

pattern,' nH for 'non-head-framed pattern other than satellite-framed pattern,' V for 'verb-framed pattern' (or head-framed pattern according to Matsumoto (2003)), and S for 'satellite-framed pattern' (a kind of non-head-framed pattern according to Matsumoto (2003)). In the Clause Type column, C stands for 'complex clause or sentence' and S stands for 'simple clause or sentence.'

Events	Number	Construction	Count	Framing	Clause type
Motion + manner	(1)~(6)	*ǝyyä* Form	31	V	C
or concomitance	(8)(9)	CVB	32	V	C
	(13)~(15)	Prepositional phrase	6	V	S
	(16)	Relative clause	1	V	
Motion + cause	(12)	Coordination	1		C
State change	(17)	CVB	3	V	C
	(18)	Coordination	1		C
	(19)	Subordination	4	V	C
Completion	(20)	CVB	1	V	C
	(21)(22)	Deverbal noun	2	V	S
Inchoative	(23)~(26)	IPFV + *jämmär*	25	S	S
	(27)(28)	VN	7	V	S
	(29)(30)	Deverbal noun	6	V	S
Gradualness	(31)(32)	*ǝyyä* + Motion verb	4	D?	C?
'be about to'	(33)(34)	Quotation	5		S?
Repetition	(35)	Reduplication	1	S?	S
	(36)(37)	CVB	2	nH	C?
	(38)(39)	Adverbial	4	nH	S
Concert	(40)(41)	CVB	6	nH	C?
	(42)	Adposition	1	nH	S

The most frequently occurring construction in the data was a verb-framed pattern using complex clauses or sentences (Framing: V; Clause Type: C; henceforth VC). This is due mainly to the frequent use of the converb in Amharic. However, a satellite-framed pattern using simple clauses or sentences (Framing: S; Clause Type: S; henceforth SS) cannot be ignored, as it occurred in the data and was much preferred for the expression of the inchoative aspect.

There were some examples of a verb-framed pattern using simple clauses or sentences (Framing: V; Clause Type: S; henceforth VS) in the data. The examples actually just constituted simple clauses or sentences. The examples in (38), (39) and (42) were also

simple sentences. The examples in (36), (37), (40), and (41) can be regarded as simple clauses or sentences if their converbs are regarded as adverbs. Each of these examples surely expresses a kind of complex event and warrants investigation, although such simple clauses and sentences seem to have been ignored in research on complex event constructions and event integration. The events are integrated in these examples if we regard representation by a single clause as an important criterion for event integration, unlike the events in the prevailing VC pattern.

Other patterns also occurred in the present data, such as coordination. Thus, Amharic appears to exhibit a variety of patterns to express different complex events.

5. Conclusion

The present data contained quite a few examples of the SS pattern, in which the suffix may not have become a typical satellite. However, almost all of these were used for the expression of the inchoative aspect. The most frequent pattern in the data was the VC pattern, which was used for various kinds of complex events. The data also showed the expression of several kinds of complex events with simple clauses or sentences, which may not have been noticed without text data being analyzed. Further research using a larger corpus of text data from a range of genres was indicated.

Abbreviations

ABL (Ablative), ACC (Accusative), ALL (Allative), BEN (Benefactive), C (Compound), COM (Comitative), COP (Copula), CVB (Converb), DAT (Dative), DEF (Definite article), F (Feminine), GEN (Genitive), IPFV (Imperfective), LOCINS (Locative-Instrumental), M (Masculine), MAL (Malfacutive), NEG (Negative), OPT (Optative), PFV (Perfective), PL (Plural), PRV (Preverb), REL (Relative), SG (Singular), Vi (Intransitive Verb), VN (Verbal Noun), Vt (Transitive Verb)

Transcription

Each letter used here to transcribe an Amharic phoneme has the same sound value as its corresponding IPA symbol. However, note the following adjustments: ä (narrow [a]), c [ʧ], j [ʤ], ň [ɲ], q [k'], r [ɾ ~r], š [ʃ], y [j].

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