Event Integration Patterns in 'Alle[*]

Hiroshi YOSHINO

(University of Tsukuba / JSPS Research Fellow)

s1130021@u.tsukuba.ac.jp / hiro231287@gmail.com

1 Introduction

This paper aims to investigate how 'Alle language encodes macro-events within Talmy's framework (Talmy 2000) and to show the similarity and difference found between two East Cushitic languages, namely 'Alle and Sidaama.

1.1 Talmy's typological framework on event integration

The typology of event integration presented by Talmy (2000) is based on his finding of the macro-event that "can be conceptualized as composed of two simpler events and the relation between them... —perhaps universally—also amenable to conceptualization as a single fused event and, accordingly, to expression by a single clause" (Talmy 2000:213). His study has revealed how event complexes are conflated into a single clause or even a single verb in the MOTION expressions, and now this has been extended to analyse other types of event complexes, namely, STATE CHANGE, REALIZATION, TEMPORAL CONTOURING, and ACTION CORRELATING. According to Talmy's typological framework, "languages fall into two typological categories on the basis of where they characteristically express the schematic core of the event complex—in the verb or in a satellite to the verb" (Talmy 2000:213).

To illustrate this idea better, see the following example. The example (1) is a pair of sentences meaning that the bottle moved into the cave with the manner of floating. (1a) is an example of English, and (1b) is of Spanish.

(1)   a. The bottle floated into the cave. [English]

         b. La botella entró flotando a la cueva. [Spanish]

         (the bottle entered floating to the cave) (Talmy 2000:227)

Each sentence contains events that (A) the bottle moved into the cave, and that (B) it floated; therefore, this is a macro-event. On one hand, English encodes the event (A) with a satellite ("into the cave") and the event (B) with a main verb ("floated"). On the other hand, Spanish expresses the event (A) as a main verb and an adverbial phrase ("entró…a la cueva") while the event (B) as a participle. The event (A) is the framing event that forms the core of a macro-event, whereas the event (B) is the co-event that "bears a support relation to the framing event" (Talmy 2000:220). According to his framework, languages like English are called the satellite-framed language (S-language), and those like Spanish are called the verb-framed language (V-language).

1.2   Literature

There seems to be no literature in the study of 'Alle on this particular topic; however, the analysis of Sidaama event integration patterns is presented by Kawachi (2012). Sidaama language belongs to the Highland East Cushitic group within the East Cushitic sub-branch, spoken in south Ethiopia.

   Since Sidaama is supposed to be genetically related to 'Alle, as both are members of the East Cushitic sub-branch, it is not surprising that both languages are found to share almost the same tendency of deviation from Talmy's definition of V-languages in several semantic sub-categories. However, in a few other semantic sub-categories, 'Alle and Sidaama behave differently. This topic is out of the scope of the present paper, but this notion is quite important because it may require the further subgrouping of the V-languages.

1.3   Methodology

Sentences analysed here are taken from a linguistic fieldwork at Gawwada village, 'Alle district, SNNPR, Ethiopia during January-February 2014. The present author employed a questionnaire prepared by Associate Professor Kazuhiro Kawachi (National Defense Academy of Japan) for *Studies on Event Integration Patterns in African Languages* (ILCAA Joint Research Project).

   Data collection was conducted in the following steps:

   (1) Ask several 'Alle speakers (including three Informants N.G., T.F., and

E.E.; ref. Yoshino 2013a) to translate a given sentence (from the questionnaire) into 'Alle (N.B. data at this stage are not used in analysis);

(2) Check and correct the translated sentence with Informant G.A. (another 'Alle speaker, whose knowledge of the 'Alle language is excellent; ref. Yoshino 2013b) for adequacy of expressions in the sentence and different reading(s) of the sentence; and

(3) Check the sentence with other TAM properties (mainly temporal notion) and with different subject/object/verb/adverbial.

Thus, Informant G.A. confirmed that all the data analysed in this article are adequate, although the present author is solely responsible for any remaining error.

2   Macro-Event Expressions in 'Alle

'Alle language clearly shows the verb-framing patterns in MOTION, STATE CHANGE and REALIZATION categories. Thus, the present author takes a position that 'Alle is to be classified as a V-language within the event integration framework. However, as for TEMPORAL CONTOURING and ACTION CORRELATING, the verb-framing is limited to a few semantic sub-categories. In the following sections, each semantic category is described, as well as its sub-categories.

There are four constructions that are employed for expressing co-events. All these constructions precede a main verb as adverbials or as an object of the main verb. The most frequent is the INSTR-construction whose structure is [verb stem + infinitive marking suffix + instrumental case suffix *–ttay* (+ focus clitic *=ki*)]. The use of the INSTR-construction is restricted for repeatable events.

The LOC-construction is composed of [verb stem + infinitive marking suffix + feminine locative case suffix *-(V)tte*]. Rarely, the masculine locative case suffix *-(V)to* is used instead of its feminine counterpart.

The ANDAT-construction is different from the above two constructions in that this construction employs an enclitic rather than a suffix. Thus, its structure is as follows: [verb stem + infinitive marking suffix + andative case enclitic *=nu*].

The ACC-construction takes the structure [verb stem + infinitive marking suffix]; therefore, zero-marked. Syntactically slightly different from other construction, this infinitive is employed as a direct object of a main verb. Here

the present author sees this is an accusative case of the infinitive, so that all these four constructions are named based on grammatical cases for convenience.

There is a construction to express a semantic equivalent to the macro-event, namely, the consecutive construction. The present author considers that the consecutive construction is basically not an event integration pattern. This topic is discussed in the chapter 3.

2.1 MOTION

There are included five sub-categories in MOTION: manner (i.e. a co-event tells how a framing event is realised), cause (i.e. a co-event has made the situation of a framing event), concomitance (i.e. a co-event is simultaneous to, or overlaps with, a framing event), precursion (i.e. a co-event leads to a framing event as a result), and enablement (i.e. a co-event makes a framing event possible to happen). The following sections describe each sub-category.

2.1.1 Manner

This sub-category is clearly the verb-framing instance. The following examples are of non-agentive subjects (e.g. ball).

(2) koʔase gangalad-e-tta=kki   puʕ-i-ti.
     ball   roll-INF-INSTR=FOC   fall-EP-PST.3FS
     "A ball rolled down. (Lit. Rolling, a ball fell.)"

(3) koʔase gangalad-e-tta=kki   (manne gala)   xull-i-ti.
     ball   roll-INF-INSTR=FOC   (house under)   go_in-EP-PST.3FS
      "A ball rolled in(to a house). (Lit. Rolling, a ball entered (a house).)"

In the sentence (2), the first element is the subject and the last is the main verb. The phrase *gangaladettakki* contains no agreements to subject without any temporal sense but with an aspectual sense of repeating the same action. The sentence (3) is very similar to (2), but this example clearly shows the adverbial (*manne gala*) is governed by its main verb, not the infinitival phrase.

For most of the expressions in MOTION, there are alternative or equivalent expressions, as in (4) and (5), corresponding to (2) and (3), respectively. The framing event in (4) seems to be expressed by an adverb *hakkada* "down" and

therefore this would be an exceptional case of the satellite-framing pattern.

(4) koʔase (gubo=nu=ki)   hakkada   gangalat-ti.
     ball   (mountain=ANDAT=FOC)   down   roll-PST.3FS
      "A ball rolled down (away from a mountain)."

(5) koʔase gangalat-ti=pa   (manne gala)   xull-i.
     ball   roll-PST.3FS=LNK   (house under) go_in-CNS.3FS
      "A ball rolled in(to a house). (Lit. A ball rolled and entered (a house).)"

   As for (5), this is a more frequent alternative, using the consecutive-construction. In this construction, more than two verbs appear in sequence. The first verb conjugates in the usual verbal paradigms, whereas the following verbs conjugate in the special consecutive paradigms. These verbs are connected with a linkage-marking enclitic *=pa*, whose primary function is to mark the coordination.

   The crucial difference between (3) and (5) is the simultaneity of two events. Whereas in (3) two events are integrated into "rolling into a house," (5) consists of two separate events "rolling" and "entering a house." In other words, the sentence (5) states that a ball rolled and then it entered a house but it is not sure the ball was rolling when it entered a house (e.g. the ball would have stopped rolling, and somebody might have kicked it into a house, but nobody saw the exact moment of the ball entering the house, therefore one can only describe it without further information on its manner.). The consecutive verbs are considered to convey the sequence of events happening after the main clausal event.

   The following are examples of the self-agentive subjects. These sentences basically have the same structure with the INSTR-construction.

(6) ise   her-ma-tta=kki   manne=na   lig-ti.
     3FS   run-INF-INSTR=FOC   house=VEN   go_out-PST.3FS
      "She ran out of a house. (Lit. Running, she went out.)"

(7) agitte haʔ-e-tta=kki   manne hisi   gala
     bird   fly-INF-INSTR=FOC house 3FS.GEN under

     xull-i-ti.
     go_in-EP-PST.3FS

"A bird flew into her nest. (Lit. Flying, a bird entered her house.)"

As shown above, (6) and (7) have alternatives with the consecutive-construction, as in (8) and (9). Note that both *her-* and *sor-* are the verb "to run" and interchangeable in (8) but *sor-* cannot used instead in (6). This implies that *her-* is an atelic verb with duration, and that *sor-* is a telic one with a lexical punctuality.

(8)   ise   her-/sor-ti=pa   manne=na   lig-i.
       3FS   run-PST.3FS=LNK   house=VEN   go_out-CNS.3FS
         "She ran out of a house. (Lit. She ran and went out of a house.)"

(9)   agitte haʔ-e-ti=pa   manne   hisi   gala
       bird   fly-EP-PST.3FS=LNK   house   3FS.GEN   under

       xull-i-ti.
       go_in-EP-PST.3FS

       "A bird flew into her nest. (Lit. A bird flew and entered her house.)"

In several cases, adverbials come before the infinitival phrase, as in (10). According to 'Alle speakers, this change of word order doesn't affect the meaning; that is to say, *manne hisina* can be analysed as an adjunct of either *haʔettakki* or *ligti* or both of them at the same time.

(10)   agitte   manne   hisi=na   haʔ-e-tta=kki
       bird   house   3FS.GEN=VEN   fly-INF-INSTR=FOC

       lig-ti.
       go_out-PST.3FS

       "A bird flew out of her nest. (Lit. Flying, a bird went out from her house.)"

2.1.2   Cause

This sub-category naturally requires the agentive subject and the direct object. The verb-framing pattern employs the INSTR-construction. The following pair of sentences (11) and (12) is substitutable to each other, but the former put more emphasis on how "she put stone inside his house," while the

latter simply states what she did. In the current analysis, (12) is a fully lexicalised instance and so not a macro-event expression.

(11) ise   hatab-a-tta=kki   awurukko   manne   xusu
      3FS   throw-INF-INST=FOC   stone   house   3MS.GEN

      gitte=ma   xull-is-ti.
      inside=SIT   go_in-CAUS-PST.3FS

        "She threw stone into his house. (Lit. Throwing it, she put stone inside
        his house.)"

(12) ise   awurukko=si=ki   manne   xusu   gitte=ma
      3FS   stone=REF=FOC   house   3MS.GEN   inside=SIT

      hatab-ti.
      throw-PST.3FS

        "She threw the stone into his house."

   Of course, repeatable action verbs appear in the INSTR-construction in the causative sub-category as well, as in (13). However, there is a mixture type, such as (14), of the INSTR-construction and the consecutive-construction with a verb *xol-* "to return".

(13) ise   lebbuy-atto-tta=kki   leʔako   ʕita   koʔase
      3FS   kick-INF-INSTR=FOC   field   across   ball

      dan-ti.
      let_out-PST.3FS

        "She kicked a ball across a field. (Lit. Kicking, she let out a ball across
        a field.)"

(14) ise   lebbuy-atto-tta=kki   leʔako   ʕita   koʔase
      3FS   kick-INF-INSTR=FOC   field   across   ball

      na=xo-xol-ti=pa   xo-xol-o=ppa
      VEN=INT-return-PST.3FS=LNK   INT-return-CNS.3MS

lebbuy-i.
kick-CNS.3FS

"She kicked a ball across a field again and again. (Lit. She repeated and it repeated that she kicked a ball across a field by kicking.)"

In the former sentence (13), this person brought the ball across the field by kicking, implying the person followed the ball as it was kicked out. Contrastively, the latter sentence (14) tells that the person kicked the ball, and she moved to the place where the ball stopped moving and then kicked it again, and it was repeated. Since (14) contains the consecutive verbs, the present author doesn't see this as an event integration pattern; however, this particular usage of the consecutive verbs of *xol-* will be discussed in §2.4.4 and §3.3.

2.1.3 Concomitance

This sub-category also basically uses the INSTR-construction and its semantic equivalent can be expressed by the consecutive-construction. The following four examples are two pairs of such.

(15) ise   tul-o-tta=kki   garo   manne-tte
      3FS   cough-INF-INSTR=FOC   direction   house-LOC

      xull-i-ti.
      go_in-EP-PST.3FS

       "She went to a house, coughing."

(16) ise   i=tul-ay=ppa   garo   manne-tte
      3FS   3=cough-PRS.3FS=LNK   direction   house-LOC

      xull-i.
      go_in-CNS.3FS

       "She went to a house, coughing. (Lit. She coughed and went to a house.)"

(17) iso   šudes-e-tta=kki   leʔako   ʕita   ašš-i.
      3MS   whistle-INF-INSTR=FOC   field   across   go-PST.3MS
       "He whistled across a field. (Lit. Whistling, he went across a field.)"

(18) iso   šudes-a=pa   leʔako   ʕita   ašš-a.
      3MS   whistle-PRS.3MS=LNK   field   across   go-CNS.3MS
       "He whistled across a field. (Lit. He whistled and went across a field.)"

However, there are exceptions where the INSTR-construction is avoided. Such cases are the following pairs, respectively, (19) and (20), and (21) and (22). The point here is "unnaturalness" in meaning. Grammatically, the use of the INSTR-construction is allowed, but *bare qartahaysi attadettakki* "wearing the green dress" in (20) and *satesiki šabadettay* "wearing the watch" in (22) are strange, since this construction signals that the event is ongoing.

(19) ise   baare   qartahay=si   attat-ti=pa
      3fs   dress   green=REF   wear-PST.3FS=LNK

      rug-i.
      go_party-CNS.3FS

       "She wore the green dress to a party. (Lit. She wore the green dress and went party.)"

(20) ? ise   bare   qartahay=si attad-e-tta=kki
         3fs   dress   green=REF   wear-INF-INST=FOC

         rug-ti.
         go_party-PST.3FS

          "Wearing the green dress, she went party."

(21) iso   sate=si=ki   šabad-i=pa   manna^gollung-ito
      3MS   watch=REF=FOC   wear-PST.3MS=LNK   school-LOC

      gula   ašš-oy.
      to   go-CNS.3MS

       "He wore the watch to school. (Lit. He wore the watch and went to a house of learning.)"

104

(22) ? iso   sate=si=ki   šabad-e-ttay   manna^gollung-ito
     3MS watch=REF=FOC wear-INF-INSTR   school-LOC

     gula   ašš-i.
     to   go-PST.3MS

     "Wearing the watch, he went to school."

Given a particular background information, however, (20) and (22) can be said: for example, if it means that a very small girl tries to wear a dress by herself, then (20) is acceptable but still uncommon.

2.1.4   Precursion

The macro-event expression is found in this sub-category as in (23), but it is more naturally expressed by a single event as in (24) as well as (25).   If an event integration pattern, this sub-category uses the INSTR-construction, for example (23).

(23) emato   biyye=ma   puʕ-e-tta=kki   far-i.
     mirror   ground=SIT   fall-INF-INSTR=FOC   die-PST.3MS
       "Having fell to a ground, a mirror got broken."

(24) emato   biyye=ma   furr-i.
     mirror   ground=SIT   splinter-PST.3MS
       "A mirror splintered on a ground."

(25) sagumo   mahato   gitta   i=teqh-i.
     honey   container   inside   3=drip-PST.3MS
       "Honey dripped into a container."

There is found a rather rare case of the INSTR-construction with the venitive clitic *na* (26), with its semantic equivalent in the consecutive-construction (27).

(26) ano   manne   na=qub-e-tta=kki   an=bad-i.
     1CS   house   VEN=lock-INF-INSTR=FOC   1=hide-PST.1CS
       "I locked somebody in a house. (Lit. I hid by locking a house toward
       somebody.)"

(27) ano   manne   an=na=qub-i=pa   bad-a.
      1CS   house   1=VEN=lock-PST.1CS=LNK   hide-CNS.1CS
      "I locked somebody in a house. (Lit. I locked a house toward somebody
      and hid (the person).)"

The venitive clitic *na* is usually placed after a nominal as an enclitic, but
sometimes this clitic is placed before a verb as a proclitic and gives a meaning
"toward somebody (i.e. third person(s))" in a rough translation. It also seems to
function as the impersonal benefactive case marker (i.e. "for the sake of
somebody").

2.1.5   Enablement

The event integration pattern in the enablement category is highly restricted
to the ACC-construction as in (28).

(28)   t'armus-issa=si   tukk-ito   od-as-e
       bottle-that=REF   shelf-LOC   go_down-CAUS-INF

       algas-nay?
       be_able-FUT.2CS

       "Could you put down that bottle from a shelf?"

The interrogative sentence of a polar question is simply expressed by the
high rising terminal intonation, just like spoken English. When asking a request,
the main verb is inflected in the future tense. The labelling 'future tense' is
tentative, and it would be better termed 'irrealis mood' for it seems to mark the
event not happening yet.

The enablement is otherwise expressed by the consecutive-construction   as
in (29) and (30) below.

(29)   ise   mangaxe   goš-i-ti=pa   xull-i.
       3FS   door   open-EP-PST.3FS=LNK   go_in-CNS.3FS
       "She opened a door and entered."

(30)   iso   loʔ-ito   suro=na   i=šig-i=pa   garo
       3MS   cow-LOC   rope=VEN   3=untie-PST.3MS=LNK direction

leʔak-ito   yoq-u.
field-LOC   take_out-CNS.3MS

"He untied a rope from a cow and took out for a field."

2.2   STATE CHANGE

In this category, apart from the use of the consecutive-construction as semantic equivalents, the verb-framing patterns appear in the INSTR-construction as in (31) or the ANDAT-constructions as in (32).

(31)   hammakko=si   sibin-e-tta=kki   xum-i.
       candle=REF   burn-INF-INST=FOC   end-PST.3MS
         "The candle burnt out. (Lit. Having burnt, the candle ended.)"

(32)   ano   kolle=ma   šox-am-e=nu   ašš-i.
       1CS   river=SIT   wash-PASS-INF=ANDAT   go-PST.1CS
         "I went bathing at a river. (Lit. I went away to be washed at a river.)"

Some expressions use the lexicalised verbs (e.g. *ʔim-* "blow out") and thus it consists of a simple sentence; both (33) and (34) have the same meaning but different structures.

(33)   hammakko=si   wurure-ttay   i=ʔim-i.
       candle=REF   wind-INSTR   3=blow_out-PST.3MS
         "The candle blew out by wind."

(34)   wurure=si   hammako=si   i=ʔim-as-ti.
       wind=REF   candle=REF   3=blow_out-CAUS-PST.3FS
         "The wind blew out the candle."

There is a pair of the INSTR- and the ANDAT-constructions (35) and (36), with their meanings slightly different. This pair tells that the INSTR-construction focuses the means, whereas the ANDAT-construction focuses the purpose.

(35)   iso   mangaxe   dug-e-tta=kki   qaš-i.
       3MS   door   push-INF-INSTR=FOC   open-PST.3MS
         "He pushed a door open. (Lit. Having pushed it, he opened a door.)"

(36) iso   mangaxe   qaš-e=nu   i=dug-i.
      3MS   door   open-INF=ANDAT   3=push-PST.3MS
        "He pushed a door open. (Lit. He pushed in order to open a door.)"

   The following examples (37) and (38) form a loose pair in meaning, and (39)
is an unnatural expression which would have been a closest one to (37).

(37) awšo=si   tor-no-ttay   i=kud-am-i=pa
      coffee=REF boil-INF-INSTR   3=dry-PASS-PST.3MS=LNK

      xum-uy.
      end-CNS.3MS

        "The coffee boiled away. (Lit. Having been boiled, the coffee was dried,
        and it ended.)"

(38) awšo=si   kud-am-e-ttay   i=xum-i.
      coffee=REF   dry-PASS-INF-INSTR   3=end-PST.3MS
        "The coffee evaporated away. (Lit. Having been dried, the coffee
        ended.)"

(39) * awšo   tor-no-tta=kki   xum-i.
         coffee   boil-INF-INSTR=FOC   end-PST.3MS
         "Coffee boiled away. (Lit. Having boiled, coffee ended.)"

   The sentence (39) is unnatural because *tor-* "to boil" doesn't include
evaporation and therefore it is impossible for coffee to go away. According to
'Alle speakers, a sentence has only a single INSTR-phrase, so one must choose
either *tor-* "to boil" or *kudam-* "to evaporate" but only *kudam-* is valid in this
case.

2.3 REALIZATION

   In this category, use of the INSTR-construction is popular, as in (40)
and (41).

(40) polis-ito   goro=si^garada=si   qeʕ-e-tta=kki
      police-LOC   fugitive.PL=REF   seek-INF-INSTR=FOC

qhabb-i.
catch-PST.3MS

"A police officer hunted down the fugitives. (Lit. Having sought for them, somebody from police caught the fugitives.)"

(41) ano   qattummo=si   dit-e-tta=kki
      1CS   cover=REF   kick-INF-INSTR=FOC

      an=getey-is-i.
      1=be_flat-CAUS-PST.1CS

"I kicked the cover flat. (Lit. Having kicked it, I made the cover flat.)"

Again, semantic equivalent expressions with the consecutive-construction are very common as seen the above categories. The examples (42) and (43) are counterparts of (40) and (41), respectively.

(42) polis-ito   goro=si^gorada=si i=qeʕ-i=pa
      police-LOC fugitive.PL=REF   3=seek-PST.3MS=LNK

      qhabb-uy.
      catch-CNS.3MS

"A police officer hunted down the fugitives. (Lit. Somebody from police sought for the fugitives and caught (them).)"

(43) ano   qattummo=si   an=dit-i=pa
      1CS   cover=REF   1=kick-PST.1CS=LNK

      getey-is-a.
      be_flat-CAUS-CNS.1CS

"I kicked the cover flat. (Lit. I kicked the cover and made (it) flat.)"

Another pattern is also found, namely, the ACC-construction as in (44).

(44) ano   iso   c'imm-is-e   an=ʔeggayis-i.
      1CS   3MS   drown-CAUS-INF 1=try-PST.1CS
      "I tried drowning him."

Although the sentence (44) could be interpreted that the person died from drowning, the notion of death is not lexically inherent in *c'imm-* "to drown". This is exemplified in the following example (45), though this sentence is not an event integration pattern.

(45) ano   iso   c'imm-is-i   gaba   iso
       1CS   3MS   drown-CAUS-PST.1CS   but   3MS

       ye=far-u.
       3.NEG=die-NEG.3MS

        "I drowned him but he didn't die."

The negative verbal paradigm seems identical to the consecutive paradigm, but the present author tentatively labels the two differently.

2.4   TEMPORAL CONTOURING

There are seven sub-categories in TEMPORAL CONTOURING: Initiation, completion/termination, continuation, repetition, habitualness, gradualness, and frequency. In this category, use of the consecutive-construction is not known.

2.4.1   Initiation

The ACC-construction is exclusively used for event integration expressions in the initiation. The INSTR-construction is not allowed because the co-event is not yet happening and therefore nothing can repeat in this sub-category.

(46) miʔaʔe   ooʔ-e   i=woy-i.
       baby   cry-INF   3=want-PST.3MS
        "A baby was about to cry. (Lit. A baby wanted to cry.)"

(47) iso   manne   qubat-e   i=bay-i.
       3MS   house   build-INF   3=begin-PST.3MS
        "He began to build a house."

2.4.2   Completion/termination

In the completion/termination, the ACC-construction is used. Again, the INSTR-construction is inappropriate because the co-event can be completed only once.

(48) ise   tul-o   i=šikkar-aš-i-ti.
      3FS   cough-INF   3=stand-CAUS-EP-PST.3FS
      "She stopped coughing. (Lit. She made coughing stand still.)"

(49) ano   awšo   ʕug-e=si   an=dikkis-ad-i.
      1CS   coffee   drink-INF=REF   1=finish-MID-PST.1CS
      "I finished drinking coffee. (Lit. I finished the (action of) drinking coffee.)"

A sentence (50) has a pragmatically equivalent expression (51). The former uses the ACC-construction, but the latter is uncertain because (i) the main verb and the infinitive are the same verb, (ii) the main verb is intransitive, and (iii) *naʔa* "only" is inserted between two verbs.

(50) iso   allad-e   ye=šikkar-aš-i.
      3MS   talk-INF   NEG.3=stand-CAUS-NEG.3MS
      "He didn't stop talking."

(51) iso   allad-e   naʔa   i=allat-i.
      3MS   talk-INF   only   3=talk-PST.3MS
      "He didn't stop talking. (Lit. He talked about only talking.)"

2.4.3   Continuation

In the continuation, the verb-framing pattern is realised only with *gayy-* "to stay" in the LOC-construction (52). The same meaning is expressed as a sentence in (53); it is not the verb-framing pattern.

(52) ise   allad-a-tte   gayy-i-ti.
      3FS   talk-INF-LOC   stay-EP-PST.3FS
      "She kept talking. (Lit. She stayed at talking.)"

(53) ise   allad-a-tte   ʕag-ti.
      3FS   talk-INF-LOC   be_there-PST.3FS
      "She was (still) talking. (Lit. She was there at talking.)"

As for (54) and (55), the main verbs are lexicalised; *nagayy-* is most likely a fossilised form of the combination the venitive *na=* + *gayy-* "to stay".

(54) iso   gelay   duma-tte   yiʕ-e-tte
      3MS   yesterday   all_day-LOC   eat-INF-LOC

      nagayy-i.
      spend_daytime-PST.3MS

      "He spent all yesterday eating. (Lit. He spent daytime at eating all day yesterday.)"

(55) ise   gallabgo   gasa   dit-e-tto   raf-ti.
      3FS   night   whole   kick-INF-LOC spend_night-PST.3FS
      "She spent a whole night kick-dancing. (Lit. she spent a whole night at kicking.)"

2.4.4 Repetition

There are two types of expressions of the repetition, but none of them are considered as verb-framing patterns. One is a satellite-framing pattern as in (56).

(56) iso   pago   ingliz-atte   i=ko-gollis-i.
      3MS   language   English-LOC   3=INT-teach-PST.3MS
      "He taught English language (multiple times)."

The other one consists of the consecutive-construction with *xol-* "return" as the first verb and other verbs as consecutive verbs just like (57).

(57) ise   i=xol-ti=pa   xol-i=pa
      3FS   3=return-PST.3FS=LNK   return-CNS.3FS=LNK

      tul-i.
      cough-CNS.3FS

      "She coughed again and again. (Lit. She returned and returned and coughed.)"

Although the present author takes a position that the consecutive-construction is a semantic equivalent to event integration but not genuine one, the consecutive-construction with *xol-* could be an exception. It is because this combination is an almost fixed expression of repetition, though *xol-* fully

inflects in accordance with its subject. Therefore, (57) is not analysed as macro event tentatively, but this view should be reconsidered in the further studies.

2.4.5 Habitualness, gradualness, and frequency

The habitualness, the gradualness and the frequency are consistently expressed with simple adverbials, not event integration patterns. The following (58), (59) and (60) are examples of the habitualness, the gradualness, and the frequency, respectively.

(58) ano   orhe   guyyako=ma   an=ʕug-i.
        1CS   milk   day=SIT   1=drink-PST.1CS
         "I drank milk daily." (habitualness)

(59) lokko=pa   lokko=ki   i=šibay-i.
        little=LNK   little=FOC   3=be_dark-PST.3MS
         "It got dark little by little." (gradualness)

(60) ise   torba=ma   toʔo=nna=kki   moruy-i-ti.
        3fs   week=SIT   single=VEN=FOC   go_market-EP-PST.3FS
         "She went to a market once a week. (Lit. She went to a market for a single time at a week.)" (frequency)

2.5   ACTION CORRELATING

ACTION   CORRELATING   includes   five   sub-categories: Concert, accompaniment, imitation, surpassment, and demonstration. Among them, only the surpassment and the demonstration show the verb-framing patterns. Like TEMPORAL CONTOURING, no instances of the consecutive-construction in ACTION CORRELATING are found.

2.5.1   Concert

The use of ʕ*alle* "with" or ʕ*ille* ʕ*alle* "together" signals this sub-category.

(61) ano   iso   ʕalle   an=songo=hekk-ad-i.
        1CS   3MS   with   1=sound=play-MID-PST.1CS
         "I played music with him."

(62) ise   iso   ʕalle   her-ti.
      3FS   3MS   with   run-PST.3FS
       "She ran with him."

(63) isunde   ʕille   ʕalle   more=ma   ašš-e.
      3CP   together   with   market=SIT go-PST.3CP
       "They went to a market together"

2.5.2   Accompaniment and imitation

   The accompaniment and the imitation are both realised by the use of the phrase *gamo gula* "in a similar way" ((64) and (65)) or by the use of the temporal clause expression ((66) and (67)).

(64) ise   gamo=si   gula   gall-a-ti.
      3FS   similar=REF to   sing-EP-PST.3FS
       "She sang along. (Lit. She sang in a similar way.)" (accompaniment)

(65) ise   gamo   xusu   gula=kki   hekk-at-ti.
      3FS   similar 3MS.GEN   to=FOC   play-MID-PST.3FS
       "She played just like him. (Lit. She played in a similar way to him.)"
       (imitation)

(66) ise   her-a-nnay   ano=kka   an=her-a.
      3FS   run-EP-FUT.3FS 1CS=FOC   1=run-CNS.1CS
       "When she runs, I also run. (Lit. She will run, and I myself will run.)"
       (accompaniment)

(67) ine   songo   hekk-ad-a-nna   ano   iso=na   gala
      1CP   sound   play-MID-EP-FUT.1CP 1CS   3MS=VEN   under

      an=ʔem-i.
      1=look-PST.1CS

       "When we played music, I played like him. (Lit. We will play sound, and I played under him.)" (imitation)

   From these similarity, the two sub-categories might be considered very close in 'Alle language. However, such a speaker's sense is out of the scope of this paper, and this remains open to discussion.

2.5.3   Surpassment

This sub-category is characterised to have *gull-* "to surpass" as the main verb and use the LOC-construction, showing the verb-framing pattern. Both the self-agentive and the non-agentive subjects can appear in this sub-category. Usually the locative case suffix takes the feminine form *-(V)tte* as in (69); however, the use of its masculine form *-(V)to* is also found in (70).

(68)   ise   qaʕ-e-tte   isunde=si   i=gull-ay.
        3FS   cook-INF-LOC   3CP=REF   3=surpass-PRS.3FS
        "She cooks better than them. (Lit. She surpasses them at cooking.)"

(69)   ano   songo   hekk-ad-a-tte   iso=si   an=gull-a.
        1CS   sound   play-MID-INF-LOC   3MS=REF   1=surpass-PRS.1CS
        "I play music better than him. (Lit. I surpass him at playing sound.)"

(70)   ano   iso=si   hekk-i-to   an=nu=gull-i.
        1CS   3MS=REF   play-INF-LOC   1=ANDAT=surpass-PST.1CS
        "I played (some instrument) much better than him. (Lit. I surpassed away from him at playing.)"

(71)   warše   manne=nna   warše   manne-ssa=nu
        warshe   house=VEN   warshe   house-that=ANDAT

        i=gull-ay.
        3=surpass-PRS.3FS

        "*Warshe* (traditional alcoholic unrefined drink) of this house is better than *warshe* of that house."

Use of the reference clitic =*si* clearly marks what has been compared with the subject. Along with the strict word order, the opposite interpretation is unlikely to happen. The venitive clitic and the andative clitic make it even clearer: the venitive shows the psychological proximity to the speaker that is interpreted as 'good', while the andative shows the remoteness that is relatively 'bad' in the speaker's impression.

The andative case clitic *nu* is sometimes put to a main verb as a proclitic, rather than an enclitic as in this construction. In that usage, the clitic =nu signals the meaning of 'toward somebody/something (regardless of number and

gender) away from the speaker's viewpoint' and thus functions as an impersonal object marker.

2.5.4   Demonstration

The demonstration employs the phrase *gamungo amala* "how-to" followed by the infinitive in the ACC-construction.

(72)   ano   gamungo^a-mala   songo   hekk-ad-e=si=kki
      1CS   similarity^EP-method   sound   play-MID-INF=REF=FOC

      an=nu=hiʔ-as-i.
      1=ANDAT=see-CAUS-PST.1CS

      "I showed how to play music. (Lit. I made somebody see the (action of) playing sound in a similar method.)"

(73)   ise   gamungo^a-mala   dit-i=si
      3FS   similarity^EP-method   kick-INF=REF

      i=nnu=hiʔ-as-ti.
      3=ANDAT=see-CAUS-PST.3FS

      "She showed how to kick-dance. (Lit. She made somebody see the (action of) kicking.)"

The phrase *gamungo amala* is roughly translated here as "how-to" and makes good sense in the English translation, which was checked and confirmed by several ʿAlle speakers. However, its internal and external structures need to be analyzed thoroughly in the further research. Given the fact that *hekkad-e* could be mixed up with *hekkad-i*, which should be taken as a relative clause ("which he/I played") modifying the preceding noun phrase *gamungo amala songo* ("similar method of sound"), the alternative interpretation of the sentence (72) is "I showed (to somebody) a method how I played music". In the latter interpretation, this is not of the event integration in the current framework.

2.6   Summary

ʿAlle language shows the clear characteristics of V-languages in MOTION,

STATE CHANGE, and REALIZATION; thus, this language is to be categorised as a V-language. However, deviations in many sub-categories of TEMPORAL CONTOURING and ACTION CORRELATING suggest that we should accept the existence of sub-types of V-languages, which Kawachi (2012) argues.

3   Discussion

There remain several issues concerning the event integration patterns in 'Alle. The following sections discuss (1) the fact that the ACC-construction is syntactically different from other constructions, (2) the apparent deviation from the definition of the V-languages, and (3) whether consecutive verbs can be taken as a kind of converbs.

3.1   Problem of ACC-construction

The ACC-construction is used in the enablement of MOTION, in REALI-ZATION, in the initiation and the completion/termination of TEMPORAL CONTOURING, and in the demonstration of ACTION CORRELATING. It is thus found in various semantic categories. This construction would be problematic, because the co-event is the object of the framing-verb, while the co-event in other three constructions is syntactically adverbial.

The demonstration of ACTION CORRELATING is distinctive among those categories. As seen in (72), the infinitive is preceded by *gamungo amala* whose grammatical status is not yet fully understood (i.e. nominal or adverbial, or any other). If one assumes that (72) and (73) follow the normal word order, there are three possible interpretations of this 'co-event' as represented in (74).

(74)   A. [[gamungo amala [songo   hekkade]]   =si=kki]
        "the similar method of playing music"

    B. [[[gamungo amala songo]   hekkade]   =si=kki]
        "playing the similar method of music"

    C. [[gamungo amala] [songo]   [hekkade   =si=kki]]
        "as for the (action of) playing music in a similar method"

In any of these interpretations the overall syntactic status is nominal. However, (74)A is the most nominal (i.e. noun phrase modified by a verbal noun), (74)C is the most verbal (i.e. infinitive preceded by its object and an

adverbial), and (74)B is in the midst of the other two (i.e. infinitive preceded by a noun phrase).

Other instances of the ACC-construction may be subject to the similar problem of its syntactic status. Yet, it is fairly safe to interpret them as verbal nouns, unlike the case of the demonstration.

Another interpretation is that *hekkade* "playing" is an allomorph of *hekkadi* "I/he played" (past tense finite verb) which functions as a relative clause modifying the antecedent. The further examples are required to determine this.

3.2   The deviation from the definition of V-languages

As seen above, 'Alle language should belong to V-languages. However, it deviates from the definition in several sub-categories of TEMPORAL CONTOURING and of ACTION CORRELATING. This deviation pattern roughly overwraps the use of the consecutive-construction.

The consecutive-construction frequently appeared as the semantic equivalent expression to the event integration patterns in the above description. Interestingly, such a pair is found almost exclusively in MOTION, STATE CHANGE, and REALIZATION categories.

It is suggested by Kawachi (2012) that this deviation might be caused by the high abstraction degree of those sub-categories. The absence of the consecutive-construction from the sub-categories in question supports this view. The highly abstract semantic categories cannot be realised as verbs in 'Alle. Thus, such categories must be expressed through adverbials, and in many cases they don't form the macro-event but a simple event.

According to Kawachi (2012), another V-language Sidaama (East Cushitic) deviates in TEMPORAL CONTOURING and ACTION CORRELATING, except for the initiation, the completion/termination, the surpassment, and the demonstration (N.B. Sidaama only permits the surpassment in a context of racing (e.g. swimming, running, etc.); however, there seem no restrictions in the case of 'Alle). It seems not a pure coincidence that 'Alle and Sidaama share the almost same deviation pattern: the most likely explanation is that this is typical of (East) Cushitic languages. The description and analysis of other Cushitic languages is desirable to understand the phenomenon correctly.

The present author agrees with the argument by Kawachi (2012: 185) and thinks that, if there are sub-groups in the V-languages, one possible key to their classification is the abstraction degree of the semantic category.

3.3 Status of consecutive verbs as converbs

The present author takes a position that the consecutive-construction is not the event integration pattern. However, if the consecutive verbs are recognised as 'converbs' in the sense of Amharic one, then the consecutive-construction should be treated as a genuine event integration pattern. According to Van Valin (1984: 547-548), the syntactic status of the consecutive verbs is, not coordination ([-dependent][-embedded]) nor subordination ([+dependent], [+embedded]), but cosubordination ([+dependent], [-embedded] to the main verb). This fact implies that the consecutive verbs describe the related events to the main one, i.e. the framing-verb.

The classification of 'converbs' is based on its functional features. However, Ebert (2008: 25) discusses different levels of converbs on their morphological representation. According to Ebert (2008: 25), "Morphologically finite forms can occur in non-finite function, just as non-finite forms can occur in finite function… Non-finiteness as a defining criterion for converbs can only mean morphological non-finiteness" (N.B. underlined as found in the original). The following table shows morphological types of converbs (Ebert 2008: 25). Among seven types, the D- and the E-types are difficult to consider as non-finite (Ebert 2008:26).

Type	Definition
A	Prototypical converb: no person or tense-aspect markers
A'	Person-sensitive forms
B	Nominal person or number markers
C	Tensed stems
C'	Aspect markers
D	Minimally reduced
E	Fully finite-marked verb + suffix
A A' B C C' D E non-finite <------ ------> finite	

'Alle consecutive verb would be the A'-type, although it inflects for number and gender as well as person. Sidaama language has converbs, and they would be the A'-type; in fact, most of converbs in Ethiopian languages belong to the A'-type (Ebert 2008: 26-31). If Sidaama A'-type converbs can form co-events,

'Alle consecutive verbs may also form co-events. Therefore, the status of 'Alle consecutive verb as converbs is crucial.

There is an obstacle for overcoming this question: the linkage clitic *=pa*. This clitic *=pa* is always inserted between the main and the consecutive verbs or the consecutive and the other consecutive verbs, except for the imperative. The linkage clitic connects noun phrases in other environments (e.g. *ano=ppa iso* "I and he"), so it is coordination. If the consecutive verb alone, it is cosubordination; but, in the reality, use of the clitic *=pa* is very popular. One possible explanation is that the consecutive verbs functioned as cosubordinated clauses in the earlier times, the use of the linkage clitic *=pa* was extended to the clause-linking, and so two merged into one. The earlier system might remain in a few circumstances: for instance, the imperative doesn't require *=pa* when using the consecutive. Again, further research is needed to fully understand this.

4   Conclusion

'Alle language definitely belongs to V-languages but deviates from the Talmy's definition. This would be due to the difficulty with realising semantically abstract concepts as verbs. This paper consequently supports the existence of sub-groups in V-languages, which has been argued by Kawachi (2012:185).

All the verb-framing patterns employ the infinitival constructions. The semantic expression to the event integration patterns, namely, the consecutive-construction is widespread throughout the categories of MOTION, STATE CHANGE and REALIZATION, but very restricted in other two domains of semantic categories, namely, TEMPORAL CONTOURING and ACTION CORRELATING.

This deviation pattern resembles that of Sidaama, reported by Kawachi (2012). However, for example, 'Alle and Sidaama behave slightly differently in the surpassment sub-category of ACTION CORRELATING. It is reasonable to take it as a minor variation between languages within a genetically related language group, but a further study may reveal the cause(s) of such difference.

Another remaining problem is the consecutive verb. Many Cushitic languages have converbs of various shapes and functions, but the consecutive verb is only found in Dullay sub-group of East Cushitic group within Cushitic. Comparison of the consecutive and the converb(s) would be the next step toward the full understanding of event integration in 'Alle.

Abbreviations

ANDAT	Andative (case suffix)	MID	Middle (stem)
C	Common (gender)	NEG	Negative
CAUS	Causative (stem)	P	Plural
CNS	Consecutive (verb form)	PRF	Perfective
EP	Epenthesis (vowel)	PRS	Present (tense)
F	Feminine	PST	Past (tense)
FUT	Future (tense)	REF	Reference (enclitic)
GEN	Genitive (case)	S	Singular
INF	Infinitive (suffix)	SIT	Situative (case enclitic)
INSTR	Instrumental (case suffix)	VEN	Venitive (case enclitic)
INT	Intensive (stem)	1	First person
LNK	Linkage (marking enclitic)	2	Second person
LOC	Locative (case suffix)	3	Third person
M	Masculine	ø	Zero (morpheme)

References

Ebert, K.H.（2008）"Forms and functions of converbs." In: K.H. Ebert, J. Mattissen & R. Suter (eds.) *From Siberia to Ethiopia - Converbs from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. ASAS 20. Zurich: University of Zurich. 7-33.

Kawachi, K. (2013) *Questionnaire for the African Languages Event Integration Patterns Project*. Unpublished manuscript.

Kawachi, K. (2012) "Event integration patterns in Sidaama (Sidamo)." *BLS* 34. 175-186.

Talmy, L. (2000) *Toward a Cognitive Semantics. Volume II: Typology and Process in Concept Structuring.* Cambridge, MA & London: The MIT Press.

Van Valin, R.D., Jr. (1984) "A typology of syntactic relations in Clause Linkage." *BLS* 10. 542-558.

Yoshino, H. (2013a) "Preliminary survey on 'Alle verbal system." *Studies in Ethiopian Languages* 2. 82-95.

Yoshino, H. (2013b) "An observation on the connection of Alle verbal clauses" [in Japanese]. *Tsukuba Working Papers in Linguistics* 32. 69-79.