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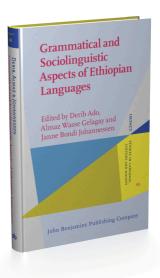
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# Manner of movement in Amharic

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Movement is a situation type with a source, a goal, a path, timeline and a figure. It starts from the source, and heads towards the goal, along the path, a timeline, and speed, and terminates at the centre of the goal. It comprises sub-movements that define the main movement in subordinate clauses predicated of compounds involving the verb 'to say'. The path could be straight, sloppy, bumpy, etc., which defines the movement as durative, iterative and terminative. The speed can be slow, extra slow, fast or extra fast, which characterizes the figure as sober or edgy, and his stature as awkward or elegant, depending on the path, age and gender. This paper argues that both the manner of movement and the behaviour of the figure are expressed in subordinate clauses of extended verbal stems, derived adjectivals, nominals, and prepositional phrases, all of which are treated here as manner adverbials necessitated by the lack a productive category of lexical manner adverbs in the language.

Keywords: movement, source, goal, path, manner, adnominal, adverbial, adjectival and figure

### 1. Introduction

One aspect of Amharic¹ grammar that has not received any attention in the descriptive or comparative literature such as (Leslau 1995; Hartmann 1980; Hudson 2010) is aktionsart, a notion that relates to the internal structure of situations, that is actions, events and states and their manner of occurrence and forms of expressions (Platzack 1979). Actions can be divided into types and sub-types on the basis of their degree of spontaneity, intensity, iterativity, durativity, directionality, etc, which are often expressed in manner adverbs in languages which have a productive category. Amharic does not have such a category (Getahun 1995; Leslau 1995; Baye 2009), and hence uses subordinate clauses and phrases as manner expressions actions.

<sup>1.</sup> Amharic is the most widely spoken Semitic language of Ethiopia, which serves as a national lingua franca and a working language of the Federal government.

A movement action starts from one point in space and time, the source, and heads towards another space, the goal, across a path. Looked at from the perspective of the source, the movement starts from the centre, continues steadily in some manner along the path until it reaches the goal and terminates there by getting into its centre. Within this general movement action there are sub-movements which define the main action in terms of its duration in time, manner, path, and the behaviour of the figure. The entire movement and its sub-movement actions are presented below, (see also appendix one for a more complete list):

```
(1)
       A: source / goal
                                                           B: goal /source
     tänässa > wät't'a
                          > tärammädä > tädarräsä
                                                      > därräsä
                                                                    gäbba
     'got up'
                'got out'
                            'walked'
                                          'got close'
                                                        'arrived'
                                                                    'entered'
     gäbba
               < därräsä < tädarräsä
                                        < tärammädä < wät`t`a
                                                                  < tännässa
     'entered'
                'arrived'
                            'got close'
                                          'walked'
                                                        'got out'
                                                                    'got up'
                Movement and Directionality of Sub-movements
```

As can be observed, the movement action consists of the sub-movements of 'getting up', 'getting out' of the centre of the source, 'A', 'walking ahead, 'getting close to the goal, 'arriving at the goal' and 'getting into' the centre, 'B'. From the perspective of the source, 'A', the movement action is 'going' and from the perspective of the goal space, 'B' it is one of 'coming', both of which are unspecified in terms of their cause, agency, purpose, temporal duration, manner, and the path along which they take place.

The cause of movement could be an internal impulse or external force. The agent could be a self- or other-induced person and the purpose could be urgent or routine. The path could be sloppy or bumpy, etc., which may partly define the types of sub-movement actions, their manner, and the behaviour of the (self)-agent figure and the forms of expressions required to describe these (Levinson 2003: 97; Talmy 1985, 2000). The speed of the sub-movements from 'A' to 'B' could also be slow, extra slow, fast or extra fast depending again on the type of path and the degree of urgency of the purpose that triggers the movement action to take place. The type of path and urgency of purpose may define the behaviour of the agent as sober or edgy, and his/her appearance as awkward, clumsy, or elegant, etc.

A question that may arise from this situation of movement and sub-movements concerns the expressions of manner and the behaviour or stature of the figure, given that Amharic does not have a productive category of lexical adverbs of manner, as stated above. This paper argues that both the movement and its manner are expressed in subordinate clauses headed by simple or extended verbal predicates, as reported for Semitic (Slobin 2004: 25), and the behaviour of the figure in derived adjectives and nouns. To this effect, the paper is organised into five sections, of which the first is this brief introduction. The second concerns the manner of movement and degree of speed, while the third deals with the manner and behaviour of

the figure. The fourth section discusses the types of path, manner of movement, behaviour and stature of the figure in motion, and finally, section five provides a short summary. The data is mainly introspective, drawn from my 'conscious experience' (Talmy 2000: 6) of the language, which I am a native speaker. The description of the facts is general linguistic, with little or no commitment to any school of thought or theoretical framework. The purpose is to describe the internal morpho-syntactic structures of the expressions of manner of movement and the behaviour of the (self-) agent, both of which may relate to the type of path and urgency of purpose.

## Manner of movement and degrees of speed

A movement action can be classified into types on the basis of speed and the path along which it takes place. In terms of the former, it can be described as slow, extra slow, fast or extra fast, and in terms of the latter, it can be defined as straight or meandering, sloppy or bumpy, etc.

#### Slow manner of movement 2.1

A physical movement from a source space to a goal space along a path is bound to be either slow or fast. In Amharic, this is expressed in ideophone-based compound verbs or in prepositional phrases where nouns of manner occur as complements. The ideophones that serve as first member of the compounds include the following:<sup>2</sup>

(2) [k'äss] '(be) slow' [rägaa]<sup>2</sup> '(be) sober' '(be) patient [zəgg]

These ideophones of manner end in long (geminate) segments, which is characteristic of such forms in the language in general. As they stand, the forms are expressions of warnings for the agent (figure) to be low in speed, sound, and high in patience. The forms are unspecified for class membership or part of speech. Their generic meaning is simply '(be) slow'. The compound verbs in which they occur as

A reviewer remarked that the transcription of this word, [rägaa] was 'weird', but did not say why. The word is an ideophone and like any other such forms in the language, it ends with a long segment, in this case, a phonetic long vowel [aa]. In a context of compounds in which it occurs as a first member, it ends with a short [a], thus, the contrast between [rägaa] 'sober' and [raga bäl] 'be sober', in both of which it has a function of warning or reminding the (self-) agent to watch his/her steps. Unlike gemination which has both lexical and grammatical functions, phonetic vowel length has only a discourse function of mild warning (Alemayehu 1987).

first member are headed by the verb 'to say' -l, 'says' al-3' said' or its completive (gerundive) alternant bəl- 'having said'. Such compounds come in imperfective, progressive, perfective, and completive aspectual forms, as shown below (Baye 2006):<sup>4</sup>

(3)	Imperfective	Progressive
	k'äss yi- l – al	k'äss əyyä-al-ä
	slow 3sg-say:IMPFPRS.	slow prgsay:pf3sgm.
	'(he) slows down'	'(he) is slowing down'
	räga yi- l -al	räga əyyä -al-ä
	sober 3sgmsay:IMPFPRS.	sober PRGsay:PF3sgm.
	'(he) gets sober'	'(he) is getting sober'
	zəgg yi-l-al	zəgg əyyä -al-ä
	patient 3sgmsay:IMPFPRS.	patient PRGsay:PF3sGM.
	'(he) gets patient'	'(he) is getting patient'
	Perfective	Completive <sup>4</sup>
	k'äss al-ä	k'äss bəl-o
	slow say:pf3sgm.	slow say:CMPL3SGM.
	'(he) slowed down'	'(he) having slowed down'
	räga al-ä	räga bəl-o
	sober say:pf3sgm.	sober say:CMPL3sGM.
	'(he) got sober'	'(he) having gotten sober'
	zəgg al-ä	zəgg bəl-o
	patient say:PF3sGM.	patient say: CMPL3SGM.
	'(he) got patient'	'(he) having gotten patient'

The second member of the compound occurs as: -l- 'says', al- 'said', ayyä-al-, 'saying', bal- 'having said', to express the four aspectual types respectively and it also shows the person affixes /yi- /- \(\alpha\) and /-o/, the last one being genitive, but all referring to

```
-all - ä hu] [al - ä]
[Kasa [?əne ?ə-
                    hed
                                                           / [yi-l-al]
             1sg- go:impf. -prs. -1sg
                                            say:pf.-3sgm. / 3sg-say:IMPF.-prs.
Lit. 'Kasa 'I will go' said'
                                                             'K. 'I will go' says'
```

In structures of quotative clauses, -l- and *al*- occur as main verb as in:

<sup>4.</sup> A reviewer pointed out that what is labelled here as 'completive' is a con-verb or gerundive, which, in my view, is a type of verbal stem heading a subordinate clause, which, in Amharic, has no tense (Leslau 1995: 347). The completive, on the other hand, is a type of aspect, like the perfective, progressive, imperfective, etc., which refers to the end point of a situation and is, hence, different from the perfective (to which the reviewer alluded), in that the latter 'denotes a situation viewed in its entirety without regard to internal temporal constituency, (Comrie 1998: 12), whereas the completive looks at the internal temporal constituency and 'puts emphasis on the termination of the situation, ibid p. 18, (see also Bybee et al. 1994: 57).

a third person, nominative subject, which may be phonetically null as its reference is recoverable from the agreement affixes or the communicative context.

As can be observed from the aspectual paradigm in (3) above, the form of the progressive is based on the form of the perfective, which has a root pattern c- $c_1c_1$ -c-, as in säbbär- 'broke', for example, and the completive depends on the form of imperfective, which follows the pattern -c- $c_1c_2$ -, as in type A verbs like -säbr- 'break' (Leslau 1995: 300; Baye 2004: 321). The perfective and the completive are suffixing, whereas the imperfective is prefixing of person, and suffixing of number or gender. The suffixes in the completive are genitive in form, though they refer to a subject which is nominative. Hence the contrast between the perfective in (a) and the progressive in (b) below:

```
(4) a. säbbär-š break:pf.-2sgf 'you broke'
b. ?əyyä- säbbär-š prg.-break:pf.-2sgf 'you (be) breaking'
c. säbr-äh break:cmpl.-2sgm. 'you having broken'
```

Given that these forms here are triliteral, one may argue that such an account does not hold for bi-literal verbs, specifically for such verbs as *bälla* 'ate' *sämma* 'heard', etc., for example, which have lost their root-final consonant, and which, as a result, show up the consonant [t] in their completive, but not in their imperfective forms. It is true that verbs that have lost their root-final consonant show the consonant in only in their verbal, and also in their nominal gerundive forms, irrespective of types of stem or number of root consonants. Consider the following examples of type A verbs:

(5)	a.	yi-säm-al (Imperfective)	'(He) hears'
	b.	sämm-a (Perfective)	'(He) heard'
	c.	?əyyä-sämm-a (Progressive)	'(He (is) hearing'
	d.	sämt-o (Completive/gerundive)	'(He) having heard'
	e.	mä-sma-t (Nominal (infinitive) gerundive)	'hearing'/'to hear'

That the imperfective, perfective, progressive, verbal gerundive (completive) in (d) and the nominal gerundive (infinitive) in (e) have different patterns of affixation and that only the gerundives show the place holder [t] is obvious, but this is a phonological process and, hence, tangential to the main issue at hand, which is the morphosyntactic behaviour of the progressive and completive aspectual forms, and not of their phonetic shape.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5.</sup> A reviewer remarked that the 'completive 'ends' in the vowel -ä, i.e. actually has the pattern c-ccä, not c-cc', which is the pattern followed in the present description and elsewhere in the literature (Leslau 1995: 418). Whether the vowel -ä is morphological or phonological is not clear, because the reviewer has not provided examples, nor does (s)he describe the context

With both the aspectual forms and the agreement features overtly realised, the ideophone compounds are classified as verbs (Baye 2006; Mengistu 2002). The compounds suggest that the (self) agent makes little or no sound, uses low speed and takes maximum care in his/her movement towards the goal along a path which may be tough and rough, thus requiring care, for which reason forms like [ragaa] 'be sober' are used.

The same ideophones also serve as base forms for the derivation of nouns of manner, as in the following:

(6) k'äss-ta [k'ässəta] 'slowness' 'soberness/ calmness' zəgg-ta [zəggəta] 'patience'

Such nouns occur with the preposition  $b\ddot{a}$  'with/in' and describe the manner of movement expressed by the verb *hed-* 'went' in structures, as in the following:

(7) a. Kasa [bä- k'ässəta] hed-ä with slowness go:PF.-3sgm. Lit. 'K. went with slowness.'

b. Kasa [bä-rgata] wät't'-a

K. with sobriety getout:PF.-3sgm.

Lit. 'K. got out with calmness'

c. Kasa [bä- zəggəta] gäbb-a

with-patience enter:PF.-3sgm.

Lit. 'K. entered with patience/calm.'

Now consider the following structures of slow manner of movement in which a compound verb is used:

(8) a. Kasa k' äss al - ä slow say:pf.-3sgm. K. Lit. 'K. said, slow' / 'K. slowed down'

where c-cc- ä is attested. There is, however, a vowel -ä in the position preceding the agreement inflections of gerundive/completive stems as in:

säbr-ä-h 'You M. having broken' 'You F. having broken'

the position where -ä- is found is a morpheme boundary in which epenthesis takes place leading to subsequent phonological processes, which cannot be entered into here for reasons of scope and level of description.

```
b. [Kasa [[k' äss əyyä – al – ä]
                                   hed -ä]],
                                                {wät't'-a, tärämmädä,
          slow PRG.-say:PF.-3sGM. go:PF.-3sGM. {got out walked,
    gäbb-a, etc}
    entered, etc}
    'K. slowing down went' 'K. went slowly'
c. [Kasa [[k'äss bəl
                            -0]
                                    hed -ä]]
```

slow say:CMPL. -3sgm. go:PF.-3sgm. Lit. 'K. having slowed down went'

(9) Kasa [[bä – k'ässəta] hed -ä] with - slowness go:PF.-3sGM. Lit. 'K. went with slowness'

In (8a) al- 'said' is in the perfective aspect, which shows a completely slowed-down movement of 'going'. (8b) is in the progressive aspect indicated by the prefix ayyäattached to al- 'said', showing that the movement is in progress. (8c) is in the completive/terminative aspect indicated by the gerundive variant bal-, which shows that the movement has reached its terminal point, but with the implication that it will be followed by a subsequent action of consequence.

The structure in (9) has the prepositional phrase [bä k'ässəta] 'with slowness', in which the derived noun k'ässəta 'slowness' describes the manner of the movement action as being unhurried. The progressive aspect shows that the action covers an extended temporal or spatial distance. This is in contrast to the completive aspect, which takes only the endpoint of the movement action as its focus.

In the structures in (8a-c), the head of the compound -l- 'say', al- 'said' or ballit. 'having said' does not express any action of 'saying' as such, it only shows the aspectual types and carries the agreement affixes that refer to the (self-) agent figure and interacts with the manner ideophone k'äss 'slow' to show that the movement is low in speed.

#### Extra slow manner of movement 2.2

This is a manner of movement of going along a path that takes a long time to cover the distance between the source and the goal. Such a movement is expressed in verbs that are derived from basic roots through reduplications of a penult root consonant and insertion of a continuant consonant like /n/ in initial positions, as shown in the following paradigm:

(10)	Basic roots	Extended roots	Reflexive stems	gloss
	k-r-f-f	n-k-r-f-f	tä-nkäräffäfä	'get-slowed down'
	k'-r-f-f	n-k'-r-f-f	tä-nk'äräffäfä	'get-moving sluggishly'
	g-l- ğ-ğ	n-g-l- ğ-ğ	tä-ngälağğäğä	'get- moving awkwardly'

Such extended roots serve as bases for the derivation of middle or causative stems. the former derived with the prefix /tä-/ and the latter with /a(s)-/. No simple perfective or completive stem is derived from either the basic or the extended roots, since perfectives like käräffäf- and k'äräffäf- are unacceptable.

Consider now the following examples of structures of very slow manner of movement predicated of extended stems like those above:

```
[Kasa [[əyyä- tä-nkäräffäf -ä]
                                     wädä bet-u
          PRG.- MD.-slow:PF. -3sGM. to
                                           house-3sgm.poss.
                  {mät't'a, gäbba}
    hed -äll,
    go:pf. -3sgm. {came, entered}
    Lit. 'K. being sluggish went to his house' 'K. went home in a sluggish
    movement'
b. <sup>?</sup>[Kasa [[tä-nkärfəf – o]
                                wädä bet-u
                                                          hed -ä]],
          MD.-slow:IMPF.-3sgm. to
                                       house-3sgm.poss. go:pf. -3sgm.
    {mät't'a, gäbba}
    {came, entered}
    'K. went to his house having been sluggish' / K. went to his house having
    been moving sluggishly'
```

The reason (11b) is questioned seems to be related to the middle reflexive verb, which is in the completive aspect showing the termination of the movement action, whereas the extended reduplicated stem tä-nkärfəf- refers to the iterative or durative nature of the same slow movement, which results from the reduplication of the penult root consonant [f]<sup>6</sup> or from the inherent lexical meaning of the same reduplicated stem, denoting sluggish movement in contrast to forms like täkläflaf- 'bustle'/ 'run about', which are also reduplicated, hence durative/iterative, but showing non-sluggish movement. That this may be is supported by other structures like the following, in which reduplicated stems in the same completive aspect are possible.

(12) [Kasa [[tä-ndärdər – o] wädä bet-u hed -ä]], {gäbba,} MD.-trot:IMPF.-3sgm. to house-3sgm.poss. go:pf. -3sgm. Lit. 'K. having trotted down went to his house' 'K. went home having trotted downhill'

<sup>6.</sup> A reviewer commented that (11b) is questioned (?) not because of a mismatch between the reduplication of the root consonants, which shows durative/iterative action, and the completive aspect, which shows the end point of the movement action, but 'must have another cause', although s(he) has unfortunately not specified what that other cause would be. Furthermore, s(he) states that structures like (9b) 'well exist' in Amharic, which is true, but such structures have reduplicated stems, which denote non-sluggish movement, as in the example in (9c) above.

Here *tä-ndärdər-* 'trot' is an iterative downward movement along a sloppy path, and is bound to be fast because of the effect of gravity on the figure's speed and manner of movement.

In contrast to ideophone-based verbal compounds, prepositional phrases and extended middles/reflexives that express low speed movement, there are those that express very fast manner of movement, which is described next.

#### Fast manner of movement 2.3

This is a type of movement expressed in a prepositional phrase or in a subordinate clause predicated of verbs in the progressive or completive aspect. Examples of such structures include the following examples:

```
(13) a.
          [Kasa [[bä – fət'nät] hed-ä]]
          K.
                by-speed
                               go:PF.-3SGM.
          'K. went with speed'
      b. [Kasa [[fät'n-o]
                                    hed- äll
                speed:CMPL.-3sGM. go:PF.-3sGM.
          Lit. 'K. having speeded up went' 'K. went by having speeded up'
      c. [Kasa [[əyyä- fät't'än-ä]
                                      hed- ä]]
                PRG.-speed:PF.-3SGM. go:PF.-3SGM.
          'K. speeding up went' 'K. went by speeding up'
```

In (13a), there is one instance of a movement action done with speed which is expressed by the prepositional phrase. In (13b), there are two consecutive phases of the same movement action, the first of which is done with increased speed and the second with a sprint. In (13c) there are two concurrent actions of speeding up and dashing off to the goal of the movement.

# Very fast manner of movement

A very fast manner of movement is expressed by the progressive or completive aspectual form of the verb rot' - 'run', or its derived nominal counterpart ruč'č'a 'running', serving as a complement of a prepositional head of manner/instrumental function. Consider the following examples:

```
[Kasa [[bä – ru č'č'a] hed -ä]],
                                          {mät't'a, därräsä}
(14) a.
                by -running go:PF.-3sgm. {came, arrived}
          Lit. 'K. went by running'
      b. [Kasa [[rot' - o]
                                   hed -ä]],
                                               {mät't'a, wät't'a, gäbba,
                run: CMPL.-3SGM. go:PF.-3SGM. {came,
                                                        left,
                                                                entered, arrived}
          Lit. 'K. having run went' 'K. went having run'
```

```
c. Kasa [[əyyä – rot' – ä] hed -ä], {mät't'a}

K PRG.-run:PF.-3SGM. go:PF.-3SGM. {come}
```

Lit. 'K. being running went' 'K. went by running'

In these structures, the verb stem 'rot'- 'run' and the noun ručč'a 'running' describe themovement as very fast. When the speed becomes extra fast, the verb 'bärrär-' 'flew', or kännäf- 'jetted off', (lit. 'winged off'), is metaphorically used in the same progressive or completive aspect. In other words, 'run' and 'running' are substituted by 'flew' and 'jetted' to express the manner of movement as high-speed.

```
(15) a. [Kasa [[əyyä – bärrär-ä] hed -ä]], {mät't'a,} K PRG.-run-3sgm. go:PF.-3sgm. came 'K. being flying went' 'K. went flying' b. [Kasa [[bärr -o] hed -ä]], {mät't'a} K. fly: CMPL.-3sgm. go:PF.-3sgm. {came} 'K. having flown went' 'K. went flying'
```

The facts presented so far show the ways in which manner of movement is expressed in terms of speed that is fast, very fast and extremely fast. The increasing degree of speed requires subordinate clauses headed by compound verbs in the completive or progressive aspect, their metaphoric extensions and prepositional phrases as its expressions.

## **2.3.2** Extra fast manner of movement

This is a type of movement that is not only very high in speed but also abrupt and sudden, such as that of an athlete, for example, in a race when he breaks away from his competitors with a sprint and makes it to the finishing line. Expressions of such fast, abrupt and sudden movements include verbs of high speed such as *täfätälläk*'got dashed off' and *täsfänät't'är*-'got ejected off', as in the following examples:

```
(16) a. wənjäläňň-očč-u kä- tä-däbbäk'-u-bb-ät
criminal-pl..-def. from-md.-hide-3pl.-Appl-3sgo
[[əyyä - tä-fätälläk -u] wät't' -u]
PROG-Md.-dash:PF.-3pl. get out:PF.-3pl.
lit. 'The criminals from where they hid by dashing off got out'
'The criminals got out from where they hid by dashing off.
b. wənjäläňň -očč-u kä- tä-däbbäk'-u-bb-ät
criminal-pl.-def. from-md.-hide-3pl.-Appl-3sgo
[[tä-fätlək -äu] wät't' -u]
Md.-dash-cmpl.-3pl. get out:PF.-3pl.
lit. 'The criminals from where they hid having dashed off got out'
'The criminals got out from where they hid having dashing off'
```

```
(17) a.
           [t'əyyət-u [[əyyä – tä -s – fänätt'är-ä] wät't'-a]]^7
           bullet-DEF. PRG.-MD.-CS-eject:PF.-3SGM. get:out:PF.-3SGM.
           'The bullet got out by getting ejected' 'The bullet got ejected out'<sup>7</sup>
```

b. [t'əyyət-u [[tä- s- fänt'ər -o] wät't'-a]] bullet-DEF. MD.-Cs-eject:COMPL-3SGM. getout:PF.-3SGM. Lit. 'The bullet got out having ejected off'

Note that in such structures as (16b) the movement is not 'going', as such, but 'getting ejected' out of a definite centre with a sudden flip, and then slowing down to normal speed of regular strides at which point it becomes 'going' or 'walking' and, when this is the case, (16b) appears in the form in (18) below.

(18) wənjäläňň -očč-u kä- tä-däbbäk'-u-bb-ät [[tä-fätlək -äu] criminal-PL.-DEF. from-MD.-hide-3PL.-APPL-3SGO MD.-dash-CMPL.-3PL. wät'ətä -ul hed-u getout:CMPL.-3PL.t go:PF.-3PL. lit. 'The criminals from where they hid having dashed off, having gotten out

'The criminals went having dashed off and gotten out of where they had hidden'

Here the gerundive clause [tä-fätlək-äu] '(they) having dashed off' describes the manner of 'getting out' of the bounded hideout, which the immediately next gerundive clause [wät'ətä -u] '(they) having gotten out' describes, and the entire complex subordinate clause, [tä-fätlək -äu wät'ət -äu], '(they) having dashed off and gotten out' describes the manner of 'going', which the main verb *hed-u* '(they) went' describes.

# Manner of movement and behaviour of figure (mover)

In the preceding sections, expressions of slow, very slow, fast, very fast and extra fast manners of movement have been presented. In this sub-section, two types of behaviour that define the figure making the movement are presented. The figure's behaviour could be described as extremely frenzied/erratic, or awkward and clumsy, depending on the degree of speed, the sense of urgency of purpose, the type of path and gender, which is sensitive to manner of movement as alluded to earlier on.

<sup>7.</sup> This is taking note of the fact that t'ayyat 'bullet' is inanimate, and hence neither rational nor the action volitional.

### Sluggish manner of movement, behaviour and stature of figure 3.1

As stated before, sluggish manner of movement takes a long time to cover a very short distance. The figure making such a movement is characterized as one who is dragging his feet along the path and appearing clumsy and awkward in his attire and motion. Such movement and behaviour are often associated with a male person who is tall, slim and lanky in the eyes of Amharic speakers. It does not characterise females in general, or those who are short and slim in particular because, culturally,8 women are generally supposed to be high in speed and low in speech. A sluggard figure (mover) is referred to by adjectival terms, and his sluggish movement by extended verbal stems, derived from reduplicated and extended stems formed in the manner shown below.

(19) Basic roots Extended roots Reflexive stems

k-r-f-f	n-k-r-f-f	tä-nkäräffäfä	'got slow'
k'-r-f-f	n-k'-r-f-f	tä-nk'äräffäfä	'got sluggish'
g-l- ğ-ğ	n-g-l- ğ-ğ	tä-ngälağğäğä	'got clumsy'
Adjectives	gloss		
kärfaff-a	'lagging'		
k'ärfaff-a	'sluggard'		
gälğağğ-a	'clumsy'		

The adjectives in the paradigm are derived from the partially reduplicated quadriliteral roots with the suffix /-a/, and the gemination of the ultimate root consonant, whereas the reflexive/middle verbs come from the extended quinqueliteral ones derived with the prefix /tä-/,9 as shown earlier on. No simple perfective or

'fever'

Basic reduplicated root:	K'-t'-k'-t'	'pound'
Active:	K'ät'äk'k'ät'-ä	'pounded'
Passive:	tä- K'ät'äk'k'ät'-ä	'was pounded
Agentive Nominal:	K'ät'k'at'-i [K'ät'k'ač']	'one who pounds'
Extended reduplicated root:	n-K'-t'-k'-t'	'tremble'
Passive:	tä- nK'ät'äk'k'ät'-ä	'got trembled'
Causative passive:	/ a- tä -nK'ät'äk'k'ät'-ä /	'cause someone get trembled'
	[anK'ät'äk'k'ät'-ä]	

ənk'ət'k'ət'

Result Nominal:

<sup>8.</sup> This is true among Amharic speakers who raise their daughters with advice to be more active in work and less in talk, and their sons to be strong, sober and careful in doing things.

<sup>9.</sup> A reviewer took tän- as a prefix in such middle reflexive forms, but did not show its distribution in relation to tä-, the regular medio-passive marker. I argue that there is only one prefix tä- and that the segment /n/ following it, (tä-), is one of a set of consonants inserted at initial positions of reduplicated roots/stems to extend the form and meaning of the basic reduplicated root. Compare the following examples:

completive verbal stem is derived from either the reduplicated or extended roots, since such simple forms as käräffäfä 'sluggard', or extended ones like näkäräffäfä are not acceptable. Such extended forms can only occur as bases for the derivation of reflexive and causative stems like tä-nk'äräffäfä 'got sluggish' and a-nk'äräffäfä, 'cause one be sluggish' respectively.

Consider now the following structures of sluggish movement:

```
[Kasa [[əyyä-tä-nkäräffäf -ä]
(20) a.
                                          wädä bet-u
                                                                    hed -ä]],
                PRG.- MD.- slugish-3sGM. to
                                                house-3sgm.poss. go:pf.-3sgm.
          {mät't'a, gäbba}
          {came, entered}
          Lit. 'K. getting sluggish went to his house (home)'
      b. <sup>?</sup>Kasa [[tä-nkärfəf- o]
                                           wädä bet-u
          K.
                MD.-sluggish-CMPL.-3sGM. to
                                                 house-3sgm.poss.
                        {mät't'a, gäbba}
          go:PF. -3sGM. {came, entered}
          Lit. 'K having been sluggish to his house went'
          'K. went to his house having been/gotten sluggish'
```

(20b) is questioned (?) because the reflexive verbs that are also derived from the partially reduplicated roots refer to an action that is sluggish, thus, durational, and that such verbs cannot occur in the completive aspect because the latter refers to the endpoint, not to the entire phase or duration of a slow movement action.

The figure who makes such a sluggish movement is referred to by the adjective kärfaffa 'sluggard', which is derived from the verbal stem kärfaff- with the suffix / -a/ as stated earlier. The following is an example in which both the verb and the adjective occur:

In Amharic, the causative and the passive are mutually exclusive, in the sense that the presence of one excludes the other. Their basic pattern of ordering is causative – passive – stem. In the derivation of the causative, the passive marker tä - deletes, leaving /n/ intact, and the form surfaces as /a-nK'ät'äk'k'ät'-ä/ 'cause someone get trembled'. The segment /n/, would not have appeared in [anK'ät'äk'k'ät'-ä] 'cause get s.o. trembled' and in the corresponding noun [ənk'ət'k'ət'] 'fever' had it (/n/) been part of the passive prefix tä-, as claimed by the reviewer and also reported in others, like Leslau, (1995: 493).

At the lexical level, there is a similar process of stem extension, in which the prefix as-, which shows regular causation, is used to extend the basic stem and meaning of forms, as in the following:

```
'wanted'/'looked for'
fällägä
as-fällägä (i) 'cause someone look for something'
            (ii) 'became necessary'
```

Such extensions of roots and stems extension are common morphophonological processes in the language (Baye 1999: 56)

(21) [[ya [kärfaffa säw-əyyä]] [[əyyä tä-nkäräffäf -ä mät't -a]]] that sluggard man -sgl. PROGMD.-sluggish-3sgm. come:PF.-3sgm. lit. 'That sluggard man being sluggish came' 'That sluggard man came sluggishly'

Both the adjective and the verb remind one of a male person who is tall, slim and stooping. The feminine counterpart of (21) would be (22) below.

```
(22) [[ya-čč
                [käläflaffa set-əyyo]]
                                               [[əyyä tä-kläfälläf -äčč
      that-3sgf busy-bodied woman-sgl..prg.. mg-being busy-bodied-3sgf
      mät't -ačč]]]
      come:pf.-3sgF
      lit. 'That busy-bodied woman being busy-bodied came'
      'That busy-bodied woman came (being) busy-bodied.'
```

This type of movement is likely to cause stumbling over things, and this often leads to disapproval by on-lookers, both male and female. The form kärfaffa 'sluggard' and käläflaffa 'busy-bodied' refer to male and female figures, respectively. Females are expected to move fast, but with care, and males to move with speed that is consistent with their gendered (power) status and the situation. Inconsistent movement leads to expressions as in (21), in which the male figure is needlessly lacking in speed, and in (22), in which the female figure is fast, as expected, but lacking in care and focus.

### Extra fast movement and behaviour of figure 3.2

This is a type of extremely fast movement where the figure shows edgy or frantic behaviour. As with expressions of a sluggish manner of movement, the expression of a frenzied manner of movement requires extended verbal or adjectival stems as its expressions. The manner of derivation is as shown below:

(23)	Basic root	Extended root	Middle/Reflexives stem	Derived adjective
	k-w-k-w	n-k-w-k-w	tä-nkäwäkkäw-ä 'got frenzied'	käwkaww-a 'frenzy'
	k'-ž-k'- ž	n-k'-ž-k'- ž	tä-nk'äžäk'k'äž-ä 'got erratic'	k'äž'k'ažž-a 'erratic'
	l-f-l-f	k-l-f-l-f	tä-kläfälläf-ä 'got feverish'	käläflaff-a 'feverish'

The middle predicates that are derived from the extended roots occur as head of subordinate clauses of manner that modify the movement described by the verb of the main clause, as in the following examples:

```
[Kasa [[əyyä -tä-nkäwäkkäw-ä] mät't' -a]]
(24) a.
                PRG.- MD.-be:frenzy-3sgm. come:PF.-3sgm.
          'K. came being/behaving frenzied/feverish'
```

```
b. <sup>?</sup>Kasa [[tä-nkäwkəw-o
                              mät't' -a]
          MD.-be:frantic-3sgm. come:pf.-3sgm.
    'K. came behaving /having been frantic'
```

- (25) a. [Kasa [[əyyä tä-kläfälläf-ä] mät't' -a]] PRG.-MD.-be:restless-3sgm. come:pf.-3sgm. Lit. K. being/behaving/looking frantic came' 'K. came frantic'
  - b. <sup>?</sup>Kasa [[tä-kläfəlf-o] mät't' -al MD.-be:restless-3sgm. come:pf.-3sgm. Lit. 'K. having been frantic came.'

Here again, the middle verbs in the (a) structures of (24) and (25) are derived from the reduplicated roots, and they show that the movement actions are iterative or durative. Such verbs can occur in the progressive aspect, which is marked by the prefix *əyyä*, and not in the completive, which indicates termination points of actions. The (b) structures in both (24) and (25) are questioned because the stems of the verbs are durative, whereas their aspect is completive.

The corresponding adjectives käwkawwa, k'äžk'ažža, and käläflaffa, derived from the reduplicated stems käwkaww-, 'frenzy' k'äžk'ažž- 'erratic' and käläflaff-'feverish' with the suffix /-a/ can occur in simple noun phrases in which they modify the behaviour of the figure referred to by the head noun.

(26) Kasa [k'äžk'ažža säw] nä-w erratic person be-3sgm. 'K. is an edgy/erratic person'

So far the description has focused on the speed-based manner of movement and on the behaviour of the figure involved. The expressions employ reduplicated stems that show that the movement action takes long duration, often iteratively, and the figure looks sluggish and awkward. Such verbs of duration cannot occur in the completive aspect, since this aspect focuses on the end point of movement actions. In what follows, the path, its types and the effect it has on the manner of movement and the behaviour of the figure are described.

# Types of path, manner and behaviour of figure

As stated in the introduction, a path can be straight, sloppy, bumpy, meandering, narrow, wide, etc., and movement along each path may require a different form of verb to describe its manner and the behaviour of the moving figure.

#### Straight path, manner and behaviour 4.1

Movement along a straight/plain path is expressed by a compound verb derived from the ideophone sätätt- 'be straight/direct/simple' and the gerundive/completive form  $b\partial l$ -o 'having said' of the verb 'to say', considered earlier on. The following is an example of expressions of simple and direct movement:

```
[kasa [[sätätt
                                               mät't'- a]],
(27) a.
                             bəl-ol
                                                                {wät't'-a, gäbb-a}
                 be:straight say:CMPL.-3sGM. come:PF.-3sGM. {left,
                                                                         entered}
          Lit. 'K. having said straight came'
           'K. came straight forward'
```

Since the path is plain and straight, the figure can cover a long distance in a relatively short period of time, moving with his head up, making regular but fast strides, behaving and looking composed. The verb used for such manner of movement is in the completive and not progressive aspect, since the movement in such a path is almost instantaneous. Hence, structures like the following would be excluded:

```
b. *kasa sätätt
                  əyyä-al- ä
                                    mäťť- a
                                                     {wät't'-a, gäbb-a}
         straight PRG. -say-3sgm. come:PF.-3sgm. (left,
                                                              entered}
    Lit. 'K. came saying straight' 'K. came (being) straight'
```

#### Sloppy path, manner, and behaviour 4.2

This is a path that is slapdash or steep, and movement along such a path could be risky, often causing a fall and/or rolling down the slope, or forcing the figure to trot down or squat carefully in order to avoid falling. Both the rolling and trotting movements are expressed by two reflexive verbs derived from extended roots of the type shown below:

```
Basic root Extended root Reflexive stem Gloss
           n-k-b-l-l
                           tä-nkäballäl-ä 'roll down'
k-b-1-1
                          tä-ndäräddär-ä 'trot downhill'
d-r-d-r
           n-d -r-d-r
```

Now consider the following examples of rolling down movement of descending a slope:

```
(29) [Kasa k'ulk'l ät-u-n [[əyyä -tä-nkäballäl-ä]
                                                       wärräd -ä]]
            slope-DEF.-PP PRG.-MD.-roll-roll:PF.-3sGM. descend:PF.-3sGM.
      Lit. 'K. rolling down the slope descended' 'K. descended the slope by rolling
      down'
```

Note that, in such expressions, the main verb of the movement action is wärräd-'descended' and not hed-\(\alpha\) 'went', as such. Descending down a slope is iterative and instantaneous, and it takes several cycles of fast rolling, trotting or squatting down the sloppy path to get to the bottom of it, then travelling the remaining distance to the goal by walking. This walking phase is not spelled out in (29), but is implied. The structure would be ruled out, at least conceptually, if the verb were to occur in the completive aspect as in the following:

```
(30) <sup>?</sup>[Kasa [[k'ulk'l ät-u-n tä-nkäball -o]
                                                         wärräd-ä]]
             slope-DEF.-PP MD.-roll-roll:CMPL.-3sgM. descend:PF.-3sgM.
      Lit. 'K. having rolled down the slope descended'
      'K. descended the slope having rolled down'
```

The main verb wärräd-ä '(he) descended' is in the perfective aspect. It can occur in its completive form, ward-o '(he) having descended', or in the progressive counterpart ayyä- wärräd-ä 'descending', in a subordinate clause that modifies a main clause headed by the perfective or imperfective form of the verb hed-'go' as in (31) below:

```
[Kasa [[k'ulk'l ät-u-n əyyä-tä-ndärädär-ä]
                                                   wärd-o]]
      slope-def.-pp prg.-md.-trot-trot:pf.-3MSG descend:cmpl.-3sgm.
hed- ä
            / yi-hed-al]
go:PF.:3sgm.
               3SG-go:IMPF.-PRS.
Lit. 'K. trotting down the slope, (he) having descended went / will go'
'K. went/will go having descended the slope by trotting'
```

In such structures, the middle verb əyyä-tä-ndärädär-ä 'trotting' which is in the progressive aspect indicates the iterative (durative) nature of the trotting manner of the descending action expressed by the verb wärd-o 'having descended', which is in the completive aspect suggesting that the action has reached its end point and is viewed as a complete whole in the sense of (Comrie, 1981) but with a possibility for another action of movement to follow. That ensuing action can be expressed by the verb hed-'go' occurring in either perfective or imperfective aspect showing that the 'going' action is viewed as a complete or incomplete whole, respectively.

### Bumpy path and manner of movement 4.3

This is an uneven path with many bumps and barriers, both natural and man-made, that may cause stumbling and/or falling. One has to hop over each bump or ramp to reach his goal. The form used to express such a manner of movement is a compound verb derived from the ideophone ant'at'- 'hop' and the verb 'to say' - l- 'says' - al-'said' or its alternant bal- 'having said'. The following are examples:

```
(32) a. [Kasa [[ənt'at't' əyyä – al-ä]
                                             hed - ä]]
                           PRG.- say:-3sgm. go:PF.-3sgm.
          Lit. 'K. saying hop went.' 'K. went (by) hoping'
         [Kasa [[ənt'at't' bəl -o]
                                        hed- äll
                                                      {wät't' -a}
                 hop say: CMPL.-3SGM. go:PF.-3SGM. {left}
          Lit. 'K. having said hop went'
          'K. went having hopped'
```

The verb of the subordinate clause in (32a) is in the progressive aspect, thus marking several instances of hopping, whereas the one in (32b) is in the completive aspect, showing only one such act. If the bumps are ridge-high and many, the verb to use is a reduplicated form zäll-l-'jump' used in the progressive aspect, as in structures like the following example:

```
(33) [Kasa [[əyyä- zälläl- ä] hed – ä]]
            PRG.-jump-3sgm. go:PF.-3sgm.
      'K went (by) jumping over.'
      'K. went by making several jumps'
```

If there is only one bump to cross, the same verb can be used, but only in the completive aspect, as the action is non-iterative, but single and instantaneous. Hence, the following:

```
hed – ä]]
(34)
      [Kasa [[zäll -o]
                                            {wät'ta, gäbba}
            jump:CMPL.-3SGM. go:PF.-3SGM. {left,
                                                     entered}
      Lit. 'K having jumped went'
      'K. went having jumped.'
```

Note that in this structure, the verb zäll-o '(he) having jumped' is not reduplicated and the aspect is completive, unlike its counterpart ayyä-zälläl 'jumping' in (33), which is reduplicated and in the progressive aspect suggesting an iterated, or plural, instance of the same action.

In a path that is meandering, crowded, congested and with only one narrow passage, one may find his/her way out by taking turns and twists or jostling through the crowd, or by slipping through the narrow passage. The verb used for this type of movement is a derivative of the root š-w-l-k 'slip', as shown below:

```
(35) Basic root Reduplicated root Progressive
                                                    Completive Adjectival
     š-w-l-k
                š-w-l-k-l-k
                                   šulləkk əyyä -alä šulləkk bəlo šollakka
```

Consider now the following examples in which the reduplicated form of the verb in the progressive aspect and the non-reduplicated counterpart in the completive aspects are used.

```
(36) a. [Kasa [[əyyä - tä-šlokälläk -ä]
                                                    wät't' -a]]
                          MD.-slip-slip-:PF.-3sGM. get out:PF.-3sGM.
           Lit. 'K. slipping- slipping through get out'
           'K. got out by slipping through'
      b. [Kasa [[šulləkk bəl-o]
                                              wät't'-a]]
                            say:CMPL.-3sGM. get out:PF.-3sGM.
           'K. having slipped through got out'
      c. <sup>?</sup>[Kasa [[šulləkk əyyä -al-ä]
                                               wät't'-a]]
                 slip-slip- PRG.-say:PF.-3sGM. get out:PF.-3sGM.
           'K. slipping through (several times) got out'
           'K. got out by slipping through several times'
```

The middle verb *tä* – *šlokälläk* - 'got slipped through' in the subordinate clause in (a) is reduplicated and is in the progressive aspect, which is indicated by the element əyyä. The reduplication shows that the action is iterative, and hence durative. The verb of the main clause is in the perfective aspect, showing the action of getting out as a completed whole. In the structure in (b), *šullakk* is derived from the same root /š-w-l-k/ through the gemination – not reduplication – of the ultimate and penultimate consonants to serve as an ideophone base for the compounds *šullakk bal-o* '(he) having slipped through' in the completive aspect in (b), and šullakk ayyä-al-ä lit. 'saying šullakk' in the progressive aspect in (c), in both of which the compounds express a single individual action of slipping through, which is quick and careful. The structure in (c) is questioned because the ideophone *šullakk* suggests a single instance of a quick action of slipping, whereas the head of the progressive compound ayyä – alä 'saying' refers to an action that is durational. Furthermore, the verb of the main clause, wät't'-a 'got out' is in the perfective aspect, which refers to an action that is complete and past and which may not match with a verb that expresses an action that is in progress. The structure can be salvaged if the perfective verb wät't'-a 'got out' is replaced by the imperfective counterpart, yi- wät'-al 'will get out', as in (37) below:

```
(37) [Kasa [[šulləkk əyyä -al-ä]
                                      yi- wät'-al]
             slip- prg.-say:pf.-3sgm. 3sgm.-get out:IMPF.
      Lit. 'K. by slipping through (several times) gets out'
      'K. gets out by slipping through several times'
```

Here, the progressive aspect of the subordinate clause and the imperfective aspect of the main clause refer to a recurring occasional single instance of a quick slipping movement.

On the other hand, (36c) would be acceptable if we substitute the figure Kasa, which refers to a single definite individual, by a definite noun of collective reference. Consider the following example:

(38) [säw-u [[šulləkk- əyyä -al-ä] wät't'-a]] man. -DEF. slip PRG.-say:PF.-3sGM. getout:PF.-3sGM. Lit. 'The people by slipping through left (one by one). 'The people left one by one (by) slipping through.'

The reading here is to many individuals of a definite collective who got out of a bounded space, one by one by slipping out through a narrow opening (path). The focus is on the manner of slipping out by each one of the collective. When the focus is on how each one of them completed the rest of the movement action towards the goal, the subordinate clause would have the completive form wät't – [wät'ət-] 'having gotten out' as its head and the main clause would have the perfective hed-'went'. When this is the case, the structures in (38) above would appear in the form in (39a) or (39b):

```
(39) a.
          säw-u
                        [[[šulləkk əyyä -al-ä] wät'ət-o]
                                                                    hed- ä]]
          people -DEF. slip PRG.-say:PF.-3sGM. get:out:CMPL.-3sGM. go:PF. 3sGM.
          Lit. 'The people slipping through having gotten out went'
          'The people went having gotten out by slipping through'
                       [[[šulləkk əyyä -al-ä]
                                               əyyä- wät't'-a | hed- ä]]
          people -DEF. slip- PRG.-say:PF.-3sGM. PRG.- get out:PF. go:PF. 3sGM.
          Lit. 'People getting out by slipping through went'
          'The people went having gotten out by slipping through'
```

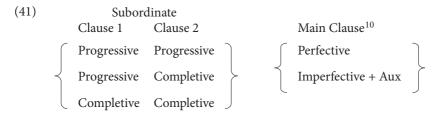
In (39a), the verb hed-'went' of the main clause is in the perfective aspect. The verb wät'at- 'having left' of the subordinate clause is in the completive aspect and the compound verb *šullakk ayyā -al-ā* 'slipping through' is in the progressive aspect, which shows the iterative or habitual nature of the action. In other words, the verbs of the two subordinate clauses are in the progressive, and completive aspect, the latter referring to the end point of the slipping out action that has been going on iteratively, but then gets capped by a main verb, which is in the perfective aspect.

It is possible for the two subordinate clauses in (39) to be in the completive aspect and the verb of the main clause in either the perfective or imperfective aspect, as in (40a) and (40b) respectively:

```
(40) a. [säw -u
                       [[šulləkk bəl-o]
                                                   wät'ət-o]
          people -DEF. slip
                                 say:CMPL.-3MSG leave:CMPL.-3MSG
          hed- ä]]
          go:PF. 3MSG
          Lit. 'The people slip having said leave having said went'
          'The people went out by having slipped (and) gotten out'
```

```
säw-u
             [[šulləkk bəl-o]
                                          wät'ət -o]
                       say: CMPL.-3MSG leave- CMPL.-3MSG
people -DEF. slip
yi- hed- al]]
3MSG- go:IMP-PRS.
Lit. 'The people slip having said leave having said go'
'The people (will) go by having slipped (and) gotten out'
```

In each of these structures, we observe two stacked subordinate clauses and one main clause. The aspect of the verbs of the first subordinate clause can be progressive and the second completive, or the first can be completive and the second progressive, or both clauses can be in the completive aspect. In all of them, the first subordinate clause modifies the second, which in turn modifies the main clause headed by either a perfective or imperfective verb. When the verb of the main clause is imperfective, it is followed by the existential auxiliary verb -al, which shows a non-past habitual action. The aspectual pattern of the verbs of the subordinate and the main clauses, observed throughout, can be generalized as follows:



Functionally, the first subordinate clause headed by a verb in either the progressive or completive aspect is an adjunct modifier for the second subordinate clause headed by a verb in either progressive or completive aspect, and this modified clause in turn serves as an adjunct modifier for the main clause, which is headed by a verb in either perfective or imperfective aspect. The first subordinate clause specifies the manner of the movement action and the behaviour of the figure, both determined by the speed of movement, the type of path and the gender and stature of the figure.

<sup>10.</sup> A reviewer commented that this representation is ad hoc, but (s)he did not say why and how it is so. The description throughout has shown that the subordinate clauses that express the manner of the sub-movement actions fall into such a pattern, and that the aspect of the verbs that express the general movement of 'going' described by the verb of the main clause is perfective or imperfective, the latter followed by an existential auxiliary expressing tense. This is a pattern that one can draw from the general linguistic description of the facts, which would, otherwise, remain discrete, against the dictum that any linguistic description should prove its descriptive adequacy by leading to some level of generalization.

### 5. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to make a general linguistic description of the situation of movement in Amharic. Conceptually, movement has a force or purpose, a source, a goal, a path and a figure, which performs the movement action along a path in some manner and time line. The movement could be slow, very slow or extra slow, fast, very fast or extra fast in terms of speed, all of which are expressed in subordinate clauses, prepositional phrases, and derived adjectives and nouns of manner. The verbs of the subordinate clauses of manner are in progressive and/or completive aspect, and the verbs of the main clause that expresses the main movement action are in perfective or imperfective aspect. The behaviour of the figure is specified as sober or edgy, and his stature as awkward or elegant, as determined by the type of path, the speed of movement and the gender of the figure, which require the use of derived adjectives and nouns as their expressions.

The path along which the movement takes place could be straight, sloppy, bumpy, meandering, narrow or crowded, on the basis of which the manner of the movement action is described as simple and instantaneous, iterative, durative, requiring hopping and/or jumping across bumps or squatting and trotting down slopes or clawing up hills. The verbs of the subordinate clauses are derivatives of roots, which undergo reduplications and insertion of consonantal radicals, such as [n] in initial positions. The extension of the root or stem through reduplication and/or insertion contributes meaning to the manner of movement and behaviour of the figure. The aspectual pattern of the verbs of the subordinate clauses that describe the manner of the movement action is progressive and/or completive, the former showing iterative/durative, and the latter terminative action. The aspect of the verb of the main clause is perfective or imperfective, the latter suggesting a (non)-iterative habitual action, and that such imperfective verbs are followed by the existential auxiliary al-, which shows non-past tense. The description has shown that movement in Amharic and other languages of the region is expressed by subordinate clauses, prepositional phrases and derived adjectives, as also reported in Meyer (2007) for Muher, and Tries (2008) for Kambata, Semitic and Cushitic languages respectively. Such categories function as expressions of manner of movement predicated of the general verb of motion -hed- 'go' and the behaviour and stature of the figure expressed by the subordinate clauses headed by verbs in the progressive or completive aspect.

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Note the following abbreviations:

APL.	Applicative	SGM.	Singular Masculine
AUX.	Auxiliary	PRG.	Progressive
CMPL.	Completive	PF.	Perfective
DEF.	Definite	POSS.	Possessive
IMPF.	Imperfective	PRS.	Present
MD.	Middle	PL.	Plural
SGL.	Singulative		

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### Appendix

afägäffägä	'stepped back'	'got up/rose'
ak' änna	'ascended'	'trotted down'
ak'warrät'ä	'crossed over'	'squatted'
amärra	'headed toward a goal'	'got roaming about'
anäkkäsä	'limped'	'moved about with pride'
azäggämä	'trudged along'	ʻgot sluggish'
dahä	'crawled'	'got moved about'
därräsä	'arrived'	'got rolled down hill'
ənt'at' alä	'hop-stepped'	'wandered aimlessly'
färät't'ät'ä	'ran off like a shot'	'move about a little due to illness'
gäbba	'entered'	'got moving here and there'
galläbä	'galloped'	'strode'
hedä	'went'	'got oneself hurled'
mät't'a	'came'	'got ejected'
rot'ä	ʻran'	'got slipped through
tädarräsä	'got almost arrived'	'got moving about aimlessly'
tägwazä	'traveled'	'swayed restlessly'
täk'arräbä	'got nearer to goal'	'got oneself hurled'
täk'bäzäbbäzä	'moved erratically'	'descended'
tämmämä	'moved as a large crowd'	'got out' 'ascend' 'climb'
tämzägäzzägä	'move fast in long strides'	'jumped over/off'
täkläfälläfä	'run about' 'busy-bodied'	