Pluractionality of Lexical Aspects[1] in Afaan Oromoo[2]

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Abstract: Pluractionality is the phenomenon that denotes plurality of events, happenings and states (situations) which are quantified and described through verbs. This study provides the description of pluractionality in Afaan Oromoo. The data were collected from written texts and crosschecked by native speakers and introspection. Based on the sample clauses, different semantic and structural types of pluractionality are identified and described. These are iterative, distributive and frequentative as well as causative, which is basically different structural category. Semantically, iterative shows regular repetition of occurrences in which the same participant is involved; the repetition occurs in a recurrent period of time. Distributive refers to multiple actors or participants in the events so that each event happens to exist with its own actor or participant, either simultaneously or consecutively in the same or different places. The other pluractional form is frequentative, which has single/identical participant who engage in a repeatedly regular occurrence of an event. The repeated event occurs in different times. On the other hand, causative is indicated using the causative morpheme. This involves affixation of *-s* with several variant forms, which are phonologically triggered. The marking strategies and structures of the first three are the same in that reduplication of the first syllable of the verb is employed to show pluractionality. The study concluded that pluractionality of lexical aspects is structurally represented by reduplication and affixation in Afaan Oromoo.

Keywords: *Afaan Oromoo; causative, distributive, frequentative, iterative, pluractionality*

Introduction

Languages have means of distinguishing state-of-affairs (nominal or verbal) using quantifiers (primarily grammatical numbers). Singularity and plurality are among grammatical numbers, which are very common in nominal domains of languages. The classification applies also to verbal category in a way that verbs show singular or plural events and participants, namely pluractionality, through morphological and/or syntactic means. The term pluractionality differs from nominal plurality or agreement in that it refers to multiplicity of states, events and

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[1] In existing literature (such as Brinton 1985: 158-159; Comrie 1976: 1; Smith 1997: 1), *lexical aspect* has different alternative expressions, such as *situation aspect*, *Aktionsart*, *verbal aspect*, etc.

happenings denoted by verbs. It was coined for the first time by Newman (1990). However, the expression "pluractional verb" was used before that by Newman (1980). It is defined as "a phenomenon that marks the plurality of the situations (i.e., events and states) encoded by the verb through any linguistic means that directly modifies the form of the verb itself" (Newman 1990: 53). Similarly, Newman (2012: 2) put it as "…the grammatical marking of verbal or event plurality and is usually marked on the verb or within the VP". While the function of nominal plurality denotes the plurality of a given participant in a clause, pluractionality expresses plurality of the event which is expressed by the verb in the clause. It is, therefore, the marking which indicates the occurrence of plural situations. In lexical aspects, it involves multiplicity of actions/events, participants, times or locations, which are indicated either by affixation, reduplication of stems or frequency adverbials. It is not a kind of subject-verb agreement, but it is about the events/states themselves being plural (Geenhoven 2005: 107-108; Mattiola 2017:120; Newman 2012: 186; Ongaye & Mous 2017).

The German term, Aktionsart, literally, means 'kind of action', was introduced to the Germanic tradition to denote verbal lexical meanings. In linguistics, it is described in different ways, such as aspectual character, situation aspect and lexical aspect by different authors (such as Comrie 1976; Smith 1997). It is also explained in terms of whether verbs are dynamic (e.g. *go*) or static (e.g. *think*), terminative (e.g. *arrive*) or non-terminative (e.g. *move*), or durative (e.g. *flow*) or instantaneous (e.g. *blink*) in spatio-temporal aspect (Decker 2001: 5; Smith 1986: 100). In this study, lexical aspect is preferred due to its wider usage in recent literature (Smith 1997; Součková 2011: 20).

Number marking (often called agreement marking) is a grammatical or morphological feature which is principally associated to pronouns, nouns, adjectives, verbs, determiners, adpositions, and even to clauses. Among these, the marking in nominal classification is a well-studied phenomenon, but the rest are understudied in the grammars of world languages. Contrary to nominal, grammatical number marking in verbs indicates morphological feature which shows the multiplicity of events, happenings, states, etc. as singular or plural. Number marking in verbs has been treated as the peripheral feature in the study of grammar of languages (Corbett 2000). In the context of Ethiopian languages, including Afaan Oromoo, verbal plurality is one of the less studied areas of grammar. Several studies argue that verb plurality (pluractionality) is one of debatable concepts since there are no clear semantic, morphological and/or syntactic classifications of verbal plurality due to the absence of universality in its feature (Wood 2007).

Pluractionality is an example of the non-universality of grammatical categories. Due to variations in its semantics, world languages are classified into different types (Newman 2012: 191). Some languages typically employ reduplication, whereas others use affixes to show pluractional meanings. Yet, others use lexical elements or the combination of lexical and morphological elements (Lee 2016: 26; Müller & Sanchez-Mendes 2018: 2: Newman 2012: 193; Součková 2011: 86-89; Wood 2007). Pluractional constructions express several semantic aspects. Such functions rely on the event to be pluralized in the clause. Accordingly, there are three basic semantic types of pluractionality: iterative, frequentative (or often called multiplicative) and distributive. These are denoted differently based on the morphological properties of the languages. Iterativity involves the occurrence of events, states, happenings, etc. over time. These can be limited to a single or several occasions. Frequantativity expresses the plurality of events, states, happenings, etc. by several participants. The other type of pluractionality, distributive, refers to the distribution of situations over different locations (Newman 1990). Lastly, a different type of pluractionality is causativity. This is related to several/multiple events which have causal relations (Radvansky & Zacks 2014; Wood 2007).

This study was conducted by using several library works, data gathering trips and elicitation (content analysis) from written texts. Considerably, written web corpora, textbooks of grades 9-12, native speakers of Western (Maccaa) variety and introspection are used as sources of data to maximize the validity of the findings. Group discussions were made to check the intelligibility of the texts and the correctness of the translations. The study is purely qualitative in its nature, and is based on written text as data sources.

In the written web corpus, clauses having verbs with their schematic meanings were excerpted and categorized under the relevant class of pluractionality in the language. These clauses were selected on the basis of the relevance of their verbs to the topic under discussion. In addition, Afaan Oromoo textbooks of grades 9-12 were considered as other sources of data.

Types of pluractionality in Afaan Oromoo

In Afaan Oromoo, pluractionality is fundamentally denoted by morphological process which involves reduplication and suffixation. Reduplication is widely used in verbs to express plurality of actions, states and events, and their intensity. In the verb stem, only the first syllable is the part which is consistently reduplicated where the second syllable after the reduplication is mostly geminated (Shimelis 2021: 245). The meanings obtained through reduplication are iterative, distributive and frequentative. In these types, the clause which expresses the event/state may be used along with numerals to show repetition, frequency, multiplication, etc. The other type of pluractionality, causativity, involves suffixation of the morpheme -*s*, with different variants/allomorphs. In the following subsections, these pluractionality types of lexical aspects are presented. The purpose is to describe the morphological means employed to express the specific meanings of iterative, distributive, frequentative and causative.

Iterative

Iterative (often called multiplicative) shows pluractionality in verbs to express instantaneous events which occur repetitively in a quick succession (Coly & Storch 2017: 63; Newman 1980; Ongaye & Mous 2017; Součková 2011: 105-106). In Afaan Oromoo, this event has the same argument (syntactic subject) which appears preceding the iterative verb in clause. Iterative is derived by reduplication of the first syllable of non-iterative verb, as in (1) below.

(1) a. *Pogeess-i   harka   Pʃii   ɗib-ɗiib-e [ɗiɗɗiibe]*
          specialist-NOM   hand   she   RDP-push-PFV
          'The specialist massaged her hand.'
     b. *keessummaa-n   balbala   ruk-rukut-e [rurrukute]*
          stranger-NOM   door   RDP-knock-PFV
          'The stranger repeatedly knocked at the door.'

In (1), the lexical verb *ɗiib-* 'push' (a) is semantically an activity verb because the act of pushing something takes duration (intervals), but *rukut-* 'knock' (b) is semelfactive since it refers to instantaneous event. With the reduplication of the first syllables of the verbs, the events shift to those which occur repeatedly. The reduplicated syllables merely show the iterative meanings of the stems. Semantically, the reduplicated verbs show repetition of the events/happenings, where the repetition can also be quantitatively described. The agents are all the same throughout the repeated events in both examples.

In short, iterative constructions are used to denote recurrent, repeated and multiple-events through partial reduplication of initial syllable of verbal stems. Hence, speakers can iterate an event to become a process (activity) consisting of more than one occurrence.

Distributive

In pluractionality, distributive refers to the occurrence of a series of events where participants are engaged individually in such a way that participant of an event is each one of the representatives (Newman 1980; Součková 2011: 39). In Afaan Oromoo, the repetition occurs during a single occurrence of an event/action which is described by verb. Since one agent/actor is involved, there are many subtypes of plurality of events parallel to the agent. Examples are given in (2) below.

(2)   a.   *leendʒi-oot-ni   k'orumsa   kuf-kuf-an-ɸ [kukkufan]*
                  trainee-PL-NOM   exam   RDP-fail-3PL-PFV
                  'The trainees failed (each one separately) in the exam.'
             b.   *muk(k)-een   mana   duuba-a   dʒig-dʒig-an-ɸ [dʒiddʒigan]*
                  tree-PL   house   back-ABL   RDP-fall-3PL-PFV
                  'The trees at the back of the house have fallen (each one separately).'

In (2), the verbs *kuf-* 'fail' (a) and *dʒig-* 'fall' (b) have plural subjects (agents), like *leendʒitoota* 'trainees' and *mukkeen* 'trees'. The reduplicated verbs express that the individual members of the agents (i.e. each trainee in (a) and each tree in (b)) act to cause effects or changes in state-of-affairs. For example, the clause *leendʒitoonni k'orumsa kukkufan* 'The trainees failed in the exam' in (a), each member fails in the domain of trainees. If there are fifty students in the classroom, there are fifty different failing states happening either simultaneously or one after the other. This is true if the exam is one and the same or the exam is one which has several instances of taking it and failing each time. Similar events occur in (b). Both of the above verbs are semantically achievement. On the other hand, the example below has accomplishment to denote distributive.

(3)   *dubart-oot-ni   k'oraan   fun-funaan-an-ɸ [fuffunaanan]*
        woman-PL-NOM   fire_wood   RDP-collect-3PL-PFV
        'The women collected (each one separately) fire wood.'

The verb *funaan-* 'collect' in the above example expresses a specific accomplishment done by an actor. However, when it is reduplicated, it refers to the engagement of several actors in different events of collecting *k'oraan* 'fire wood'. The verb is different from those in (2) by its inherent feature, i.e. it is durative whereas those in the previous example are instantaneous. Regarding distributivity, the actors engage independently in separate events of the same type.

In the language, there are two peculiar features in distributive plurality of lexical aspects. First, all events accomplished by separate actors (agents) are the same as the cumulative plurality denoted by the clause. There is semantic ambiguity whether or not some or all of the members in the collective noun acted in the situations. For example, the non-distributive clause *leendʒitoonni k'orumsa kufan* 'The trainees failed in the exam' (2a) means few, some, most or all members in the collective failed in the exam. Second, the repeated events can happen either in succession, which means in different moments of the same period, or simultaneously.

Morphologically, distributive is the same as iterative in its partial reduplication of the first syllable, but semantically, the two are different where iterative involves the repetition of the

same event in succession, and distributive indicates the occurrence of the same event by different actors either in a simultaneous are successive time

Frequentative

Afaan Oromoo has frequentative which has the same (single) actor/participant who acts in an event with regular repetition at different times. Accordingly, an event occurs at a particular time, and another similar event by the same argument (participant) occurs in another time; the occurrence continues recurrently up to its terminal or inherent endpoint (Coly & Storch 2017: 65; Newman 1980; Součková 2011: 25). The following are examples of frequentative events in Afaan Oromoo.

(4)   a. *tap'ataa-n   tokko   ganama   ganama   dirree   keessa   fig-fiig-a [fiffiiga]*
          player-NOM   one   morning   morning   field   in   RDP-run-IMPF
          'A player runs in the field every morning.'
      b. *Ɂani   jeroo   hunda   Ɂiʃee   ni=Ɂar-Ɂarg-a [niɁaɁɁarga]*
          I   time   all   her   FOC=RDP-look_at-IMPF
          'I (always) look at/see her.'

In (4), *fiig-* 'run' (a) and *Ɂarg-* 'look at' (b) are verbs of activity which has atelic feature. The reduplication of the first syllable in the verbal stems shows repetition of the same event at regular intervals. For example, the frequentative *fiffiig-* 'run again and again' of *tap'ataa* 'player' in the field (a) has intervals, which could be the times of getting rest.

What makes frequentative semantically different from iterative and distributive is that the actor/participant in an event repeats the same action at different times. However, in iterative, the same actor/participant repeats an instantaneous event with no extended time interval unlike in frequentative. On the other hand, several participants that are members of a collective argument simultaneously engage in similar events in distributive.

In addition to the reduplication, frequency adverbials, such as *ganama ganama* 'every morning' (a), *jeroo hunda* 'always' (b), *darbee darbee* 'seldom', etc. play significant roles in conveying frequentative events. The adverbials denote intervals between repeated situations (adverbials of intervals), repeated periods of time, most of which are chronologically definite (adverbials of cyclicity), and a relatively regular repetition of situations (adverbials of habituality). The resulting pluractionals have habitual reading in all frequentative events.

Causative

Causative structure is any construction encoding a causative situation: two events occurring in temporal succession, where the speaker believes that the second occurrence would not have happened if the first had not happened. It involves minimally two participants: the causer and the causee to increase valence in the state-of-affair. This process adds a new argument (the causer) to the clause, demoting the pre-existing subject (external argument) to an object (internal argument) position. Languages can express causation through lexical, morphological and syntactic means, which may differ in their productivity. Often, these causative devices can be linked to specific semantic meanings (Comrie 1981: 174-176).

Causative is associated with an agent causing another participant to do an action or to be in a certain state. In several languages, causative structures are morphologically marked, so speakers prefer using the morphological causative forms of lexical aspects rather than peripheral constructions, i.e., lexical and syntactic structures. Thus, they describe a relation between two events in which the occurrence of one event (micro-event) is realized due to the

trigger of the other (macro-event) (Achard 2001: 130). In this study, morphological causative, which is the most productive type in Afaan Oromoo, is discussed with reference to lexical aspects.

Causativisation of lexical aspect shows causal relations which occur between arguments in the clause. The relations are revealed in the form of macro- and micro-events, of which the macro-event consists of two or more participants in the causative situations. In the processes, there are three essential occurrences: antecedent, consequent and causation relationship. The antecedent refers to the situation before the existence of the situation in focus, and the consequent expresses the result after the causation. The other occurrence is the relationship between the causing and the caused arguments, where either physical or mental force is exerted (Dowty 1976).

Verbs in Afaan Oromoo show multiple (plural) events which are described by the causative structures. The events happen in succession, which means the causing event occurs and then the caused event happens next. Causativisation involves the affixation of -s with different variants/allomorphs. The vowel *i,* which is found in the allomorphs, can be either long or short, depending on the weight of the last syllable of verbal stem. If the final syllable of the stem has long vowel, the allomorph has short vowel, and vice versa. This is accounted for in terms of vowel length dissimilation rule (Kebede 1994; Lloret 1987; Tolemariam 2009).

In causativisation of state verbs, there are counterfactual relations between two happenings, where the resulting state would not occur unless the causing holds. Accordingly, most state verbs have causative counterpart which is often marked morphologically, as in (5) below.

(5)   a.   *gurb-iʧʧ-i*   *ni=sod-(a)at-e*
                 boy-SG-NOM   FOC=fear-INC-PFV
                 'The boy became afraid.'
            b.   *saree-n*   *gurb-iʧʧa*   *ni=sod-(a)at-sis-a*   [*nisodaaʧʧisa*]
                 dog-NOM   boy-SG   FOC=fear-INC-CAUS-IMPF
                 'A dog frightens the boy.'

The example in (5a) has no inherent causation which is explicitly expressed. Basically, there could be a certain factor, such as being nervous which causes the boy to feel the situation, but the cause is not morphologically or syntactically expressed. As can be seen in (b), the clause with causative structure has additional argument, namely the causer *saree* 'a dog', beside *gurbiʧʧa* 'the boy'. However, there is only one argument (*gurbiʧʧa* 'the boy') in (a). Structurally, the causer assumes subject (external argument) position and determines syntactic subject-verb agreement, whereas the causee holds object (internal argument) position.

On the other hand, verbs having causative structures can be derived from nouns and adjectives by suffixing *-(e)ess*. This suffix is different from the other causative forms in two respects. First, it is phonologically different from -s and its variants in that it has long *e* and geminated *s*. Another difference is on the stems of the lexemes; *-(e)ess* is suffixed to nominal and adjectival stems only (Tolemariam 2009). This suffix is quite unique because it cannot be attached to verbs. The following illustrate causativisation of nouns and adjectives through suffixation of *-(e)ess*.

(6)   a.   *man-ni*   *ʔisaa*   *fag-oo-ɗa*
                 house-NOM   his   far-DIM-COP
                 'His house is far.'
            b.   *tolaa-n*   *loon*   *mana*   *ʔirra-a*   *fag-eess-e*
                 Tola-NOM   cattle   house   on-ABL   far-CAUS-PFV
                 'Tola caused the cattle to be far away from home.'
(7) a.   *ʔuummat-ni*   *hedduu*   *beel-aʔ-aa-ɗa*

<div style="margin-left:2em">

people-NOM   much   hungry-INC-MS-COP
'Many people are hungry.'

b. *ʧaamsaa-n*   *ʔuummata*   *beel-ess-e*
drought-NOM   people   hunger-CAUS-PFV
'The drought caused people to be hungry.'
</div>

The clauses in (6-7) (a) have the adjectival stems *fagoo* 'far' and *beelaʔaa* 'hungry' as their predicates along with the copula *-da*. These clauses have non-verbal predicates which express distance attribution (6a) and condition (7a) of the the subjects. When the adjectival and nominal stems attach the suffix *-(e)ess*, they become causativised verbal elements as illustrated in (b).

Another lexical aspect which is subject to causative structure is achievement. This has different phonological classes of verbs having the syllables CVCCVC-/CVC-, CVCC-, CVVC- and CVCVC-/CVVCVC to attach the variants of the causative morpheme *-s*. for example, this suffix is added to the stems with CVCCVC-/CVC- and derive the causative counterparts with causer/agent introduced as an external argument, as shown below.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

(8)   a. *bilisee-n*   *dammak'-t-e* [*dammak't'e*]
             Bilise-NOM   wake_up-3FS-PFV
             'Bilise woke up.'

        b. *tolaa-n*   *bilisee*   *dammak'-s-e*
             Tola-NOM   Bilise   wake_up-CAUS-PFV
             'Tola caused Bilise to wake up.'

(9)   a. *suufaa-n*   *k'onna-tti*   *kaʔ-e*
             Sufa-NOM   farm-LOC   rise-PFV
             'Sufa arose to farm.'

        b. *ʤaars-i*   *suufaa*   *k'onna-tti*   *kaa-s-e*[3]
             old_man-NOM   Sufa   farm-LOC   rise-CAUS-PFV
             'The old man caused Sufa to rise for farming.'
</div>

The examples in (8-9) show non-causative verbs: *dammak'-* 'wake up' and *kaʔ-* 'rise'. When the suffix *-s* is attached to these stems, they derive clauses with the causativised forms as indicated in (b). The distribution of *-s* in these examples seems to be phonologically-conditioned. With regard to the semantic category of the stems, the causativised verb *dammak's-* 'cause to wake up' in (8b) precedes the event in which an entity (*bilisee* 'Bilise') has been in a sleeping state. However, the argument, *tolaa* 'Tola', causes her to be in awakening state. Similarly, in (9b), *suufaa* 'Sufa' has been in a static situation before *ʤaarsa* 'old man' causes him to commence plowing. In both causative counterparts, the changes in the state-of-affairs occur due to causers who are volitional, intentional and willful.

Yet, the language has activity verb as another pluractional type of causative structure. This group involves (self)-agentive verbs with CVVC- syllable structure. The suffix *-sis* is used in the process, as shown in (10-11) below.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

(10)   a. *boruu-n*   *deem-e*
             Boru-NOM   go-PFV
             'Boru went.'

        b. *ʧ'aaltuu -n*   *boruu*   *deem-sis-t-e*
             Chaltu -NOM   Boru   go-CAUS-3FS-PFV
             'Chaltu made Boru go.' Lit. 'Chaltu caused Boru to go.'
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[3] *kaa-* is the surface form of *kaʔ-;* the glottal stop is deleted due to the suffixation and was compensated for by vowel length.

(11)   a.   *tolaa-n*   *laga*   *daak-e*
                     Tola-NOM   river   swim-PFV
                     'Tola swam in a river.'

                b.   *billoo-n*   *tolaa*   *laga*   *daak-sis-e*
                     Billo-NOM   Tolaa   river   swim-CAUS-PFV
                     'Billo made Tola swim in a river.'
                     Lit. 'Billo caused Tola to swim in a river.'

(12)   a.   *barii-n*   *teessoo*   *ɗiib-e*
                     Bari-NOM   chair   push-PFV
                     'Bari pushed a chair.'

                b.   *girmaa-n*   *barii*   *teessoo*   *ɗiib-sis-e*
                     Girma-NOM   Bari   chair   push-CAUS-PFV
                     'Girma made Bari push a chair.' Lit. 'Girma caused Bari to push a chair.'

The clauses in (10-12) (a) consist of the self-agentive verbs *deem-* 'go' and *daak-* 'swim', and agentive verb *ɗiib-* 'push'. These are of non-causativised motion events which change from static to dynamic states. However, the endpoint of each event is temporally unbounded. The causative forms of such verbs take the suffix *-sis*, as in (b). In the micro-events, internal arguments, such as *boruu* 'Boru', *tolaa* 'Tola' and *barii* 'Bari' directly involve in causing the change in state-of-affairs. At a macro-event level, there is mental or physical force exerted by the causers, *ʧ'aaltuu* 'Chaltu', *billoo* 'Billo' and *girmaa* 'Girma'. Regarding (a)telicity, the changes do not have inherent endpoints, so they can terminate anywhere in the temporal space.

The other type of lexical aspect, accomplishment verb, expresses complex occurrences or processes and completion. The causativisation of this verb assigns external argument which causes or controls the changes (Smith 1997). In Afaan Oromoo, the temporal features of causativised counterparts of accomplishment verbs have the same reading as the non-causativized ones as far as telicity is concerned. The verb stems take different allomorphs of the morpheme *-s* depending on the phonological features of the stem. For example, these verbs can be inchoative (non-agentive) with CVC(C)- syllables. The suffix *-(i)s* is attached to the stems to derive causative with the causer as an external argument, as in (14-16) below.

(13)   a.   *ɗaɗaa-n*   *bak'-e*
                     butter-NOM   melt-PFV
                     '(The) butter melted.'
                b.   *gammannee-n*   *ɗaɗaa*   *bak'-s-(i)t-e⁴*
                     Gamane-NOM   butter   melt-CAUS-3FS-PFV
                     'Gamane melted the butter.' Lit. 'Gamane caused the butter to melt.'

(14)   a.   *huʧ'ʧ'uu-n*   *kee*   *gog-e*
                     cloth-NOM   your   dry_INTR-PFV
                     'Your cloth dried.'
                b.   *ʔaduu-n*   *huʧ'ʧ'uu*   *kee*   *gog-s-(i)t-e*
                     sun-NOM   cloth   your   dry_INTR-CAUS-3FS-PFV
                     'The sun dried your cloth.' Lit 'The sun caused your cloth to dry.'

(15) a.   *bun-ni*   *danf-e*
          coffee-NOM   boil-PFV
          '(The) coffee boiled.'
     b.   *bulaa-n*   *buna*   *danf-(i)s-e*
          Bula-NOM   coffee   boil-CAUS-PFV
          'Bula boiled the coffee.' Lit. 'Bula caused the coffee to boil.'

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⁴ The vowel *i* in the bracket is epenthetic to avoid cluster of three consonants.

In (13-15) (a), the accomplishment verbs *bak'-* 'melt', *gog-* 'dry' and *danf-* 'boil' are non-causative. They undergo changes in the state-of-affairs to the desired goals with no explicit cause. When the suffix *-(i)s* is attached to them, they change to causativised accomplishments, as indicated in (b). The distribution of *-s* and *-is* is phonologically- conditioned as the former is attached to CVC- stems, and the later to CVCC-.

With regard to the semantic categories, the causativised verbs *bak's-* 'cause to melt', *gogs-* 'cause to dry' and *danfis-* 'cause to boil' denote situations with multiple events (processes) to reach the desired changes. For the changes, there are causing/controlling animate or inanimate forces, such as *gammannee* 'Gamane' in (13b), *ʔaduu* 'sun' in (14b) and *bulaa* 'Bula' in (15b). Along with these arguments, the agents of the micro-events are demoted to internal argument positions. Thus, the changes in state-of-affairs are indicated by direct causation of external arguments on the events of demoted arguments to patient (causee agent) position.

The last type of lexical aspect in Afaan Oromoo is semelfactive verb. This verb is felicitous to dynamic structure because it has (non)-agentive argument which acts as a source of force and/or volition in the sense that the single occurrence happens instantly once. Hence, the event occurs once and lasts for a short period of time. Basically, semelfactive has the possibility to be in repetitive sequences, instead of a single-stage event, and results in multiple-event activities (Smith 1997: 30). The multiple-event readings are triggered by progressive forms and time span adverbials or reduplication of verb stems. The causative counterpart of semelfactive in Afaan Oromoo is derived by affixing the causative morpheme *-s* to verbal stems with different syllable structures. The causative structure denotes single-stage events which are conceptualized as instantaneous, dynamic and atelic in their feature. Stems, such as CVC-, CVCC-, and CVCVC- take *-siis* along with external arguments. Semantically, the stems can be agentive (16), self-agentive (17) or non-agentive (18), as illustrated below.

(16) a. *birraa-n   rifeensa   bilisee   tuk'-e*
          Birra-NOM   hair   Bilise   touch-PFV
          'Birra touched Bilise's hair.'
      b. *bilisee-n   birraa   rifeensa   ʔiʃee   tuk'-siis-t-e*
          Bilise-NOM   Birra   hair   she   touch-CAUS-3FS-PFV
          'Bilise caused Birra to touch her hair.'

(17) a. *daaʔim-ni   ʔidʒa   ban-e*
          child-NOM   eye   open-PFV
          'The baby opened (his) eye.'
      b. *fajisaa-n   daaʔima   ʔidʒa   ban-siis-e*
          Feyisa-NOM   child   eye   open-CAUS-PFV
          'Feyisa caused the child to open his eye.'

(18) a. *handaak'k'oo-n   kooʧʧoo   rukut-e*
          cock-NOM   wing   flap-PFV
          'The cock flapped its wing.'
      b. *ʔadurree-n   handaak'k'oo   kooʧʧoo   rukut-siis-t-e* [*rukuʧʧiiste*]
          cat-NOM   cock   wing   flap-CAUS-3FS-PFV
          'The cat caused the cock to flap its wing.'

In (16-18) (a), the clauses have non-causativised verbs *tuk'-* 'touch', *ban-* 'open' and *rukut-* 'flap'. These encode instantaneous (one-time) occurrences by the external arguments *birraa* 'Birra', *daaʔima* 'child' and *handaak'k'oo* 'cock', respectively. For example, *tuk'-* 'touch' in (16a) expresses single contact between *birraa* 'Birra' and *rifeensa* 'hair' momentarily; similar situations occur in (17&18) (a).

Semantically, the verb *tuk'-* 'touch' is agentive, whereas *ban-* 'open' is self-agentive and *rukut-* 'flap' is non-agentive. The first assigns agent and theme, the second assigns acting and affected

subject, and the last assigns inanimate subject. The causative counterparts of these attach *-siis* when the causers *bilisee* 'Bilise' (16b), *fajisaa* 'Feyisa' (17b) and *ʔadurree* 'cat' (18b) cause or control the eventuality. With the occurrence of these macro-agents, the arguments of semelfactive verbs in (a) are demoted to causee agent position. Except the causal predication which changes the agentivity property of the arguments, the state-of-affairs in causative structures are the same as the non-causative ones.

Conclusion

In all languages of the world, there is a universal functional/semantic category of plurality. However, the structure of plurality varies across languages based on their lexical, morphological and syntactic features. Plurality is inherently manifested by nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives, determiner, numerals and other lexical elements (Coly & Storch 2017: 69; Newman 2012: 185). The objective of this study, however, is identifying the formal and semantic types of pluractionality denoted by lexical aspects, i.e. state, activity, achievement, accomplishment and semelfactive verbs, in Afaan Oromoo. The result shows that three types of plurality of event are identified through reduplication of the verb stems: iterative, distributive and frequentative. The fourth type of pluractionals is formed through morphological causativisation of the verbs.

The classification reveals similarities as well as differences between the semantics of these three types. One of the common features among these is that they are formed by reduplication of the first syllable of verbal stems. Semantically, they all denote multiple-events which are described by the lexical aspects. They also share syntactic feature in that adverbials can co-occur to convey intervals or quantity of distributions. The repetition/multiplicity of occurrences is different in the pluractionals. The same actor/participant acts repeatedly in a specific period of time as regards iterative. However, several actors/participants usually act simultaneously in similar occurrences in distributive. Lastly, in frequentative, the same actor/participant acts with regular repetition in different intervals of time.

On the other hand, the structures of causative are complex as different variants of the causative morpheme are attached to the verb stems. Syntactically, there is valence-increase since external arguments are introduced to cause the events. Likewise, the state-of-affairs in lexical state verbs mainly change from static to dynamic pluractional through the causation process. Causative achievement is derived by suffixing the causative marker *-s* to non-causativised achievement, which expresses instantaneous and dynamic change of state by external argument. Regarding clauses activity, the verbs attach *-sis*, *-isiis* and *-eess* based on the length of the vowel in the stem; the suffixes are added on CVVC-/CVCVVC-, CVCC and CVC/CVCC-, respectively. The temporal features of the non-causative activity remain the same in the causative counterparts. Causative accomplishment is derived from the non-causative one with the addition of the causative morpheme *-s* and its different allomorphs. Lastly, causative semelfactive expresses the same happening except the incorporation of the external force applied by the causer arguments. Due to causativisation, the verbs are changed to increase the valence in the clauses.

In brief, the specific features of the types of plurality have been examined with data from Afaan Oromoo. The two morphological markers of pluractionality are reduplication and causativisation. However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the markers and the types of pluractionality as reduplication applies to iterative, distributive and frequentative. This implies that pluractionality is a universal semantic feature, but it is structurally denoted by inconsistent linguistic features.

Abbreviations

3FS	third person feminine singular
3PL	third person plural
ABL	ablative
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
COP	copula
DIM	diminutive
FOC	focus
FS	feminine singular
IMPF	imperfective
INC	inchoative
INTR	intransitive
LOC	locative
MS	masculine singular
NOM	nominative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
RDP	reduplication
SG	singulative
V	vowel
VP	verb phrase

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