The tense-aspect system of Basketo [*]

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1 Introduction

This paper deals with the tense-aspect system of Basketo[1], a North Omotic language predominantly spoken in the Basketo Special Woreda in Ethiopia. Basketo belongs to the West Ometo languages, which are a sub-group of the North Omotic branch. According to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission, the number of native speakers of Basketo is estimated at 78,284 (2007 Census). Basketo is one of the least studied languages in Ethiopia. Sottile's PhD dissertation (2002) is the only descriptive grammar of Basketo, but this descriptive analysis fails to note some of the most salient features of the tense-aspect system. Azeb (1996) mainly deals with morphological paradigms for Basketo, compared with some other Ometo languages, not dealing with the tense-aspect system by analysis of the lexical aspect discussed here.

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[1]ISO 639-3 code: bst. The Basketo-speaking area borders on Melo (Ometo) in the North, Dime (South Omotic) and Bodi (Surmic) in the West, Aari (South Omotic) in the South. Basketo has 29 consonants and 10 vowels as follows: /p, t, ts, ʧ, k, ʔ, b, d, ʥ, g, p', ts', ʧ', k', ɓ, ɗ, ɸ, s, ʃ, h, z, ʒ, ɦ, m, n, l, r, w, j; i, e, a, o, u, ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/. For the sake of convenience in this paper, ʧ, ʧ', g, ɸ, ʃ, ʒ, ɾ, j are written as č, č', g, f, š, ž, r, y, respectively.

2   Category of tense and aspect

2.1   Prominence of verbal categories

In general, languages have the verbal categories tense, aspect and mood. Bhat (1999) classified languages typologically into tense-prominent, aspect-prominent and mood-prominent types on the basis of the relative prominence that they give to tense, aspect and mood, respectively. Kannada, which belongs to Dravidian languages, is a tense-prominent language because tense markers (i.e. past / non-past) are more grammaticalized than aspect and mood markers. Koromfe, belonging the Gur family of Niger-Congo, is an aspect-prominent language, having a major aspectual division among its verbal forms between perfective and imperfective. Burmese is a mood-prominent language: the realis particle can only be used in sentences that have present and past time reference, irrealis particle can be used not only in contexts with future time reference, but also in contexts with present time reference, provided there is modal value to the particle as shown by example (1).

(1) mà   sà-hpù-me   htiñ-te
    tamarind eat-ever-IRR think-RLS
    'I think he must have eaten tamarinds before.'

(Okell 1969: 355)

Table 1 shows the primary opposition in the prominence of these three major verbal categories.

Table 1: Prominence of Verbal Categories

Tense-prominent	Non-past / Past
Aspect-prominent	Imperfective / Perfective
Mood-prominent	Irrealis / Realis

The tense-aspect system of Omotic languages will be discussed in terms of the former two types in the following sections.

2.2 Category of tense

First, tense indicates the temporal location of an event by relating it either with the event of uttering the sentence that denotes the event (called deictic tense), or with some other event (called non-deictic tense)[2]. Second, there can be a three-fold distinction in the case of deictic tense, namely between past, present and future whether the event under consideration occurs before, simultaneously or after the time of uttering the sentence through which the event is described. Finally, a third parameter concerns the relative distance of an event from a given reference point. Tense markers may specify further as to whether it occurs immediately before or after the reference point, or whether the occurrence is farther removed from that point. Distances from the reference point can be specified with temporal adverbials, but in the case of some languages, there are also distinct tense markers which are used for denoting remoteness. The following examples show the proximate-remote distinction in Tulu (a Dravidian language). Table 2 shows the parameters in the expression of tense.

(2)   a. ra:me bat-t-e
          Ram   come-PST.IMD-3MS
          'Ram came (just now).

      b. ra:me bat-tid-e
          Ram   come-PST.REM-3MS
          'Ram came (earlier).'

Bhat (1999: 34)

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[2]Deictic tense uses a deictic event (an event which is connected with the speech act) as the referent point, whereas non-deictic tense uses some other event for that purpose.

Table 2: Parameters of tense

1	Deictic / Non-Deictic
2	Past / Present / Future
3	Recent / Remote

2.3   Category of aspect

Aspect indicates the temporal structure of an event, i.e. the way in which the event occurs in time (on-going, or completed, beginning, continuing or ending, iterative or semelfactive, etc.). The perfective[3] denotes an action or event as one complete entity, whereas the imperfective denotes an action or event with reference to its inner structure, as Comrie (1976: 24) defines it as that aspect which makes "explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within". The former provides a view of the event from outside and hence the boundaries of the event are in its view, whereas the latter provides a view of the event from inside and hence in its view is only the middle portion of the event. Comrie (1976: 25) represents the most typical subdivisions of imperfectivity as in figure 1. Imperfectivity is subdivided into two quite dinstict concepts of habituality and continuousness (i.e. durativity). Moreover, continuousness is subdivided into progressive and non-progressive. Progressive views an action as ongoing at reference time. It applies typically to dynamic predicates and not to stative ones. We would define progressiveness as the combination of continuous meaning and nonstative meaning.

Finally, we discuss the phasal aspect. Habituality concerns the quantificational characteristics of events. Habitual situations are customarily repeated on different occasions, seen as a series of separate occurrences, whereas iterative describes an event consisting of repeated iterations of the same action. As for the

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[3]According to Comrie (1976: 52), the use of the term "perfect" may be restricted to present relevance of a previous event, namely the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation, whereas the term "perfective" may be used exclusively for referring to the aspect.
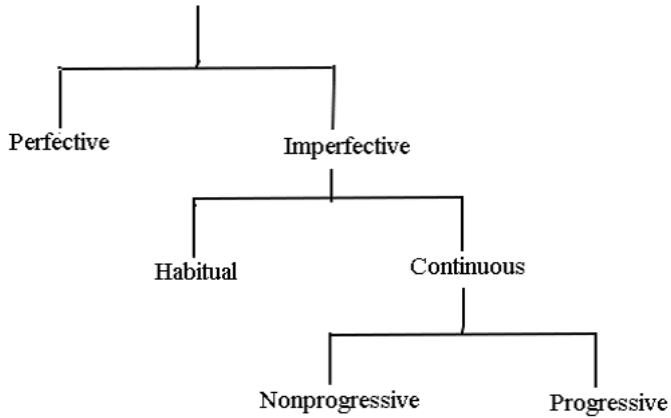
Figure 1: Classification of aspectual oppositions

lexical restrictions, when durative verbs are used with imperfective forms, they provide habitual meanings, whereas when the punctual verbs are used with imperfective forms, they provide iterative meanings. The meaning of iteration is only applicable to active verbs which describe telic events. Morphologically, several languages use reduplication of the verbal base for denoting the iterative meaning. As pointed out by Bybee (1985: 150), iterative morphemes are derivational rather than inflectional[4]. Table 3 shows the parameters in the expression of aspect.

Table 3: Parameters of aspect

1	Perfective / Imperfective
2	Continuous (Progressive / Non-progressive)
3	Frequentative (Habitual / Iterative)

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[4]According to Bybee (1985: 151), Kwakiutl, Nahuatl, Ojibwa, Sierra Miwok and Songhai have reduplication of the verb stem to signal iteration.

2.4 Lexical aspect (Aktionsart)

We investigate inherent aspectual (i.e. semantic aspectual) properties of various classes of lexical items. The temporal structure may be in the situation itself, and may show distinctions such as between events that have, inherently, an ending ("telic") and the ones which do not have any ending ("atelic"), situations which involve change (events) and situations which do not involve any change (states), events which have duration (durative) and events which do not have duration (punctual). We may regard these inherent distinctions in the temporal structure of situation as belonging to a category called "Aktionsart".

It is important for this work to consider the distinction between stative verbs and dynamic (durative and punctual) verbs. First, we focus on the distinction between states and dynamic situations. In general, stative verbs involve no change, whereas dynamic verbs necessarily involve change. Since punctual situations automatically involve a change of state, they become automatically dynamic. However, in stative verbs the start or end of a state appears to be dynamic, since for a state to be started or stopped something must bring about the change into or out of this state. If states can be referred to by forms with perfective meaning, then the form describing the state here refers not to the state, but to its inception or termination. One of the meanings covered by a general perfective is precisely inchoative and terminative meaning. When the perfective occurs with stative verbs, the resulting meaning can refer to the onset of the state (cf. Comire 1976: 48-51, Bybee 1985: 148). Second, we focus on the distinction between durativity and punctuality. A durative situation lasts for a certain period of time, whereas a punctual situation does not last in time. Thus, a punctual situation, by definition, has no internal structure. If a language has separate imperfective forms indicating reference to the internal structure of a situation, then clearly these will be imcompatible with punctuality. Therefore, as mentioned above, imperfective forms of punctual verbs would only have iterative meaning, as in *the students are already reaching the summit* (i.e. some have already reached it, some have not yet reached it, there being several individual acts of reaching the summit).

3 Tense-aspect system of other Omotic languages

3.1 Classification of Omotic languages

The Omotic languages are spoken in southwestern Ethiopia. There are about thirty languages within the Omotic family. Fleming (1976) labeled Hamer-Banna, Karo, Aari and Dime as 'South Omotic' and grouped the remaining languages under 'North Omotic'. North Omotic languages are divided into several subgroups. Fleming's classification represents the relationships in the lower nodes, e.g., the situation within the Ometo languages discussed here. Table 4 shows the classification of Omotic languages, based on Fleming (1976).

Table 4: Classification of Omotic languages, based on Fleming (1976)

South			Hamer-Banna, Karo, Aari, Dime
North	Ometo	South	Maale
		West	Basketo, Doko-Dollo
		East	Haro, Kachama, Koorete, Zayse
		North	Gamo, Gofa, Kullo, Wolaitta
	Others		Yem, Bench
			Shinasha, Anfillo, Kafa
			Nao, Sheko, Dizi

3.2 Previous study

Whether Omotic languages have a tense or aspect marking system or both is not well investigated. Therefore, there is no general consensus on whether tense and aspect are distinct categories in Omotic languages (cf. Azeb 2012: 460). Different scholars have reported different systems of tense-aspect marking even for closely related languages such as the Ometo group[5], to which Basketo belongs.

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[5]According to Azeb (2001: 113) 'For instance, Koyra is reported to have an aspect system (Hayward 1982), whereas Zayse is basically an aspect system but may secondarily be marked for tense dinstinction (Hayward 1990). Gamo and Kullo have a tense system, the former only with past and

This paper explicates the tense-aspect system of Basketo, compared with some other Omotic languages, and attempts to make generalizations from a viewpoint of typological study. In what follows, the different tense-aspect categories of Maale, Haro and Koorete from the Ometo group and Dime from the South Omotic branch will be introduced in detail. The following table 5 shows the different tense-aspect systems of these Omotic languages reported by scholars.

Table 5: Tense-Aspect Systems of Other Omotic Languages

Language	Number	Tense-Aspect System
Maale (Azeb 2001)	3	perfective, present imperfect, future imperfect
Haro (Hirut 2015)	5	present, past, future, present progressive, past progressive
Koorete (Binyam 2010)	7	past perfective, present habitual, past habitual present perfect, past perfect present progressive, past progressive
Dime (Mulugeta 2005)	5	perfective, imperfective, far past, present progressive, past progressive

3.3　Maale

Maale belongs to the South Ometo languages. According to Azeb (2001: 113-126), Maale makes two major aspect distinctions: perfective and imperfective. The perfective is marked by *-e-* and it expresses completed actions / events as shown by example (3).

present distinctions (Hompó 1990), and the latter with present, past and future tense distinctions (Allan 1976). According to Adams (1983: 192) Wolaitta marks both aspect and tense, but "aspect plays a larger role than tense". Verb paradigms of Gofa are given as "tense or aspect" without any further discussion (Moreno 1938: 47)'. See Bender (2000: 26-36) for the comparative study of the tense-aspect systems of Ometo languages.

(3) táání   méyi   woɗ-é-ne
    1SG.NOM grain.ABS kill-PFV-A:DCL
    'I crushed grain.'

<div align="right">(Azeb 2001: 114)</div>

The imperfective distinguishes present imperfective which is marked by *-a*-
and future imperfective which is marked by *-anda*, and contrasts with the per-
fective in denoting situations which are non-completed. The present imperfective
may refer to progressive actions as in (4a); it may also refer to general truth as in
(4b), or to habitual actions as in (4c).

(4)   a. táání   méyi   woɗ-á-ne
         1SG.NOM grain.ABS kill-IPFV-A:DCL
         'I am crushing grain.'

      b. kaní   ʔaʃki   naʃk-á-ne
         dog.NOM meat.ABS like-IPFV-A:DCL
         'Dogs like meat.'

      c. ʔízá   biá kélli gútte   ʔek'k'-á-ne
         3FS.NOM all day morning stand-IPFV-A:DCL
         'Every day she gets up early.'

<div align="right">(Azeb 2001: 114f.)</div>

The past progressive is often expressed by using an imperfective relative clause
construction headed by the nominal *goitsa* 'road, way'.

(5) gúúnn-á   táná ɗay-á   goitsa   work'-é-ne.
    mosquito-NOM 1SG.ABS bite-IPFV.REL road.ABS spend the night-PFV-A:DCL
    'The mosquitos were biting me the whole night.'

<div align="right">(Azeb 2001: 125)</div>

The future imperfective marker *-anda-* is mainly used to express situations which have not been started yet at the moment of speaking, as in the following examples (6a, b). However, she points out the similarity between the present marker *-a-* and future marker *-anda-*. It seems that the future imperfective involves more than one morpheme; *-and-* might be related to the intentional marker *-ani* (cf. Azeb 2001: 115), in which case the future marker would combine imperfectivity with modality. Therefore, the system of this language exhibits the perfective versus imperfective dichotomy.

(6)   a. táání   ʔízá-m   zíró   maɗ-andá-ne
          1SG.NOM 3MS.ABS-DAT tomorrow work-FUT.IPFV-A:DCL
          'I will work for him tomorrow.'

       b. hannó táání   hauʃʃ-andá-ne
          today 1SG.NOM rest-FUT.IPFV-A:DCL
          'Today I will rest.'

                                                        (Azeb 2001: 115)

From a viewpoint of typological studies, stative verbs and dynamic verbs behave differently in the grammar of most languages. However, according to Azeb (2001: 115f.), the semantic distinction of verbs expressing dynamic actions versus states does not affect morphological aspect marking in Maale. Moreover, verbs derived from adjectives occur with the same aspectual markers with which process verbs occur. Verbs such as 'think' and 'like' listed in table 6 below are stative verbs, but they include some living being's action, compared with non-action stative verbs such as 'be' and 'continue'. Therefore, they can be regarded as dynamic verbs. Verbs derived from adjectives are also regarded as dynamic verbs expressing a change of state: 'become new'. In the case of perfective, it seems that it refers to the onset of the state and denotes the inchoative meaning.

Table 7 summarizes the above descriptions. Typologically this language would be classified as aspect-prominent.

Table 6: Examples of stative verbs in Maale

PRS IPFV / PROG	FUT IPFV	PFV	gloss
mal-á-ne	mal-andá-ne	mal-é-ne	'think'
naʃk-á-ne	naʃk-andá-ne	naʃk-é-ne	'like'
ʔakk-áɗ-á-ne	ʔakk-áɗ-andá-ne	ʔakk-áɗ-é-ne	'become new'

Table 7: Tense-Aspect System of Maale

		Perfective	Imperfective
Simple		PST	PRS (PROG, HAB / (FUT))
		-e-	-a- / (-anda-)
Complex		-	PROG PST
		-	[Verb-IPFV REL goitsa] Verb

3.4 Haro

Haro belongs to the East Ometo languages. According to Hirut (2015), Haro makes a tripartite distinction between the present, past, and future tense[6]. The present and past tenses can be further combined with progressive and non-progressive aspects. The present tense is identified by lack of any tense element, expressing habitual events, as shown in example (7).

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[6]According to Hirut (2015), the tense-aspect system is partly determined by the focal system in Haro, with simple (non-focal) and complex (focal) verbs that show different patterns. The focused constituent is marked with the suffix *-kko*. Complex verbs are not inflected for tense; rather, they make a two-way aspectual distinction between the imperfective and perfective. Since their main function is to express pragmatic prominence on the action itself, the crucial information is whether the action has been completed or is ongoing. The suffixes *-dd-* and *-n-* are used to mark perfective and imperfective aspects, respectively. This indicates that the complex verbs which are used when the verb is focused, represent the archaic form of the verb. However, the complex verb system does not function as a tense-aspect system synchronically.

(7) Ɂassí   k'amá   Ɂé-geh-e
     man.NOM night.ABS 3MS-sleep-A:DCL
     'Man (human being) sleeps at night.'

(Hirut 2015: 112)

The past tense is expressed with *-in-*, and narrates an event carried out in the remote past (8) or the recent past (9) without either the additional morphological marker or temporal adverbial.

(8) Ɂóyddu Ɂassá-z-i   taná-ra   tá-maččó-ra tá-ballá-ra   Ɂé-bíššó-ra
     four   person-DEF-NOM 1SG.ABS-COM 1SG-wife-COM 1SG-father-COM 3MS-girl-COM
     Ɂogé-kko nú-hang-ín-e
     road-FOC   1PL-go-PST-A:DCL
     'Four people-my wife, my father and his dauther and I -went on a trip.'

(9) Ɂés-í   deyší-kko Ɂé-šuk-ín-e
     3MS.NOM goat-FOC   3MS-slaughter-PST-A:DCL
     'He just slaughtered the goat.'

(Hirut 2015: 112)

A temporal adverbial optionally accompanies a past tense verb, as shown in example (10).

(10) Ɂadé-z-i   zíne   míč'-o   bóra   Ɂé-mud-ín-e
     man-DEF-NOM yesterday burn-NMZ bread.ABS 3MS-eat-PST-A:DCL
     'The man ate burned bread yesterday.'

(Hirut 2015: 113)

Haro has four future tense markers correlated with modality. One of them, the suffix *-or-*, occurs in declarative sentences, and strictly speaking, is non-modal. It occurs preceding the affirmative declarative marker, as shown in example (11).

(11) nún-í   gúta   arbamínč' nú-hang-ór-e
  1PL-NOM tomorrow Arbaminch 1PL-go-FUT-A:DCL
  'We will go to Arbaminch tomorrow.'

(Hirut 2015: 113)

The progressive is encoded by -*šš*- in both present and past[7]. The progressive marker follows a verb root, preceding any tense marker. The following examples show the present progressive in (12a) and the past progressive in (12b). Thus, the behaviour of the progressive indicates that Haro falls into the tense-prominent class.

(12) a. ʔúsún-í béé-ʔápe   ʔú-háár-šš-e
       3PL-NOM REF-eye.ABS 3PL-rub-PROG-A:DCL
       'They are rubbing their eyes.'

    b. ʔúsún-í béé-ʔápe   ʔú-háár-šš-ín-e
       3PL-NOM REF-eye.ABS 3PL-rub-PROG-PST-A:DCL
       'They were rubbing their eyes.'

(Hirut 2015: 114)

Verbs with frequentative meanings are formed through reduplication. Frequentative (iterative or habitual) verbs are most commonly found in focal constructions, as the notion expressed by the verbs is intensity. They denote an action carried out several times by a singular agent, or one or several times by a plural agent. The following examples show iterative (13a) or habitual actions (13b, c). Table 8 summarizes the above descriptions.

(13) a. ʔés-í   missí-z-a   ʔí-ʔis'-á-kko-ʔé-dd-e
       3MS-NOM tree-M.DEF-ABS RED-cut-INF-FOC-3MS-PFV-A:DCL
       'He has cut the tree into pieces.'

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[7]Hirut (2015) does not refer to whether Haro has the progressive future form or not.

b. ʔés-í   ʔólo ʔoh-é   há-hásaʔ-á-kko-ʔé-dd-e.

   3MS-NOM old   tell-NMZ RED-speak-INF-FOC-3MS-PFV-A:DCL

   'He has told the old story repeatedly.'

c. ʔassí-iɗé-z-í   ʔólo ʔohé   há-hásaʔ-á-kko-ʔé-dd-e.

   man-PL-M.DEF-NOM old   tell-NMZ RED-speak-INF-FOC-3MS-PFV-A:DCL

   'The men have told the old story repeatedly. / The men (each of them)

   have told the old story.'

Table 8: Tense-Aspect System of Haro

	PST	PRS	FUT
Simple	PST(REM / REC)	PRS (HAB)	FUT
	-in-	-Ø-	-or-
Complex	PROG PST	PROG PRS	PROG FUT
	-šš-in-	-šš-Ø-	?
Phasal	ITER / HAB	ITER / HAB	ITER / HAB
	RED	-	-

3.5   Koorete

Koorete, which belongs to the East Ometo languages, morphologically marks both aspect and tense. According to Binyam (2008), the language has four grammatical aspects: perfective, imperfective, perfect and progressive; and two tenses: past and present. The aspect and tense morphemes are added either to a simple- or complex-verb form (a main verb and an auxiliary), resulting in seven different kinds of aspect / tense categories. The combinations are past perfective, present perfect, past perfect, present progressive, past progressive, present habitual and past habitual. Four different morphologically distinct aspects have been identified. Primarily, a distinction is made between the perfective aspect -d and the imperfective aspect -g. Then, there is an aspectual division between the perfect

aspect *-i* and the progressive aspect *-iya-*. With respect to tense, the present tense is shown by one morpheme: *-e*, two different morphemes have been identified that mark the past tense: *-o* and *-tsha*. The former always occurs in a main verb. The latter, however, appears both in a main verb and an auxiliary. When *-tsha* is added to a main verb, it is always in the imperfective aspect.

The past perfective is expressed with perfective *-d* and past *-o*. The suffix *-d* is added immediately following the verb root and the past suffix *-o* appears next to it.

(14) is-i   zawa woon-d-o
      3MS-NOM house buy-PFV-PST
      'He bought a house.'

(Binyam 2008: 84)

The present imperfective is expressed with imperfective *-g* and present *-e*. In example (15a), there is no overtly realized morpheme that appears in the verb to mark the aspect[8]. Binyam regards the simple verb form with imperfective *-g* as habitual aspect: present habitual and past habitual. First, the present habitual is used to express a habitual action with aspectual adverbial *ketiya ketiyako* 'every morning' in example (15a), but to express an event or action that is happening in the present or future in example (15b) . It seems that the present imperfective expresses a simple present / future tense. Second, the past habitual verb form in Koorete includes the imperfective *-g* (if the verb takes one) and past *-tsha* as shown by example (16a).

(15)   a. ketiya   ketiya-ko   ta wos'-e
          morning morning-AFOC:DCL 1SG run-PRS
          'I run every morning.'

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[8]Historically, it could be the case that *-g* used to be a widely employed imperfective marker, occurring in more environments than it does presently. Yet, synchronically, it appears only in some verbs.

    b. doro   woom-a-ko   ta woon-g-e
       sheep buy-DEP-AFOC:DCL 1SG buy-IPFV-PRS
       'I (will) buy sheep.'

<div align="right">(Binyam 2008: 102)</div>

(16) a. doro e   woon-g-i-tsha
       sheep 3MS buy-IPFV-EPN-PST
       'He used to buy sheep.'

    b. abeto-i   k'idame k'idame-ko   daana ush-i-tsha
       Abeto-NOM Saturday Saturday-AFOC:DCL beer   drink-EPN-PST
       'Abeto used to drink beer every Saturday.'

<div align="right">(Binyam 2008: 105)</div>

As for complex verb forms, which are made up of a main verb and an existential auxiliary, the primary and secondary aspect morphemes occur in the main verb and the tense marker is always added to the auxiliary. Koorete makes two types of complex verb forms: perfect and progressive. In the present perfect, the main verb takes two aspect markers: perfective *-d* and perfect *-i*, and the auxiliary verb *yes-* 'exist' added by present *-e* as shown by example (17). In the past perfect, the auxiliary *yes-* 'exist' takes the past suffix *-tsha* instead of the present suffix *-e* as shown by example (18).

(17) doro woon-d-i-ko   ta   yes-e
    sheep buy-PFV-PRF-AFOC:DCL 1SG exist-PRS
    'I have bought sheep.'

<div align="right">(Binyam 2008: 94)</div>

(18) doro woon-d-i-ko   ta   ye-tsha
    sheep buy-PFV-PRF-AFOC:DCL 1SG exist-PST
    'I had bought sheep.'

<div align="right">(Binyam 2008: 95)</div>

In order to express the progressive, a main verb takes the progressive aspect marker and the auxiliary verb *yes-* 'exist'. The progressive suffix *-iya* is added following the imperfective *-g*. The auxiliary takes the present suffix *-e* or the past suffix *-tsha* as shown by example (19), respectively.

(19)   a. doro woon-g-iya-ko   ta   yes-e
               sheep buy-IPFV-PROG-AFOC:DCL 1SG exist-PRS
               'I am buying sheep.'

       b. doro woon-g-iya-ko   ta   ye-tsha
               sheep buy-IPFV-PROG-AFOC:DCL 1SG exist-PST
               'I was buying sheep.'

                                                                    (Binyam 2008: 97)

The following table 9 summarized the above description. Koorete seems to be an aspect-prominent language.

Table 9: Tense-Aspect System of Koorete

	Perfective		Imperfective	
	PST PFV		PRS HAB	PST HAB
Simple	-d-o		(-g)-e	(-g)-tsha
	PRS PRF	PST PRF	PRS PROG	PST PROG
Complex	-d-i yes-e	-d-i ye-tsha	(-g)-iya ye-tsha	(-g)-iya yes-e

3.6   Dime

Dime, which belongs to the South-Omotic branch of the Omotic languages, makes two major aspect distinctions: perfective and imperfective. The perfective is marked by *-i-*. The perfective aspect indicates past with temporal adverbial *ʔínt́ sutsó* 'this morning' as shown by example (20a) or without temporal adverbial as shown by example (20b).

(20)   a. nú ʔíní sutsó   ʔád-i-n
           3MS today morning come-PFV-3
           'He came this morning.'

        b. ʔaté bay-is-im   bós-i-t
           1SG food-DEF-ACC finish-PFV-1
           'I finished the food.'

                                              (Mulugeta 2005: 127)

On the other hand, the imperfective is marked by *-déé-*. The suffix *-déé-* seems to have originated from the existential verb *deen*. The imperfective aspect indicates habitual with aspectual adverbial *bindí* 'always' as shown by example (21a), and present or future as shown by example (21b).

(21)   a. ná bindí   náʁ-ó   t'úl-déé-n
           3FS always river-in swim-IPFV-3
           'She always swims in the river.'

        b. ʔaté náʁ-ó   túl-déé-t
           1SG river-in swim-IPFV-1
           'I (will) swim in a river.'

                                              (Mulugeta 2005: 125)

In order to express the progressive, Dime uses partial or full reduplication of the verb stem and imperfective *-déé-*[9]. The morpheme *-ka* is added in the case of expressing the past progressive. The present progressive is in examples (22a, b) and the past progressive in example (22c).

(22)   a. kété ʔéh-ó   tíng-tíng-déé-n
           3PL house-LOC RED-go-IPFV-3
           'They are going home.'

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[9]According to Bybee and al.(1994: 128), Gugu-Yalanji, Motu, Nakanai and Pangansian also use reduplication for expressing the progressive.

    b. ná lá-láχt'-éé-n
       3FS RED-die-IPFV-3
       'She is dying.'

    c. ʔaté t'úl-t'úl-déé-n-ká
       1SG   RED-swim-IPFV-1-PST
       'I was swimming.'

(Mulugeta 2005: 126f.)

The remote past is also expressed by reduplication of the verb stem and perfective suffix -*i*. The remoteness distinction is grammaticalized in this language.

(23)   a. ʔaté náʁ-ís-ó   t'úl-t'úl-i-t
         1SG   river-DEF-LOC RED-swim-PFV-1
         'I swam in the river (a long time ago).'

      b. nú ʔád-ʔád-i-n
         3MS RED-come-PFV-3
         'He came long ago.'

(Mulugeta 2005: 128)

Table 10 shows the tense-aspect system of Dime with its two progressive categories. This language appears to be an aspect-prominent language unlike Haro, though having the remoteness distinction.

Table 10: Tense-Aspect System of Dime

	Perfective	Imperfective	
Simple	PST	PRS / FUT	
	-i-	-déé-	
Complex	REM PST	PROG PRS	PROG PST
	RED-i	RED-déé	RED-déé-ka

3.7　Summary

So far we have treated the different tense-aspect systems of four Omotic languages. Typologically, Maale, Koorete and Dime are aspect-prominent languages whereas Haro is a tense-prominent language.

4　Tense-aspect system of Basketo

First, we give a morphological outline of the tense-aspect system of Basketo. Basketo makes two major aspect distinctions: perfective and imperfective. The perfective further distinguishes recent past and past. In the recent past perfective the suffix *-ade* is used for 1SG, 2SG, and 3FS, and *-ide* for 3MS and all plural, and in past perfective the suffix *-ine* is used for all personal endings. In the imperfective (future) the suffix *-are* is used for 1SG, 2SG and 3FS, and *-ire* for 3MS and all plural. In order to express the progressive, Basketo uses a complex-verb form (a main verb and an existential auxiliary). The present progressive is expressed by suffixing *-kedda* (for 1SG, 2SG and 3FS) / *-keddi* (for 3MS and all plural) to the verbal noun in *-i* with the present auxiliary verb *woɗe* 'exist'. On the other hand, the past progressive is expressed by imperfective *-ardon* (for 1SG, 2SG and 3FS) / *-irdon* (for 3MS and all plural) and the past auxiliary verb *attine* 'exist'. Only these two verbal forms, *woɗe* and *attine*, show tense in Basketo. The following table 11 summarizes the above description.

Table 11: Tense-Aspect System of Basketo

	Perfective		Imperfective	
Simple	REC PST	PST	FUT / PRS	
	-ade / -ide	-ine	-are / -ire	
Complex	-		PRS PROG	PST PROG
	-		-kedda / -keddi woɗe	-ardon / -irdon attine

In the typological classification Basketo seems to be an aspect-prominent lan-

guage like Maale, Koorete and Dime. In what follows, adding the viewpoint of
lexical aspect (stative, durative and punctual), the tense-aspect system of Basketo
will be discussed in detail.

4.1　Perfective

　　The perfective in Basketo comprises two morphological forms, expressing re-
cent past and past meaning. First, the recent past perfective, referring to a time
immediately before utterance time, is marked by suffix *-ade* / *-ide*, with the as-
pectual adverbial *ɓatar* 'just now' optionally, as shown by (24) of a durative verb
and (25) of a punctual verb.

(24)　ta　　　ɓatar　　arba minč'-itti　yey-ade.
　　　1SG.NOM just now Arba Minch-LOC come-PFV
　　　'I[10] have just come to Arba Minch.'

(25)　ta　　　ɓatar　　biinn-i　　　woɗ-ade.
　　　1SG.NOM just now mosquito-ACC kill-PFV
　　　I have just killed the mosquito.

　　Second, the past perfective is marked by suffix *-ine*. The temporal adverbials,
zinaabo 'yesterday' or *taɓɓi laytsappo tiini* 'ten years ago' in the following exam-
ples, provide an additional parameter of remoteness for past tense. The examples
(26a, b) show the perfective of the durative verb and the examples (27a, b), that
of punctual verbs, respectively.

(26)　a. ta　　　zinaabo arba minč'-itti　yey-ine
　　　　　1SG.NOM yesterday Arba Minch-LOC come-PFV
　　　　　'I came to Arba Minch yesterday.'

　　　b. taɓɓi laytsa-ppo tiini　taani　arba minč'-itti　yey-ine.
　　　　　ten years-ABL　　before 1SG.NOM Arba Minch-LOC come-PFV
　　　　　'I came to Arba Minch ten years ago.'

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[10]The first person subject pronoun in Basketo has short *ta* and long *taani* forms. Similar pronoun
paradigms are found in Ometo languages, including Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa, and Dawro, as well as in
Bench (cf. Azeb 2012: 471). The short form is the same as the possessive form, which is morpholog-
ically the simplest form. The long form shows the morpheme *-i* parallel to nouns.

(27)　a. ta　　　　biinn-i　　　　woɗ-ine.
　　　　　　1SG.NOM mosquito-ACC kill-PFV
　　　　　　'I killed the mosquito.'

　　　　b. mabrat-i zinaabo　foʔ-ine.
　　　　　　light-NOM yesterday go on-PFV
　　　　　　'The light went on yesterday.'

On the other hand, the expression of perfective in the stative verb is rather diffrent from that of the dynamic verb. At a glance both suffixes (-*ide* / -*ade* and -*ine*) seem to be used in same situation, as shown by example (28). However, the recent past perfective form is selected in example (29).

(28) naʔin-da　　fe indo　　　mayts'-ine / ade.
　　　girl-DEF.NOM REF mother.ABS resemble-PFV
　　　'The girl resembles her mother.'

(29) ta　　　　fia　šaaya giddi sukkar-i　miš-in,　　malʔ-ide.
　　　1SG.NOM this tea　in　　sugar-ACC take-CVB.DS become sweet-PFV
　　　'When I put sugar into this tea, it became sweet.'

In general, when the perfective occurs with a stative verb, the resulting meaning refers to the onset of the state. The situation expressed by the recent past perfective here is the state's inception as discussed before. The verb form *malʔ-ide* 'became sweet' seems to be regarded as change of state, namely a dynamic action. The previous example (28) also indicates the inchoative meaning with -*ade*.

On the other hand, the past perfective -*ine* is used for denoting the result state. Compared with the adjective predicate, denoting generic attributes of nouns, in example (30a), example (30b) having the specific meaning, indicates the situation resulting from the change of state. Here *malʔ* is an adjectival root denoting the property of being sweet as in *malʔi buna* 'sweet coffee'.

(30)　a. sukkara malʔ-e.
　　　　　sugar.ABS sweet-A:DCL
　　　　　'Sugar is sweet.'

b. buna-d-i   malʔ-ine.
   coffee-DEF-NOM become sweet-PFV
   'The coffee became sweet.'

As in (27) the past perfective can be also used with a past temporal adverbial
as *zinaabo* 'yesterday' in (31). Consequently, the past perfective *-ine* indicates a
situation resulting from a change of state irrespective of the remoteness of tense.

(31) ta   zinaabo ušk-ino   šaaya-di   malʔ-ine.
     1SG.NOM yesterday drink-REL.PFV tea-DEF.NOM become sweet-PFV
     'The tea that I drank yesterday was sweet.'(i.e. it had become sweet)

A state is a situation without change, without an inherent end. The combi-
nation of stative verb and perfective aspect then cannot refer to the state, but to
its inception or termination. In Basketo, when the perfective occurs with stative
verbs, the resulting meaning can refer to the onset or the result of the state. Se-
mantically, stative and perfective are incompatible.

These can be summarized as follows. The unmarked perfective form is ex-
pressed by *-ine* in all dynamic situations, whereas the marked situation which
indicates the recent past of a dynamic verb can be expressed by *-ade / -ide* but not
necessarily. Basketo speakers always seem to select the *-ine* form as the default
and use the *-ade / -ide* form alternatively with a more restricted meaning[11]. On
the other hand, morphologically perfective forms of stative verbs have inceptive
or terminative meaning.

4.2   Imperfective

The imperfective is marked by suffix *-are / -ire*. The imperfective forms of
dynamic verbs (durative and punctual) express the future or habitual, as shown by
example (32a, b), respectively.

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[11]It may be possible that *-ade / -ide* is interpreted as 'perfect' which indicates the continuing present
relevance of a past situation. We also need to discuss the focal system like Haro. That will probably
need more research in the future too.

(32) a. taani   giabo   timirtaal lukk-are.
         1SG.NOM tomorrow school   go-IPFV
         'I will go to school tomorrow.'

      b. taani   woytso galas geeši   ts'oos-i geš-are.
         1SG.NOM every   day   morning God   pray-IPFV
         'I pray to God every morning.'

The temporal adverbials, *fiat* 'now' and *omatts* 'tonight' in the following ex-
amples provide an additional parameter of remoteness for future tense. Example
(33a) shows the recent future and example (33b), the future, respectively.

(33) a. taani   fiat timirtaal lukk-are.
         1SG.NOM now school   go-IPFV
         'I am about to go to school now.'

      b. mabrat-i omatts foʔ-ire.
         light-NOM tonight go on-IPFV
         'The lights will go on tonight.'

On the other hand, the imperfective forms of stative verbs express the present
as shown in the following examples (34).

(34) a. fia goitsa-d-i   Baskeet yelts k'atts'al-ire
         this road-DEF-NOM Basketo till   continue-IPFV
         'This road continues to Basketo.'

      b. taani   fiat barsint-are.
         1SG.NOM now be thirsty-IPFV
         'I am thirsty.'

      c. taani   yetts   dos-are.
         1SG.NOM song.ABS like-IPFV
         'I like song.'

The following example (35) may be regarded as the inchoative meaning of
dynamic as discussed before, though expressing subjunctive mood by using the
imperfective.

(35) sukkar gužži-ko, bun-i   malʔ-ire.

     sugar   put-COND coffee-NOM become sweet-IPFV

     Coffee becomes sweet if you add sugar.

The following is a summary of the above. The imperfective forms of dynamic verbs (durative and punctual) express the future or habitual, and that of stative verbs the present. In dynamic verbs there may be a correlation between imperfective, future and irrealis in the sense that imperfective aspect tends to be associated with future and irrealis events.

4.3 Progressive

Progressive views an action as ongoing at reference time. It applies typically to dynamic predicates and not to stative ones, as discussed before. In order to express the progressive, Basketo uses complex verb forms made up of a main verb and an existential auxiliary. The aspect marker occurs in the main verb and the tense marker is added in the auxiliary like Koorete. The present progressive is composed of the verbal noun (in *-i*) with the suffix *-kedda / -keddi* and the present auxiliary verb *woɗe* 'exist'. The example (36) shows the present progressive of a durative verb.

(36) ta   fiat uuf-i   muyi-kedda   woɗe.

     1SG.NOM now injera-ACC eating-while.1SG exist.PRS

     'I am eating injera now.'

On the other hand, when punctual verbs are used with imperfective forms, they provide iterative meanings, because a punctual situation, by definition, has no internal structure. Thus the present progressive of a punctual verb needs the repetition of action. Usually either subject or object of the verb will be plural, as in (37) and (38), respectively.

(37) keets-antsi giddi foʔ-antsi   kačkač   foʔi-keddi   woɗe.

     house-PL   in   light-PL.NOM gradually going on-while exist.PRS

     'The lights in the houses are gradually going on.'

(38) ta   biinn-antsi   woɗi-kedda   woɗe.
     1SG.NOM mosquito-PL killing-while.1SG exist.PRS
     'I am killing mosquitoes.'

The past progressive is expressed by imperfective *-ardon / -irdon* and the past auxiliary verb *attine* 'exist'. The examples (39-40) show the past progressive of a durative verb.

(39) taani   uuf-i   zinaabo k'am muy-ardon attine.
     1SG.NOM injera-ACC last night   eat-1SG.IPFV exist.PST
     'I was eating injera last night'

(40) iyi   taabo wunkr-azim-bara   taani uuf   muy-ardon attine.
     3MS.NOM 1SG.DAT phone-REL.IPFV-INSTR 1SG   injera eat-1SG.IPFV exist.PST
     When he phoned me, I was eating injera.

The following examples (41-42) are an alternative expression of past progressive, here the present progressive structure is altered by making the existential verb *woɗe* past progressive[12].

(41) taani   zinaabo dabdabb-i ts'aafi-kedda   woɗ-idon attine.
     1SG.NOM yesterday letter-ACC writing-while.1SG exist-IPFV exist.PST
     'I was writing the letter yesterday.'

(42) iyi   taabo wunkr-azim-bara   taani   uuf
     3MS.NOM 1SG.DAT phone-IPFV.REL-INSTR 1SG.NOM injera
     muyi-kedda   woɗ-idon attine.
     eating-while.1SG exist-IPFV exist.PST
     'When he phoned me, I was eating injera.'

The past progressive of punctual verbs has an interesting additional interpretation as well as the expected iterative meaning. In the following example (43), use of imperfective form *-irdon* implies that the action of the punctual verb *foʔ-ire*

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[12]The progressive suffix *-idon* is an allomorph of *-ardon / -irdon*.

'go on' did not complete. The meaning of the sentence becomes 'The light didn't go on yesterday' (with the implication that it was expected to). Since explicit plural marking is optional in Basketo, an iterative interpretation 'The light**s** went on yesterday' is also possible.

(43) mabrat-i   zinaabo   foʔ-irdon attine.
    light-NOM yesterday go on-IPFV exist.PST
    'The light didn't go on yesterday.'

Thus the past progressive of a punctual verb also needs repetition of action, namely plurality of subject or object nouns like present progressive as shown by (44).

(44) ta   biinn-antsi   woɗ-ardon attine.
    1SG.NOM mosquito-PL.ACC kill-IPFV   exist.PST
    'I was killing the mosquitoes.'

4.4   Habitual and iterative

Basketo has no morphological strategies for expressing habitual meaning. Therefore, aspectual adverbials may indicate habituality. The following examples show the habitual aspect with aspectual adverbials *woytso* 'always' or *woytso galas* 'every day' in imperfective (45) and progressive imperfective (46-47).

(45) ta   woytso uuf   muy-are.
    1SG.NOM always injera eat-IPFV
    'I always eat injera.'

(46) astamar-i   woytso galas timirtaal-i tamarisi-keddi   woɗe.
    teacher-NOM every   day   school-LOC teaching-while.3MS exist.PRS
    The teacher is teaching in school every day.

(47) ta   baab-i   woytso galas dampi   ušk-irdon attine.
    1SG.POSS father-NOM every   day   water pipe drink-IPFV exist.PST
    'My father was smoking the water pipe every day.'

Iterative meaning with a punctual verb can be expressed using progressive morphology, as noted above. An alternative way of expressing iterativity, again only for punctual verbs, is with the suffix -*iritts*, as shown by examples (48-49).

(48) ta   sola-d-ani   bukk-iritts-ine.
     1SG.NOM thief-DEF-ACC hit-ITER-PFV
     'I hit the thief repeatedly.'

(49) ta   iit   warak'ata-d-ani dars-iritts-ine.
     1SG.NOM bad paper-DEF-ACC   break-ITER-PFV
     'I tore the damaged paper repeatedly.'

In the durative verb, on the other hand, an aspectual adverbial or reduplication of verb stem are used instead of the suffix -*iritts* in the punctual verb. The following examples show iterative meanings with aspectual adverbial *lawlaw* 'often'.

(50) taani   iy-ani   lawlaw bekk'-ine.
     1SG.NOM 3MS-ACC often   see-PFV
     'I often saw him.'

(51) taana-na milla   ušš-iza-bo   ta lawlaw šeeš aal lukk-ine.
     1SG-ACC belly.ABS hurt-REL.PFV-DAT 1SG often   toilet go-PFV
     'I often went to the toilet because my belly hurt me.'

Basketo can also use full reduplication of verb stem in some durative verbs, as shown by (52). This example expresses both an iterative meaning by *uš-ušk-ire* 'drink and drink' and a habitual one by *woytso galas* 'every day'.

(52) uššanč-i   woytso galas k'am k'am   uš-ušk-ire.
     drunken man-NOM every   day   night after night drink-drink-IPFV
     'The drunks drink and drink every night.'

5   Conclusion

In this paper we investigated the tense-aspect system of Basketo, compared with some other Omotic languages. From a typological viewpoint, Basketo seems

to be an aspect-prominent language, making two major aspect distinctions: perfective and imperfective. Additionally, Basketo uses a complex-verb form for expressing the progressive. In complex verb forms, the aspect markers appear in the main verb and the tense suffix is added to the auxiliary. The main verb indicates the imperfective, and the existential auxiliary verb indicates the tense like Koorete. The behaviour of the progressive indicates that Basketo falls into the class of aspect-prominent languages.

We referred to inherent aspectual properties of various classes of lexical items, namely the distinction between stative and dynamic verbs (i.e. durative and punctual). These inherent distinctions in temporal structure, categorised as "Aktionsart", deeply affect the behaviour of tense-aspect markers in languages.

In conclusion, we clarified the following. First, the dynamic verbs (both durative and punctual) maintain the two-aspect distinction, whereas stative verbs are incompatible with perfective meaning. When stative verbs use perfective forms, they provide the inchoative or the result state. In this case stative verbs may be regarded as dynamic verbs.

Second, the progressive of durative verbs indicates on-going action, whereas that of punctual verbs provides iterative meanings, because the punctual situation, by definition, has no internal structure. Progressive punctual verbs need the repetition of action and so typically associate with plurality of their subject or object nouns.

Finally, as for the phasal aspect, Basketo has no morphological strategies for expressing the habitual meaning. Therefore, aspectual adverbials may indicate habituality. On the other hand, the iterative aspect is expressed by the suffix *-iritts* in the punctual verb, whereas aspectual adverbials or reduplication of a verb stem are used in the durative verb. The following table 12 summarizes the above conclusion.

Table 12: Simple / Complex / Phasal aspect

Tense / Aspect	Form	Stative	Durative	Punctual
Simple (Perfective)				
REC PST	-ade / -ide	− (INCH)	+	+
PST	-ine	− (RES)	+	+
Simple (Imperfective)				
PRS/FUT	-are / -ire	+ (PRS)	+ (FUT)	+ (FUT)
Complex (Imperfective)				
PRS PROG	kedda / keddi woɗe	−	+	+ (REP)
PST PROG	ardon / irdon attine	−	+	+ (REP)
Phasal (Imperfective)				
HAB	Ø	−	ADV	ADV
ITER	iritts	−	RED / ADV	+

Abbreviations

1	first person	INCH	inchoative
3	third person	INF	infinitive
1SG	first person singular	INSTR	instrumental
1PL	first person plural	IPFV	imperfective
3FS	third person feminine singular	ITER	iterative
3MS	third person masculine singular	IRR	irrealis
3PL	third person plural	LOC	locative
A:DCL	affirmative declarative	M	masculine
ABL	ablative	NMZ	nominalizer
ABS	absolutive	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative	PFV	perfective
ADV	adverb	PL	plural
AFOC:DCL	assertive focus in declarative	POSS	possessive
COM	comitative	PRF	perfect
COND	conditional	PROG	progressive
CVB	converb	PRS	present
DAT	dative	PST	past
DEF	definite	REC	recent
DEP	dependent	RED	reduplication
DS	different-subject	REF	reflexive
EPN	epenthetic	REL	relative
F	Feminine	REM	remote
FOC	focus	REP	repetition
FUT	future	RLS	realis
HAB	habitual	SBJV	subjunctive
IMD	immediate		

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バスケト語のテンス・アスペクト体系

乾　秀行

　本研究はバスケト語のテンス・アスペクト体系を近隣のオモ系諸語と比較しながら、語彙アスペクトの違いを考慮して、類型論的観点から明らかにすることを目的とする。

　バスケト語は類型論的には未完了 (imperfetive :-*are* / -*ire*) と完了（perfective :-*ine*) が対立するアスペクト優位言語と思われる。進行形（progressive）は主動詞の未完了の形を基にして、現在と過去を表す存在動詞を付ける複合時制で表される。

　ところで異なる時間構造を持つ語彙アスペクト（アクチオンツアルト）がテンス・アスペクト体系に深く影響することはよく知られている事実である。そこで状態動詞、継続動詞、瞬間動詞に分けて、バスケト語の上記の形態がどのように現れるかを考察した。その結果以下のことが明らかになった。

1. 動作動詞（継続動詞と瞬間動詞）は未完了と完了の対立が維持され、未完了で未来、完了で過去を意味する。一方、状態動詞は完了と両立せず、もし完了で使われた場合には起動あるいは結果の意味を持ち、動作動詞として解釈され、未完了では現在の意味を表す。

2. 継続動詞の進行形が動作の進行を表すのに対して、瞬間動詞では、定義上動作の内部構造を持たないため、動作の反復として解釈され、文において通常主語や目的語の複数性を要求する。

3. 習慣および反復に関して、バスケト語は習慣を表す形態的な区別を持っていないので、副詞を用いて表す。一方、反復動作は瞬間動詞が形態的な手段（-*iritts*）を持っているのに対して、継続相では副詞か動詞語根の重複を用いる。

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