
The Structure of two Declarative Verb Forms in Bayso

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Abstract

This article analyses the declarative verb forms in one of the typologically important but not yet fairly described Cushitic language under Omo-Tana group named Bayso. The main objective of the study is to investigate the internal structure of the verbal inflections employing Basic Linguistic Theory. The data elicited from the native speakers of the language is cross checked against the secondary data on the language. As to the analysis made the verbs in the declarative mood are found to have two main forms operationally referred to as simple and complex verbs. The verbs *gir-* ‘exist’, *ʔab-*, ‘posses’, and the grammaticalized verb *leʔ-* ‘become’ are important in forming complex verbs among which the verb *gir-* ‘exist’ is the most important and frequent one. First, second and third persons are distinguished of which first person plural and second person (both singular & plural) are morphologically marked; three gender values: masculine, feminine and neuter of which masculine is unmarked; two tenses: past tense and non-past tense are there in the verbs of the language. Simple verb forms are there only in the past tense, while the complex verbs are both in the past tense and non-past tense. Tense and aspect markers are separately marked in complex verbs but conflate in simple verbs.

Keywords: [simple verb, complex verb, auxiliary verb, main verb, tense/aspect]

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1. Introduction

Bayso, which is also found spelt as Baiso in some literature such as Fleming (1964) and Siebert & Hoft (2001), is the self-name that refers to one of the Cushitic languages and its speakers. The neighboring linguistic communities: Gammo, Guji Oromo, Wolaitta and Gedeo call the Bayso people Giddicho and/or Alkali³. Giddicho is also the official name of the Bayso people and of an Ometo language speaking community known as Harro. The Bayso and the Harro in common dwell in the villages on the Giddicho Island and to the west of Lake Abaya. The population of the Giddicho people (which comprises Bayso and Harro) was reported to be 5,491 in 2005 (CSA 2007). The Bayso people live on fishing, cultivating maize and banana, rearing cattle and goats, and weaving. They also hunt hippos not to eat the meat themselves but to sell it to the Harro people. The elderly members of the community witness that the Bayso people used to rear cattle and goat more abundantly than they are doing now.

Bayso is a lowland East Cushitic language under the Omo-Tana group. Heine (1978) cited in Brenzinger (1999), reports Bayso to be a member of the Northern branch of Omo-Tana which is also called the Sam languages. As cited in the same literature, however, Sasse (1975) says Bayso is under the Western branch of the Omo-Tana group along with Dasenech, Arbore and Elmolo languages. Tosco (2000: 89) in Mous (2012: 346), however, classifies Bayso as the central branch of the Omo-Tana group. And, Hayward (2000: 81) claims that Bayso is geographically isolated ‘but shares features with both eastern and western divisions. Mous (2012:347), however, says ‘the positions of Bayso and Yaaku within Lowland East Cushitic are not clear’ as the data on the languages are limited. According to Hayward (1998) cited in Mous (2002:16) Bayso is among the typologically rare languages.

³ Giddicho means ‘small thing inside the water’ in Gedeo language (Wedekind (p.c) cited in Brenzinger (1999)). Siebert & Hoefft (2001: 13), however, states that the word is derived from Guji-Oromo *gidd-iččo* /inside-singulative/. It is spelt as Gidicco in Corbett & Hayward (1987), Gidicho in Brenzinger (1999), Geditcho in Hirut (2004) and Gedicho in CSA (2007).

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Two Bayso declarative verb forms which are operationally referred to as simple and complex verb forms are distinguished in this study. Hayward (1978: 553) claims that the subject's person, gender and number, along with the verbal feature aspect are marked in the verbs. As to him the first person and the third person masculine subjects are marked only for aspect. Verbs in the second person subjects inflect for person; in third person feminine subject for gender; in first, second and third person plural subjects for plural number in addition to aspect. Hayward's first person plural number marker is argued against by Lemmi (2018:126) to be person marker. The current analysis shows that Lemmi's statement is convincing.

Banti (2001: 22) reports the tense in Omo-Tana, Oromoid, and the West Rift of Southern Cushitic groups as, 'Tense distinctions are expressed by vowel alternations in the endings: *a* or developments if it in the non-past versus a front vowel or a likely development of it in the past (*e, i*, and Somali *ay*)'. Both Hayward (1978) and Lemmi (2018) distinguish three tenses: past tense, present tense and future tense, and two aspects: perfective and imperfective in the language. Comrie (1976) cited in Arin (2003:9) says '... aspect is concerned with the internal temporal constituency of a situation, i.e. situation internal time, while tense is concerned with relating a situation to a time-point, i.e. with situation-external time'. It is found out that these issues have not been fairly treated in the aforementioned Bayso linguistic literature.

Following Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010a, 2010b, 2012), the nominal features (person, gender and number) and the verbal features (tense and aspect) which appear as morphological constituents of the declarative verbs in Bayso are investigated to be easily analysed in line with the two verb forms proposed. Hence, the sections of the article are arranged as follows. Section 2 presents the morphological structure of the simple verbs; section 3 verb structures having the verb *gir-* 'exist' or both *gir-* 'exist' and *leʔ-* 'become' together; section 4 verb structures with the verb root *ʔab-*, 'posses'; and finally, section 5 concludes the analysis. Most of the data are presented either in tables or under data numbers, separately numbered following its own consecutive order.

2. The Inflections in a Simple Verb Form

A Bayso simple verb is with a verb root and the inflections marking person, gender, tense/aspect, and/or focus. The inflections distinguish seven persons (1Sg, 2Sg, 3SgM, 3SgF, 1Pl, 2Pl, 3Pl), three grammatical genders (masculine, feminine, neuter), two tenses (past tense, non-past tense) and two canonical aspects (perfective, imperfective) which appear as shown in the data in Table 1 below.

<i>Person</i>	<i>giris- 'swim'</i>	<i>lagad- 'kill'</i>	<i>sis- 'give'</i>
1Sg	giris-e swim-Pst 'I swam.'	lagad-e kill-Pst 'I killed.'	sis-e give-Pst 'I gave.'
2Sg (M&F)	giris-t-e swim-2-Pst 'You swam.'	lagad-t-e kill-2-Pst 'You killed.'	sis-t-e give-2-Pst 'You gave.'
3Sg M	giris-e swim-Pst 'He swam.'	lagad-e kill-Pst 'He killed.'	sis-e give-Pst 'He gave.'
3Sg F	giris-t-e swim-3F-Pst 'She swam.'	lagad-t-e kill-3F-Pst 'She killed.'	sis-t-e give-3F-Pst 'She gave.'
1Pl	girin-s-e swim-1Pl-Pst 'We swam.'	lagan-d-e kill-1Pl-Pst 'We killed.'	sin-s-e give-1Pl-Pst 'We gave.'
2Pl	giris-t-e-en swim-2-Pst-N 'You(Pl) swam.'	lagad-t-e-en kill-2-Pst-N 'You(Pl) killed.'	sis-t-e-en give-2-Pst-N 'You(Pl) gave.'
3Pl	giris-e-en swim-Pst-N 'They swam.'	lagad-e-en kill-Pst-N 'They killed.'	sis-e-en give-Pst-N 'They gave.'

Table 1: Inflections of simple verbs for person, gender and tense/aspect

Verbs in 1Sg and 3SgM do not mark person and gender of the clause's subject. Second person (2) is marked by the suffix *-t* both in 2Sg & 2Pl, the suffix *-t* in 3SgF marks feminine gender (3F); the suffix *-t* is phonologically assimilated to the preceding segment. Neuter (N) gender in 2Pl & 3Pl is represented by the suffix *-Vn*, where V stands for the segment *e* in past tense

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and *a* in non-past tense (only *-e* is there in Table 1 above as the verbs are in the past-tense). The suffix *-n* which occurs in metathesis (see Lemmi 2018: 56–57) with the last segment of the verbs’ root is person marker (1Pl) not number marker. This claim agrees to Lemmi’s (2018: 127) statement and also to Shimelis’ (2016:121) analysis for Oromo but contradicts with the report by Hayward (1978). Finally, the suffix *-e* is claimed to mark past tense (Pst) and perfective aspect in all the verbs. Tense and aspect conflate⁴ in Bayso simple verb forms similar to the case in Oromo (cf. Shimelis 2016:119). Tense and aspect are independently marked in the complex verbs as detailed in §3 below. For the purpose of treating the issue consistently, therefore, the ultimate vowel in both simple and complex verb forms is glossed as tense marker: *-e* past tense and *-a* non-past tense⁵. Contrary to the analyses by Hayward (1978) and Lemmi (2018) that claim three, only two tenses are recognized.

Hayward (1978: 554) reports the suffix *-wa* at the final position of a verb as in Table 2 below is an auxiliary verb. Lemmi (2018: 138), however, analyses it as focus marker. The latter position is held in this work.

	<i>Non-focused</i>	<i>Focussed</i>
1Sg	lagad-e kill-Pst 'I killed.'	lagad-e-wa kill-Pst-Foc 'I KILLED.'
2Sg (M & F)	lagad-t-e kill-2-Pst 'You killed.'	lagad-t-e-wa kill-2-Pst-Foc 'You KILLED.'
3 Sg M	lagad-e kill-Pst 'He killed.'	lagad-e-wa kill-Pst-Foc 'He KILLED.'
3F	lagad-t-e kill-3F-Pst 'She killed.'	lagad-t-e-wa kill-3F-Pst-Foc 'She KILLED.'

⁴ In the simple verbs of three Bantu languages: Kinyarwanda, Lubukusu and Chichew[^]a, tense and aspect are marked by two distinct forms – tense by a prefix while aspect by a suffix (Jerro 2016).

⁵ The vowel preceding the segment *n* in the suffix *-en* (N), is the result of assimilation to the past tense marker as shown in Table 1 above.

1Pl	lagan-d-e kill-1Pl-Pst 'We killed.'	lagan-d-e-wa kill-1Pl-Pst-Foc 'We KILLED.'
2 Pl	lagad-t-e-en kill-2-Pst-N 'You (Pl) killed.'	lagad-t-e-en-wa kill-2-Pst-N-Foc 'You (Pl) KILLED.'
3 Pl	lagad-e-en kill-Pst-N 'They killed.'	lagad-e-en-wa kill-Pst-N-Foc 'They KILLED.'

Table 2: Inflections of simple verbs for tense/aspect and focus

The structures in the first and the second columns in Table 2 above communicate completed actions took place in the past. Verbs in the first column are not focused while those in the second column (written in capital letters in the gloss) are focused.

In conclusion, verb stem and tense marker suffixes are there in simple verb forms of all subjects. Person is marked in verbs of first person and second person plural subjects; gender in third person singular feminine, in second and third person plural subjects. Number, however, is not marked in the verbs of the language at all. With the exception of the verb *gir-* 'exist' which occurs both in the past tense and non-past tense, simple verb forms are not there in the non-past tense.

The forms which are referred to as *simple imperfect* by Hayward (1978: 561) such as those in (1) below are refuted by native speakers to be unacceptable structures in the language.

(1)

1Sg	duba 'I bake/am baking.'	koraa 'I mount/ am mounting.'
2Sg (M & F)	dubta 'You bake/ are baking.'	koratta 'You mount/ are mounting.'
3SgM	duba	korata

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	‘He bakes/ is baking.’	‘He mounts/ is mounting.’
3SgF	dubta	koratta
	‘She bakes/ is baking.’	‘She mounts/ is mounting.’
1Pl	dubna	koranna
	‘We bake/ are baking.’	‘We mount/ are mounting.’
2Pl	dubtan	korattan
	‘You bake/ are baking.’	‘You mount/ are mounting.’
3Pl	duban	koratan
	‘They bake/ are baking.’	‘They mount/ are mounting.’

Verbs whose root consists of ideophone *ʔam-* ‘say’ is considered as simple verb form in this work. Taking the first root as a radical and the second as a derivational suffix, Hayward (1978: 551), claims the verbs with the form *ʔam-* as they are derived by the process of ‘radical extension’. In his analysis, he does not distinguish the form *ʔam-* in the ideophone verb form from the passive marking suffix *-am*. In contrary, Payne (2006:4) states as, ‘... more recently, linguists are beginning to notice that linguistic signs are arbitrary to a certain extent, but that they are also motivated by factors such as understandability, iconicity (including sound symbolism), and economy’. Specifying this natural feature in human languages to the languages of the Horn, Banti (2001: 26) writes the following.

... words belonging to a special class that indicates movements, sounds, colour effects, and so on, that occur as complements of the verb ‘say’ in Saho-^CAfar and in many other Cushitic, Ethiosemitic, and Omotic languages of the Horn in intransitive verbal phrases. Palmer (1974) described them in an areal perspective calling them ‘complex verbs’....

It is investigated that the verb *ʔam-* ‘to say’ that functions as a main verb like: *ʔam-e* /say-Pst/ ‘I/He said’, *ʔam-t-e* /say-2-Pst/ ‘You said’, *ʔam-t-e* /say-3F-Pst / ‘She said’, *ʔam-n-e* /say-1Pl-Pst / ‘We said’, and so on, can also be combined with other verb root and form an ideophone verb. Most motion verbs in Bayso such as: *buriʔam-* ‘run away’, *liččiʔam-* ‘sink’, *piriʔam-* ‘jump’, *shiriʔam-* ‘escape from hand’, *shurriʔam-* ‘cringe’, *s’iiʔam-* ‘squeak, creak’, *ʔiiʔam-* ‘permit, allow’, and other verbs such as *tolliʔam-* ‘become

inattentive’, *t’ok’k’iʔam-* ‘be tall, be raised’, *dimmiʔam-* ‘fade (color)’, *gač’č’iʔam-* ‘delay’, and *kolkolliʔam-* ‘get hot’ are of this sort. Mous (2012: 382) reports similar case in Alagwa, Iraqw, Somali, and K’abeena.

The basic meaning of the ideophone verb is carried by the root of the first verb and gets completed by the root of the second verb which is *ʔam-*. The root of the first verb does not receive any grammatical marker, only an epenthetic segment *i* occurs following it; while the second root carries person, gender and tense/aspect markers. Consider (2) below.

(2)

1Sg	ličč-ʔam-e sink-say-Pst ‘I sank.’	1Pl	ličč-ʔam-n-e sink-say-1Pl-Pst ‘We sank.’
2Sg (M & F)	ličč-ʔam-t-e sink-say-2-Pst ‘You sank.’	2Pl	ličč-ʔam-t-e-en sink-say-2-Pst-N ‘You(Pl) sank.’
3SgM	ličč-ʔam-e sink-say-Pst ‘He sank.’	3Pl	ličč-ʔam-e-en sink-say-Pst-N ‘They sank.’
3SgF	ličč-ʔam-t-e sink-say-3F-Pst ‘She sank.’		

The ideophone verb paradigm in the non-past tense are analysed as complex verb forms (see §3 below). As stated in the last paragraph, all the verbal inflections occur after the second verb root *ʔam-* ‘say’.

3. Inflections in the Verb Forms with *gir-* ‘exist’ and *leʔ-* ‘become’

A verb form which operationally referred to as a complex verb is an amalgam of a simple verb and one or more exceptional verbs appearing in the form of an auxiliary verb or a clitic. When an exceptional verb is used as an auxiliary verb both the main verb and the auxiliary verb⁶ are full-fledged independent

⁶ Haspelmath (2001:16539) suspects that the reason why auxiliary verbs were not included in the list of word classes is that they were not that important in the grammar of Greek and Latin.

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words, and both of them are with their own verbal inflections like any simple verbs. In the latter case, the main verb drops or changes its grammatical markers, and the auxiliary verb *gir-* ‘exist’ drops its first syllable. Unlike the simple verb forms which are there only in the simple past tense, the complex verb exists both in the past tense and in the non-past tense.

The verb *gir-* ‘exist’ is with multiple functions in Bayso verb forms. It functions as a main verb in the simple verb form (see §3.1), and as an auxiliary verb (see §3.2) and as an enclitic (§3.3) in complex verb forms.

3.1. The Verb *gir-* ‘exist’ as a main verb

When functions as the main verb, the verb *gir-* ‘exist’ distinguish the person and the gender of the clause’s subject, and also marks the tense/aspect of its clause. Consider Table 3 below.

	<i>Past tense</i>	<i>Non-past tense</i>
1Sg	<i>gir-e</i> exist-Pst ‘I existed.’	<i>gir-a</i> exist-NPst ‘I existed.’
2Sg M & F	<i>gir-t-e</i> exist-2-Pst ‘You existed.’	<i>gir-t-a</i> exist-2-NPst ‘You existed.’
3M	<i>gir-e</i> exist-Pst ‘He existed.’	<i>gir-a</i> exist-NPst ‘He existed.’
3F	<i>gir-t-e</i> exist-3F-Pst ‘She existed.’	<i>gir-t-a</i> exist-3F-NPst ‘She existed.’
1Pl	<i>gir-n-e</i> exist-1Pl-Pst ‘We existed.’	<i>gir-n-a</i> exist-1Pl-NPst ‘We existed.’
2Pl	<i>gir-t-e-en</i> exist-2-Pst-N ‘You (Pl) existed.’	<i>gir-t-a-an</i> exist-2-NPst-N ‘You (Pl) existed.’
3Pl	<i>gir-e-en</i> exist-Pst-N ‘They existed.’	<i>gir-a-an</i> exist-NPst-N ‘They existed.’

Table 3: The verb *gir-* ‘exist’ as the main verb

Unlike the case in other verbs (cf. §2 above), *gir-* functions as the main verb in its simple verb form. But no process of metathesis takes place between the final segment of the verb's root (the segment /r/) and the person marking suffix *-n* in 1Pl clause subject's verb.

The negative forms of the verb *gir-* 'exist' are: *lakko gire* 'I did not exist', *lakko girte* 'You did not exist', *lakko gire* 'He did not exist', and so on, in the past; while *lakko gira* 'I do not exist', *lakko girta* 'You do not exist', *lakko gira* 'He does not exist', and so on, in the non-past. This shows that the word *lakko* is added before the main verb *gir-* to form the negative counterpart.

3.2. The Verb *gir-* 'exist' as an Auxiliary Verb

Hayward (1978: 558-562) presents the main and the auxiliary verbs in amalgam, referring to it as 'imperfect present' without recognizing the auxiliary verb *gir-* 'exist' at all. The data in Set I and Set II are copied from Hayward (1978: 560 -561).

(3)

Set I		Set II	
dubaagira	'I am baking'	dubingira	'I am about to bake'
segaagira	'I am telling'	segingira	'I am about to tell'
diaagira	'I am looking'	diingira	'I am about to look'
korataagira	'I am climbing'	koraingira	'I am about to climb'

In this work, however, each form in (3) above is analysed as a complex verb form made up of two verb stems: the main verb and the auxiliary verb *gir-*. Note that all the verbal structures in in (3) are with 1Sg/3SgM clause subjects. While the main verbs in Set 1 carry progressive aspect marking suffix (see Table 4) and those in Set 2 applicative (for detailed discussion of applicative structure in Bayso see Abebe, *forthcoming*) marking suffix (see Table 5); the auxiliary verb *gir-* in both sets carries person, gender and tense markers.

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	<i>Past</i>		<i>Non-past</i>	
1Sg	fel-aa work-Prg 'I was working.'	gir-e exist-Pst	fel-aa work-Prg 'I am/will be working.'	gir-a exist-NPst
2Sg (M & F)	fel-aa work-Prg 'You were working.'	gir-t-e exist-2-Pst	fel-aa work-Prg 'You are/will be working.'	gir-t-a exist-2-NPst
3SgM	fel-aa work-Prg 'He was working.'	gir-e exist-Pst	fel-aa work-Prg 'He is/will be working.'	gir-a exist-NPst
3SgF	fel-aa work-Prg 'She was working.'	gir-t-e exist-3F-Pst	fel-aa work-Prg 'She is/will be working.'	gir-t-a exist-3F-NPst
1Pl	fel-aa work-Prg 'We were working.'	gir-n-e exist-1Pl-Pst	fel-aa work-Prg 'We are/will be working.'	gir-n-a exist-1Pl-NPst
2Pl	fel-aa work-Prg 'You(Pl) were working.'	gir-t-e-en exist-2-Pst-N	fel-aa work-Prg 'You(Pl) are/will be working.'	gir-t-a-an exist-2-NPst-N
3Pl	fel-aa work-Prg 'They were working.'	gir-e-en exist-Pst-N	fel-aa work-Prg 'They are/will be working.'	gir-a-an exist-NPst-N

Table 4: Progressive aspect in the past and non-past tense

	<i>Past</i>		<i>Non-past</i>	
1Sg	dub-in bake-Apl 'I was to bake (sth).'	gir-e exist-Pst	dub-in bake-Apl 'I am to bake (sth).'	gir-a exist-NPst
2Sg (M & F)	dub-in bake-Apl 'You were to bake (sth).'	gir-t-e exist-2-Pst	dub-in bake-Apl 'You are to bake (sth).'	gir-t-a exist-2-NPst
3SgM	dub-in bake-Apl 'He was to bake (sth).'	gir-e exist-Pst	dub-in bake-Apl 'He is to bake (sth).'	gir-a exist-NPst
3SgF	dub-in bake-Apl 'She was to bake (sth).'	gir-t-e exist-3F-Pst	dub-in bake-Apl 'She is to bake (sth).'	gir-t-a exist-3F-NPst
1Pl	dub-in bake-Apl 'We were to bake (sth).'	gir-n-e exist-Pl-Pst	dub-in bake-Apl 'We are to bake (sth).'	gir-n-a exist-Pl-NPst
2Pl	dub-in bake-Apl 'You(Pl) were to bake (sth).'	gir-t-e-en exist-2-Pst-N	dub-in bake-Apl 'You(Pl) are to bake (sth).'	gir-t-a-an exist-2-NPst-N

3Pl	dub-in bake-Apl 'They were to bake (sth).'	gir-e-en exist-Pst-N	dub-in bake-Apl 'They are to bake (sth).'	gir-a-an exist-NPst-N
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Table 5: A main verb with applicative suffix in the past and non-past tenses

As can be seen in the above two tables, tense is marked by the ultimate vowels in 1Sg, 2Sg, 3Sg and 1Pl, and by the vowels preceding the neuter gender marker in 2Pl and 3Pl in the auxiliary verbs.

3.3. The Verb *gir-* ‘exist’ as an Enclitic

In the cliticization process of the auxiliary verb *gir-* ‘exist’ onto the main verb, the ultimate vowel of the main verb and the first syllable of the auxiliary verb (i.e., *gi-*) are dropped as shown in (4) below.

(4)

a)	seet- go 'I have gone (or He has gone.)'	+	gir-a exist-NPst	>	seet-e=r-a go-Prf=Clt-NPst
b)	seet- go 'I go/will go (or He goes/will go.)'	+	gir-a exist-NPst	>	seet-a=r-a go-Impf=Clt-NPst
c)	seet- go 'I/He used to go.'	+	gir-e exist-Pst	>	seet-a=r-e go-Impf=Clt-Pst
d)	seet- go 'I/He went.'	+	gir-e exist-Pst	>	seet-e=r-e go-Prf=Clt-Pst

In (4) above, only the verb forms in 1Sg/3SgM clause subject are presented. Verbs with other clause subjects also follow similar pattern. For instance, consider the complex verb form made up of the main verb *fele* ‘work’ and the auxiliary verb *gir-* ‘exist’ in perfective (Table 6) and imperfective (Table 7) structures.

	Past perfective	Non-past perfective
1Sg	fel-e=r-e work-Prf=Clt-Pst 'I worked.'	fel-e=r-a work-Prf=Clt-Npst 'I have (will have) worked.'
2Sg (M & F)	fel-t-e=r-t-e	fel-t-e=r-t-a

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	work-2-Prf=Clt-2-Pst 'You worked.'	work-2-Prf=Clt-2-Npst 'You have (will have) worked.'
3SgM	fel-e=r-e work-Prf=Clt-Pst 'He worked.'	fel-e=r-a work-Prf=Clt-Npst 'He has (will have) worked.'
3SgF	fel-t-e=r-t-e work-3F-Prf=Clt-3F-Pst 'She worked.'	fel-t-e=r-t-a work-3F-Prf=Clt-3F-Npst 'She has (will have) worked.'
1Pl	fel-n-e=r-n-e work-1Pl-Prf=Clt-1Pl-Pst 'We worked.'	fel-n-e=r-n-a work-1Pl-Prf=Clt-1Pl-Npst 'We have (will have) worked.'
2Pl	fel-t-e=r-t-e-en work-2-Prf=Clt-2-Pst-N 'You(Pl) worked.'	fel-t-e=r-t-e-en work-2-Prf=Clt-2-Npst-N 'You(Pl) have (will have) worked.'
3Pl	fel-e=r-e-en work-Prf=Clt-Pst-N 'They worked.'	fel-e=r-e-en work-Prf=Clt-Npst-N 'They have (will have) worked.'

Table 6: Complex verb form in perfective structure

	Past imperfective	Non-past imperfective
1Sg	fel-a=r-e work-Impf=Clt-Pst 'I used to work.'	fel-a=r-a work-Impf=Clt-Npst 'I work (will work).'
2Sg (M & F)	fel-t-a=r-t-e work-2-Impf=Clt-2-Pst 'You used to work.'	fel-t-a=r-t-a work-2-Impf=Clt-2-Npst 'You work (will work).'
3SgM	fel-a=r-e work-Impf=Clt-Pst 'He used to work.'	fel-a=r-a work-Impf=Clt-Npst 'He works (will work).'
3SgF	fel-t-a=r-t-e work-3F-Impf=Clt-3F-Pst 'She used to work.'	fel-t-a=r-t-a work-3F-Impf=Clt-3F-Npst 'She works (will work).'
1Pl	fel-n-a=r-n-e work-1Pl-Impf=Clt-1Pl-Pst 'We used to work.'	fel-n-a=r-n-a work-1Pl-Impf=Clt-1Pl-Npst 'We work (will work).'
2Pl	fel-t-a=r-t-e-en work-2-Impf=Clt-2-Pst-N 'You(Pl) used to work.'	fel-t-a=r-t-a-an work-2-Impf=Clt-2-Npst-N 'You(Pl) work (will work).'
3Pl	fel-a=r-e-en work-Impf=Clt-Pst-N 'They used to work.'	fel-a=r-a-an work-Impf=Clt-Npst-N 'They work (will work).'

Table 7: Complex verb form in imperfective structure

As can be seen in the above two tables the ultimate suffix of the main verb *fel-* and the first syllable of the auxiliary verb *gir-* ‘exist’ are dropped and an aspect marker (*-e* or *-a*) is suffixed to the main verb. After the combination of the the main verb and the enclitic the last suffix in the main verb is aspect marker whereas the vowel suffix in the auxiliary is solely tense marker.

Lemmi (2018: 125) refers to the verb structures such as those in Table 8 below (of imperfective verbs) and states the form *-ara* ‘imperfective aspect’ or alternatively ‘present habitual’. He says that the form *-ara* is with three variants: [*-anna*], [*-ara*] and [*-atta*], and claims that they are resulted from the insertion of the person or gender markers in the ‘imperfective aspect form’. The person or gender markers are indicated in brackets. For Lemmi the form *-an* in verbs of 2Pl and 3Pl is plural number marker.

	<i>Full forms & their glosses</i>	<i>Person marker</i>	<i>Number marker</i>	<i>Gender marker</i>	<i>Aspect/tense marker</i>
1Sg	imin-ara ‘I buy’	∅	∅	∅	-ara
2Sg (M &F)	imin-atta ~ ar(t)a ‘You(m) buy’	-t	∅	∅	-ara
3SgM	imin-ara ‘He buys’	∅	∅	∅	-ara
3SgF	imin-atta~ar(t)a ‘She buys’	∅	∅	-t	-ara
1Pl	imin-anna~ ar(n)a ‘We buy’	-n	∅	∅	-ara
2Pl	imin-atta ~ar(t)a-an ‘You(Pl) buy’	-t	-an	∅	-ara
3Pl	imin-ara -an ‘They buy’	∅	-an	∅	-ara

Table 8: Inflectional suffixes in Lemmi’s ‘imperfective verb’

In contrary to Lemmi’s (2018) claim, the forms are analysed to consist of two or more morphemes including applicative marker and delayed prospective aspect marker as in Table 9 below. Delayed prospective aspect marker and its parallel counterpart imminent prospective aspect marker (see Table 10 below) are suffixed to the verb stem having applicative marking suffix *-in*.

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	Past	Non-past
1Sg	dub-in-na=r-e bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-Pst 'I was to bake (sth).'	dub-in-na=r-a bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-NPst 'I am to bake (sth).'
2Sg (M & F)	dub-in-na=r-t-e bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-2-Pst 'You were to bake (sth).'	dub-in-na=r-t-a bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-2-NPst 'You are to bake (sth).'
3SgM	dub-in-na=r-e bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-Pst 'He was to bake (sth).'	dub-in-na=r-a bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-NPst 'He is to bake (sth).'
3SgF	dub-in-na=r-t-e bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-3F-Pst 'She was to bake (sth).'	dub-in-na=r-t-a bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-3F -NPst 'She is to bake (sth).'
1Pl	dub-in-na=r-n-e bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-1Pl-Pst 'We were to bake (sth).'	dub-in-na=r-n-a bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-1Pl-NPst 'We are to bake (sth).'
2Pl	dub-in-na=r-t-e-en bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-2-Pst-N 'You(Pl) were to bake (sth).'	dub-in-na=r-t-a-an bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-2-NPst-N 'You(Pl) are to bake (sth).'
3Pl	dub-in-na=r-e-en bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-Pst-N 'They were to bake (sth).'	dub-in-na=r-a-an bake-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-NPst-N 'They are to bake (sth).'

Table 9: Verb structures with applicative and delayed prospective aspect markers

Hayward (1978: 561), however, calls the verb forms in the non-past column in Table 9 above 'proximal future I' and the forms which differs from them in the ultimate vowel as in *dub-in-na=r-o* 'proximal future II'. In this work, both verb forms (Hayward's proximal future I and proximal future II) are analysed as two alternative structures communicating similar meaning. The form of proximal future II is not there in verbs with 2Pl and 3Pl clause subjects.

Lemmi (2018: 138) segments the verb forms such as those in (5) below into the verb root *aam-* 'eat' (transcribed as *ʔaam-* in this work) and *-laara* with allomorphs [*-laara*], [*-laatta*] and [*-laanna*] which is glossed as 'immediate future tense marker'. He glosses the morph *-an* in 2Pl & 3Pl as 'plural number marker' and leaves the segment *i* un glossed as shown in (5) below.

(5)

1Sg/3SgM	aam-i-laara eat-immediate future tense 'I am/He is about to eat.'
2Sg/3SgF	aam-i-laatta eat-immediate future tense 'You are/She is about to eat.'
1Pl	aam-i-laanna eat-immediate future tense 'We are about to eat.'
2Pl	aam-i-laatta-an eat-immediate future tense-plural 'You are about to eat.'
3Pl	aam-i-laara-an eat-immediate future tense-plural 'They are about to eat.'

Closer investigation into the data, however, shows that the morph *-laara* is made up of the verb root *le?*- 'become' which is grammaticalized to mark what is proposed imminent prospective aspect⁷. Pokharel (2008: 208) defines grammaticalization as, '...a process of evolving new structures and grammatical categories by reorganizing and reshaping the old resources of a language'. Consider Table 10 below.

	Past	Non-past
1Sg	fel-in-la=r-e work-Apl-ImPrs=Clt-Pst 'I was to start the work soon.'	fel-in-la=r-a work-Apl-ImPrs=Clt-NPst 'I am to start the work soon.'
2Sg (M& F)	fel-in-la=r-t-e work-Apl-ImPrs=Clt-2-Pst 'You were to start the work soon.'	fel-in-la=r-t-a work-Apl-ImPrs=Clt-2-NPst 'You are to start the work soon.'
3SgM	fel-in-la=r-e work-Apl-ImPrs=Clt-Pst 'He was to to start the work soon.'	fel-in-la=r-a work-Apl-ImPrs=Clt-NPst 'He is to start the work soon.'

⁷Baye (2006:197) reports that the first prefix in *li -yi -säbr* /pros-3sg.m.-break/ 'he to break' marks prospective aspect in Amharic.

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3SgF	fel-in-la=r-t -e work-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-3F-Pst 'She was to start the work soon.'	fel-in-la=r-t-a work-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-3F-NPst 'She is to start the work soon.'
1Pl	fel-in-la=r-n -e work-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-1Pl -Pst 'We were to start the work soon.'	fel-in-la=r-n -a work-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-1Pl-NPst 'We are to start the work soon.'
2Pl	fel-in-la=r-t-e-en work-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-2-Pst-N 'You(Pl) were to start the work soon.'	fel-in-la=r-t-a-an work-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-2-NPst-N 'You(Pl) are to start the work soon.'
3Pl	fel-in-la=r-e-en work-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-Pst-N 'They were to start the work soon.'	fel-in-la=r-a-an work-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-NPst-N 'They are to start the work soon.'

Table 10: Imminent prospective aspect marker in complex verbs

The grammaticalized form *la-* occurs following the applicative marker as shown in Table 10 above. In such complex verb forms person and gender are not redundantly marked, rather occur only after the clitic.

The two types of prospective aspects referred to as delayed and imminent are suffixed to verbs in applicative forms. Imminent prospective aspect refers to the action, event or state which is to start in near time whereas delayed prospective aspect refers to the situation in which the action, event or state is to start in distant time. The reference point of time which is communicated by the tense marker at the ultimate syllable in the Bayso complex verb can be in the past or non-past. In Table 11 below delayed and imminent prospective aspects are shown in ideophone verbs.

	Delayed prospective	Imminent prospective
1Sg	ličč-ʔam-in-na=r-e sink-say-Apl-DelPrs=ClT-Pst 'I was to sink in a while.'	ličč-ʔam-in-la=r-e sink-say-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-Pst 'I was about to sink soon.'
2Sg (M& F)	ličč-ʔam-in-na=r-t-e sink-say-Apl-DelPrs=ClT-2 -Pst 'You were to sink in a while.'	ličč-ʔam-in-la=r-t-e sink-say-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-2 -Pst 'You were about to sink soon.'
3SgM	ličč-ʔam-in-na=r-e sink-say-Apl-DelPrs=ClT-Pst 'He was to sink in a while.'	ličč-ʔam-in-la=r-e sink-say-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-Pst 'He was about to sink soon.'
3SgF	ličč-ʔam-in-na=r-t-e sink-say-Apl-DelPrs=ClT-3F-Ps	ličč-ʔam-in-la=r-t -e sink-say-Apl-ImPrs=ClT-3F-Pst

	‘She was to sink in a while.’	‘She was about to sink soon.’
1Pl	ličč-ʔam-in-na=r-n-e sink-say-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-1Pl-Pst ‘We were to sink in a while.’	ličč-ʔam-in-la=r-n-e sink-say-Apl-ImPrs=Clt-1Pl-Pst ‘We were about to sink soon.’
2Pl	ličč-ʔam-in-na=r-t-e-en sink-say-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-2-Pst-N ‘You(Pl) were to sink in a while.’	ličč-ʔam-in-la=r-t-e-en sink-say-Apl-ImPrs=Clt-2-Pst-N ‘You(Pl) were about to sink soon.’
3Pl	ličč-ʔam-in-na=r-e-en sink-say-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-Pst-N ‘They were to sink in a while.’	ličč-ʔam-in-la=r-e-en sink-say-Apl-ImPrs=Clt-Pst-N ‘They were about to sink soon.’

Table 11: Imminent and delayed prospective aspects in ideophone verbs

Finally, the negative forms of the structures above are formed simply by placing the particle *lakko* ‘not’ before the structures; e.g. *lakko ličč-ʔam-in-na=r-e* /no sink-say-Apl-DelPrs=Clt-Pst/ ‘I was not to sink in a while’.

In the same way as in the simple verb forms discussed in §2 above, the complex verb forms can also be focused by the suffix *-wa*. It occurs at the final position of the form as shown in Table 12 below.

	Main verb lagad-‘kill’	Main verb aam- ‘eat’
1Sg	lagad=r-a-wa kill=Clt-NPst-Foc ‘I KILL/will KILL.’	ʔaam=r-a-wa eat=Clt-NPst-Foc ‘I EAT/will EAT.’
2Sg (M & F)	lagad=r-t-a-wa kill=Clt-2-NPst-Foc ‘You KILL/will KILL.’	ʔaam=r-t-a-wa eat=Clt-2-NPst-Foc ‘You EAT/will EAT.’
3SgM	lagad=r-a-wa kill=Clt-NPst-Foc ‘He KILLS/will KILL.’	ʔaam=r-a-wa eat=Clt-NPst-Foc ‘He EATS/will EAT.’
3SgF	lagad=r-t-a-wa kill=Clt-3F-NPst-Foc ‘She KILLS/will KILL.’	ʔaam=r-t-a-wa eat=Clt-3F-NPst-Foc ‘She EATS/will EAT.’
1Pl	lagad=r-n-a-wa kill=Clt-1Pl-NPst-Foc ‘We KILL/will KILL.’	ʔaam=r-n-a-wa eat=Clt-1Pl-NPst-Foc ‘We EAT/will EAT.’
2Pl	lagad=r-t-a-an-wa kill=Clt-2-NPst-N-Foc ‘You (Pl) KILL/will KILL.’	ʔaam=r-t-a-an-wa eat=Clt-2-NPst-N-Foc ‘You (Pl) EAT/will EAT.’

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3Pl	lagad=r-a-an-wa kill=Clt-NPst-N-Foc 'They KILL/will KILL.'	ʔaam=r-a-an-wa eat=Clt-NPst-N-Foc 'They EAT/will EAT.'
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Table 12: Focus marking in complex verb forms

Person and gender markers are not redundant in focussed complex verb forms unlike in their unfocussed counterparts. Moreover, the main verbs in the focused complex verb forms do not receive aspect marker unlike their unfocussed counterparts. Except in verbs of 2Pl & 3Pl clause subjects, the non-past tense marking suffix *-a* appears as *-o* because of its assimilation to the following segment, *w*.

4. The Verbal Inflections of ʔab- ‘hold’ and ʔab- ‘possess’

The verb roots ʔab- ‘possess’ and ʔab- ‘hold’ seem to be the same but they are quite different from one another both in the morphological processes they undergo and in the meaning they convey. The verb ʔab- ‘hold’ receives the suffix *-e* to mark past tense/perfective aspect and changes to complex verb form in non-past tense like other common verbs in the language. The verb root ʔab- ‘possess’ or ‘own’, however, has a distinct stem in its past tense form (which is ʔabanaaj-), and receives only the non-past tense marker *-a* in its non-past tense form. Contrary to this analysis, Lemmi (2018:155) reports the form *-anaaj* as the past tense marker, and argues that the root of the verb, which he presents as *ab-*, has two different meanings, ‘possess’ and ‘hold’. Detailed discussions of the two forms are presented in the following two subsections.

4.1. As Main Verbs

Consider the data in Table 13 below where the conjugation of the verb ʔab- ‘hold’ in the past tense and in the non-past tense are shown.

	Past tense	Non-past tense
<i>1Sg</i>	ʔab-e hold-Pst 'I held.'	ʔab-a=r-a hold-Impf=Clt-NPst 'I hold/will hold.'
<i>2Sg (M & F)</i>	ʔab-t-e hold-2-Pst 'You(Sg) held.'	ʔab-a=r-t-a hold-Impf=Clt-2-NPst 'You(Sg) hold/will hold.'
<i>3SgM</i>	ʔab-e hold-Pst 'He held.'	ʔab-a=r-a hold-Impf=Clt-NPst 'He holds/will hold.'

<i>3SgF</i>	ʔab-t-e hold-3F-Pst 'She held.'	ʔab-a=r-t -a hold-Impf=Clt-3F -NPst 'She holds/will hold.'
<i>1Pl</i>	ʔab-n-e. hold-1Pl-Pst 'We held.'	ʔab-a=r-n -a hold-Impf=Clt-1Pl -NPst 'We hold/will hold.'
<i>2Pl</i>	ʔab-t-e-en hold-2-Pst-N 'You(Pl) held.'	ʔab-a=r-t-a-an hold-Impf-2=Clt-NPst-N 'You(Pl) hold/will hold.'
<i>3Pl</i>	ʔab-e-en hold-Pst-N 'They held.'	ʔab-a=r-a-an hold-Impf=Clt-NPst-N 'They hold/will hold.'

Table 13: Conjugation of the verb ʔab- 'hold'

In data (6) below, the structures (ii) are the negative counterparts of their respective structures (i).

(6)

a)	i.	ʔani	kor	gene-i	ʔab- e
		I	bullock	hand-Inst	hold-Inst
		'I held a bullock with hand.'			
	ii.	ʔani	kor	gene-i	lakko ʔab-e
		I	bullock	hand-Inst	no hold-Pst
		'I did not hold a bullock with hand.'			
b)	i.	ʔani	kor	gene-i	ʔab-a=r-a
		I	bullock	hand-Inst	hold-Impf=Clt-NPst
		'I hold a bullock with hand.'			
	ii.	ʔani	kor	gene-i	lakko ʔab-a=r-o
		I	bullock	hand-Inst	no hold-Impf=Clt-NPast:Neg
		'I do not hold a bullock with hand.'			

The structures in Table 13 and in (6) above show that the verb ʔab- 'hold' follows similar pattern of inflectional processes with the majority of the verbs in the language. The verb stem ʔab-'possess', however, can be considered suppletive for two reasons. They are: (a) in its past tense paradigm all the expected grammatical markers (such as: person, gender and aspect/tense) are

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suffixed after the form *-anaay*; and (b) in its non-past tense paradigm the verb does not receive the enclitic *-r* and the usual grammatical markers carried by the enclitic—it appears as a simple verb form discussed in §4. Consider Table 14 below.

Subject	Object	Verb	
		Past ⁸	Non-past
1Sg	walabo boat	ʔabanaaj-e own:Pst.-Pst 'I had a boat.'	ʔab-a own-NPst 'I have a boat.'
2Sg (M &F)		ʔabanaaj-t-e. own:Pst -2-Pst 'You had a boat.'	ʔab-t-a own-2-NPst 'You have a boat.'
3M		ʔabanaaj-e own:Pst -Pst 'He had a boat.'	ʔab-a own-NPst 'He has a boat.'
3F		ʔabanaaj-t-e own:Pst -3F-Pst 'She had a boat.'	ʔab-t-a own-2-NPst 'She has a boat.'
1Pl		ʔabanaaj-n-e own:Pst -1Pl-Pst 'We had a boat.'	ʔab-n-a own-1Pl-NPst 'We have a boat.'
2Pl		ʔabanaaj-t-e-en own:Pst-2-Pst-N 'You(Pl) had a boat.'	ʔab-t-a-an own-2-NPst-N 'You (Pl) have a boat.'
3Pl		ʔabanaaj-e-en own:Pst -Pst-N 'They had a boat.'	ʔab-a-an own-NPst-N 'They have a boat.'

Table 14: Conjugation of the verb root *ʔab-* 'possess'

The negative counterpart of some of the structures in Table 14 above are presented in (7) below. The ones in (i) are the past tense counterparts of the non-past tense structures in (ii).

- (7)
- a) i. ʔati walabo lakko ʔabanaaj-t-e
 you boat no own:Pst-2-Pst
 'You did not have a boat.'

⁸ Tense is redundantly marked in such structures.

ii.	ʔati	walabo	lakko	ʔab-t-o
	you	boat	no	own-2-NPst:Neg
	'You do not/ will not have a boat.'			
b) i.	ʔusu	walabo	lakko	ʔabanaaj-e.
	he	boat	no	own:Pst-Pst
	'He did not have a boat.'			
ii.	ʔusu	walabo	lakko	ʔab-o
	he	boat	no	own-NPst:Neg
	'He does not/ will not have a boat.'			
c) i.	ʔisin	walabo	lakko	ʔabanaaj-t-e-en
	You(Pl)	boat	no	own:Pst-2-Pst-N
	'You (Pl) had a boat.'			
ii.	ʔisin	walabo	lakko	ʔab-t-a-an
	You(Pl)	boat	no	own-2-NPst-N
	'You (Pl) do not/ will not have a boat.'			

The messages communicated by the structures in Table 14 and (7) can also be done by the alternative structures like those in (8) below.

(8)

a)	i.	ʔiin	walabo	gir-t-e
		me:Dat	boat	exist-3F-Pst
		'I had a boat.' (lit. 'A boat existed for me.')		
	ii.	ʔiin	walabo	gir-t-a
		me:Dat	boat	exist-3F-NPst
		'I have a boat.' (lit. 'A boat exists for me.')		
b)	i.	ʔusu-un	saaje	gir-e-en
		him-Dat	cow:Pl	exist-Pst-N
		'He had cows.' (lit. 'Cows existed for him.')		
	ii.	ʔusu-un	saaje	gir-a-an
		him-Dat	cow:Pl	exist-NPst-N
		'He has cows.' (lit. 'Cows exist for him.')		
c)	i.	no-on	ʔorooro	gir-t-e
		us-Dat	goat	exist-3F-Pst
		'We had a goat.' (lit. 'A goat exists for us.')		
	ii.	no-on	ʔorooro	lakko gir-t-o
		us-Dat	goat	no exist-3F-Pst
		'We do not have a goat.' (lit. 'A goat does not exist for us.')		

4.2. The Verb Root *ʔab*-‘possess’ as a Modal Auxiliary

The verb root *ʔab*-‘possess’ or ‘own’ functions not only as a main verb but also as a modal auxiliary in the structures such as the ones in Table 15 below.

Subject	Past tense		Non-past tense	
1Sg	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘I had to swim.’	ʔabanaaj-e own:Pst-Pst	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘I have to swim’	ʔab-a own-NPst
2Sg (M& F)	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘You had to swim.’	ʔabanaaj-t-e own:Pst-2-Pst	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘You should swim.’	ʔab-t-a own-2-NPst
3SgM	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘He had to swim.’	ʔabanaaj-e own:Pst-Pst	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘He should swim.’	ʔab-a own-NPst
3SgF	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘She had to swim.’	ʔabanaaj-t-e own:Pst-3F-Pst	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘She should swim.’	ʔab-t-a own-3F-NPst
1Pl	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘We had to swim.’	ʔabanaaj-n-e own:Pst-1Pl-Pst	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘We have to swim.’	ʔab-n-a. own-1Pl-NPst
2Pl	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘You(Pl) had to swim.’	ʔabanaaj-t-e-en own:Pst-2-Pst-N	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘You(Pl) have to swim.’	ʔab-t-a-an own-2-NPst-N
3Pl	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘They had to swim.’	ʔabanaaj-e-en own:Pst-Pst-N	giris-ano swim-Ger ‘They have to swim.’	ʔab-a-an own-NPst-N

Table 15: The verb root *ʔab*- ‘possess’ as a modal auxiliary

The meanings denoted by the structures in the past tense column in Table 15 above are negated by the particle *lakko* ‘no’ that occurs before the auxiliary verb as in (9) a & b. In the case of the structures in the non-past tense in which the auxiliary verb ends with the tense marker, however, the tense marker *-a* is changed to *-o* in addition to the particle *lakko* ‘no’ as in (9) c & d. The tense marking suffix *-a* remains unchanged when it occurs before gender marker as in (9) e & f.

(9)

a)	ʔani I	giris-ano swim-Ger	lakko no	ʔabanaaj-e. own:Pst-Pst
				‘I should not have swum.’

b)	ʔati you:Nom (Sg) 'You should not have swum.'	giris-ano swim-Ger	lakko no	ʔabanaaj-t-e. own:Pst-2-Pst
c)	ʔusu he 'He should not swim.'	giris-ano swim-Ger	lakko no	ʔab-o. own-NPst:Neg
d)	ʔati You (Sg) 'You should not swim.'	giris-ano swim-Ger	lakko no	ʔab-t-o. own-2-NPst:Neg
e)	ʔisin you(PI) 'You should not swim.'	giris-ano swim-Ger	lakko no	ʔab-t-a-an. own-2-NPst-N
f)	ʔiso they 'They should not swim.'	giris-ano swim-Ger	lakko no	ʔab-a-an. own-NPst-N

5. Conclusion

Bayso language is found to have two declarative verb forms: simple and complex verb forms. As operationally defined in this work, a simple verb is a verb form with a single verb root (ideophone verbs are exceptional in this regard as their simple verb forms are with two verb roots separated by the epethetic vowel segment *i*) whereas a complex verb is a verb structure with a main verb plus the auxiliary verb *gir-* 'exist', or a verb root (or stem) plus the enclitic *-r*. The applicative marker *-in* occurs preceding the prospective aspect (imminent or delayed) markers. The ideophone verb in Bayso is formed by a verb root (which carries the meaning) and the verb *ʔam-* 'say' (that makes the meaning complete). The verb root *ʔab-* 'hold' and *ʔab-* 'possess' are with morphologically similar verb roots but differ from one another in their inflectional processes. The former follows common pattern of inflection with other verbs in the language, whereas the latter adds the form *-anaaj* before the past tense marking suffix *-e*, and its non-past tense form does not receive the enclitic *-r*.

Two main tenses: past tense and non-past tense; and the aspectual values: progressive, imminent prospective and delayed prospective are investigated within the canonical imperfective aspect in addition to the perfective aspect. Contrary to the prior works on the language which report grammatical number markers in verbs, it is found out that verbs inflect only for person and gender of the clause's subject in addition to the verbal features, tense and aspect. Both the main verb and the auxiliary

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verb or the clitic in a complex verb are redundantly marked for all the grammatical features in the verbs. In this regard, tense and aspect markers are exceptional in that tense is marked on the main verb while aspect marker is on the auxiliary verb or on the clitic. Simple verbs are only there in the past tense while complex verbs both in the past tense and non-past tense. Tense and aspect markers conflate in the past tense.

Abbreviation and Symbols

§	Section	Pst	Past tense
1	First person	Prs	Prospective aspect
2	Second person	Inst	Instrumental case
3	Third person	M	Masculine gender
Apl	Applicative	N	Neuter gender
Clit	Clitic	Neg	Negative
Dat	Dative case	Nom	Nominative case
DelPrs	Delayed prospective aspect	NPst	Non-past tense
Epen	Epenthetic	Pl	Plural number
F	Feminine gender	Prf	Perfective aspect
Foc	Focus marker	Prg	Progressive aspect
Ger	Gerund	Pst	Past tense
ImPrs	Imminent prospective aspect	Sg	Singular number
Impf	Imperfective aspect		

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