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Tense and Aspect in Pangwa

Temporal Relations in a Tanzanian Bantu Language

Regensburg Papers in Linguistics 21

Universität Regensburg

FAKULTÄT FÜR SPRACH-, LITERATUR-
UND KULTURWISSENSCHAFTEN

Herausgeber: Universität Regensburg

Universität Regensburg
Universitätsstraße 31
93053 Regensburg

DOI: 10.5283/epub.51126

Formatierung: Magdalena Riegg

Redaktion & Coverdesign: Maximilian Weiß

Der Text stellt eine überarbeitete Version der M.A.-Arbeit der Autorin dar, die sie 2021 an der Fakultät für Sprach-, Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften der Universität Regensburg eingereicht hat.

Die *Regensburg Papers in Linguistics* werden in unregelmäßigen Abständen vom Lehrstuhl für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft veröffentlicht.

https://www.uni-regensburg.de/sprache-literatur-kultur/allgemeine-vergleichende-sprachwissenschaft/regensburg-papers-in-linguistics/index.html

Universität Regensburg

Abstract

This thesis deals with the grammatical categories tense and aspect in Pangwa, a Bantu language spoken in SW-Tanzania. The linguistic encoding of temporal and aspectual relations is a crucial function of languages. It is cross-linguistically very diverse and involves complex strategies. This paper describes how the various categories associated with tense and aspect are expressed in Pangwa. An in-depth description is given as to regard of the theoretical framework, including important terms and concepts applied on cross-linguistic language examples. Particular focus is laid on the Bantu-wide categories of narrativity and the distinctions in remoteness in the past (and to a certain degree in the future). The empirical part is based on mainly textual data and accompanied by a questionnaire, which was answered by Pangwa speakers in Tanzania. All the tense-aspect categories in Pangwa are analysed and the morphemes marking tense and aspect are identified and described in their form and function. It will be shown that there are a few markers with transparent meaning and a straightforward use, but there are as well some TA morphemes which appear to have different functions and meanings depending on the context and accompanying TA morphemes. Besides the expected remoteness distinctions and narrative tense, it will be shown that verb semantics play an essential role in aspect marking.

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Abbreviations

AUG	Augment
CONJ	Conjunction
COP	Copula
DEM	Demonstrative
ET	Example from Elicitation
FUT	Future Tense
IND	Indicative
INF	Infinitive
IPFV	Imperfective Aspect
LOC	Locative
NAR	Narrative tense
NC	Noun class
NEG	Negative
OBJ	Object
PERS	Persistive Aspect
PFV	Perfective Aspect
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PREP	Preposition
PRF	Perfect Tense
PRES	Present Tense
PST	Past Tense
REL	Relative
REDUP	Reduplication
RECPST	Recent Past
SBJ	Subject
SBJV	Subjunctive
SG	Singular

I. Introduction

The possibility of making elaborate references to events in time is a crucial feature of languages. It is generally assumed that all languages possess some strategy to express time in one way or another. Besides others, the languages of the Bantu family are known for their particularly complex time systems. The following example is from Nyakyusa, a neighbouring language of Pangwa.

(1) Nyakyusa (Persohn 2017: 191)

A-**a**-li=mo a-**a**-tɔ-taamy-**aga**

3SG-PST-COP=18 3SG-PST-1PL-trouble-IPFV

"S/he constantly annoyed us."

The sentence is made up of a compound construction and contains three markers for past time reference (past tense in each and imperfective in the second verb). This is a peculiar verbal construction found in Nyakyusa, as the locative (18) marker within such a compound leads to the meaning of a "constantly occurring eventuality". Such exceptional features are typical for in Bantu languages. This is what makes it so interesting to explore how time is expressed in Bantu.

The underlying question of how time is basically construed, is usually approached by drawing a time line. The notion of "time flow" is illustrated in Figure 1, which serves as a simplistic representation of the abstract concept of time. It is usually represented as a movement along this line from left (past) to right (future) with 0 representing the present moment. Successive or parallel events may then be situated on this time line:

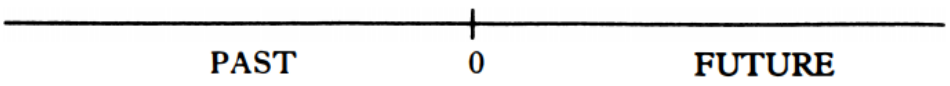

Figure 1 Representation of time (Comrie 1985: 2)

This conceptualisation of time is of course shaped by traditional Western ideology and cannot be generalized to be a basic time model for all languages of the world. Besides our familiar perception of time as a constant progress from past to future, there are various cultures which do not conceptualize time as an ongoing progress, but rather perceive one day like the other

without any notable change (so-called cyclic conceptionalizations of time) (Comrie 1985: 4). It would be wrong, however, to assume that some cultures have no concept of time at all. Even in cultures which do not perceive time as progress, there is still an understanding of what time basically is, namely the natural succession of events (such as the predetermined order of birth and death). The assumption that some cultures have no concept of time follows from the observation that the grammars of these languages do not have tenses. An often cited language which lacks expressions of straightforward past, present and future categories is Hopi, a Native American language. Instead it makes extensive use of aspectual and modal categories (1985: 4), which gives reason for assuming the existence of different conceptual understandings of time.

When speaking of the encoding of time or time relations in languages, what usually comes first into mind (especially with non-linguists) is the familiar term *tense*. This is not surprising, since tenses express the most common notion of past, present and future time in people's life. The term *aspect*, however, is less easy to grasp for the majority of people. In the grammar terminology of individual languages, these two notions are not always clearly distinguished or both even subsumed under the former term (Comrie 1985: 6f). Especially in Western European languages is tense a more common term than aspect. As Nurse (2008: 128) observes, in those languages, tense is often considered primary and aspect secondary. This is made obvious in the English terminology, where a category like *present perfect* is generally referred to as an English tense, although it covers in fact both tense and aspect. The meaning differences between "I watched a movie", "I was watching a movie" or "I used to watch movies" are clearly aspectual. The aspect system of English is not a very complex one, though. Also in Romance languages, which also show aspectual distinction in the verb, one (at least in teaching books) usually speaks of a *tense* when talking about e.g. the Spanish Imperfect, although it combines tense and aspect. While (1a) expresses past tense and imperfective aspect, (1b) has past and perfective meaning:

(2) Spanish

a. Pedro leía un libro. "Pedro was reading a book"

b. Pedro leyó un libro. "Pedro read a book"

The main difference lies in the way time is represented. As Comrie puts it, "although both aspect and tense are concerned with time, they are concerned with time in very different ways" (1976: 5). As becomes clear from the example, both refer to an event in the past, but the different aspects result in different viewpoints. A language which does not grammaticalize aspect at

all, is German. In some varieties, the perfect construction *Ich bin gegangen* and the past construction *Ich ging* show no difference in meaning. However, it is still possible to express aspectual differences by means of adverbs (*Ich lese gerade ein Buch*) or by special constructions (*Ich bin am Lesen*). In other languages or language families though, this view of tense dominance is rejected because of the prevalence of aspect as the main category. The most referred languages in the literature with aspect being dominant (especially perfective vs. imperfective aspect), are the Slavic languages. Also Bantu languages are known for their variety of tenses and aspects, so in order to describe the TA system properly, a clear distinction between the two is inevitable (although tense and aspect are often interwoven).

The theoretical framework in this paper is mainly based on the concepts offered in the two monographs published by Comrie (*Tense* 1985 and *Aspect* 1976). In these two books, he gives a fundamental description of various concepts all related to these two categories. Another important paper dealing with tense and aspect is Dahl's monograph (1985) on the investigation of TMA systems, in which he compares the grammatical categories based on the data of 60 languages. The conclusion of Dahl's investigation is that the huge number of categories found in all languages under investigation can be reduced to a "fairly small set of cross-linguistic category types characterized by bundles of morphosyntactic and semantic properties" Dahl (1985: 182). He claims that the most important aspect category types found in the languages under investigation are imperfective, perfective, progressive and habitual/generics (1985: 69). Most languages draw from these category types in order to capture the most basic features. In addition, Dahl created the well-known TAM questionnaire, consisting of numerous English sentences and short texts. It serves as an important methodological tool in exploring tense, aspect and mood in languages, also in this paper. As to the Bantu-specific analysis of tense and aspect, the comprehensive monograph published by Nurse (2008) serves as a helpful source for grasping the structures of TA systems across Bantu. For direct comparison of language structures in the empirical part, I will mainly draw from observations made in a closely-related language, Nyakyusa (Persohn 2017). Another Bantu language largely investigated for TA is Chichewa (Kiso 2012), which differs more strongly from the object language in this paper. Nonetheless it offers a good source for exploring similarities and differences.

The third category in the tripartite group TAM is mood, which typically represents the "speaker's attitude towards the status or factuality of the utterance" (Nurse 2008: 44). Its role is not less important in forming verbal structures in many languages. However, due to the given limit of this paper, I will exclude this category from my study. Nevertheless, the modal category will turn up now and then, since in some languages it is closely connected to the other categories

tense and aspect. Another category, which is not included in my analysis, is verbal negation. Negation is a large field of investigation, not only in Bantu languages, and therefore deserves a more detailed analysis, which cannot be given here due to reasons of space.

The principal aim of my paper is to find out how the tense-aspect system in Pangwa is organized and how the grammatical categories are marked in verbal constructions. It will be shown that there are various TA morphemes with distinct meanings and functions. In fact, certain morphemes appear to be polysemic, as they express different meanings when used in different contexts. The study will show that tense and aspect are closely linked with each other and both are equally important for expressing time references. Moreover, I will demonstrate that there are further sub-categories or certain strategies, which serve for specific purposes in time reference. In particular, the various degrees of remoteness, which are expressed grammatically, play an essential role in referring to past (and to a lesser degree future) events. Also the narrative or consecutive category is an essential part of the temporal system in Bantu languages. Besides grammatical aspect, the effect of aspectual verb semantics must also be taken into account. As will become clear in the course of this paper, compared to English, there are also significant differences in viewing the inherent temporal properties in a Pangwa verb.

The organization of the thesis is as follows: In the following theoretical part, I will provide general definitions and different views of important terms and concepts. After having approached the concept of a grammatical category, I will discuss the broad concepts of tense and aspect with its associated categories. This includes two special sub-categories: narrativity and the cross-Bantu distinctions in remoteness, since they are vital in a description of time reference in Bantu languages. Afterwards, a general overview of the typical Bantu verb with its most characteristic features will be given. The empirical part is concerned with the concrete usage of tense and aspect markers in the present, past and future in Pangwa. This will include a description of the form(s), function(s) and meaning(s) of each morpheme. The final chapter summarizes the observations of the main part and gives a concluding evaluation of the tense-aspect system in Pangwa.

II. Theoretical Part

This chapter is concerned with theoretical framework, which serves as an important basis for an investigation of tense and aspect. After a close look at the concepts of tense and aspect, the feature of remoteness distinctions is dealt with. Moreover, the special category of narrative tense will be described.

1. Definition of important terms

1.1 What is a grammatical category?

The underlying terms dealt with in this thesis are typically labelled "grammatical categories" or "TAM categories". It is undisputable to call the English Simple Past or the Spanish Imperfect a grammatical category. In some cases, however, both Dahl (1985: 22) and Comrie (1976: 9) point out, that it is not always easy to determine what can be considered a grammatical category, or what is just a "free syntactic construction". In traditional grammars, the concepts "tense" and "mood" are commonly treated as being morphological categories. This might lead to the assumption, that TAM categories only include "inflectionally marked categories, excluding 'periphrastic' ones, i.e. categories expressed by syntactic means, e.g. auxiliaries and particles" (Dahl 1985: 22). However, languages are frequently observed to possess both constructions, which are functionally equivalent. The exclusion of the latter would not do justice to a language's capability (resources) of making time references. For example, while the English or Spanish Progressive constructions are usually treated as grammatical categories, the French construction *etre en train de* is rather considered a free syntactic construction, which expresses progressiveness. This raises the question about the borderline to call something a grammatical category or not.

In many cases, definitions of semantic categories such as "progressive", which are determined independently from any specific language, and the actual grammatical categories found in a particular language do not always exactly match. For example, the scope of the English progressive is in fact much wider than what is suggested for a default progressive category (more details on the English progressive, see 1.3.4) (Comrie 1976: 9f). As a solution for possible confusion, language-specific categories closely corresponding a semantic category, are often capitalized, while the underlying semantic category is not.

In this respect, Dahl (1985: 1f) points out, that the transfer of observations and claims made in well-known languages into less known languages is problematic, as the terminology used is not always unmistaken and should not be assumed to be generally valid.

1.2 Tense

The most basic definition of tense is "the grammaticalised expression of location in time" (Comrie 1985: 9). For all languages it is assumed to be possible to locate situations in time, though they differ in the ways they do, especially to what extent the lexicon and the grammar play a role (1985: 7). In terms of the time line given in the introduction, a speaker anchors a certain situation on a time axis. In order to do so, speakers always need some reference point. The category of tense is commonly said to be deictic, since the most typical point of orientation is the present moment of speech at the present location (which is known as the deictic centre, Comrie 1985: 14). Thus, tenses may refer to situations prior the present moment, at the very present moment or subsequent the present moment.

This way of locating situations in time is traditionally labelled "absolute tense", whereby "absolute" refers to the present speech situation. Comrie warns (1985: 36) that this label should be treated with caution, as "absolute time reference" is actually not possible due to the fact that speakers always need another point in time in order to locate a situation. In fact, this could be any point in time but the present moment is cross-linguistically the most chosen point of orientation. The counterpart is "relative tense", i.e. "forms that may express temporal relations between any pair of time points, regardless of their deictic status" (Dahl 1985: 25). The location of a situation in time is determined by the context and usually the present moment as reference point is excluded (Comrie 1985: 56). The first verbal expression in example (3), which appears in a non-finite construction, expresses simultaneity with the action in the second verb (Dahl 1985: 25):

(3) "Singing 'God save the Queen', Mary was drying the clothes."

Such relative meaning is often expressed by aspectual means, which will be dealt with below. In the following subchapters, the three basic tenses present, past and future are discussed.

1.2.1 Present

The most straightforward definition of present tense is the location of "a situation at the present moment" (Comrie 1985: 38). However, this definition does not say anything further. A sentence in the present tense just states that the situation in question is holding for the present moment, but gives no information whether it extends into the past or the future. Such interpretations are not given by the present tense itself. This is only achieved by inclusion of other features, such as knowledge of the world or, in particular, adding of aspectual properties (Comrie 1985: 38). Thus, the above definition is a quite theoretical definition since in reality situations referred to with present tense rarely occur at the very present moment. This is only the case with special speech acts, like performatives (e.g. "I promise to pay the bill") or concurrent descriptions of ongoing events (e.g. "He crosses the finishing line". Yet, in most cases the present tense is used to refer to events, states or situations which are true for the present moment but still hold for some time before and after the current moment (e.g. "Peter works on his book") (Comrie 1985: 37).

Apart from this primary function of the present tense, it is also used for expressing habitual or generic meanings in many languages. A sentence like "Peter goes to work at eight o'clock" is usually not interpreted as Peter going to work at the same moment of speaking (which would not be true if the moment of speech is not eight o'clock), but is rather understood as "a habit, a characteristic situation that holds at all times" (Comrie 1985: 39). In other words, habitual situations do not describe "sequences of situations recurring at intervals". Rather, the habit "going to work at eight o'clock" is a feature assigned to Peter, which is constantly true. Though being one of many functions of the present tense, habituality should not be treated as belonging to tense, since empirical data give reason to claim that "grammatical expression of habituality will always be integrated into the aspectual or modal system of a language rather than into its tense system" (Comrie 1985: 41). There are languages, which have special forms for describing habitual situations, but "no language will indicate habituality by means of a tense opposition".

Similarly, universal or generic meaning is mostly expressed by a present tense as well. But what is true for habituality, also holds for generic meanings: there is no separate universal or generic tense only used for such purposes and which is opposed to the present tense. Although a sentence like "Dogs bark and cats meow" could be interpreted as happening at the present moment, such generic sentences are usually understood as being universally true, even without adverbials such as *usually*. This is based on extralinguistic factors, such as common knowledge of the world.

1.2.2 Past

When speaking of past tense in general, the reference to a "location [of a situation] in time prior to the present moment" is meant (Comrie 1985: 41). What is true for the present tense, also pertains to the past tense: the bare use of a past tense does not tell anything about the extent of the situation in question, i.e. it can refer to a single moment in time (a), an interval (b), or even the entire time up to the present (c), as illustrate in the following examples (1985: 41):

(4) a. "At seven o'clock yesterday John promised to give me ten pounds."
b. "John lived in Manchester from 1962 to 1982-"
c. "Up to this moment this disease was incurable."

Moreover, the use of a past tense often does not indicate whether the situation is completed or still holds in the present or even into the future, although, as Comrie points out (1985: 41), there is often a conversational implicature that the situation must have terminated in the past. However, when a sentence does not offer enough context, e.g. by time adverbials as in (b) above, only in combination with other features, e.g. the perfective, it becomes clear that the event came to an end in the past. This is shown in the following Russian example, where perfective aspect and past tense locate the whole of the situation in past time and indicate completion:

(5) Russian (Comrie 1985: 42)
Kolja procital etu knigu
"Kolya has read this book"

But still, this Russian sentence does not completely exclude that Kolya again reads the book at the present. For such contexts, Comrie notes, that for languages it is extremely rare to have grammatical forms which describe a situation which held in the past but still holds or does not hold in the present. Still, such tenses are often found in Bantu languages, which will be shown in (1.3.5) and in the empirical part. Mostly this interpretation is achieved by e.g. coordinating two separate clauses ("John was reading this book five minutes ago but he is not reading it now") or by lexical means such as "no longer" (1985: 42-43).
In Dahl's terms (1985: 116), the category PAST is basically a tense category without any aspectual character. This category corresponds to the traditional understanding of a past tense. However, as a matter of fact, in most languages PAST rarely appears on its own, but usually in

the company of other TAM categories (e.g. PRF). The majority of languages (75% in the sample (1985: 117)) mark the PAST category morphologically, mostly by suffixes.

An important and often applied cross-linguistic temporal theory about the sequence of tenses is offered by Reichenbach (1947), who introduced a three-point-system for relating events in time. In this system, there are maximally three points in time which are significant for choosing a tense. The following three points in time are involved (de Swart 2012: 25):

S - the point of speech E - the point of the event R - the point of reference

(6) a. Julia left the party. E,R-S
b. Julia has left the party. E-R,S
c. Julia had left the party. E-R-S

The time of utterance is referred to by S, while E is the time of Julia's departure. The event referred to by R is a certain point in time between S and R, which is provided by the context (Dahl 1985: 30). In all three sentences, Julia´s departure E is situated before S. So a third reference point R is needed to make a distinction between the three sentences (de Swart 2012: 25). In sentence a, the reference point R coincides with the event of Julia's leaving E. In sentence b, however, R coincides with the point of speech S. In the past perfect construction in c, all three points are different, i.e. Julia's departure is situated before another reference point R, which in turn precedes S.

When absolute and relative time references are combined, "a reference point is situated at, before, or after the present moment and in addition a situation is located at, before , or after that reference point" (Comrie 1985: 65). This combination of absolute and relative time reference is attested in a number of languages, mostly known under label "pluperfect". In the English pluperfect, a reference point is established in the past and the situation in question is located prior to that reference point, e.g.

(7) "John had arrived by six o 'clock yesterday evening"

The pluperfect tense itself only says that there is a reference point in the past. Determining this reference point is only possible by looking at the context. Usually this is done with the help of a time adverbial (Comrie 1985: 65). Despite the widespread existence of pluperfect in many languages, there are languages which have no grammatical means to express such meaning. An

example is Russian, which only has absolute tenses (1985: 67). In order to express a sentence like "When John arrived, Mary had already left" (which is not ordered chronologically), a Russian speaker has no other option than using adverbs like "already" to make a clear statement in respect of the chronology of events: *Kolja priexal; Masa uze uexala* (literally "Kolya arrived ; Masha already left").

Since the pluperfect establishes two events in the past with one prior to the other, this may lead to confusion with other categories, especially verbal forms expressing remote past tenses. There are, however, significant differences between them**.** The pluperfect always requires an "intervening reference point" (Comrie 1985: 68), which relates the event referred to by the pluperfect and the present moment. Such a reference point is not necessary with remote past tense, which is only concerned with situating an event with temporal distance from the present moment. In contrast, the distance of the event referred to by the pluperfect does not have to be "remote" from the present moment at all. Thus, the temporal distance between two events in a pluperfect sentence like "She had left when he arrived" can be a matter of few seconds or several hours.

1.2.3 Future

Following the definitions for present and past tense, future tense can basically be described as "locating a situation at a time subsequent to the present moment" (Comrie 1985: 43). Again, future tense alone does not give enough information for making an adequate interpretation of a given situation. The sentence "John will be eating his lunch when you call on him in five minutes" leaves open the interpretation that John may have already started lunch at the point of speech. Most languages differentiate between past and non-past, while the distinction between future and non-future (particularly present) is much more uncommon. Despite the existence of special future forms, the use of present tense for future activities is attested in several languages, e.g. German *Ich besuche ihn morgen*. In such languages, the explicit future tense is especially used when the speaker wants to avoid the risk of false interpretation (Comrie 1985: 44f.).

The fact that other languages use different forms for future and non-future, justifies the status of future tense as a separate grammatical category. However, this assignment is not unproblematic since in these languages the formal distinction between future and non-future is more a question of modality rather than tense. Especially the modal opposition realis vs. irrealis (with irrealis expressing future meaning among others) is responsible for the formal distinction (Comrie 1985: 45). Thus, such languages cannot be said to have a distinct future tense, but rather differ in respect of modality. When looking at the English auxiliary *will*, besides future time

reference, it has modal meanings without referring to the future. The sentence "he will go swimming in dangerous waters" rather expresses the intention to go swimming with present time reference (1985: 47). Moreover, expressing future time reference does not necessarily require the auxiliary *will* in various contexts. In scheduling events for example, it is indeed not appropriate to use the future, as in "the train departs at five o 'clock tomorrow morning". Consequently, future time reference is "neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the use of *will* in English" (1985: 47).

Referring to future time events differs substantially from past and present tense references. In contrast to the latter, where people talk about events or situations actually experienced and irreversible in nature, talking about future situations always involves certain insecurities and is more speculative: We talk about plans (in near and remote future), we make wishes or predictions. These uncertainties are reflected in linguistic expressions, most obvious in the interweaving of future tense and mood (Dahl 1985: 103; Comrie 1985: 43f).

Dahl's investigation shows that a great majority of languages (50 out of 64) have a category for future reference (1985: 105). About half of them show morphological marking, often combined with other morphemes to form more complex TMA categories, such as conditionals. The features intention, prediction and future time reference are part of a characteristic FUT construction (Dahl 1985: 108), whereby the latter is the dominant feature, since the modal features may be lacking (1985: 105f). In contexts of pure prediction (i.e. without any intentional element) it seems possible for a number of languages to use a non-future construction (1985: 110), e.g. in German *Was passiert, wenn man diesen Pilz isst? Du stirbst.*

Besides future readings, the FUT category is also found in non-futurate contexts, where it may serve for inferencing a situation, as in (8), which shows the reaction after hearing the door bell (1985: 108):

(8) "That will be the postman."

This usage of FUT excludes a future reading here, which makes future time reference not a necessary feature of the category of FUT.

1.2.4 Narrativity

Narrativity is an important TAM category in several languages. In a narrative discourse "the speaker relates a series of real or fictive events in the order they are supposed to have taken

place" (Dahl 1985: 112). These events usually form a contingent string in the past time. For analysing the narrative category it is important to grasp the idea of a narrative context, which Dahl describes as following:

> "A sentence occurs in a narrative context if the temporal point of reference (in Reichenbach's sense) is determined by the point in time at which the last event related in the preceding context took place" (1985: 112).

In other words, the first event, which usually sets the scene, is part of a narrative discourse but not of a narrative context. An example for a narrative discourse is shown in (9):

(9) "The girl came home, had dinner and went to bed."

In this sequence of events, the action referred to by "came home" is directly followed by "had dinner", which in turn precedes "went to bed". Only the last two events appear in the narrative context.

Narrativity is a category which shows strong cross-linguistic differences in usage. Some languages just delete the usual past tense marker. In the English example (9), all three verbs in the narrative discourse have the same TA marking. In other words, English does not overtly mark narrativity, which is actually the case in most languages of the world (Dahl 1985: 113). Another narrative method, also found in English, is the so-called "historical present", which has special pragmatics effects (1985: 113). For example, the following novel excerpt (10) is formed in the present in order to add a sense of immediacy to the story:

(10) "It's a summer's day — perhaps this is the very first summer after we moved in when I'm not yet three. I walk along the pavement, and on into the endless distances of the street — past the gate of No. 4 — on and bravely on until I find myself in a strange new landscape" (Nordquist 2019).

Some other languages have special devices for marking a narrative discourse, with Bantu languages showing a widespread use of a special narrative morpheme. In Comrie's terms, who distinguishes between absolute and relative tenses (see above), the narrative in most Bantu languages is the only real relative tense. That is, the TA marking of the introducing verb differs from the following verbs in a narrative context. The first verb (usually a non-narrative past

form) establishes the time of the situation and provides the temporal anchoring for the following events. In the following verbs then, the past tense marker is replaced by special narrative marking. All events in this sequence are to be understood as happening in the same time frame. It is possible to interrupt a narrative discourse for other purposes and then re-introduce the narrative marker to continue the storyline (Nurse 2008: 120). One language may have multiple narrative forms, such as Swahili and also Pangwa, which is discussed in (1.2.4 and 3.4.2.5). The Bantu-wide most common morpheme is *–ka-*, which has also been reconstructed from Proto-Bantu (Nurse 2008: 123). In Nurse's study, at least 30 per cent of Bantu languages show *–ka-* to be the underlying narrative form. Another frequent narrative marker is the Bantu-wide conjunction *na* followed by an infinitive, as exemplified in (11). The following two sentences from Swahili show different narrative markers, with 1. *na* + INF and 2. *–ka-*, which leads to different interpretations. While the first only says that drinking and eating went on without a special order, the second sentence is clearly understood as the second action following the first:

(11) Swahili (Nurse 2008: 121)

a. Wa-li-kunyw-a na ku-l-a
3PL-PST-drink-FV CONJ.and INF-eat-FV
"They drank and ate" (lit. they drank and to-eat)

b. Wa-li-kunyw-a wa-ka-l-a
3PL-PST-drink-FV 3PL-NAR-eat-FV
"They drank and ate" (lit. they drank they-NAR-eat)

In some other languages, like Ekoti in example (12), the bare infinitive with *khú-* is another way to show narrativity. A fourth way is null marking, which is similar to infinitive construction, since both do not specify time. The Basaa example (13) shows null marking of the three verbs following the first in the past tense.

(12) Ekoti (Nurse 2008: 122)

Khú-rí: 'Paasí, háyá lankhá.' Khu-lán'hka, khú-láwá, khw-ípíkha
NAR-say 'All right, get up.' NAR-rise NAR-leave NAR-cook
chaá yáwe khú-nywa. . . .
tea his NAR-drink . . .
"He said: 'All right, get up.' And he got up, and left, and made his tea, and drank . . ."

(13) Basaa (Nurse 2008: 122)

Lingom	a-n-lô,	a-Ø-bádá bípân,	a-Ø-bók gwó
Lingom	3SG-PST-come	3SG-Ø-take.dishes	3SG-Ø-arrange.them
ilólé	a-Ø-pám-ák		
before	3SG-Ø-leave-IPFV		

"Lingom came, took the dishes, and arranged them before he left"

Hence, Bantu languages have various strategies to narrate past events. The empirical part will give further insight into the narrative category in Pangwa, which is equally comprehensive.

1.2.5 Remoteness distinctions

In all languages it is possible to make distinctions in remoteness by lexical means, such as *five minutes* or *a thousand years ago*. However, only a few languages are able to express such distinctions by means of grammar. The majority of languages in the world lack this grammatical feature though, e.g. an English or German speaker always has to draw on time adverbials, as there is no grammatical tense opposition which would make such differences in remoteness (Comrie 1985: 83). Past perfect construction like "Before she went outside, she had made her homework" just situates the event described by the past perfect before the other event, but says nothing on how remote it is from now. In contrast, there are languages which have a very fine-grained remoteness systems with nuances in distinguishing remote or near past or future. Such systems exist in languages from nearly all parts of the world, but especially prominent ones are found in Aboriginal languages of Australia, indigenous American languages and in sub-Saharan Africa (especially Bantu) (Comrie 1985: 83).

Following Dahl (1985: 120), remoteness is concerned with the "measurement of the distance between two points or intervals in time". There is a strong tendency of the present moment to be the reference point from which distances in remoteness are indicated. Figure 2 illustrates the subsequent points in time relative to the moment of speech S. Of course, as Persohn (2017: 15) notes, this representation is too simplistic to do justice to the complex remoteness systems in many languages and "fails in many cases to explain patterns of morphological marking, as well as the systematic employment of these constructions".

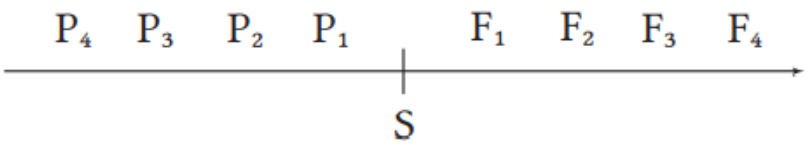

Figure 2 Remoteness distinctions in a linear conception of time (Persohn 2017: 15)

Despite the tendency of S being the reference point, there are a couple of languages which have another point of orientation (Comrie 1985: 85). An example comes from Bamileke-Dschang, a language of Cameroon, where sequencing auxiliaries establish the reference points. The first auxiliary refers to the present moment and the combination with a second auxiliary leads to a new reference point relative to that given by the first auxiliary. For example, the combination of the two auxiliaries for 1. "tomorrow future" and 2. "later today future" leads to the interpretation of a situation located some time after the reference point tomorrow: *àà ʻlúú ʻpìŋ ʻŋ́táŋ* "he will bargain later tomorrow" (1985: 86).

Distinctions in remoteness may be indicated for the past and for future as well, yet languages show a significantly higher degree of distinctions when referring to past events (Dahl 1985: 121; Comrie 1985: 85), which corresponds to the cross-linguistic observation that past systems are usually better developed than future systems.

In analysing remoteness degrees, the question of dividing lines comes up. It turns out that in languages possessing elaborate remoteness distinctions, the prevailing boundary is set between today (i.e. not more than one day away) and not-today (i.e. more than one day away), which are also known as hodiernal vs. non-hodiernal forms. Furthermore, common distinctions are recent and non-recent, yesterday and before yesterday or various periods within the present day (Comrie 1985: 87). With oppositions like the former, the question comes up of what is perceived as recent or non-recent, or what is taken as the decisive day in the opposition "a few days ago" vs. "more than a few days ago". It appears that such decisions are often subject to culture and language-specific conceptions and even a speaker's individual judgement (1985: 89). The notion of "subjective remoteness" is further dealt with in the following paragraphs. It follows that, generally speaking, the cut-off points are quite vague in nature and it is therefore difficult to speak of rigid divisions. Even in English or German language use, there is some reason for confusion. In the Western culture, the usual transition from one day into the other is at midnight. However, in most people's perception a new day starts with the waking up in the morning and thus leads to utterances like "Last night I slept only four hours". Contrary to our understanding, the previous sunset is frequently viewed as the beginning of a new day in numerous other cultures (Dahl 1985: 125).

Within the common opposition hodiernal vs. non-hodiernal, the pre- or post-hodiernal tenses are much more imprecise than the hodiernal ones. The hodiernal forms may refer to different parts of the day, either "earlier this day" or "just now", while the meaning of a non-hodiernal forms may range from "yesterday" to "a week previously" (Dahl 1985: 126). This is not surprising since talking about what happened (or will happen) today is usually of greater importance in an every-day conversation than specifying the segments of a day one week ago.
Thereupon, the question arises how accurate such elaborate systems are. It can be observed that languages differ in the strictness of adhering to the fixed borders and the obligation of using a certain form. Some languages prescribe the exclusive use of a certain tense in a specific temporal context, so that it is simply ungrammatical to use another tense or to insert a time adverbial which does apparently not correspond to its referred temporal frame. Other languages have a less stringent usage, where it seems possible to use a tense which is actually inappropriate. This has primarily pragmatic reasons, such as giving a subjective sense to it. Such an opposition in strict (or not strict) usage is attested in the languages Haya and Sotho. Haya distinguishes between three past tenses:

(14) Haya (Comrie 1985: 90f)

hodiernal:	twakoma	"we tied up earlier on today"
hesternal:	tukomile	"we tied up yesterday"
remote:	tukakoma	"we tied up before yesterday"

The use of these tenses is strictly determined. For example, it is inacceptable to use e.g. the "before yesterday" tense when referring to yesterday (even with the explicit time adverbial *yesterday*). A much more unconstrained use of the tenses is attested in Sotho, where it seems to be possible to use any past tense in combination with any past adverbial. The use and interpretation of the tenses is considered to be a matter of subjective perception. Thus, the seemingly contradicting combination of "recent tense" and the time adverbial "in the year 1824" is grammatically possible (Comrie 1985: 91), yielding a reading which is subjectively closer in time.

(15) Sotho (Comrie 1985: 91)
Morena Moshoeshoe ofalletse Thaba Bosiu ka-1824.
"Chief Moshoeshoe moved to Thaba Bosiu in 1824"

A similar use is attested in Bamileke-Dschang, making distinctions in future time. Besides the normal use of the time adverbial "tomorrow" with the "tomorrow tense", it can also be used with the tense "'within the next few days after tomorrow". In (b) and (c), the speaker implies that a situation, which actually takes place tomorrow, is felt to be in a more distant future.

(16) Bamileke-Dschang (Comrie 1985: 91)

a. *"normal" use:*
Àà 'lù'ú táŋ è'zɔɔ (with tomorrow tense and adverbial tomorrow)
"He will bargain tomorrow"

b. *subjectively further away than it really is:*
À'á lá^{ʔ} 'taŋ è'zɔɔ (with after-tomorrow tense and adverbial tomorrow)
"He will bargain tomorrow"

c. *subjectively closer than it really is:*
Àà 'lù'ú táŋ àlé^{ʔ} èé (with tomorrow tense and adverbial „day after tomorrow")
"He will bargain the day after tomorrow"

What becomes salient from these examples is the fact, that "the speaker is [not just] playing with extended meanings of items", as Comrie (1985: 91) calls it. Thus, these constructions cannot be compared with the English construction "The movie stars of yesterday", where the time adverbial "yesterday" is used in an extended meaning. From the examples above can be inferred that the literal meaning of the time adverbials is maintained, so it cannot be considered a metaphorical extension like in English. Rather, the blurred boundaries between the tenses make it possible for some languages to draw on one or the other for subjective purposes.
Regarding the number of remoteness degrees, the most common limit is two or three at most. Still, there is evidence that a couple of languages show a four-way or more distinction. One example for a four-term system is Mabuiag, an Australian indigenous language. In addition to the common opposition "today" vs. "yesterday" and "remote" past, speakers are able to grammatically refer to a situation which took place last night (1985: 96). The language with the most elaborate system in remoteness distinction ever attested is Kiksht (Comrie 1985: 87), a recently extinct Amerindian language of Northwest US. Kiksht basically draws from a remoteness system consisting of four distinct tense prefixes. This four-term system can be broken down further

by adding items from another pair of prefixes: *u-* and *t-* (roughly meaning earlier period and later period, respectively). Three of the four tense prefixes (*ga(l), ni(g)* and *i(g)*) may be combined with the two morphemes *u-* or *t-*, resulting in a remoteness paradigm consisting of up to seven differentiations.

(17) Kiksht (Comrie 1985: 99f)

ga(l)	from one year ago back	→	ga(l)	u-	remote past
			ga(l)	t-	from one to ten years ago
ni(g)	from preceding week to one year ago	→	ni(g)	u-	from a week to a year ago
			ni(g)	t-	last week
na(l)	yesterday or preceding couple of days		Ø		
i(g)	earlier today	→	?i(g)	u-	earlier today
			?i(g)	t-	just now

Interestingly, this complex system only operates in the past, the future has (apart from the two morphemes u-/t- yielding near and remote future) no such detailed distinctions in distance.

In the majority of languages in Dahl's investigation, remoteness is treated as a secondary feature of a certain TAM category (specifically PRF or PLUPRF), as it only plays a minor role. He mentions the Bantu family as the only language family, in which remoteness is cross-linguistically regarded a "major TAM category" (1985: 127f). Within Bantu languages, more than 80% of the languages in Nurse's database (2008) show more than one division in past time reference (see Table 1). Still, over 70% have either two or three different past tenses. More than three is, however, only occasionally attested (10 languages have four pasts). Some varieties in Congo are said to have five pasts, however, these cases are controversial. Again, the picture of future distinctions looks different: more than the half (56%) have just one or even no future tense. Two or three divisions are found in about 40% of all languages, and only a handful possess four distinctive forms (Nurse 2008: 21f).

Number of tenses	No. of languages with ___ pasts	No. of languages with ___ futures	No. of languages where total pasts = total futures
0	0	9	0
1	17	47	15
2	41	25	17
3	31	16	9
4	10	1	1
5	1	2	0

Table 1 Numbers of pasts and futures in the matrix languages in Nurse (2008: 89)

Just as described above, Bantu languages also commonly make a distinction between hodiernal and non-hodiernal pasts. A Bantu day typically starts at sunrise and ends just before the next sunrise. Thus, a hodiernal past refers to events from sunrise on the same day, while the pre-hodiernal form is used for all events prior to today. In the same vein, a hodiernal future is used until the next dawn (Nurse 2008: 90). When a third past tense comes in, it mostly splits up the time span of yesterday and the time before yesterday. The few languages with four-way distinctions often add the category "immediate" for events just happened.

Most common pattern for past distinctions in Bantu languages:

Two past-system: P1 pre-hodiernal; P2 hodiernal
Three past-system: P1 remote; P2 hesternal (maybe some days before); P3 hodiernal
Four past-system: P1 remote; P2 hesternal (maybe some days before); P3 hodiernal; P4 immediate

Future distinctions are commonly made on two grounds in Bantu. Some languages simply draw the dividing lines based on the temporal distance from the present, as is done with past. Others, however, distinguish future events mainly in terms of certainty and likelihood, without considering distance at all (Nurse 2008: 92). In this regard, Dahl (1985: 126) points out, that objective time measures, such as tomorrow or next week, are most often irrelevant for remoteness divisions in future time, but certainty about an event to happen appear to be more important for future tense distinctions. Consider the four-way distinction for future time reference in Sena:

(18) Sena (Nurse 92)

Ndi-na-dya	“I will eat (near, more certain)”
Ndi-na-ti ndi-dy-e	(far, more certain: AUX -ti ‘say’, SBJ -e in second verb)
Ndi-sa-funa ku-dya	(near, less certain: -funa ‘want’)
Ndi-na-dza ka-dya	(far, less certain: 3s SM lost on second verb: dza < ‘come’)

However, such systems do exist. Whiteley and Muli (1962: 41ff), investigating the language Kamba, observe that the tense used for present events that will take place within the next 24 hours. There are two additional future tenses, the first is “for events occurring subsequently to the time of speaking up to a period of some months”, the second for “actions taking place at some point after a few months, though it is clear that there is some looseness in this” (Whiteley and Muli 1962).

(19) Kamba (Whiteley and Muli 1962: 41)

Nunu(k)ukoota	“He is pulling, about to pull' (within 24 hours)
Aka:koota	“We will pull' (up to some months)
Nitukaatata	“We shall try” (after a few months)

The question on the rigidness of remoteness distinction in Bantu is hard to answer because many language description do not give enough evidence for claiming a language to be rigid or flexible. However, Nurse (2008: 93) comes to the conclusion, that “flexible, relative time reference is more frequent than are rigid cut-off points”, since subjective perceptions leading to a freer choice are very frequently involved.

1.3 Aspect

The category of aspect involves two dimensions, aspect expressed grammatically first and lexical aspect second. The latter is dealt with in chapter (1.3.5). When talking about the concept of “aspect”, it is Comrie’s (1976: 3) formulation which is most often taken as the basic definition. It says that “aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”. Just as was mentioned in the chapter on tense (1.2), when dealing with aspect, it cannot be treated independently from tense, as both categories usually interact with each other. Other than tense, aspect is not a deictic category. The function of aspect is not to relate the event to other points in time but to create different viewpoints of looking at a situation. That is why

grammatical aspect is also known as "viewpoint aspect" (de Swart 2012: 2). The following two examples exemplify the different viewpoints achieved by different aspects:

(20) a. "When Bill came into the office, Sara left through the back door."
b. "When Bill came into the office, Sara was leaving through the back door."

While a. describes two short events in subsequent order, in b. the two events overlap each other, with the progressive construction in b. showing the incompleteness of Sarah's departure. The oppositional viewpoints are discussed in the following subchapters. Since English is not the best language to explore aspect, I will give a few insights from aspectual systems in other languages.

1.3.1 Perfective vs. Imperfective

As Dahl (1985: 69) points out, perfective and imperfective are commonly seen as the most typical aspect categories. There is a high frequency of appearance: the PFV:IPFV distinction is attested in 45 out of 64 languages in Dahl's investigation. The difference between the two categories lies in the difference in viewpoint. Following Comrie's definition, "perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation" (Comrie 1976: 16). A typical example for this aspectual distinction is the following:

(21) "John was reading when I entered."

The progressive construction *was reading* establishes the background for the situation and gives an insight into the internal temporal constituency (Comrie 1976: 4). However, it does neither point towards the beginning nor the end of the action, but describes the situation as continuous without boundaries. On the contrary, the second verb describes the action of entry as a single event and places it into the middle of the other event, John's reading (i.e. John's reading is interrupted by my entry). It does not make any reference to the internal structure of the action, but depicts the action as a "single unanalysable whole" without dividing the event into different phases (1976: 3). While the first verb is said to have imperfective aspect, the second shows perfective aspect. Comrie (1976: 4) offers a good explanation when trying to differ between

these two aspects. When the imperfective is used, one looks at the situation from the inside and is therefore able to discern the different phases of the event. In contrast, with the perfective aspect the speaker/hearer looks at the situation from the outside and is therefore not in the position to describe the internal structure. Dahl (1985: 78) adds that events referred to in the perfective aspect are "more often than not […] punctual", and considered "a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded". Furthermore perfective categories are most often attested for past time reference (1985: 79). Despite this strong tendency, there are some important counterexamples, e.g. the Russian non-past Perfective, which excludes present meaning, but can only refer to the future:

(22) Russian (Dahl 1985: 80)
Ja napišu pis'mo
"I write (Perfective Non-Past) a letter"

As to the imperfective aspect, in some languages it is expressed by only one category, but other languages have more specific imperfective categories. Thus, the imperfective category is subdivided into various subclassifications, illustrated in Comrie's table of classification:

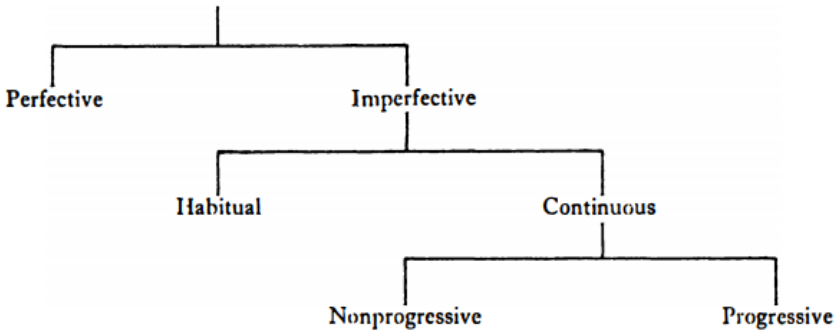

Figure 3 Classification of aspectual oppositions (Comrie 1976: 25)

The most common subdivisions are habituality and continuousness, which is again divided into non-progressive and progressive aspects. The English aspect system shows only a habitual aspect in the past, as in "He used to dance", although the Simple Past "He danced" does not exclude a habitual reading.

It should be noted that a situation described with a perfective form is not necessarily one of short duration, as in the case of entering a room. Likewise, the use of the imperfective does not mean that the situation must be long. A good example illustrating this comes from French *Il*

régna trente ans (Past Definite) vs. *Il régnait trente ans* (Imperfect). The distinct forms of the verb do not say anything about the length of the reign, it rather differs in the way this situation is viewed. Although the period of thirty years is a long one, the speaker is still able to use perfective *régna*, referring to the totality of the reign. Here, the speaker is not interested in saying anything about what happened during this period. In contrast, *régnait* rather views the time span in its internal structure, indicating that "at any point during those thirty years he was indeed reigning" (Comrie 1976: 17). The function of the imperfective form is primarily to provide background information.

A perfective form is also commonly regarded as being resultative at the same time. However, Comrie (1976: 21) warns that resultativity should not be considered a necessary feature of perfectivity, as this would emphasize the final phase rather than the totality of the situation. Still, in some languages the successful completion of an event is decisive for choosing perfective or imperfective in some verbs. Consider the Russian examples:

(23) Russian (Comrie 1976: 20f.)
Ja ugovoril (PFV) ego "I succeeded in persuading him"
Ja ugovarival (IPFV) ego "I tried to persuade him (but did not succeed)"

It is important to note that the use of the one or the other aspect is not prescribed when describing a situation, as one and same situation can be viewed from different angles. The situation in (21) can also be described as "John read a book and I entered the room" and does not change the situation, but describes it only from a different point of view.

In Dahl's study, the sentence „What did your brother do after dinner yesterday? He WRITE letters" was mostly translated using a perfective form in the majority of languages (1985: 74). Consider the following Russian translation:

(24) Russian (Dahl 1985: 75)
a. On pisal pis'ma "He wrote letters" (IPFV)
b. On napisal pis'ma "He wrote letters" (PFV)

As already mentioned in the introduction, Russian (or Slavic languages in general) is often treated as a classic example for the distinction PFV:IPFV. However, there is an important restriction. The second sentence is only acceptable if *pis'ma* ("letters") refers to a definite set of

letters. If the event is not limited in some way, then the action of writing is considered an unbounded activity and makes the perfective use impossible. That means that for a Russian speaker telicity of an action is a decisive property in choosing the right aspect (Dahl 1985: 75). The imperfective in Slavic languages is said to have a "general factual" or "simple denotative" function (1985: 75). This means it is often used for the purpose of stating that an event did take place without the need to specify whether it was completed or not. This is the case in a. above. Since the Slavic imperfective is less concrete in meaning, the perfective appears to be the marked form. This is a peculiarity in Slavic languages, because cross-linguistically there is no clear tendency of PFV or IPFV being the typically marked one (1985: 69).

At times it can be observed that a linguistic concept is referred to by different labels, which may cause some confusion. An example for such a misunderstanding pairing are the two terms "perfective" and "perfect", which are sometimes used in the literature to refer to the same phenomenon, without drawing a clear difference. However, it is important to note that they are not easily interchangeable. As Comrie (1976: 12) points out, the label "perfective" should be used in the sense outlined above, i.e. "a situation viewed in its entirety". By contrast, when speaking of a "perfect" situation, an event in the past has relevance for the present moment (see 1.3.2). In order to avoid this confusion of terms, some linguists prefer to replace the name "perfective" by "aoristic" (Comrie 1976: 12), or "anterior" instead of "perfect" (Nurse 2008: 154). Another pair of terms which causes problems in distinguishing, is "progressive" vs. "continuous". This difference is dealt with in chapter (1.3.4).

1.3.2 Perfect – an undetermined category

A category whose status is controversial, is the perfect category. The question on whether to treat it as a tense or aspect is not always easy to answer. In the literature, it is generally treated as an aspect than as tense, although it differs from other aspects in some respects (Comrie 1976: 52). That is, the perfect does not tell how an event is constructed (as complete or incomplete), but rather "expresses a relation between two time-points, […] the state resulting from a prior situation, and […] the time of that prior situation" (1976: 52). More specifically, the perfect incorporates both the present and a previous moment, with the function to indicate "continuing present relevance of a past situation" (1976: 52). The difference of the following two sentences is that the perfect in a., leads to the assumption that the keys are still lost, while b. does not indicate this.

(25) a. “I have lost my keys.”
b. “I lost my keys. “

The perfect can be combined with different tenses, such as the present perfect in a. above, but also with the past (past perfect) or the future (future perfect). In all three cases, the perfect always expresses a relation between two points. While the present perfect relates a present state with a past situation, the past perfect establishes a relation between a past state and a situation prior to it (e.g. “John had eaten the fish”). Similarly, the future perfect expresses a relation between a state in the future and an earlier situation (e.g. “John will have eaten the fish”) (Comrie 1976: 53). This is what makes it also different from a past tense, as the perfect adds present relevance, which is not the case with tenses.
Moreover, a sentence formed in the perfect does not allow the use of certain time adverbials which specify a definite past time, e.g. **I have met him yesterday* (Comrie 1985: 34), but only a few adverbial such as *just* or *already* are permitted in perfect constructions. However, this is only what can be observed for the perfect in English. In other languages it is possible to form such sentences with the same function of expressing recentness.

(26) Norwegian (Comrie 1985: 32)
I natt har jeg sovet godt.
“Last night I slept (lit. have slept) well.”

Also the Spanish perfect can be used in contexts without any present relevance:

(27) Spanish (Comrie 1985: 85)
Lo he visto hoy a las seis de la manana
“I saw (lit. have seen) him at six o'clock in the morning today.”

The perfect appears to have different meanings or functions, however, not all languages which have a perfect category do necessarily express all these meanings (Comrie: 1976: 56ff):

1. *perfect of result*: “a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation”

Example: “I have opened the window (therefore it is cold in here).”

Typical perfects of results are found in Bantu languages, e.g. the Swahili perfect constructions *amechoka* (lit. "He has become tired") or *amesimama* (lit. "He has stood up") are typically translated in present (continuous) forms "He is tired."/"He is standing."

2. *experiential perfect* "indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present"

Example: "Have you met my brother at any time in your life until now?

3. *perfect of persistent situation*: "to describe a situation that started in the past but continues (persists) into the present".

Example: "He has been coughing for an hour."

Other languages, such as German, use the present tense here: *Er hustet seit einer Stunde*.

4. *perfect of recent past*: "the present relevance of the past situation referred to is simply one of temporal closeness"

Example: "He has just arrived (one minute ago)."

Especially the similarity between perfect and near pasts often leads to the assumption that the two concepts are in fact one and the same. The reason for assuming this is most obviously the tendency that a recent event has generally a stronger present relevance on the present than a remote event has: "If we are sitting now, that is most likely because we sat down recently, not two weeks or two years ago" (Nurse 2008: 95). Comrie additionally notes, that the meaning of recentness is actually not part of the perfect itself but is the result of an "implicature from its meaning of present relevance of a past situation" (1985: 84). The special behaviour of stative verbs used in a perfect form compared to action verbs causes Nurse to argue for treating perfect as an aspect:

> "For an action verb, for example, anterior [=perfect] represents a situation that is completed but relevant, whereas for a stative verb anterior represents the continuing state resulting from an action initiated in the past" (Nurse 2008: 73)

The use of a perfect form with stative verbs is also commonly found in Bantu languages. In the empirical part, I will have a closer look into the behaviour of stative verbs in Pangwa.

1.3.3 Habituality

A special case of the imperfective aspect is habituality. A necessary feature of a habitual situation is that it must extend over a period of time, "so that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period" (Comrie 1976: 26). For example, the Swahili sentence in (28), which has a special habitual form for present habituals, refers to the person's habit to clean the house every Saturday:

(28) Swahili

Yeye	hu-fagi-a	kila	Jumamosi
PRO.3SG	HAB-sweep-FV	every	Saturday

"(S)he sweeps everday Saturday"

Iterativity, i.e. the repetition of a situation or action in a situation, is often taken as an essential feature of habituality, which is not always the case, though. A situation referred to by a habitual form may involve iterativity, but as Comrie (1976: 27) points out, "the mere repetition of a situation is not sufficient for that situation to be referred to by a specifically habitual (or, indeed, imperfective) form". From the sentence "She used to bake cakes" follows the necessary implication that she *repeatedly* baked cakes over an extended period of time, so the iterative meaning is clearly present. However, the sentence "The man stopped his speech and coughed a few times" describes the man's coughing as an iterative action, but a habitual meaning cannot be inferred here and it is therefore not possible to use a habitual form (Comrie 1976: 27). Moreover, a habitual form may describe to a situation, which does not involve iterativity: "She used to know him" is a habitual description of a situation which lasts over a long period of time without interruption.

The frequency of a special habitual category (HAB) in Dahl's investigation is rather low. Moreover, HAB is generally not used in expressing a generic sense. The generic category is normally used in situational contexts of "nomic or lawlike character, [in which] the typical or characteristic properties of a species, a kind, or an individual" is described (Dahl 1985: 99). An overt marking for generic sentences is rarely attested in languages of the world (1985: 99f). In most languages a sentence having a generic meaning is mostly formed with the "most unmarked TMA category" (1985: 100). An illustrative example comes from English, where the Simple Present is used for expressing a generic meaning: "Dogs bark".

For references to habitual situation in the past, the category HABPAST is applied. Though the semantics of HABPAST is the combination of habituality in past situations, it is important to note that it is treated as a separate category and are not analysable as a combination of HAB and a past tense (1985: 100). A clear example for a special form for past habitual is the English construction *used to.*

1.3.4 Continuousness / Progressiveness

Continuousness is a subtype of the imperfective aspect not involving habituality (Comrie 1976: 33). It is usually found in continuing situations, which include stative meanings. In contrast, progressiveness is just a special type of continuousness, referring to a progressing situation combined with nonstativity. The progressive is normally used for dynamic actions (Dahl 1985: 94). For example, "John was walking down the road" describes a dynamic action in progress compared to the "John was standing in front of the house", a stative verb with continuous meaning. As Dahl (1985: 93) notes, though being considered a part of the imperfective category, the continuous/progressive category is "almost independent of time reference", i.e. is appears both in with past, present and future reference.

There are languages which have distinct forms for each progressive and non-progressive which cannot be exchanged. Other languages show an optional use of these forms, such as Spanish or French: The sentences *Juan está cantando/Jean est en train de chanter* "John is singing" explicitly express progressiveness, but the non-progressive forms *Juan canta/Jean chante* do not exclude a progressive meaning (Comrie 1976: 33).

Verbs which are stative in nature (e.g. "to know") usually cannot appear in progressive constructions, since the necessary feature of progressiveness to be non-stative would lead to a contradiction, e.g.: **he is knowing*. Regarding the degree of stativity of verbs, there is some cross-linguistical deviation. There is no exact boarding line to what is considered stative or dynamic. What some languages consider to be stative, is treated as non-stative in other languages. This oppositional view is apparent in Spanish and Icelandic: A Spanish person would usually say *está lluviendo* ("it is raining"), while the progressive form in Icelandic is not possible *hannlþað rignir*. In other words, Icelandic treats the process of raining more as a state than a process. Another example would be the progressive/non-stative use of verbs of perception in Portuguese, which is not possible in English: **I am seeing you*. These differences can be explained by how active someone perceives the process (of e.g. raining or seeing) (Comrie 1976: 35). The pro-

gressive category in English has adopted uses which do not match the basic meaning of progressiveness as the combination of continuous meaning and nonstativity (Comrie 1976: 38). An example for such an extended meaning is "I'm understanding more about quantum mechanics as each day goes by". The originally stative verb *understand* is formed in the progressive aspect to express a non-stative meaning. This usage has the function of highlighting the growing process of understanding (Comrie 1976: 36).
In Dahl's investigation, 28 out of 64 languages show the category of progressive aspect, the majority of them are Indo-European (1985: 90). In a great majority of languages, the progressive aspect is formed periphrastically, most often with an auxiliary (1985: 91).

1.3.5 Persistive

A further aspectual category, which is cross-linguistically "extremely rare" (Comrie 1985: 53), but commonly attested in Bantu languages, is the persistive aspect. In Bantu languages it is possible to grammatically refer to a situation that "has held continuously since an implicit or explicit point in the past up to the time of speaking" (Nurse 2008: 145). The persistive is often associated with the progressive aspect and treated as a type of imperfective, combining past and present time reference. This explains why persistives are often based morphologically on the imperfective or progressive (Nurse 2008: 24). In the matrix languages of Nurse's study, it appears in roughly 56 % of languages. It is often a variant of the Proto-Bantu **kí*. The following example shows its usage in Luganda, with the persistive marker *kya:*

(29) Luganda (Comrie 1985: 53)
Ente tu-kya-gi-noonya
cow 1PL-PERS-OBJ-seek
"We are still looking for the cow"

1.3.6 Lexical aspect and verbs semantics

As already mentioned in (1.3), aspect is not only expressed by grammatical devices but is also an "inherent semantic value" of lexical verbs (Dahl 1985: 26). This is also referred to as Aktionsart or aspectual classes (de Swart 2012: 3). Therefore, it is essential to take account of lexical meaning in verbs as well. In this respect, one can speak of a "bidimensional approach" (Sasse 2002) when dealing with aspectuality. Both grammatical aspect and lexical aspect stand in constant relationship, as the choice of an aspectual form is always dependent on the semantics

of the verb. As Dahl (1985: 26) points out, it is not always easy to make a clear cut between grammatical and lexical aspect as both grammar and lexicon show permanent interrelation. Clear examples for the strong influence of lexical semantics are the following two verbs with an obvious aspectual difference:

(30) "He slept for two hours."
"*The bomb exploded for two hours."

1.3.6.1 Vendler's verb classification

A well-known distinction of verbal semantics is the classification created by Vendler (1957). He basically distinguishes between activities, states, achievements and accomplishments, based on the inherent temporal properties of a verb. Typical examples for each verb class are the following:

(31) Activities: "He is running."
Accomplishments: "He is running a mile."
Achievements: "He reached the top."
States: "He loved the girl."

Only activities and accomplishments can be formed in the progressive aspect. Activities are characterized by the fact, that they do not tell how long the action took place, i.e. there is no terminal point. With accomplishments, there is "a 'climax' which has to be reached if the action is to be what it is claimed to be" (Vendler 1957: 145). Achievement verbs typically hold only for a single point in time, while states last for a period of time (1957: 146). Thus, an utterance like "He reached the top in three hours" is possible but misleading, since "reaching the top" is a punctual event. What is meant here is that it took him three hours to climb the mountain until he finally reached the top. The difference to accomplishment verbs becomes clear if the event is interrupted. When the action of an accomplishment verb like "write a letter in an hour" is interrupted, one can still say that he or she indeed was writing, but with achievements like "reach the top", one cannot claim to be reaching the top at any time during the ascent (Vendler 1957: 147f). States always extend over a short or long period and are persistent, unless they are changed. As a contrast to states, Comrie (1976: 13) speaks of dynamic situations, which always entail change or movement. These include events and processes, the former being "dynamic

situations viewed as a complete whole (perfectively), whereas [the latter] are dynamic situations viewed in progress, from within (imperfectively)."

1.3.6.2 Telic and atelic verbs

In analysing the aspectual value of a sentence, there is a further facet involved in verb semantics. Verbs can be distinguished in their boundedness, so that a dynamic situation may either be interpreted as telic (bounded) or atelic (unbounded). A situation is telic only if it involves a "well-defined terminal point beyond which the process cannot continue" (Comrie 1976: 45). In contrast, atelic situations are open-ended, that is, there is no limit involved. This can be achieved in different ways, depending on the language. In English, one and the same verb may lead to different aspectual readings when the whole noun phrase taken into account. This is illustrated in the following sentence pair (de Swart 2012: 4):

(32) a. "Susan ate an apple."
b. "Susan ate apples."

Sentence a. is said to be telic, or bounded, since it indicates completion, whereas b. is considered atelic, or unbounded because no endpoint is involved. This difference is achieved by modifying the object in its number. That is why Verkuyl (1972) rejects the term "lexical aspect" as it is not only the verb itself, which leads to different aspectual meanings. He suggests, that one should always include the predicate-argument structure when analysing aspect.
Furthermore, many languages make use of derivational morphology with verbs, which lead to even more complex aspectual values (Dahl 1985: 27). For example, in German it is possible to form derived verbs like *aufessen* or *erkämpfen* from originally atelic verbs *essen* and *kämpfen*. What makes it even more complicated is the fact that verbs always appear in a specific context, which makes it difficult to separate the "'inherent aspectual meaning' from contextual influences" (1985: 27). Consequently, there is a huge variability in the usage of verbs resulting in various aspectual meanings.

2. The Bantu verb

This chapter is concerned with the basic structure of the verb in Bantu languages. First, I will give some general information on Bantu. With the help of examples from different languages, I will give an overview of the most common verbal constructions in Bantu.

2.1 General facts about Bantu

Bantu languages are spoken in a vast area of sub-Saharan Africa, from the Nigerian/Cameroon border further into south. Despite the presence of other language families, Bantu languages are considered the most widespread in that area. Bantu languages are divided into different zones (A-S) in order to identify every single language by its own language code. Both Kiswahili (G42) and Pangwa (G64) belong to the G zone situated in East Africa (Guthrie 1967: 48).

Map 1 Countries with Bantu-speaking communities (Nurse 2008: 3)

According to Maho (1999), Bantu has over 550 varieties. This number appears to be the upper border, as most other Bantuists count smaller numbers. Nurse (2008: 2), in his extensive study of tense and aspect in Bantu languages, assumes that the number amounts to some 300 languages. This is because he considers the term Bantu "variety" as problematic, since it also covers many dialects. The probably best-known language of these is Kiswahili, which is spoken by roughly 30 million people and serves primarily as a second language for East African inhabitants (Maho 1999: 20), as well as for the speakers of Pangwa, the object language in this thesis.

2.2 Basic structure of the finite verb

In general, languages are often categorized as being either agglutinative or inflectional, the former type being characterized by long strings of affixes each with a transparent function and meaning, while the latter have fusional character and a number of allomorphs. Bantu languages are especially known for their highly agglutinating nature or as Nurse (2008: 21) puts it, "Bantu languages are 'verby'". This common attribution should, however, not be regarded in a very strict sense. Nurse claims (2008: 28) that the strict distinction between inflectional and agglutinating languages is in many cases not appropriate, as only few languages are exclusively inflectional or agglutinating. He rather speaks of a cline "with ideal types at both ends and many languages along the cline". Of course Bantu languages are closer to the agglutinative end of the cline, but none of them is exclusively so. The following example from Nyakyusa (Persohn 2017: 63) shows how the combination of individual morphemes with separate meaning each, results in vowel/consonant alteration and shortening:

(33) Banjobaga (<ba-a-mu-job-aga) "They were speaking to him/her"

The basic shape of a Bantu verb is the following:

prefix(es) + verb root + (extensions) + final vowel

Bantu verbs are able to express a number of grammatical categories. Besides tense and aspect, other verbal categories are (amongst others): mood, polarity (negative vs. affirmative), relatives, degree of certainty of affirmation, subject, object, derivational extensions such as passive, conditionals, focus etc. (Nurse 2008: 11). One Bantu verb may consist of, as a maximum, eleven slots. These are filled with various pre- and suffixes expressing the just mentioned categories, with the verb stem (usually) as the center. As Nurse (2008: 21) points out, "'up to eleven slots' does not mean 'up to eleven morphemes'". Instead, one verb may comprise even more morphemes, as the post-stem slots allow more morphemes per slot. The longest morpheme string attested in a language description so far is made up of twenty morphemes, in the Congolese language Nande (2008: 21). Dahl (1985: 185), in his cross-linguistic study on TAM, even speaks of Bantu languages having "the most complex TMA systems in general".

One verbal form is restricted to have only one tense, as the event referred to can only be situated at one specific time (either past, present or future). However, the verb may contain one or more

aspects. This is because a situation can be viewed in various ways at the same time. With iteratives, for example, the perfective and imperfective can be combined in order to express an indefinite succession of single complete events (Nurse 2008: 14).
In languages worldwide, prefixation seems to be cross-linguistically much less common in TMA marking than suffixation, according to Dahl's observation (1985: 185). In this context, he names the Bantu languages an extraordinary case, since they also extensively draw on prefixation. The formal pattern of encoding tense and aspect is largely the same in most Bantu languages. In most cases, tense is encoded left and aspect on the right of the verbal stem (Nurse 2008: 80).

(34) Gikuyu (Nurse 2008: 14)
Tw-a-hanyok-aga
1SP-PST3-run-IPFV
"We were running"

Both tense and aspect morphemes may also appear before the stem, but still tense to the left of aspect(s):

(35) Pare (Nurse 2008: 15)
N-é-kí-na-ra-ima
1SG-PST-aspect1-aspect2-aspect3-stem
"I also used to till"

Despite the strong tendency to encode tense at the pre-stem position, a few languages use other positions to encode tense, such as in the final position:

(36) Pogolo (Nurse 2008: 81)
Tu-ø-hemer-iti
1p-null-buy-PST
"We bought"

Besides single inflected verbs, there is another kind of verbal construction, the compounds. They consist of "one or more inflected auxiliaries and an inflected main (lexical) verb" (Nurse 2008: 46). Compound constructions are attested in many Bantu languages, and mostly they

serve for expressing aspectual meanings when referring to past or future (less to present). The first verb (usually an auxiliary "to be") mostly expresses tense and the second lexical verb aspectual meaning, e.g. the persisitive aspect in the following example:

(37) Swahili (Nurse 2008: 15)
Tu-li-kuwa tu-ki-kimbia
1PL-PST-AUX.be 1PL-PERS-run
"We were running"

Most Bantu languages appear to have mostly the same set of aspects: perfective, imperfective, progressive, habitual, persistive and anterior (perfect). The perfective is typically the unmarked, the others tend to be the marked ones (Nurse 2008: 24), just as in the following example:

(38) Bukusu (Nurse 2008: 135)
a. xw-á-kul-a
1PL-PST-buy-FV
"We bought"'
b. xw-á-kul-ang-a
1PL-PST-buy-IPFV-FV
"We were buying"

The following table gives an overview on the most common verbal structures in Bantu languages:

Verbal Structure	**Singular imperatives**	**One-word structure**	**Two-word structures**	**Two/Three-word –compound**
Sample Language	Rimi (Nurse 28)	Nkoya (Nurse 29)	Basaa (Nurse 29)	Haya (Nurse 29)
Example	ghur-á ŋombe	w-a-mu-shíng-ile	a-bí-mal (ø)-tíl-a	tú-ka-bá ni-tu-ø-gur-á
Glossing	buy-FV cow	3SP-PST3-3OP-seek-PST3	3SP-PST2-finish (INF)-write-FV	1SP-PST3-be PROG-1SP-(PRES)-buy-FV

Trans-lation	"Buy a cow"	"She looked for him"	"He has finished to write"	"We were buying (long ago)' (lit. We were we are buy-ing)"
Notes	Consist of a root and final vowel	A single word comprising tense and aspect	1. inflected auxiliary 2. infinitive	1. inflected auxil-iary (tense and as-pect) 2. inflected main verb (mostly aspect)

Table 2 Most common verbal structures in Bantu languages (Nurse 2008: 29-31):

A particular structure, frequently attested in Bantu languages, is reduplication. Its function is connected to imperfective aspect, such as durative (a.), iterative (b.), habitual (c.) and also for expressing intensive action (d.) (Nurse 2008: 150):

(39) a. Swahili *-cheka* "laugh" > -cheka~cheka "keep laughing"

b. Bushoong *-bók* "throw" > la-bók-á~bók
1SG-throw~throw
"I throw often"

c. Solongo *-o-sumba* "buy" > o-sumba tu-ø~súmb-anga
INF-buy 1PL~buy-IPFV
"We buy regularly"

d. Kongo *-lunga* 'take care of ' > -lunga~lunga "take good care of"

As far as the shape of the TA morphemes is concerned, Nurse's (2008: 83) compared the languages in his database. The results show, that roughly 78% of the languages have a construction with *–a-* with past meaning. The combination *–a-…-a* is attested in 59% followed by *–a…-ile* or just *-ile* with 45% percent. However, the original distribution of *–a-…-ile* was much higher, since in many languages *–ile* got lost or shows only traces of it. For example, in Swahili the suffix completely disappeared, while Pangwa has completely retained the *–ile* form. The suffix

–ile (or the variants of it) appears to have diverse functions across Bantu languages. As Botne (2010: 32) observes, "it ranges from a perfect (anterior) or perfective aspect marker to a morpheme marking past tense." As already mentioned in (1.3.2), when used with a perfect meaning, it is often problematic to distinguish it from the near past tenses. A Bantu anterior "often involves the same situation at an earlier and a later time, chronologically ordered. Either the present or later state results from that earlier situation (mostly for stative verbs) or the past situation is relevant to the later situation (mostly for dynamic verbs)" (Nurse 2008: 95).
In contrast to past markers, the shape of future markers in Bantu is not as uniform, i.e. there is no strong preference for any special future morpheme. The only form, which is attested in 29% of all languages is *–ka-*, followed by *–la(a)* with 12%. Another possible strategy for future reference is the use of a derivative of the verb "come", e.g. (Nurse 2008: 85):

(40) Cewa (Nurse 2008: 86)
A-dzá-fik-a
3SG-FUT(come)-come-FV
"He will come (lit. He comes coming)"

A problem, which often turns up in Bantu languages, is where to set the borderline between bound and free grammatical morphemes. "In other words, it is often an open question whether a certain TMA marker should be regarded as a prefix or rather as e.g. an auxiliary" (Dahl 1985: 185). This problem also exists in Pangwa, especially in the future marker *ya* (see 3.4.3.2).

2.3 Verbal derivation

Bantu verbs show high degrees of derivational processes after the verb stem. These derivational extensions may express grammatical categories like passive, causative, applicative, separative, and reciprocity. In part, they have an effect on TA marking. Due to reasons of space, I will not go into further detail here, as there will be a more thorough description for verbal derivation in Pangwa in the empirical part.

III. Empirical Part

This chapter is concerned with the investigation of constructions expressing tense and aspect in Pangwa. The first subchapter gives a more general overview of the Pangwa language and its people. This is followed by a basic description of the morphophonological features and the structure of a Pangwa verb. The analysis of tense and aspect is divided into the main tense distinctions present, past and future. The subchapter on past constructions gives an insight into the remoteness distinctions in Pangwa. Since most of the data at my disposal are of narrative character, a large part of the TA analysis in past constructions focuses on different narrative strategies.

3.1 The Pangwa language and people

The object language of this paper belongs to the group called "Narrow (Central) Bantu", which comprises 353 languages mainly spoken in Kenya, Tanzania and Congo (Ethnologue).
Within Bantu, it is classified as follows:

Niger-Congo > Atlantic-Congo > Volta-Congo > Benue-Congo > Bantoid > Southern > Narrow Bantu > Central > G > Bena-Kinga > Pangwa

The Pangwa language area is located in the southwestern highlands of Tanzania. The Pangwa region extends over the Livingstone Mountains and borders at the Western shore of Lake Malawi (also known as Lake Nyasa). This area is inhabited by a few ethnic groups, with Pangwa being by far the largest group (70-75%). The total number of Pangwa speakers in Tanzania is estimated to be 95,000 (SIL 2003: 2). According to a sociolinguistic study conducted by SIL International in 2003, the attitude of the Pangwa speakers towards their native language is rather positive, considering it a „key component to being a Pangwa". The official language Swahili indeed plays a major role, especially in schools, church, politics and other formal domains (SIL 2003: 4). Nevertheless, Pangwa is the primary language spoken in everyday life. Pangwa has various dialects, but all speakers are able to understand each other (SIL 2003: 16). Pangwa is one of 13 languages in the Mbeya Cluster Project (MCP) carried out by SIL International.

Map 2 Pangwa language area (SIL 2003)

3.2 Previous linguistic research

The language description of Pangwa is still relatively poor. Since there is only little knowledge of the tense-aspect system in Pangwa, I will mainly rely on the data gathered during my investigation. The only published monograph so far on the grammar of Pangwa was published by Hans Stirnimann (1985) "Hands-on grammar of the Pangwa language". Stirnimann compiled a great number of data during his stay in the Pangwa region in 1979-1981. The paper contains descriptive material on both nominal and verbal constructions and a short phonological section. It also includes a wordlist with everyday life vocabulary. Before this linguistic work, he also published two ethnographies, "Bases of existence and traditional crafts of the Pangwa in South-west Tanzania" (1976), and "The Pangwa in SW-Tanzania. Social organisation and rituals of life" (1979). In addition, an unpublished general language description of Pangwa was drawn up by Andrea Strötzel, who has been working on the Pangwa language with SIL International.

As far as the orthography in Pangwa is concerned, it was first developed in 2012 by SIL International and is still subject of various orthography meetings for standardization of the languages. The data in this paper follow the current in the language community. SIL International has been working on compiling a lexical corpus and grammatical constructions with the help of the software Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEx), supplemented with various narrative texts.

3.2 Methodology of data collection

In order to address all the research question properly and as representative as possible, I will draw on different strategies for the investigation and evaluation of the data. The current pandemic situation has made it impossible to go for another visit in the speech area since my last visit in 2018. Therefore the contact to the Pangwa speakers has been proven difficult, unfortunately. In order to make the investigation still possible, I decided to primarily work with text data. The primary source of data is a text corpus of the object language, kindly made available by SIL International in Mbeya. The corpus comprises different types of texts: eight narrative stories of different lengths[1] and 16 bible texts of the gospel of Mark. As to the reliability of the data, especially the latter have been checked several times on correctness and were published. All the texts include translations into Swahili, the official language of Tanzania and second language of the Pangwa. The first step was to translate the given Swahili translations into English. Afterwards, I analysed the verbal constructions by breaking them down into separate morphemes. After (roughly) identifying the morphemes, I compared all the tense and aspect markers in their forms and meanings in relation to the contexts in which they appear. Due to unavoidable back and forth translations from Pangwa via Swahili into English, the risk of translation mistakes must be taken into account.

As an additional method of data acquisition, I created a questionnaire (see appendix) largely based on the well-known TAM questionnaire by Östen Dahl (1985). The advantage of working with this tool is the opportunity to choose appropriate sentences with different temporal and aspectual values. This helps to figure out whether (and how) Pangwa makes distinctions therein. It comprises numerous sentences and short texts, each of them accompanied by a context for specifying the situation in which the sentence is uttered. In each sentence the predicate in its

[1] The examples froms the texts are labelled with abbreviated capital letters for each title and its corresponding sentence number: POG: People of God, MAC: Monkey & Crocodile, MAB: Young Man & Bird, SOA: Story of Agnes, RAC: Rabbit and Chicken, AAT: Animals and Tails, CAM: Cats and mice

infinitival form is presented in capital letters in order to avoid too much influence from the source language Swahili. The native Pangwa speakers Ezekia Luoga (53 years old, from Ludende) and Bernard Haule (48 years old, from Luana), who work as Bible translators at the SIL International office in Mbeya are bilingual, speaking both Pangwa and Swahili very fluently. Since the Pangwa speakers only have little knowledge of English, Helen Eaton[2], the linguistic coordinator at the SIL office in Mbeya and my supervisor of my last stay in Tanzania, kindly translated my questions into Swahili and passed them on to the Pangwa speakers, who in turn translated them into their native language. I received their answers in written form and an additional audio file made it possible to listen to their anwers of the questionnaire. Whenever follow-up questions appeared, direct elicitation was possible via correspondence with my supervisor.

The fact that English and the Bantu languages differ significantly in their structures, poses a challenge. Therefore, one-to-one translations are not possible in some places and translations are to be treated with caution as potential influence by the Swahili translations cannot be fully excluded. Certain linguistic traits in Pangwa might be disguised by the Swahili translations. Additionally, I compared my findings to those of other Bantu languages, mainly Nyakyusa and Chichewa, to discover similarities or differences in the TA systems.

3.3 Short typological overview

The purpose of this chapter is to give a basic outline of the most characteristic features in Pangwa's grammar. In analysing the temporal and aspectual system in Pangwa, morphophonological features turn out to be an important factor for distinguishing the various tenses and aspects. Therefore it makes sense to give a short overview of the basic phonological rules and processes. Especially vowels are important in TAM contexts. Afterwards I will give a short insight into the noun class system.

3.3.1 The vowel system

Pangwa's vowel system consists of five vowels, which are contrastive in length:

	front	central	back
high	i i:		u u:

[2] I am very grateful for her assistence and helpful advice throughout the duration of writing this paper

mid	e e:		o o:
low		a a:	

Table 3 Vowel phoneme inventory (based on Strötzel)

Phonemic long vowels only appear stem-medially, while short vowels have no such restriction. There are a few minimal pairs with distinct lexical meaning due to differing lengths of the vowel of a verbal stem:

(41)	[uxup^{h}ela]	"to stop"	[uxup^{h}e:la]	"to give"
	[uxup^{h}uka]	"to blow"	[uxup^{h}u:ka]	"to wander"
	[uxudima]	"to fall"	[uxudi:ma]	"to raise"
	[uxupata]	"to get"	[uxupa:ta]	"to peel off bark"

3.3.2 Morphophonological processes

The subject morpheme prefixed onto the verb stem is usually written with a long vowel with C or CV-stem verbs, short otherwise:

(42)	CV:	U-mu-unu	**ii-ly-a**	CVC: U-mu-unu	**i-chov-a**
		AUG-1-man	3SG.PRES-eat-FV	AUG-1-man	3SG.PRES-say-FV
		"The man eats/is eating"		"The man says/is saying"	

Particularly interesting for the TAM analysis is the process of vowel lengthening, vowel elision and glide formation due to morphological reasons. When vowels with the same quality meet at a morpheme boundary, the vowel is usually lengthened (43). When the vowel /a/ meets another vowel with a different quality, /a/ often gets elided (44). The vowel /u/ changes into a glide, whenever it is adjacent to another vowel of different quality (45).

(43)	a:chovile	a-a-chov-ile	"he said"
		3SG-PST-say-PFV	
(44)	iyandikha	a-i-yandikh-a	"he/she writes/is writing"
		3SG-PRES-write-FV	
(45)	mwibita	mu-i-bit-a	"you (PL) walk/are walking"
		2PL-PRES-walk-FV	

Difference in vowel length is also crucial in distinguishing perfect and past meaning:

(46)	atovile	a-tov-ile	"he has hit"
		3SG-hit-PFV	
(47)	a:tovile	a-a-tov-ile	"he hit"
		3SG-PST-hit-PFV	

3.3.3 Perfective –ile and its variants

The suffix -*ile* is the underlying perfective form found in a huge number of Bantu languages. Verbs suffixed with this morpheme show strong formal variation. It has various shapes, depending on the verbal stem to which it is suffixed. The most straightforward use is the simple suffixation of –*ile*, without any change in its form:

(48)	U-muunu	a-tov-ile
	1-man	3SG-beat-PFV
	"The man has beaten"	

(49)	ich-a	"come"	+ ile	>	ichile
	lond-a	"look for, want"	+ ile	>	londile
	many-a	"know"	+ ile	>	manyile
	hek-a	"leave"	+ ile	>	hekile

In many other cases the verb stem acts upon the shape of the suffix. Depending on the stem, either vowel coalescence, vowel lengthening or glide formation takes place (although it is not always clear which process is the underlying one, since there are several counterexamples). Just as Persohn (2017: 145) observes "fusional morphology" in Nyakyusa verbs suffixed with -*ile*, some verb stems are subject to the process of "imbrication", i.e. overlapping. Also the Sambian language Bemba shows the process of imbrication, which involves vowel fusion (Kula 2001: 105). In this process, the vowel -*i*- is infixed before the last consonant of the base and the final vowel is raised to -*e*- (Persohn 2017: 145). It is important to note that verbs can also be used in the non-imbricated form, but the imbricated is more common. Moreover, for one verb even two different imbricated forms are attested.

process of imbrication: chalikha “hit” > chali<i>khe

(50)	fi**kha**	“arrive”	+ile	>	fiikhe
	yand**ikha**	“write”	+ile	>	yandiikhe
	pul**ikha**	“listen”	+ile	>	puliikhe
	laki**cha**	“instruct”	+ile	>	kiiche
	tawu**cha**	“permit”	+ile	>	wiiche
	hak**ama**	“cross”	+ile	>	hakiime
	kel**ama**	“follow”	+ile	>	keliime
	tambik**ana**	“extend”	+ile	>	tambikiine
	ping**ana**	“refute”	+ile	>	pingiine
	khalib**isa**	“welcome”	+ile	>	khalibiise
	chil**isa**	“put out”	+ile	>	chiliise

Another process, which Persohn observes in Nyakyusa is “copying” (2017: 145). In a handful of verbs this is also found in Pangwa, though slightly adapted from the process in Nyakyusa. In this process, the last base consonant is reduplicated after a lengthened *-ii-*.

process of copying: /-CV/ → /-CiiCe/

(51)	von-a	“see, meet”	+ile	>	voniine
	kuch-a	“buy”	+ile	>	kuchiiche

Verbs with applicative extensions *-il/-el* after the stem, show glide formation *–ye.* With stems ending in *-kh*, spirantization can be observed for some verbs.

(52)	hel-el-a	“walk+APPL”	+ ile	>	helye
	khol-el-a	“find+APPL”	+ ile	>	kholye
	ing-il-a	“enter + APPL”	+ ile	>	ingye
	chov-el-a	“tell + APPL”	+ ile	>	chovye

fikh-il-a	“arrive + APPL”	+ ile	>	fishe
yandikh-il-a	“write + APPL”	+ ile	>	yandishele

The fused forms and blurred boundaries of the root and the variants of *–ile* make it hard to clearly separate the morphemes, i.e. to determine the exact boundary between them. For reasons of clarity, example sentences containing fused verbal forms are always accompanied by the surface structure (as the verb appears in text) in italics, followed by the glossed underlying morphemes, e.g.:

(53) *Mwingye*
Mw-ingil-ile
2PL-enter-PFV
“You (PL) have entered”

When suffixing *–ile* onto monosyllabic verbs, *i* usually changes into *e.* Besides this general rule, it is also possible to drop *i* and *l,* just leaving the final *e.*

(54)	-fw-a	“die”	+ ile	>	-fwele
	-lw-a	“fight”	+ ile	>	-lwele
	-ly-a	“eat”	+ile	>	-lye

3.3.4 Noun classes

The Bantu noun classes are fundamentally different to the gender system of Indo-European languages. Since the comprehensive noun class system is of less importance in analysing grammatical tense and aspect, I will not go into details here. Suffice it to say that, just like the most Bantu languages, Pangwa has 18 noun classes which are divided into singular and plural pairings of nouns, often classified due to their semantics. Each noun is categorized into a certain noun class, distinguished by special agreement prefixes. For example, noun classes 1 (SG) and 2 (PL) comprise all nouns with the meaning “human being” and “kinship”, whereas noun classes 3 (SG) and 4 (PL) includes plants, natural phenomena and other non-animates, etc. (Stirnimann 1983: 22). Classes 16-18 are locative classes (16 *pa* near place, 17 *khu* far place, 18 *mu* inside). The noun class system is productive in the sense that it is able to incorporate new nouns into its system; there is even a special class for loans (NC 9/10). The agreement

prefixes of each noun class also serve for cross-references in the verb, adjectives, demonstratives, possessives etc. (Katamba 2006: 103).

3.3.5 Morphological structure of the Pangwa verb

Pangwa can be described as a highly agglutinative language, since nouns as well as verbs consist of various attached morphemes, with each morpheme having a single meaning. To a large part, these morphemes tend to remain unchanged when combined. Despite this general tendency of agglutination, Pangwa also has fusional character, particularly in verbal constructions. The following subchapter gives an overview on the morphological structure of finite Pangwa verbs.

3.3.5.1 The structure of the finite verb

The finite verb being agglutinative in nature has a number of slots which are filled with various inflectional and derivational morphemes. A verb in Pangwa typically consists of a verbal root prefixed and suffixed with various morphemes. These pre- and suffixes have different functions. Table 4 show the typical arrangement of verbal morphemes and its functions, adopting the terminology offered by Persohn for the neighbouring language Nyakyusa (2017: 53).

Position	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
	pre-initial	initial	post-initial[1]	post-initial[2]	pre-radical	radical	pre-final	final
Function	FUT NEG REL	SBJ	NEG	TMA	OBJ	ROOT	PASS CAUS APPL REF REC	FV (default -a, SBJV -e, PFV -ile)

Table 4 Segmentation of the verb

The positions which always need to be filled in a verbal form are #2, #4, #6 and #8. Only in the imperative, the filling of position #6 (root) and #8 (final vowel) is sufficient:

(55) Tov-e!
Hit-SBJV
“Hit! (SG)”

An example for a complex verb consisting of a root and seven additional morphemes:

(56) Ye-tu-si-la-tov-el-w-a
FUT-1PL.SBJ-NEG-FUT-hit-APPL-PASS-FV
"We will not be hit for"

Position #2 is filled by a subject concord (noun class agreement prefix) which agrees with the subject of the sentence. Any finite verb must carry a subject prefix (except imperative, see above). Table 5 lists all subject prefixes of each noun class.

Noun class		Subject marker	Noun class	Subject marker
1	1SG	nd	8	fi
	2SG	u	9	yi
	3SG	a	10	chi
2	1PL	tu	11	lu
	2PL	mu	12	kha
	3PL	va	13	tu
3		ku	14	vu
4		yi	15	-[3]
5		li	16	pa
6		ka	17	khu
7		khi	18	mu

Table 5 Subject prefixes (based on Strötzel)

The object prefixes, which fill position #5, have the same form as the subject prefixes, except for class 1 and 2:

Noun class		Object prefix
1	1SG	ni/ndi
	2SG	khu
	3SG	mu

[3] Noun class 15 is the class for infinitives only. Therefore no subject prefix is possible

2	1PL	tu
	2PL	va
	3PL	va

Table 6 Object prefixes for NC1 and 2

Position #6 is always occupied by the verbal root. There are only a few roots which consist only of one syllable of the shape CV, with V being the default final vowel and not part of the root. Most roots contain a glide y or w:

(57) -v-a "to be" -ly-a "to eat"
-fw-a "to die" -kw-a "to fall"
-lw-a "to fight" -nyw-a "to drink"

More frequent are verbs comprising two syllables, with the predominant structure CVCV (the last V again not part of the bare root)

(58) -tov-a "to beat" -yich-a "to come"
-tang-a "to help" -dad-a "be angry"
-yak-a "be lost" -hek-a "to leave"
-chov-a "to talk" -kan-a "to love"

3.3.5.2 Derivational processes

Most Pangwa verbs appear to have more than two syllables, however, this is only the result of comprehensive derivational processes. Beside a few trisyllabic roots, which cannot be broken down further (59), the underlying root mostly has in fact a disyllabic shape. Therefore, the analysis of an original verbal root turns out to be difficult at times. Persohn suggests "that such an analysis can only be arrived at through a comparative Bantu perspective" (2017: 51).

(59) -khivon-a "to find"
-yandikh-a "to write"
-hakam-a "to cross"

Verbal extensions due to derivational processes:

Applicative –el/-il

(60)	-tov-el-a	“to beat for”	< tov-a	“to beat”
	-tam-il-a	“to sit on”	< tam-a	“to sit”
	-lond-el-a	“to search for”	< lond-a	“to want/search”

Causative –ich/-ach

(61)	-fwal-ich-a	“to dress”	< fwal-a	“to wear”
	-ya-ch-a	“to lose”	< yak-a	“be lost”
	-khel-ech-a	“to make so. love	< khel-a	“to love”

Inversive –ul

(62)	-dind-ul-a	“to open”	< dind-a	“to close”
	-pang-ul-a	“to tear apart”	< pang-a	“to assemble”
	-inam-ul-a	“to raise”	< inam-a	“to bend”

Reciprocal -an

(63)	-tov-an-a	“beat each other	< tov-a	“to beat”
	-hwan-an-a	“to resemble”	< hwan-a	“be equal”
	-hekh-an-a	“make fun of e.o.	< hekh-a	“laugh”

Passive -w

(64)	-khemel-w-a	“be called”	< khemel-a	“to call”
	-lol-w-a	“be seen”	< lol-a	“to see”
	-deny-w-a	“be broken”	< deny-a	“to break”

Some verb stems can be reduplicated in order to give a strengthened meaning or to indicate frequency.

(65)	khulola	“to see”	>	khulolalola “to blink”
	khutova	“to beat”	>	khutovatova “to constantly beat”
	khuendelea	“to walk”	>	khuendeleaendelea “to wander around”

3.3.5.3 The final morpheme

In every verbal construction, the final morpheme has a specific function. It can either be a single vowel (*a* and *e*), or a succession of vowel and consonant (*-aka*(*-ake*), *–ile*), the latter being subject to extensive modification.

-a default vowel, indicative
-aka imperfective (with variant -ake)
-e subjunctive
-ile perfective

3.3.5.4 Basic syntax

With regard to syntax, Pangwa's basic word order is Subject-(AUX)-Verb-Object-Adjunct. This word order is, however, not very stringent since it may be freely changed for discourse reasons (Persohn 2017: 47). The following example illustrates the most basic syntactic order with subject and object:

(66) *Umuunu **ilitova** ilibwa na lubihi*

U-mu-unu	**a-i-li-tov-a**	i-li-bwa	na	lubihi
AUG-1-man	3SG-PRES-5.OBJ-hit-FV	AUG-5-dog	CONJ	11-stick

"The man hits the dog with a stick"

3.4 Tense and Aspect constructions in Pangwa

The following investigation of tense and aspect in Pangwa is divided into three main chapters dealing with present, past and future. My first idea was to describe tense and aspect markers in separate chapters, however, it turned out that temporal and aspectual forms always interact with each other and therefore, they cannot be treated as two independent categories. When forming a verbal construction, a Pangwa speaker always has to choose the appropriate temporal dimension and the right aspectual vantage point. Since both tense and aspect are marked in the same verbal form, it is neither possible to consider them separately, nor can one category said to be more important than the other. This is what Persohn (2017: 141) also observes for Nyakyusa. Therefore, it makes more sense to look at the three main distinctions present time, past time and future time reference separately, since these are often basic temporal divisions in languages.

3.4.1 Expressing the present

For making reference to a present time event in Pangwa, there appears to be two different morphemes, *-i-* and *–kha-*, the former being the underlying one. The morpheme *–i-* is placed between the subject marker (which merges with the present marker: *va* (3PL) + *i* (PRES)> *vi*) and the verb stem, which receives the default final vowel *-a*:

(67) *Khwokhwoha khwe aahelelaka uYeesu, muve mu fivuta, […] khuve khwa ve* ***vitaama*** *khu mahala.*

Khw-o-khw-oha	khw-e	a-a-helel-aka			u-Yeesu,
17-any-17-CIRC	18-REL	3SG-PST-go-IPFV			AUG-Jesus
mu-v-e	m-u	fi-vuta,[…]	khu-v-e	khw-a	v-e
17-be-SBJV	17-PREP	8-town	18-be-SBJV	18-GEN	3PL-REL
va-i-taam-a	kh-u	mahala			
3PL-PRES-live-FV	18-PREP	6-field			

"Wherever Jesus went, be it in the towns […], be it with those who live in the fields" (Mk 6: 56)

However, when the verb construction contains an object marker, the present tense is formed with another morpheme (*-kha-*), without any morphophonological changes to the subject marker:

(68)

I-khi-simo	ikh-i	**khi-kha-tu-vuul-a**			ukhu-tikil-a
AUG-7-story	7-DEM	7-PRES-1PL.OBJ-teach-FV			INF-say-FV
tu-tan-e	khu-tem-a	u-vu-khosi	nu	mu-unu	
1PL-stop-SBJ	INF-keep-FV	AUG-14-frienship	CONJ	1-man	
y-e	tu-si-mu-many-ili	vu-nofu.			
1-REL	1PL-NEG-3SG-know-NEG	14-good			

"This story teaches us that we should stop keeping friendship with someone who we do not know well." (MAC 1.61)

(69)

U-Yeesu	a-kha-va-hoos-a	a-va-anu	ma-tamu (Mk 1:29)
AUG-Jesus	3SG-PRES-3PL.OBJ-heal-FV	AUG-3PL-man	3PL-sick

"Jesus heals sick people"

Without object:

(70) *UYeesu ihoosa*.
U-Yeesu a-i-hoos-a
AUG-Jesus 3SG-PRES-heal-FV
"Jesus heals"

This present tense form may also have a progressive or continuous reading, dependent on the context. The sentence that was most frequently marked with progressive aspect in Dahl's language sample (1985: 92), is shown in (71). As an answer to the question, what the speaker's brother is doing at the same moment, the speaker would normally use the present tense. Note that the subject marker *–a* gets elided when it meets present *–i-*:

(71) Context: What is your brother doing right now?
*Lino **iyandikha** ihaati.*
Lino **a-i-yandikh-a** i-haati
ADV.now 3SG-PRES-write-FV 9-letter
"He is writing a letter now" (Q 5)

(72) *She khikhi avanyikendwa vaakho **vilima** imilimo mu khikhono isha Sabato?*
Sh-e khikhi a-va-nyikendwa va-akho **va-i-lim-a**
10-REL PRO.what AUG-2-disciple 2-POSS 3PL-PRES-work-FV
i-mi-limo m-u khi-khono i-sha Sabato?
AUG-4-work 18-PREP 7-day AUG-GEN Sabbath
"Look, why are your disciple working on Sabbath Day?" (Mk 2: 24)

Besides this progressive/continuous meaning of present tense, it has various other functions. State verbs like *know, want* or *hope,* are generally not licensed to appear in progressive aspect as the inherent static feature of such verbs are not compatible with it. Although *–i-* appears also in progressive contexts, this morpheme does obviously not always imply progressiveness. If this would be the case, *-i-* would not be expected in stative contexts like in the following examples.

(73) *Unyilikhe shoshooha she **wilonda**, uneene ya ndikhakhupeela.*

U-nyilikh-e sh-o-sh-ooha sh-e **u-i-lond-a,**

2SG.SBJ-omba-SBJV 7-any-7-any 7-GEN 2SG-PRES-want-FV

uneene ya ndi-kha-khu-peel-a

PRO.1SG FUT 1SG.SBJ-PRES-2SG.OBJ-give-FV

"Ask me for anything you want, I will give it to you." (Mk 6: 23)

(74) *Vunonono khuyingila mu Vutwa va Nguluvi khwa vaanu ve **vihuvila** amapwela ke vaveele nako.*

Vu-nonono khu-yingil-a m-u Vu-twa va Nguluvi khw-a

14-difficult INF-enter-FV 18-PREP 14-kingdom 14-GEN GOD 17-GEN

va-anu v-e **va-i-huvil-a** a-ma-pwela k-e

2-man 2-REL 3PL-PRES-trust-FV AUG-6-possession 6-REL

va-va-ile na-ko

3PL-be-PFV PREP-6

"It is difficult to enter God's kingdom for people who trust in their possessions which they have." (Mk 10: 24)

Since *–i-* is found in progressive and non-progressive (including stative) contexts, it should be treated as a general present tense marker. This is what Kiso also observes in Chichewa, *-ku-* being the present tense marker: (2012)

(75) Chichewa (Kiso 2012: 91f)

a. **A-ku-send-a** ma-kilo atatu a m-batatesi

3SG-PRES-peel-FV 6-kilo three of 6.potatoes

"She is peeling three kilos of potatoes."

b. A-chimwene **a-ku-dziw-a** kuti madzi ndi o-zizira

1-brother 3SG-PRES-know-FV that 6.water COP.be be.cold

"My brother knows (now) that the water is cold (today)."

The present tense has other functions as well. For example, it is used with perceptional verbs (e.g. see, hear, feel), that are experienced by the subject. Since verbs of perception refer to general physical abilities, it is most plausible to find the simple present tense marker *-i-* here.

(76) *Lino **wilola** avaanu vooha she vakhakhuvumba.*

Lino	**u-i-lol-a**	a-va-anu	vooha	sh-e
Now	2SG-PRES-see-FV	AUG-2-person	2-all	9-REL
va-kha-khu-vumb-a				
3PL-PRES-OM- move.away-FV				

"Now you see the people moving against you" (Mk 5: 31)

(77) *Ndyo vala ve **vipulikhania** ilicho ya Nguluvi.*

Ndyo	vala	v-e	**va-i-pulikh-an-i-a**	i-li-cho
DEM	3PL-DEM	3PL-REL	3PL-PRES-listen-REC-APPL-FV	AUG-5-word
y-a	Nguluvi			
5-GEN	God			

"It is the people who listen to God's word". (Mk 4: 15)

It is further found in performative utterances (78) and generic sentences (79). However, in contrast to Nyakyusa, where it is possible to use present tense in habitual contexts as well (Persohn 2017: 153), Pangwa has a special form for this purpose (see 3.4.1.2).

(78)

Uneene	**ndi-kha-va-chabikh-a**	unyeenye	na	ma-kasi
PRO-1SG	1SG-PRES-2PL-baptize-FV	PRO-2PL	PREP	6-water

"I baptize you with water" (Mk 1.8)

(79)

Ma-misi	**k-i-nyavul-a**	or	Li-misi	**l-i-tikil-a**	nyavuu
6-cat	6-PRES-meow-FV		5-cat	5-PRES-say-FV	meow
"Cats meow" (Q 16)			"A/The cat says meow" (Q 16)		

In some contexts, present tense *–i-* can also have futurate meaning, as the following example illustrates. As to the question in what contexts this is possible, chapter 3.4.3 will give further information on referring to events in the future.

(80)

Ndi-kha-m-seeng'a	m-	sindikhamola	v-angu	yeya
1SG-PRES-OM-send-FV	NC1-	messenger	POSS-1SG	REL
a-kha-khu-longol-a				
3SG-PRES-OM-precede-FV				

"I will send my messenger who will precede you" (Mk 1: 2)

3.4.1.1 The special case of "to be"

The most common form for nominal predication in present (but also in the past and future) is with the verb *–veele* "to be", like in the following examples:

(81) Context: Talking about the house in which the speaker lives:
*Inyumba **yiveele** ngomi.*
Inyumba **yi-va-ile** n-gomi.
AUG-9.house 9-be-PFV 9-big
"The house is big" (Q 1)

(82) Context: someone on the phone wants to know about the speaker's brother
*Ukaka vangu **aveele** papiipi naani.*
U-kaka v-angu **a-va-ile** papiipi naa-ni
AUG-1.brother 1-POSS 3SG-be-PFV near with-1SG
"My brother is near me" (Q 5)

With regard to the verb *–veele* "to be", it behaves in a very special way. Here, a closer look at this verb is necessary. This form is probably the fused result of the verb *–va* ("to be" in a more abstract sense) and the perfective suffix *–ile*. However, the perfective meaning has completely disappeared in this construction. It behaves differently than the rest of the verbs. As can be seen in (81) and (82), the verb is prefixed only with the subject prefix *yi-*/*a-*, but is not marked with the expected *i-*, the default present marker in all other verbs (83):

(83) *Umuunu **ichova**.*
U-mu-unu **a-i-chov-a**
AUG-1-man 3SG-PRES-speak-FV
"The man speaks/is speaking"

This questionable development from the original perfective meaning to a fixed construction without an overt tense or aspect marker used in the present is open to further research. An alternative suggestion about its nature is given in Stirnimann (1983), who claims that *-veele*

may be the fused form of two defective verb stems *–li* and *–va*. This does, however, not explain the raising of the last vowel. In all the languages spoken in that region, "to be" verbs show a lot of variation, especially when combined with the suffix *–ile* (PC Helen Eaton).
Besides verbal predication with *–veele*, it is also common to use copula constructions with the defective verb stem *–li* "to be". A replacement with *–veele* in (84), does not lead to a different meaning.

(84) Uveeve **u-li** m-longo v-angu
PRO.2SG 2SG-COP.be 1-friend 1-POSS.1SG
"You are my friend" (MAC 1.29)

Equally, it is possible to replace the following verb by the copula *–li,* without change in meaning:

(85) *Ulukasi lula* ***lwaveele*** *lukhomi.*
U-lu-kasi lu-la **lw-a-va-ile** lu-khomi
AUG-11-river 11-DEM 11-PST-be-PFV 11-big
"This river was big" (MAC 1.35)

In the same vein, Chichewa also shows non-verbal predication referring to the past:

(86) Chichewa (Kiso 2012: 83)
Nyumba-yi **i-na-li** yayikula
house-DEM 9.SBJ-RECPST-COP big
"The house was big."

In the present, it is also usual practice in Pangwa to form non-copula constructions in nominal predications without an explicit "to be" verb:

(87) Ileelo Ø khi-kono khi-nofu
today 7-day 7-nice
"Today is a nice day" (ET)

(88) Uveeve Ø u-limpufi neecho
PRO.2SG 1-idiot ADV.very
"You are a big idiot." (MAC 1.56)

Locational predications, however, must always be expressed by the defective verb *–li* (which agrees with the locative class instead of the subject), or with the verb *–veele* "to be":

(89) P-a khi-tanda sh-angu **pa-li** li-yokha
16.LOC-PREP 7-bed 7-POSS.1SG 16.LOC-COP.be 5-snake
"In my bed there is a snake" (ET)

(90) *Avaanu **vaaveele** khwivala.*
A-vaanu **va-a-va-ile** khw-ivala.
2-person 3PL-PST-be-PFV 18.LOC-outside
"The people were outside" (ET)

3.4.1.2 Present Habitual

Pangwa makes use of a specific two-word construction, which expresses present habituality. This compound consists of an auxiliary first, and a lexical main verb second. It has the shape SBJ-PRES-be-FV + SBJ-PRES-stem-FV.

(91) *Ndikhuyandalye ishakhulya khinofu she **wiiva wikheela** ukhulya.*
Ndi-khu-yandalye i-sha-khulya khi-nofu sh-e **wi-i-v-a**
1SG-PST1-prepare.PFV AUG-7-food 7-good 7-REL 2SG-PRES-be-FV
w-i-kheel-a ukhu-ly-a
2SG.PRES- love-FV INF-eat-FV
"I have prepared good food for you which you love to eat" (MAC 1.24)

(92) *Oso umlumbu vaakho khila pashakhuvilukha palukhela **iiva ikhita** khikhi? **Iiva ikhuuna** inyumba.*
Oso u-m-lumbu va-akho khila pashakhuvilukha palukhela
Q AUG-1-sister 1-POSS every Saturday morning

a-i-va **a-i-khit-a** khikhi? **A-i-v-a**
3SG-PRES-be-FV 3SG-PRES-do-FV what 3SG-PRES-be-FV
a-i-khuun-a i-nyumba.
3SG-PRES-clean-FV AUG-9.house
"What does your sister usually do every Saturday morning? She cleans the house." (Q 14)

It is also possible to express a habit with the verb *ukhuhonga* "accustom" in the perfective form, followed by the lexical verb in the infinitive. In (93), a reduplicated verbal form is used to emphasize even more the habit of beating.

(93) **Mw-i-hong-ile** **ukhu-tova~tova** a-va-anu v-e
2PL-PRES-accustom-PFV INF-beat~REDUP AUG-2-person 2-REL
vi-dalikh-a a-ma-cho k-a Nguluvi […]
3PL.PRES-preach-FV AUG-6-word 6-GEN God
"You are used to beat people who preach the word of God […]" (POG 1.17)

3.4.1.3 The persistive aspect

As described in the theoretical part, the persistive aspect refers to an ongoing situation that started usually in the past and still holds at a later time (usually time of speaking) (Nurse 2008: 24). The most typical translation into non-Bantu languages is with the adverbial "still". Despite the existence of such adverbials in Bantu languages, they are able to express it by inflectional means. The persistive is often linked with a progressive meaning:

(94) *Ipitova ilibwa.*
A-i-pi-tov-a i-li-bwa
3SG-PRES-PERS-hit-FV AUG-5-dog
"He is still hitting the dog"

The morpheme can even be combined with the verb *khukimba* "to continue" plus a following infinitive:

(95) *UYeesu aali **ipikimba** ukhuchova nu mkhidala yula, vaayichile avaanu ukhukhuma khu nyumba khwa Yayilo.*

U-Yeesu	a-a-li	**a-i-pi-kimb-a**		ukhu-chova
AUG-Jesus	3SG-PST-be	3SG-PRES-PERS-continue-FV		INF-speak
nu	m-khidala	yu-la,	va-a-yich-ile	a-va-anu
CONJ.with	1-woman	1-DEM	3PL-PST-come-PFV	AUG-2-person
ukhu-khuma	khu	nyumba	kh-wa	Yayilo
INF-come	17.PREP	9.house	9-GEN	Jairus

"While Jesus was still speaking with that woman, people came from the house of Jairus." (Mk 5: 35)

3.4.2 Expressing the Past

Referring to past is a quite complex issue in Pangwa. One may choose between various options for describing events or situations in the past. The major distinction is between perfective and imperfective aspect. Moreover, various degrees of remoteness in the past is distinguished. The most common morpheme for past references is the perfective (in some language descriptions sometimes also labelled perfect or anterior) suffix *–ile*, which is either used separately or in combination with other morphemes. Therefore, it has several different meanings, which are sometimes hard to distinguish. It is generally labelled perfective PFV, since in most cases it serves for such a reading. However, when it appears without an additional temporal marker, it has a typical perfect reading[4]. That is, it refers to events, which started in the past and its results or consequences still have an effect on the present moment. Such a perfect meaning is illustrated in the following example, where the speaker refers to his recent ongoing concerns about his sick grandfather:

(96) *Ukhukhu vangu mtamu neecho. **Ndihangayikhe** nave neecho lakhini ahookhilendali.*

U-khukhu	v-angu	m-tamu	neecho.	**Ndi-hanga-ile**
1a-grandfather	2-POSS.1SG	1-sick	very	1SG-be.concerned-PFV
na-ve	neecho	lakhini	a-hookh-ile-ndali.	
PREP-3SG	very	but	3SG-heal-PFV-NEG	

[4] For reasons of convenience, suffix –ile is always glossed as PFV, even if its basic perfective meaning is not present.

"My grandfather is very ill. I have been very concerned about him but he has not healed." (MAC 1.38)

3.4.2.1 Remoteness distinctions (perfective)

The Pangwa speaker distinguishes between a number of verbal forms when describing events differing in remoteness to the present moment. Thus, when talking about an event which happened on the same day, only the aspectual perfect marker *–ile* (respectively the phonological variant of it) is suffixed onto the verb stem without a tense marker before the verb, expressing the recentness of the event:

(97) *Oso, umanyile ukaka vangu? Eena, lilino* ***ndivonine*** *naave.*

Oso,	u-m-many-ile	u-kaka	v-angu?
Q	2SG-OM-know-PFV	1-brother	1-POSS.1SG
Eena,	lilino	**ndi-von-ile**	naa-ve.
yes	ADV-now	1SG-see-PFV	PREP-3SG

"So, do you know my brother? Yes, I have just met him now." (Q 9)

The same verb construction is used when the speaker is referring to an event earlier the same day (conversation takes place in the afternoon). Thus, we can speak of the mere use of perfect *–ile* being a marker for hodiernal events.

(98) ***Ndivonine*** *naave ileelo palukhela khu likulilo.*

Ndi-von-ile	naave	ileelo	pa-lukhela	khu	li-kulilo.
1SG-see-PFV	PRO3SG	today	16-morning	PREP	5-market

"I met him at the market this morning" (Q 10)

When exchanging the word "this morning" with "yesterday", this leads to the choice of a different tense with the near past morpheme *–kha-* (PST_1), which is placed before the verb stem together with the perfective suffix *–ile.*

(99) ***Ndikhavonine*** *naave ikolo khu likulilo.*

Ndi-kha-von-ile	naa-ve	ikolo	khu	li-kulilo.
1SG-PST_1-see-PFV	PREP-3SG	yesterday	PREP	5-market

"I met him at the market yesterday" (Q 11)

(100) Context: About a house which the speaker saw for the first time yesterday:
*Inyumba **yikhaveele** ngomi.*
I-nyumba **yi-kha-va-ile** n-gomi.
AUG-9.house 9-PST_1-be-PFV 9-big
"The house was big" (Q 2)

Besides the use of *–kha-* in sentences explicitly marked with the time adverbial "yesterday", it also appears in contexts of indefinite recent events. In (101), the monkey is talking to the crocodile about his killing plans, which he realized only shortly before:

(101) **Ndi-kha-many-ile** ukhutila wi-lond-a ukhu-m-bulak-a.
1SG-PST_1-know-PFV that 2SG.PRES-want-FV INF-OM-kill-FV
"I knew you want to kill me" (MAC 1.23)

Remote past events, i.e. events which are situated far away in time and having no connection to the present, are referred to by the tense morpheme *–a-* (PST_2), which is prefixed onto the verb stem and again combined with the perfective aspect marker *–ile*:

(102) ***Ndavonine** naave myakha myolofi ye yilutile.*
Nd-a-von-ile naa-ve my-akha my-olofi y-e yi-lut-ile.
1SG-PST_2-see-PFV CONJ-3SG 4-year 4-many 4-REL 4-pass-PFV
"I met him many years ago." (Q 12)

(103) About the house in which the speaker lived in his childhood:
*Inyumba **yaaveele** ngomi.*
I-nyumba **ya-a-va-ile** n-gomi
AUG-9.house 9-PST_2-be 9-big
"The house was big" (Q3)

3.4.2.2 Perfective verb forms with present meaning

There are some verbs, whose inherent temporal structure appears to be considered in a different way in Pangwa, when compared to its use in English. Such verbs are e.g. “to sit”, “to stand”, “to be tired”, that is, they are typically stative in meaning. While these verbs usually receive present tense marking in English, they typically appear in a perfect (i.e. the perfective morpheme with perfect meaning) construction in Pangwa and many other Bantu languages (see Chichewa and Nyakyusa). Nurse observes for Bantu languages:

> “Anteriors [perfect] used with stative verbs represent the state resulting from the action, and the translation in English (and other European languages) is a present, whereas with dynamic verbs they represent the current relevance of some prior situation, and translate by a past or anterior” (2008: 97)

A person sitting in a chair at the present moment could be considered a stative event, since the sitting usually takes some time and does not express any progression. However, the Pangwa speaker uses the perfective aspect marker *–ile* (with perfect meaning!), in order to relate the beginning of the action (sitting down) with the current result of still being seated. Kiso (106), analysing the same verbal construction in Chichewa, speaks also of a “resultative or achievement interpretation: The result of the very recent event (of sitting down etc.) holds at the moment of speech.” The following example illustrates this viewpoint:

(104) ***Ataamye*** *pa khideeko, lino iyandikha ihaati.*

A-taam-ile	p-a	khi-deeko,	lino	a-i-yandikh-a	i-haati.
3SG-sit-PFV	16-PREP	7-chair	ADV.now	3SG-PRES-write-FV	9-letter

“He is sitting in a chair, writing a letter now (lit. He has been seated)” (Q 5)

(105) Chichewa (Kiso 2012: 106)

Wa-khal-a	m’-khitchini
3SG.PRF-sit/sit.down-FV	in-kitchen

“She is sitting in the kitchen [right now].”

Similarly, the state of being tired is described in Pangwa as the result of the process of becoming tired, while the English equivalent does not have such a resultative reading:

(106) **Ndi-chokh-ile**. Ndi-khiite i-mi-limo khi-kono sh-ooha
1SG-be.tired-PRF 1SG-do.PFV AUG-4-work 7-day 7-complete
„I am tired. I have worked the whole day." (Q 23)

Another frequent stative verb whose inherent temporal structure is viewed differently than in English, is *ukhumanyile* "to know". It is formed in a perfective construction (perfect meaning), while the English equivalent formed in the present. It can be inferred, that Pangwa (just as many other Bantu languages) emphasizes, that the current situation must be the result of an earlier event. Thus, the Pangwa equivalent to "He knows" is literally "He has come to know".

(107) **U-m-many-ile** u-kaka v-angu?
2SG-OM-know-PFV 1-brother 1-POSS.1SG
"Do you know my brother? (lit. Have you come to know my brother?)" (Q 8)

The equivalent in Nyakyusa behaves just the same way. Persohn notes, "that *manya* 'know', patterns to a large extent with 'resultative achievements'" (2017: 135)

(108) Nyakyusa (Persohn 2017: 135)
***Ameenye** ikingelesa*.
A-meen-ile i-ki-ngelesa
3SG-know-PFV AUG-7-English(<SWA)
"S(he) knows English"

In this respect, Persohn (2017: 113f), speaks of so-called "inchoative" verbs in his investigation of Nyakyusa. This usage of "inchoative" deviates from the common meaning, that is, the beginning of an event or state (e.g. German *erblühen* "to blossom"). Rather, he subsumes verbs with a *change-of-state* and *resultant state* meaning under this class of "inchoative" verbs, e.g. "get angry", "dress", "fall down", "die" etc. These verbs behave differently than non-inchoative verbs, in that they lead to distinct aspectual vantage point when used with perfective or imperfective aspect: "With the aspectually imperfective [i.e. the simple present] the verb denotes an ongoing change-of-state […]. When used with the present perfective [the verb] typically has a stative meaning" (Persohn 2017: 113). Consider the following Nyakyusa examples:

(109) Nyakyusa (Persohn 2017: 113)

a. I-kʊ-kalal-a
3SG-PRES-be(come).angry-FV
"S/he is becoming angry."

b. A-kaleele
3SG-be(come).angry.PFV
"(Default reading:) 'S/he is angry."

Just as Nyakyusa, the Pangwa verb for "get angry" in the present tense (= imperfective aspect) expresses the current change of state, while the perfective aspect construction (without a temporal marker) describes the state of being angry:

(110) a. *Idada lino.*

A-i-dad-a	lino
3SG-PRES-get.angry-FV	now

"He/She is getting angry right now" (Q 28)

b. A-dad-ile.
3SG-be.angry-PFV
"He/She is angry" (Q 29)

Similarly, for describing a person putting on clothes at the moment of speech (i.e. the change from being undressed to being dressed), a Pangwa speaker would use the present tense. When describing the state of a person being dressed with a coat, he/she would use the perfective aspect.

(111) a. *Ifwala lino*.

A-i-fwal-a	lino
3SG-PRES-dress-FV	now

"He/She is dressing right now" (Q 26)

b. **A-fwal-ile** i-li-khoti
3SG-dress-PFV AUG-5-coat
"He/She is wearing a coat" (Q 27)

What Persohn calls "non-inchoative" verbs, such as "to arrive" also have a coming-to-be reading as in (a), but the perfective aspect (here in an imbricated form) does not lead to a stative reading (b):

(112) a. I-tuleni **yi-i-fikh-a** p-a vu-yimo.
AUG.9-train 9-PRES-arrive-FV 16-PREP 14-station
"The train is arriving at the station (i.e. it is still moving)" (Q 30)

b. *Ituleni **yifiikhe** pa vuyimo.*
I-tuleni **yi-fikh-ile** p-a vu-yimo
AUG.9-train 9-arrive-PFV 16-PREP 14-station
"The train has just arrived (a few minutes ago)" (Q 31)

The same can be observed for Nyakyusa:

(113) Nyakyusa (Persohn 2017: 114)

a. I-kʊ-fik-a
3SG-PRES-arrive-FV
"S/he is arriving."

b. a-fik-ile
3SG-arrive-PFV
"S/he has arrived."

However, with some verbs there appears to be a difference between Pangwa and Nyakyusa. For example, Persohn categorizes the verb "to die" as an inchoative verb (more specifically, a "transitional achievement"). He argues "the time adverbial phrase 'last year' allows only for a change-of-state reading. While 'to die' in English is often considered a punctual achievement, its Nyakyusa equivalent *fwa* is an inchoative verb, best translated as 'to be moribund/die/be dead'" (2017: 162). As (114) illustrates, the verb "to die" is only suffixed with –ile, without a past tense marker:

(114) Nyakyusa (Persohn 2017: 162)

A-fw-ile	i-ky-mja	i-ki	ki-kind-ile
3SG-die-PFV	AUG-7-year	AUG-PROX.7	7-pass-PFV

"He died last year."

In Pangwa, the verb "to die" is not treated in that way. The verb in (115) contains a long vowel before the verb stem, which includes the past tense marker *–a-*, and combines with perfective aspect:

(115) Oso, u-m-many-ile u-daadi v-angu y-e **a-a-fw-ele**
Q 2SG-OM-know-PFV 1-father 1-POSS 1-REL 3SG-PST_2-die-PFV
u-mw-akha kw-e ku-lut-ile?
AUG-3-year 3-REL 3-pass-PFV
"Do you know my father, who died last year?" (Q 13)

3.4.2.3 Past Imperfective

The suffix *–aka* is an imperfective marker which is mainly used for describing events or situations in the past. The *-aka* form is most often found in combination with pre-stem PST_2. It often appears in the introductory part of a story when describing the setting or habitual actions.
The following example shows the imperfective suffix *–aka* with two different kind of verbs (*khubita* "to go" and *khuluta* "to pass/flow"). The first refers to the repeated action of going to the river every day, while the second verb construction describes the continuing process of the river flowing through the village.

(116) Khila khi-kono **a-a-bit-aka** khu-lova i-somba nu lu-viiso
Every 7-day 3SG-PST_2-go-IMPV INF-fish 9-fish with 11-hook
p-a lu-kasi l-we **lw-a-lut-aka** p-a
16-PREP 11-river 11-REL 11-PST_2-pass/flow-IPFV 16-PREP
khi-jiji kh-ila.
7-town 7-DEM
"Every day he went fishing with a hook at a river, which flowed through the village."
(BAB 1.4)

This construction is not only used in narratives. It is also the default marker for typical past habitual situations, like the following, which describes the past habit of cleaning on a weekly basis:

(117) Oso, u-m-lumbu va-akho khila pashakhuvilukha palukheela
Q AUG-1-sister 1-POSS every Saturday morning
u-mw-akha kw-e ku-lut-ile **a-a-khit-aka** khikhi?
AUG-3-year 3-GEN 3-pass-PFV 3SG-PST$_2$-do-IPFV what
A-a-khuun-aka i-nyumba.
3SG-PST$_2$-clean-IPFV AUG-9.house
"What did your sister usually do every Saturday morning last year? She used to clean the house" (Q 15)

Furthermore, it appears in contexts of enduring past continuous events. Note that the second verb *–veele* "to be" in (118) again behaves differently, as it is not possible to suffix it with *–aka*.

(118) U-Yeesu **a-a-m-hoos-aka** khila mu-unu y-e
AUG-Jesus 3SG-PST$_2$-OM-heal-IPFV every 1-man 1-REL
a-a-veele nu vu-tamu.
3SG-PST$_2$-be PREP 14-disease
"Jesus was healing every person who had a disease" (Mk 1: 34)

(119) Fi-kono fy-oha um-diimi ni ndege **va-a-khin-aka** pa-mwinga
8-day 8-all 1-boy CONJ 9.bird 3PL-PST$_2$-play-IPFV 16-together
"All the days the boy and the bird were playing together." (BAB 1.39)

In order to describe continuous aspect in an imperfective past event, Pangwa also makes use of a complex construction consisting of an auxiliary and a main verb construction (SBJ-NAR-STEM-FV + SBJ-PRES-STEM-FV) with the first auxiliary verb "to be". The following sentence describes the repeated attempt of crocodile to eventually meet the monkey. It is given in the context that this situation lasts for several days.

(120) **A-kha-v-a** **a-kha-m-lol-el-a** khiyaki
3SG-NAR-be-FV 3SG-PRES-OM-wait-APPL-FV constantly
p-e **va-a-von-il-aka.**
16-REL 3PL-PST$_2$-see-APPL-IPFV
"He (the crocodile) was constantly waiting for him where they have always met each other" (MAC 1.18)

(121) **A-kha-v-a** **a-kha-m-nyilikh-a** u-Nguluvi khila khi-kono
3SG-NAR-be-FV 3SG-PRES-OM-pray-FV AUG-God every 7-day
"Every day he was praying to God" (BAB 1.5)

3.4.2.4 Pluperfect

When referring to an event which was already completed in the past, the prefix *ne-* (PST$_3$) precedes the subject prefix, and the stem is suffixed with (a variant of) the perfective *-ile*:

(122) *Ungwina akhamanya ukhutikila* ***neamuwesiche*** *ulikedenge.*
U-ngwina a-kha-many-a ukhu-tikila **ne-a-mu-wes-ile**
AUG-9.crocodile 3SG-NAR-know-FV INF-say PST$_3$-3SG-OBJ-win-PFV
u-likedenge.
AUG-9.monkey
"The crocodile knew that he had already won over the monkey." (MAC 1.51)

It appears also in compound constructions, with the first auxiliary verb "to be" marked for tense and the second lexical verb receives PST$_3$ marking, leading to a typical pluperfect reading in English:

(123) Context: Talking about what the speaker's brother had achieved during the speaker's absence:
Ikolo pe ndikhayiichile khu nyumba, ukaka vangu ***akhaveele neayandiikhe*** *ihaati.*
Ikolo p-e ndi-kha-yich-ile kh-u nyumba, u-kaka
yesterday 16-REL 1SG-PST$_1$-arrive-PFV 18-PREP 9.house 1-brother
v-angu **a-kha-veele** **ne-a-yandikh-ile** i-haati.
1-POSS.1SG 3SG-PST$_1$-be PST$_3$-3SG-write-PFV 9-letter

"When I came home yesterday, my brother had written a letter" (Q 7)

3.4.2.5 Narrative tense

As mentioned in the theoretical part, a great majority of Bantu languages possess a special device for narrating events (also known as consecutive). This is true for Pangwa as well. Pangwa speakers may choose between several forms for narrating events in succession. The most common way of narration is first to establish the temporal frame by a verb in a (typically) far past form (SBJ-PST$_2$-STEM-PFV) followed by a narrative verb form with the narrative marker *–kha-* (SBJ-NAR-STEM-FV). In other words, it is not possible for the narrative itself to open a narrative discourse. In the following example, the events of singing, playing and dancing follow the arrival at the chairman's site.

(124) ***Vaafishe*** *khwa mnya khideeko va vunjakila vula.* ***Vakhatengula*** *khuyimba, khukhina, khuhwida.*

Va-a-fikh-ile	khw-a	m-nya	khi-deeko	v-a	vu-njakila	
3PL-PST$_2$-reach.out-PFV	16-GEN	1-owner	7-seat	GEN	11-administration	
vu-la.	**Va-kha-tengul-a**	khu-yimb-a,	khu-khin-a,	khu-hwid-a.		
11-DEM	3PL-NAR-start-FV	INF-sing-FV	INF-play-FV	INF-dance-FV		

"They reached out to the chairman of that administration. They started to sing, play and dance." (POG 1.3)

3.4.2.5.1 Further narrative strategies

In addition to this default narrative form, Pangwa has further constructions in story-telling which mostly serve special purposes. In the same context as above, it is still possible to continue with a verb in the Past Perfective form. Note that with the reflexive morpheme *–i-*, the subject marker *a-* turns into a long *ii-*.

(125) *Umdala ya mnya khideeko va vunjakila uyo* ***aayichile*** *na yumwene,* ***iihanjiche akha-vanga*** *khukhina navo.*

U-mdala va	m-nya	khi-deeko va	vunjakila	u-yo	
1-wife 1-GEN	1-owner	7-seat GEN	11-administration	11-DEM	
a-a-yich-ile	na	yumwene,	**a-i-i-hanj-ile**		
3SG-PST$_2$-come-PFV	PREP	PRO.3SG	3SG-PST-REFL-mingle.with-PFV		

a-kha-vang-a khu-khin-a na-vo.
3SG-NAR-start-FV INF-play-FV PREP-3PL
"The wife of the chairman of that administration came with him, mingled with the people and started to play with them" (POG 1.4)

There is the option to add the suffix *-ake*, which normally has imperfective meaning[5], but in narrative contexts this aspectual value is not present. Moreover, the final vowel *–e*, which is normally a subjunctive suffix, has no such meaning here. The use of *–ake* leads to a slight difference in meaning compared to the normal narrative form. While the mere use of the NAR *–kha-* just involves a meaning of continuity, it does not establish a semantic connection between the two actions. The suffix *–ake*, however, brings the two actions into a special causal relation. Look at the following short story with different narrative forms:

(126) Context: Do you know what happened to me this morning?
Ndikendike *khu mtokolo. Khwa khukhenyamkhila* ***ndikhadadikhila*** *iliyokha,* ***likhandilumake*** *pa likulu.* ***Ndikhahola*** *ilikanga,* ***ndikhalahila****.* ***Likhafwichake****.*
Ndi-kend-ile kh-u m-tokolo. Khw-a khu-khenyamkhil-a
1SG-walk-PFV 18-PREP 3-forest 18-GEN INF-surprise-FV
ndi-kha-dadikhil-a i-li-yokha, **li-kha-ndi-lum-ake** p-a
1SG-NAR-step.on-FV AUG-5-snake 5-NAR-OM-bite-IPFV 16-GEN
li-kulu. **Ndi-kha-hol-a** i-li-kanga, **ndi-kha-lahil-a**.
5-leg 1SG-NAR-take-FV AUG-5-stone 1SG-NAR-throw-FV
Li-kha-fwich-ake.
5-NAR-die-IPFV
"I was walking through the forest. Suddenly I stepped on a snake, (therefore) it bit me the leg. I took a stone and threw it. (Therefore) it died." (Q 25)

As mentioned above, the suffix *–ake* emphasizes the biting of the snake as the result of stepping on it. Equally throwing the stone onto the snake causes the snake to die. This verbal construction is therefore best translated with the adverb "therefore VERB". Asking the Pangwa speakers about the meaning of this suffix *–ake*, they answered that it also often finishes a sequence of

[5] Just as with the perfective suffix –ile, the glossing for the imperfective morpheme IPFV will also be used in cases where the imperfective meaning is not present

closely connected events (that is, the events “stepping” and “biting” form such a closely connected event, as well as “throwing the stone” and “dying”).

In sentence-initial positions, it is possible to use a non-finite participial construction, appearing in the infinitive form *ukhu*-STEM. This can be compared to English constructions like, “Walking down the street,…”, which also lacks specification of person and tense.

(127) **Ukhu-pulikh-a** ewe u-likedenge a-a-khelye neecho
INF-hear-FV DEM AUG-9.monkey 3SG-PST$_2$-be.happy.PFV very
“Hearing this, the monkey was very happy”

Pangwa has a special adverb *nekhe* (“then”), which may be used in narrative contexts in order to describe subsequent events:

(128) Nekhe **va-kha-fikh-a** kh-u nyumba
ADV.then 3PL-NAR-FV 17-PREP 9.house
“Then they arrived at the house” (POG 1.27)

When *nekhe* is used with a verb in subjunctive form, it can be used to describe actions in the past with subjunctive meaning (a not validated action), which can best be translated as (so that, in order to)

(129) …nekhe **va-homb-e** v-ooha
then 3PL-pay-SBJV 3PL-all
“…so that they may pay them all” (POG 1.20)

Another strategy in narrative contexts is the use of a verb in past tense after a verb in narrative form. Not to continue in the narrative form has a special function: a pause is established between the two actions, which emphasizes that the second action does not directly follows the first, but that there is a small gap between them. This is illustrated in the following example, where the return to the river does not directly follow the farewell, but, according to the Pangwa speakers, some time must have passed between the two actions.

(130) ***Akhahelela kwitavula*** *khu nyumba khwa mdala va mwene. Nekhe* ***aakomwikhe*** *pa lukasi.*

A-kha-helel-a **kw-i-tavul-a** kh-u nyumba kh-wa
3SG-NAR-walk-FV INF-REFL-say.goodbye-FV 17-PREP 9.house 17-GEN
m-dala v-a mwene. Nekhe **a-a-komw-ile** p-a
1-wife 1-GEN POSS.3SG ADV-then 3SG-PST$_2$-return-PFV 16-PREP
lu- kasi
11-river
"(The monkey) went to his wife to say goodbye. Then he returned to the river." (MAC 1. 18)"

Another way of referring to a past event (particularly in a narrative context) is just the infinitive + IPFV *-aka*, without any subject marker:

(131) ...**a-kha-fwal-a** i-khi-lembi. Na-yuune **khu-fwal-aka**
3SG-NAR-wear-FV AUG-7-turban CONJ.and-1SG INF-wear-IPFV
i-khi-lembi.
AUG-7- turban
"…she wore a turban. And I wore a turban." (SOA 1.17)

When used in this form, the imperfective meaning of the morpheme *–aka* is not maintained; the verb does not carry aspectual meaning here. According to the Pangwa speakers, this form stresses even more the immediacy of the second action in following the first.

3.4.2.5.2 Frequency data from a reduced text corpus

Due to the great variety of verbal forms, which appear in Pangwa narratives, I decided to compare the frequency of occurrence of each form referring to the past based on a reduced text corpus. Table 5 shows the absolute frequency of each verbal form occurring in six narratives:

Verb Forms / Text	PST PFV -a-ile	NAR -kha-a	INF ukhu-a	PST IPFV -a-aka	NAR+ IPFV -kha-ake	CONT -kha-vai-a	INF+ IPFV ukhu-aka
POG	25	13	4	2	2	2	0
SOA	17	3	1	0	9	1	1
MAC	34	11	9	6	0	4	2
RAC	25	16	7	4	2	3	2
RAE	12	7	2	1	1	0	3
YMB	30	14	4	8	4	4	1
Total	143	54	27	21	18	14	9

Table 7 Distribution of verbal forms in narratives

The results indicate that one form, that is, Past Perfective (SBJ-PST_2-STEM-PFV), is by far the most frequent verbal form in narratives. It is mainly used for narrating single independent events in the story. Another common form, which has a relatively high distribution, is the "default" narrative *-kha-a* (SBJ-NAR-STEM-FV). As shown above, this form is commonly used for construing a narrative string, with an introducing past form (mostly Past Perfective) followed by the narrative *–kha-a.* The non-finite construction with an infinitive *ukhu*-STEM is also occasionally found. The past imperfective *-aka* (SBJ-PST_2-STEM-IPFV) is less frequently used; its main function is to describe habitual events or, to a lesser degree, past continuous actions. Mostly, continuous events in the past are referred to by a special compound construction. This is further dealt with in the next chapter. The form with the lowest frequency is SBJ-NAR-STEM-IPFV and also INF-STEM-IPFV, which have, as was discussed above, special narrative functions.

3.4.3 Expressing the future

The data suggest that there are different strategies to refer to events in the future time. Besides using the present tense for very near future (3.4.3.1), the common future marker (for both near and far future) is *ya* (3.4.3.2). It is also possible to form future perfect constructions (3.4.3.3).

3.4.3.1 Present tense with future reference

As mentioned in the theoretical part, the present tense can be used for immediate future events. Just as a German speaker may refer to a near future event with a verb in present tense (e.g. *Ich gehe später einkaufen*), this is also possible in Pangwa. The first verbal construction in example (132) is formed with two verbs: the first in the present tense expresses the intention of the speaker, while the second has the main lexical verb in the subjunctive form. The second verbal construction shows only present tense:

(132) ***Ndilonda ndikhusindikhe*** *khu khivuta khinofu khweya* ***wipata*** *mapwela molofu neecho.*

Nd-i-lond-a	**nd-i-khu-sindikh-e**		kh-u	khi-vuta	
1SG-PRES-want-FV	1SG-PRES-OBJ-send-SBJV		17-PREP	7-town	
khi-nofu	khw-eya	**u-i-pat-a**	ma-pwela	mo-lofu	neecho
7-nice	7-REL	2SG-PRES-find-FV	6-fortune	6-many	ADV.very

"I want to send you to a beautiful town, where you (will) find much fortune." (BAB 1.15)

(133) Context: Conversation about the immediate plans of the speaker:

Nd-i-lond-a	**nd-i-yandikh-e**	i-haati.
1SG-PRES-want-FV	1SG-PRES-write-SBJV	9-letter

"I (want to) write letters." (Q 17)

3.4.3.2 Future reference with *ya*

The most common marker for future reference is *ya*, combined with the present tense marker *-i-*. The following sentence uttered in the morning about plans for this evening illustrates this use. The status of *ya* being an affix or an independent morpheme is questionable, as it is commonly written as a separate word preceding the verb construction:

(134)

Ya	**nd-i-yandikh-a**	i-haati
FUT	1SG-PRES-write-FV	10-letter

"I will write letters" (Q 18)

Not only is this morpheme used for events taking place the same day, but also for tomorrow. Thus, the degrees of remoteness in future time appear not to be as elaborate as for the past.

(135) *Ukaka vangu aveele nu mlimo mupya.* ***Ya ivanga*** *khilavo.*

Ukaka	v-angu	a-va-ile	nu	mlimo	mu-pya.
AUG-1a.brother	1-POSS.1SG	3SG-be-PFV	PREP	3-work	3-new
Ya	**a-i-vang-a**	khilavo			
FUT	3SG-PRES-start-FV	tomorrow			

"My brother has got a new job. He will start tomorrow" (Q 19)

The FUT *ya* is also used in sentences containing predictions, both certain (136) and less certain (137):

(136) Context: There are black clouds in the sky:

Sina msikha ifula ***ya yitonya****.*

Si-na	m-sikha	ifula	**ya**	**yi-i-tony-a.**
NEG.be-with	3-time	9.rain	FUT	9-PRES-rain/fall-FV

"It is going to rain soon (lit. There is no (more) time the rain will fall)" (Q 20)

(137) Context: The weather is changing:

Ifula ***ya yitonya*** *khilavo.*

Ifula	**ya**	**yi-i-tony-a**	khilavo.
9.rain	FUT	9-PRES-rain/fall-FV	tomorrow

"It will rain tomorrow" (Q 21)

Even with plans in the far future the same construction can be used. In example (139), the more independent status of *ya* can be observed. As compared to other TA markers, FUT *ya* is rather attached to preceding particles (here the locative particle) than with the verb itself:

(138)

I-my-akha	y-e-ya	yi-yiich-a	**ya**	**nd-i-cheng-a**
AUG-4-year	4-REL-FUT	4.PRES-come-FV	FUT	1SG-PRES-build-FV
i-nyumba	n-gomi.			
AUG-9.house	9-big			

"In the next years (lit. the years which will come), I will build a big house" (Q 22)

(139)

Pe-**ya**	**mw-i-helel-a**	p-a	lu-kendo	lw-enyo
16.LOC-FUT	2PL-PRES-walk-FV	16-PREP	11-trip	11-POSS
m-tan-e	ukhu-pind-a	sho-shoha (Mk 6: 8)		

2PL-stop-SBJV INF-carry-FV 7-PRO

"When you go on your trip, take nothing with you."

The imperfective suffix *-aka* together with the present morpheme–*i*- can also be used to refer to events in the near future, leading to a future imperfective translation.

(140) Lino unyenye **mw-i-tam-aka** mukati umu
Now PRO.2PL 2PL-PRES-stay-IPFV 18-inside 18-DEM
"Now you will be staying inside here" (POG 1.18)

Besides *ya* + PRES being the most common future form, there exists a second future prefix, -*la*-, which only appeared twice in the data. The infrequent use makes it hard to detect differences in meaning as compared to *ya*+ PRES. It is placed between the subject prefix and the verb stem. Probably the speaker is less certain about the event to occur.

(141) Khila khikono ing'ukhu ya-kha-v-a y-i-hooch-a sh-e
Every 7-day 9-chicken 9-NAR-be-FV 9-PRES-reflect-FV 7-REL
yi-la-yi-khit-il-a i-sude khu-hoomba sh-e
9-FUT$_2$-OM-do-APPL-FV 9-rabbit INF-revenge 7-REL
y-a-m-khitye i-sude.
9-PST$_2$-OM-do.PFV 9-rabbit
"Every day the chicken was thinking about what he will do with the rabbit to revenge what the rabbit had done" (RAC 1.23)

3.4.3.3 Future perfect

In order to make reference to a situation before another reference point in the future, the future perfective construction (FUT + SBJ-STEM-PFV) is used. This is illustrated in example (142). The future perfect construction additionally contains the morpheme *–chi-*, which is prefixed onto the stem in order to express a weakened future prediction, according to Stirnimann's observation (1983: 112).

(142) *Lino uveeve ulindake tali mbakha **ya ndichifiikhe** khunyumba.*

Lino uveeve u-lind-ake tali mbakha **ya** **ndi-chi-fikh-ile**
Now PRO.2SG 2SG-wait-SBJV first until FUT 1SG-FUT-arrive-PFV
khu-nyumba
18.LOC-house
"Now you wait first until I will have arrived at home" (RAC 1.5)

Moreover, the PST_3 marker *ne-* can be used for references to events that have started before a reference point in the future. It appears in the second verb of a compound construction, while the first verb is marked with present tense.

(143) *Khinyamihe yilondekhwa ndimkhalibise ulikedenge khunyumba yangu, pakhuva **yiiva neyiveele** mihe ya ilemwa ukhukomokha.*

Khi-nyamihe yi-lond-ekh-w-a ndi-m-khalib-is-e
LOC.17-evening 9.PRES-want-APPL-PASS-FV 1SG-OM-welcome-CAUS-SBJV
u-likedenge khu-nyumba y-angu, pakhuva **yi-i-va** **ne-yi-va-ile**
5-monkey 17-house 9-POSS because 9-PRES-be PST_3-9-be-PFV
mihe ya i-lem-w-a ukhukomokha
evening FUT 3SG.PRES-conquer-PASS-FV INF-return
"In the evening it is wanted to invite the monkey to my home, because it will already be evening and he will not be able to return (lit. It will have become evening and he will be conquered in returning)." (MAC 1.20)

IV. Evaluation and conclusion

The research questions, which I tried to answer in this thesis were the following:

- What does the tense-aspect system in Pangwa look like? What are the different morphemes, with which the Pangwa speaker refers to situations in the present, past and future?
- Which/how many tense-aspect categories can be established for Pangwa?
- How do certain morphemes behave in different contexts? Does each morpheme have a distinct function or are there morphemes that possess different meanings/functions?

- In how far does verb semantics play a role in aspectual meaning and the choice of certain aspect markers?
- How does the system of remoteness distinction work in Pangwa? Is there a distinction of hodiernal vs. non-hodiernal forms, as is often attested in other Bantu languages? How rigid are these forms? Are the distinctions for future as elaborate as for past?
- With regard to narrative forms, does Pangwa follow what can be observed for other Bantu languages?
- What are differences and similarities as compared to neighbouring languages?

These questions have been the basis for the investigation in the main part of the thesis. It did not take long to realize that the tense-aspect system of Pangwa is abound in different markers and constructions serving the purpose to make elaborate references in time. Based on the text corpus and the questionnaire, I tried to figure out the motivations for using the one or the other form, always taking the context into account. Given the abundance of tense-aspect markers and their meanings and functions, the following table may be helpful to keep track of all identified forms in present, past and future. It will label the category of each form, its shape, an example and a short note on its function(s) and meaning(s).

Major present, past and future constructions			
Label	Shape	Example	Functions
Simple Present$_1$	SBJ-i-VB-a	*V-i-chov-a* "They speak/are speaking"	(Non-)progressive present reference, generic and near future
Simple Present$_2$	SBJ-kha-OM-VB-a	*Va-kha-m-chov-a* "They speak /are speaking to him/her"	With object, same meaning as Simple Present$_1$
Persistive	SBJ-i-pi-VB-a	*Nd-i-pi-khin-a* "I am still playing"	Continuation of events started in indefinite past time (usually) until now
Present Perfect	SBJ-VB-ile	*Va-chov-ile* "They have spoken" *Ndi-kend-ike* "I walked (this morning)"	1. Perfect (anterior) meaning with present relevance 2. Hodiernal past

		A-dad-ile "S(he) is angry"	3. Present meaning with stative or "inchoative" verbs
$Past_1$	SBJ-kha-VB-ile	*Va-kha-chov-ile* "They spoke (yesterday/not far from today)"	Near past perfective; prehodiernal meaning: events that took place yesterday or not long ago (boundary in terms of days unclear)
$Past_2$	SBJ-a-VB-ile	*Va-a-chov-ile* "They spoke (long ago)"	Remote past perfective: Far away from the moment of speech
$Past_3$	ne-SBJ-VB-ile	*Ne-va-chov-ile* "They have finished speaking" / "They had spoken"	Pluperfect meaning (completed event before reference point in the past)
Past Imperfective	SBJ-a-VB-aka	*Va-a-chov-aka* "They (often) spoke"	Describing situations in the past (no single events), often habitual meaning
Past Continuous	SBJ-kha-v-a + SBJ-i-VB-a	*Va-kha-v-a* *v-i-chov-a* "They were speaking"	Describing continuous action in the past
Habitual Present	SBJ-i-v-a + SBJ-i-VB-a	*V-ii-v-a v-i-chov-a* "They usually speak"	Compound construction for habitual events
Narrative	Default: SBJ-kha-VB-a variants: SBJ-NAR-VB-ake $PAST_2$ INF-aka INF-VB	*Va-kha-chov-a* "(Then) they spoke" *Va-kha-chov-ake* *Va-a-chov-a* *Ukhu-chov-aka* *Ukhu-chov-a*	Narrative form after an established situation by a past tense variants: -emphasize causal relations + finishing a sequence -adding a pause between actions -emphasize immediacy -introducing a sentence (participial form)
$Future_1$	ya + SBJ-i-VB-a	*Ya v-i-chov-a* "They will speak"	Near and far future, Intentions and predictions

Near Future Imperfective	SBJ-i-VB-IPFV	*V-i-chov-aka* "They will be saying"	For near imperfective events
Future$_2$	SBJ-la-VB-a	*Va-la-chov-a* "They will speak (anytime)"	Function yet unclear (possibly for very uncertain events)
Future Perfective	ya + SBJ-VB-ile or SBJ-i-v-a + ne-SBJ-VB-ile	*Ya va-chov-ile* "They will have spoken" *V-i-v-a ne-va-chov-ile* "They will have begun to speak"	For referring to an event which is already completed in the future For referring to situations that have already started in the future

Table 8 Major present, past and future constructions

It turned out, that some tense-aspect markers are quite straightforward in their usage. This is, for example, the case with the far past perfective SBJ-a-STEM-ile, which always refers to complete events that took place a long time from the present moment. It is a typical perfective, since it gives no insight into the event's structure, but treats it as an unanalysable whole unit. Another morpheme which has a (partly) clear function is the near past marker in the construction SBJ-kha-STEM-a, used for events that took place yesterday and some time prior (though not clear exactly how many days into the past). Still, it is clear that the event referred to must be perceived as near to the present day.

The following tentative figure outlines the basic remoteness distinctions:

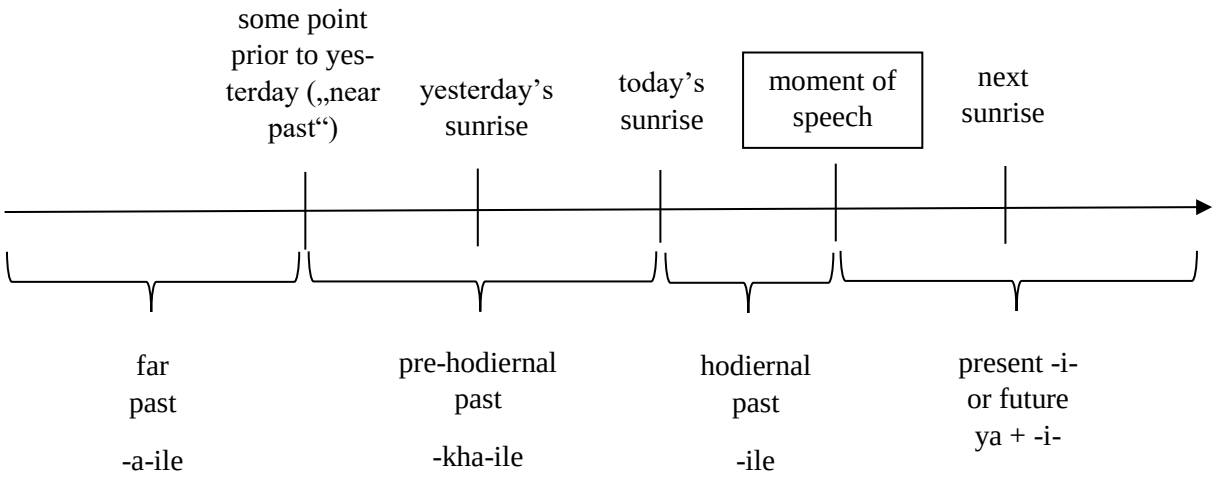

Figure 4 Basic remoteness distinctions in Pangwa

What becomes clear from the first sight is that distinctions in the past are significantly more detailed than for the future. It is in fact questionable if there is a distinction in the future at all.

The existence of a second future -la- (see table) makes one believe so, however, this form is extremely rarely used (only two times in the whole data). It is, in fact, the present tense which is occasionally chosen for near future reference.

What has not become clear from the data is the possible effect of subjective perception when locating past or future events. It is well possible, that this might play a role, especially for the near past marker *-kha-a,* where it is difficult to state how far into the past it may reach (maybe two days or even one week). Cross-linguistically, this vagueness is not an exception, since clear-cut boundaries can rarely be established.

What also stands out in the Pangwa TA system is the comprehensive inventory of markers for narration. Thus, Pangwa follows most Bantu languages in possessing special narrative morphology. Various narrative constructions can be found in the data with several functions.

Other tense-aspect markers and its meaning(s) are even harder to grasp, since they are not very transparent in their meaning and have various functions dependent on the context and other tense-aspect markers. A particular obscure morpheme is the imperfective suffix *–aka*. Commonly it has past habitual meaning and appears in descriptions, but it is often used without its imperfective meaning. This appears to be the case particularly in narrative contexts, where it serves for giving details on the relationship among subsequent events. How this development came about is open to further research. Another complex morpheme, both formally and functionally, is the perfective suffix *–ile*. As was discussed above, it has both perfect and perfective meaning, mainly depending on the accompanying tense marker. Former meaning is achieved when used alone, the latter in combination with $Past_1$, $Past_2$ and $Past_3$. This polysemic property is not uncommon in Bantu, since it has often been claimed in the literature to vary in meaning.

Another context where the perfective suffix *–ile* is used, is with stative verbs or verbs with so-called "inchoative" meaning (i.e. change-of-state and resultative meaning). As with many other Bantu languages, verbs of this class behave differently than in many European languages, in that the inherent temporal structure is viewed from another angle. While an English speaker perceives a verb like "to stand" as stative and refers to it with a present tense, a Bantu speaker views it as the result of "getting into an upright position" and therefore uses the perfect form for including the starting point of an action. Thus, the intrinsic meaning of lexical verbs has a crucial influence on the aspectual vantage point and makes it unavoidable to take verb semantics into account.

In sum, Pangwa's strategies in referring to time are manifold, especially with reference to past time situations. In comparison to other Bantu languages, Pangwa is in no way inferior as to the abundance of tense and aspect markers. The limit in space in this paper makes it, however,

impossible to give a full account on all the possible expressions in time, especially with respect to the aspectual diversity. What is more, this paper has excluded the effects of the third category mood, which plays an important role as well, especially in future references. Further research is needed in this respect in order to give a broader picture of tense-aspect-mood marking in Pangwa.

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Appendix

(1) [Talking about the house in which the speaker lives] The house BE big.
Inyumba yiveele ngomi.

(2) [Talking about a house which the speaker saw for the first time yesterday] The house BE big.
Inyumba yikhaveele ngomi.

(3) [Talking about the house in which the speaker used to live in his childhood, but is torn down] The house BE big.
Inyumba yaaveele ngomi.

(4) [Standing in front of a house] Speaker A: This house always BE red? Speaker B: (No, earlier) the house BE white.
A: Oso, inyumba iyi yaaveele ndung'u ukhuhuma pakhutengulila?
B: Nangi, pakhutengulila inyumba yaaveele mbalafu.

(5) [Somebody on the phone wants to know about your brother. You answer:] My brother BE near me. He SIT in a chair, WRITE a letter right now.
Ukaka vangu aveele papiipi naani. Ataamye pa khideeko, lino iyandikha ihaati.

(6) When I COME home yesterday, my brother WRITE a letter/ letters [that is the activity he was engaged in when I arrived].
Ikolo pe ndikhayiichile khu nyumba, ukaka vangu akhayandikhike ihaati.

(7) When I COME home yesterday, my brother WRITE a letter/ letters [this is what he accomplished during my absence].
Ikolo pe ndikhayiichile khu nyumba, ukaka vangu akhaveele neayandikhe ihaati.

(8) A: You KNOW my brother? B: Yes, I MEET him (so I know him).
A: Oso, ummanyile ukaka vangu? B: Eena, khangi ndivonine naave.

(9) [A: Do you know my brother?] B: Yes, I just (=a couple of minutes ago) MEET him.
A: Oso, ummanyile ukaka vangu? B: Eena, lilino ndivonine naave.

(10) [Conversation takes place in the afternoon. A: Do you know my brother?] B: Yes, I MEET him at the market this morning.
A: Oso, ummanyile ukaka vangu? B: Eena, ndivonine naave ileelo palukhela khu likulilo.

(11) [A: Do you know my brother?] B: Yes, I MEET him at the market yesterday.
A: Oso, ummanyile ukaka vangu? B: Eena, ndikhavonine naave ikolo khu likulilo.

(12) [A: Do you know my brother?] B: Yes, I MEET him many years ago.
A: Oso, ummanyile ukaka vangu? B: Eena, ndaavonine naave myakha myolofi ye yilutile.

(13) A: You KNOW my father, who DIE last year? Yes, I MEET him shortly before he DIE.
A: Oso, ummanyile udaadi vangu ye aafwele umwakha kwe kulutile? Eena, ndaavonine naave msikha mdebe asina ukhufwa

(14) A: What your sister usually DO every Saturday morning? B: She CLEAN the house.
A: Oso, umlumbu vaakho khila pashakhuvilukha palukhela iiva ikhita khikhi? B: Iiva ikhuuna inyumba.

(15) A: What your sister usually DO every Saturday morning last year? B: She CLEAN the house.
A: Oso, umlumbu vaakho khila pashakhuvilukha palukheela umwakha kwe kulutile aakhitaka khikhi? B: Aakhuunaka inyumba.

(16) [Q: What kind of sound do cats make?] They MEOW.
Kinyavula / Litikila nyavuu

(17) [Conversation in the morning, talking about the speaker's immediate plan] I WRITE a letter.
Ndilonda ndiyandikhe ihaati.

(18) [Conversation in the morning, talking about the speaker's plan for this evening] I WRITE a letter.
Ya ndiyandikha ihaati

(19) A: My brother HAVE a new job. He START tomorrow. B: What kind of work he DO there? A: He WRITE letters.
A: Ukaka vangu aveele nu mlimo mupya. Ya ivanga khilavo. B: Oso, ikhita mlimo mukhi ukhwe? A: Iyandikha ihaati.

(20) [There are black clouds in the sky] It RAIN in a few minutes.
Sina msikha ifula ya yitonya.

(21) [The weather is changing] It RAIN tomorrow.
Ifula ya yitonya khilavo.

(22) [Talking about the speaker's plan for the future] I BUILD a big house in a few years.
Imyakha yeya yiyiicha ya ndichenga inyumba ngomi.

(23) I BE TIRED. I WORK all day since I got up this morning.
Ndichokhile. Ndikhite imilimo khikono shooha ukhuhuma ndilamukha palukhela.

(24) [Looking out of the window, seeing that the ground is wet] It RAIN.
Ifuula yitonya.

(25) Do you know what happened to me a. this morning / b. yesterday / c. when I was a child? I WALK in the forest. Suddenly I STEP on a snake. It BITE me in the leg. I TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. It DIE.
a. Oso, umanyile she khing'olye ulukheela ulu? Ndikendike khu mtokolo. Khwa khu-khenyamkhila ndikhadadikhila iliyokha, likhandilumake pa likulu. Ndikhahola ilikanga, ndikhalahila. Likhafwichake.
b. Oso, umanyile she khikhang'olye ikolo? Ndikhakendike khu mtokolo. Khwa khu-khenyamkhila ndikhadadikhila iliyokha, likhandilumake pa likulu. Ndikhahola ilikanga, ndikhalahila. Likhafwichake.
c. Oso, umanyile she shaang'olye pe ndaveele mwana? Ndakendaka khu mtokolo. Khwa khukhenyamkhila ndadadishe iliyokha, lyandilumile pa likulu. Ndaaholile ilikanga, ndikhalahila. Likhafwichake.

(26) She DRESS right now (putting on a coat).
Ifwala lilino.

(27) She BE DRESSED (with a coat).
Afwalile ilikhoti.

(28) She BECOME ANGRY now (because her children do not listen to her).
Idada lilino.

(29) She BE ANGRY.
Adadile.

(30) The train ARRIVE at the station (it is still moving).
Ituleni yifikha pa vuyimo.

(31) The train ARRIVE at the station (a few minutes ago).
Ituleni yifiikhe pa vuyimo.