

**Tense and Aspect in Runyankore-Rukiga,
Linguistic Resources and Analysis**

by

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**A Thesis Presented to the Department of Language and Communication Studies in Partial
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Master of Philosophy Degree in Linguistics**

NTNU

Norwegian University of Science and Technology

September 2011

I dedicate this work to my family; Juliet, Job and Joshua

Acknowledgement

My thanks go to The Norwegian Government for giving me a grant to pursue my studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Without this financial support, my life-time dream could not have been pursued.

Big thanks go to my supervisor Assoc. Professor Dorothee Beermann for her invaluable and insightful guidance towards the production of this thesis. I thank her for guiding and polishing my analytic skills in linguistics. I'm completely humbled by your contribution.

I also owe intellectual debt to my lecturers at the Department. I'm grateful to Professor Lars Hellan, Assoc.Professor Kaja Borthen, Professor Wim Van Dommelen, and Assoc.Professor Jardar Abrahamsen for the knowledge you imparted in me throughout my academic life at NTNU.

I cannot forget to thank my fellow students at the Department of Language and Communication Studies. I'm thankful to Misah Natumanya, and John Gaanah, for their support and guidance during tough times in Norway. We always worked as a team and it's because of your endless contribution that I have been able to realize my goal. I have enjoyed every single moment I have been with you.

My heartfelt thanks go to the family of Robert Mwandha, and Lawrence Keinamura, you always opened your doors for me. Thank you for your generous support and advice which has added value to my life. You mean a lot to me.

I would like to express my gratitude to my fieldwork informants Dr. Celestino Oriikiriza, Allen Asiiimwe, Gilbert Gumoshabe, Herbert Tumwesigye, Rachel Mpangainwe, Naome Mukundane, Mzee William Bwarare, Lydia Christine, Elizabeth Mutamba, Cossy Muhimbura, Edson and Cranmer Nuwagira, for the information you provided during my field work in Uganda. I salute you all.

Lastly I would like to thank in a very special way my dear wife Juliet Nasuna for emotional and psychological support you rendered to me. You always encouraged me when conditions turned to be tough.

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgement.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii-vi
List of TypeCraft gloss and POS tags.....	vii
CHAPTER ONE: <i>General Introduction</i>	
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Tense and Aspect in Bantu - a short overview.....	2
1.2 Scope of the Study.....	5
1.3 Purpose and Significance of the Study.....	5
CHAPTER TWO: <i>Methodology</i>	
2.0 Introduction.....	6
2.1 Conception of the Topic.....	6
2.2 Fieldwork.....	7
2.2.1. Information and Preliminaries.....	7
2.2.2. Primary data.....	11
2.2.2.1 Radio Recordings.....	11
2.2.2.2 Dialogue, Monologue and Conversation.....	12
2.2.2.3 Recording Equipment.....	12
2.2.2.4 Recording Procedures.....	13
2.2.2.5 TA Questionnaire.....	16
2.2.2.6 Administration of the Questionnaire.....	17

2.3 Data Analysis.....	18
2.3.1 Praat.....	21
2.3.2 TypeCraft.....	22
2.4 Analysis of the Questionnaire.....	25

CHAPTER THREE: *Tense and Aspect*

3.0 Introduction.....	26
3.1 The Universal Tense.....	31
3.2 Future Tense.....	38
3.2.1 Near Future.....	38
3.2.2 Remote Future.....	47
3.3 Past Tense.....	52
3.3.1 Remote Past.....	53
3.3.2 Near Past.....	55
3.3.3 Immediate Past.....	58
3.4 Participial Forms in RR.....	61
3.4.1 Participial Universal.....	62
3.4.2 Participial Present Continuous.....	62
3.4.3 Participial Immediate Past.....	64
3.4.4 Participial Near Past.....	65
3.4.5 Participial Remote Past.....	65
3.4.6 Participial Near Future.....	67
3.4.7 Participial Remote Future.....	70
3.5 Aspect.....	72

3.5.1 Perfective Aspect.....	72
3.5.2 Imperfective Aspect.....	74
3.5.2.1 Persistive Aspect.....	74
3.5.2.2 Habitual Aspect.....	77
3.5.2.3 Continuous Aspect.....	83
3.5.2.3.1 Progressive Aspect.....	84
 Chapter Four	
Conclusion.....	91
References.....	93
Appendix 1. TMA Questionnaire.....	96
Appendix 2. Map showing Runyankore-Rukiga speaking areas in Uganda.....	104
 Lists of Tables	
Table 1 Lexical Similarity between Runyankore, Rukiga and other E20 languages in percentages.....	2
Table 2 Tenses recognized in grammars of Runyankore-Rukiga.....	4
Table 3 Categories and sub-categories of Aspect Taylor 1985.....	4
Table 4 List of participants in recorded conversations and dialogues.....	16
Table 5 Radio recordings and Runyankore-Rukiga songs.....	16
Table 6 List of Participants who filled-in the questionnaire.....	17
Table 7 The verbal morphology of RR.....	28
Table 8 Examples used by Taylor to show Universal Tense.....	33
Table 9 Influence of Tone on Universal Tense constructions.....	34

Table 10 Remote Future Tense marker –Morphological variations [ri] and [ry].....	50
Table 11 Remote Future Tense marker –Morphological variations [raa] and [rya].....	50
Table 12 Participial Present Continuous.....	63
Table 13 Illustration of Participial Remote Past.....	65
Table 14 Illustration of Participial Near Future.....	68
Table 15 Illustration of participial Remote Future.....	71

List of Figures

Figure 1 Representation of Tense.....	2
Figure 2 Verbal Unit of RR.....	26
Figure 3 Forms of Aspect in RR.....	72

List of TypeCraft Gloss and POS tags

TypeCraft POS tags

pos_tag	pos_desc
ADJ	adjective
ADJC	comparative adjective
ADJS	superlative adjective
ADV	adverb
ADVneg	negative operator
ADVplc	place adverb
ADVtemp	temporal adverb
ART	article
AUX	auxiliary
CARD	cardinal numeral (e.g.4, sixty-five)
CIRCP	circumposition
CL	clitic
CLFnom	nominal classifier
CLFnum	numeral classifier
CN	common noun
COMP	complementiser
CONJ	conjunction
CONJC	coordinating conjunction (e.g. and or)
CONJS	subordinating conjunction (e.g. although when)
COP	copula
COPident	identity copula
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
EXPL	expletive pronoun
MOD	modifier
N	common noun
Nbare	bare noun
Ncomm	noun with common gender (Norwegian)
NDV	deverbal noun
NFEM	feminine noun
NMASC	masculine noun
NNEUT	neuter noun
NNO	noun neutral for number (e.g. data aircraft)
Nspat	spatial noun
NUM	numeral
NUMpart	partitive numeral
ORD	ordinal
P	preposition
PART	particle
PARTC	participle
PARTexist	existential marker
Partinf	infinitive marker
PARTint	interrogative particle
PARTn	nominal particle
PARTposs	possessive particle
PARTpred	predicative particle
PARTprst	presentational particle
PARTv	verbal particle
PN	Proper noun
PPOST	postposition
PREP	preposition
PREPdir	directional preposition

TypeCraft POS tags

PREP/PROspt	hybrid locative category (Bantu)
PREPtemp	temporal preposition
PROana	pronominal anaphor
PROint	interrogative pronoun
PRON	personal pronoun
PRONposs	possessive pronoun
PROposs	possessive pronoun
PROrefl	reflexive pronoun
PROrel	relative pronoun
PTCP	participle
QUANT	quantifier
REL	relative clause marker
V	verb
V1	first verb in a SVC
V2	second verb in a SVC
V3	Third verb in a serial verb construction
V4	Fourth verb in a serial verb construction
Vcomp	compoundVerb
Vcon	converb
Vdtr	Ditransitive verb
Vitr	Intransitive verb
Vlgt	light verb
Vmod	modal verb
Vneg	negative verb
Vpre	preverb
Vtr	transitive verb
V-trScpr	transitive verb with a secondary predicate
Wh	wh-word

TypeCraft Glosses

1	1st person
1excl	1st person exclusive
1incl	1st person inclusive
1PL	1st person plural
1SG	1st person singular
2	2nd person
2HML	addressee-humble
2HON	addressee-honorific
2PL	2nd person plural
2SG	2nd person singular
3	3rd person
3PL	3rd person plural
3Pobv	3 person obviative
3Pprox	3 person proximative
3SG	3rd person singular
ABB	abbreviation
ABES	abessive 'without'
ABL	ablative 'from'
ABS	absolute
ACAUS	anti-causative
ACC	accusative
ACTV	active voice
ADD	additive (also)
ADES	adessive 'at', 'near'
ADJ>ADV	deadjectival adverb
ADJ>N	noun derived from an adjective
ADJ>V	deadjectival verb
AFFMT	affirmative
AGR	agreement
AGT	agent
ALL	allative
ANIM	animate
ANT	anterior
AOR	aorist
APASS	anti-passive
APPL	applicative
APPROX	approximate
ASP	aspect - underspecified
ASRT	assertive
ASS	adnominal
ATT	attributive
AUX	auxiliary(morpheme)
BEN	benefactive
CASE	case marker - underspecified
CAUS	causative
CESSIVE	cessative=egressive
CIRCM	circumscribe
CL	noun class marker
CL1	noun class 1
CL10	noun class 10
CL11	noun class 11
CL12	noun class 12
CL13	noun class 13

TypeCraft Glosses

CL14	noun class 14
CL15	noun class 15
CL16	noun class 16
CL17	noun class 17
CL18	noun class 18
CL2	noun class 2
CL20	noun class 20
CL21	noun class 21
CL22	noun class 22
CL23	noun class 23
CL3	noun class 3
CL4	noun class 4
CL5	noun class 5
CL6	noun class 6
CL7	noun class 7
CL8	noun class 8
CL9	noun class 9
CLITadv	cliticized adverb
CLITdet	cliticized determiner
CLITn	cliticized noun
CLITp	cliticized preposition
CLITpron	cliticized pronoun
CLITv	cliticized verb
CMPL	completive
CMPR	comparative
CNTV	contative
CO-EV	co-event
COMIT	comitative
COMM	common gender
COMPL	complement
COND	conditional 'if' or conditional 'would'
CONJ	conjunctive=subjunctive
CONS	verbmarking in SVCs (e.g. in Akan)
CONSEC	consecutive 'so that'
CONT	continuous
CONTL	contlative
CONTP	contemporative
COP	copular
CTed	contained
CV	converb
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEL	delative 'down from'
DEST	destinative 'to'
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DIR-SP	direct speech
DIST	distal 'remote'
DIST2	far distal
DISTRIB	distributive
DM	discourse marker
DO	direct object

TypeCraft Glosses

DU	dual
DUR	durative
DXS	deixis
DYN	dynamic
EGR	egressive
ELAT	elative 'out of'
EMPH	emphatic
ENDPNT	endpoint
EQT	equative
ERG	ergative
ESS	essive
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclamative
EXPLET	expletive
EXT	exterior
FEM	feminine
FOC	focus
FREQ	frequentive
FT	foot
FUT	future
FUTclose	close future
FUTim	immediate future
FUTnear	near future
FUTrel	relative future
FUTrm	remote future
FV	verb-final vowel (Bantu)
GEN	genitive
GER1	gerund I
GER2	gerund II
GNR	generic
GOAL	goal
H	high tone
!H	downstep high
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific
HUM	human
ICV	inherent complement verb (Akan)
ILL	illative 'into'
IMP	imperative
IMP1	imperative
IMP2	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INANIM	inanimate
INCEP	inceptive
INCH	inchoative
INCOMPL	incomplete=imperfective
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
IND-SP	indirect speech
INESS	inessive 'inside'
INF	infinitive
INGR	ingressive
INSTR	instrumental

TypeCraft Glosses

INT	interior
INTR	interrogative
INTS	intensive
IRLS	irrealis
ITER	iterative
itr	intransitive
IV	initial vowel (Bantu)
JUSS	jussive
L	low tone
landmark	proper nouns indicating landmarks
LAT	lative
LINE	line
LOC	locative
MALF	malfactive
MASC	masculine
MAVM	main clause affirmative
MEDIAL	medial
MNR	manner
MO	motion
MOD	mood underspecified
MT	mid tone
MU	marked use
N>A	noun-to-adjective
N>ADJ	derives an adjective from a noun
NEG	negation
NEGPOL	negative polarity
NEUT	neuter
NF	non-future
NFUT	non-future
NMLZ	nominalizer
N>N	noun derivation
NOM	nominative
NPAST	non-past
Npref	noun prefix
NUM>N	derives a noun from a numeral
N>V	derives a verb from a noun
OBJ	object
OBJ2	second object
objcogn	cognate object
OBJind	indirect object
OBL	oblique
OM	object marker
OPT	optative
PART	part-of
PARTC	participle
PARTC>ADJ	participle-to-adjective
PASS	passive
PAST	past perceived as a whole
PASThst	hesternal past: yesterday or earlier but not remote
PASTim	very recent, in the last minute or so
PASTpast	past in the past
PASTrel	relative past
PASTrm	remote past

TypeCraft Glosses

PATH	path
PERL	perlative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PNCT	punctual
POSPOL	positive polarity
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicative
PRES	present
PRET	preterite
PRF	perfect
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PRSTV	persistent aspect
PRTV	partitive
PS	pause
PSSEE	possessee
PSSOR	possessor
PT	patient
Q	question
QUOT	quotation
RECP	reciprocal
REDP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RLS	realis
RPS	reported speech
RP-SP	reported speech
RT	relative tone
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SC	small clause
SEMF	semelfactive
SG	singular
SGbare	bare singular (e.g. used in Norwegian)
SM	subject marker
SPTL	spatial
SRC	source
ST	strong
STARTPNT	startpoint
STAT	stative
STR	strong
SUP	superlative
SUPN	supinum 'infinitival verb form
TEMP	temporal
TER	terminalis
TH	theme
TOP	topic
TTL	title (Mr., Dr.)
V>ADJ	deverbal adjective
V>ADV	verb-to-adverb
vbl	verbal
VIAL	vialis

TypeCraft Glosses

VIAPNT	viapoint
>Vitr	intransitivizer
V>N	deverbal noun
VOC	vocative
Vstem	verbal stem
>Vtr	transitivizer
W	weak
x	multiply by (used in number systems)

CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Runyankore-Rukiga, realized as RR in this work, is one of the Bantu languages of East-Africa spoken in the South-Western part of Uganda in the districts of Mbarara, Kabale, Bushenyi, Ntungamo, Rukungiri, Kisoro and Kanungu.

According to Ethnologue¹, Runyankore is spoken by 2,330,000 people, while Rukiga is spoken by 1,580,000 people. This is further confirmed by the National Population Census of 2002 conducted by the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics (<http://www.ubos.org/>)

Existing literature about RR (Taylor 1985, Morris and Kirwan 1972) treats Runyankore and Rukiga as one language². Interesting is the way in which these two languages have been merged to form one language.

Before 1950, these two languages were one huge language family called Runyoro which was spoken in Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom. The bigger language family comprised 4 related languages, namely, Runyankore, Rukiga, Runyoro and Rutooro. However, some people were not happy with this grouping, since most of the literature, including the Bible, were written in Runyoro.

According to Ladefoged P. *et al* (1971), and Rubongoya (1999: xvi), two conference were held in 1952 and 1954 to discuss this matter under the guidance of missionaries. During the second conference (1954), Runyoro was split into two languages, Runyankore-Rukiga and Runyoro-Rutooro. Among the reasons that influenced the conference to divide these 4 languages into 2 groups were the higher mutual intelligibility and lexical similarity between the languages which formed the two sub-groups. Runyankore and Rukiga are very closely related and share more than 84% of the lexicon while the lexical similarity between Runyoro and Rutooro is between 78% and 93% (Ethnologue). Table 1 below shows the Lexical similarity between Runyankore, Rukiga and other E20 languages in percentages

¹ <http://www.ethnologue.com/>

² See also Rubongoya 1999 and references therein

RR has been classified in various ways. Its ISO code is 639-3 (Ethnologue). It has several Guthrie numbers e.g. J.13 according to the Linguistics Department at the University of Berkely, USA, CA. According to Nurse (2008) RR is E13 while while Hombert and Hyman (1999:8) classify RR under West Nyanza and classify the combined languages as of class E.20 again together with Runyoro and Rutooro, spoken in Uganda and Haya, Nyambo, Zinza and Kerewe spoken in Tanzania. Table 1 is derived from information given by the online version of Ethnologue which I have presented in tabular form.

Table 1 Lexical similarity between Runyankore, Rukiga and other E20 languages in percentages

Language	Nyoro	Tooro	Haya	Nyambo	Zinza	Kerewe	Rukiga
Runyankore	78	75-86	74	78	81	68	84-94
Rukiga	77	68	70	72	75	63	100

1.1 Tense and Aspect in Bantu - a short Overview.

Comrie (1985:1) defines Tense as “the grammaticalization of location in time”. According to him, when seen as Tense, time is divided into Past, Present and Future in the majority of the world’s languages. Comrie represents Tense as a timeline similar to Figure 1.

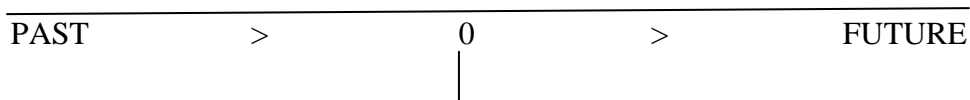


Figure 1 Representation of Tense

Following standard perception, Figure 1 represents the Present as the center, here labeled as 0, The Past occurs to its left and the Future to its right. Reading the line from left to right, we capture the idea that the Past precedes the Present while the Future follows it.

In RR, Past and Future are represented by several Tenses. The Past is split into three Tenses which express the degree of remoteness from the Present. The Immediate Past is distinguished from the Near Past and the Remote Past. For the Future, the Near Future is distinguished from the Remote Future.

Using Figure 1, we may now say that the Immediate Past in RR is located closest to the left of point marked 0 while the Near Past is located left of the Immediate Past while the Remote Past is located to the left of the Near Past. The same holds for the Future, the Immediate Future can be found closest to the right of 0. In other words, the nearer the event is in terms of occurrence to the Present, the closer it appears to 0. The farther away an event is from the Present, either in the Past or the Present, the farther it is away from point 0 on the timeline.

RR shares many aspects with the Tense and Aspect system of other Bantu languages. Comrie (1985:29) for example, observes in Haya that the Past also has a 3 way distinction, labeled as,

PAST 1 used strictly for situations that held earlier today

PAST 2 used for situations that held yesterday

PAST 3 only used for situations that held before yesterday,

while the Future shows a 2 way distinction.

FUTURE 1 used for situations holding later on today or tomorrow

FUTURE 2 used for events holding later than tomorrow

Although grammarians working on RR agree that the Past and the Future are divided into different Tenses, which distinguish remoteness from the Present, labeling of these Tenses is not uniform. A further factor that seems to blur the picture is that Tense and Aspect are not necessarily distinguished from each other. Consider Table 2 for an overview over meaning conventions. Table 3 summarizes the Aspects recognized in Taylor's Grammar.

Table 2: Tenses recognized in Grammars of Runyankore-Rukiga

	Taylor Charles	Morris and Kirwan
PRESENT	Universal Tense Continuous/progressive	Present Indefinite Present Imperfect
FUTURE	Near Future Remote Future	Near Future Far Future
PAST	Today Past Yesterday Remote Past	The Very Near Past/ Narrative Past The Near Past/ The Perfect The Far Past

In reference to Table 2, I will adopt the following naming convention. I will use Universal Tense and I will refer to the Prefix *ni-* as the Continuous Aspect. In addition I will use terms of Immediate Past, Near Past, Remote Past, Near Future and Remote Future.

Table 3: Categories and subcategories of Aspect Taylor 1985

Category	Subcategory
Perfect	Present result of the past situation Isolated past action considered in the present (Occasional Aspect) Situations continuing from past Impending Aspect
Other Aspects	Habitual Aspect Continuous Aspect Progressive Aspect Ingressive Aspect Completive Aspect Iterative Aspect Reversive Aspect Atelic Aspect

1.2 Scope of the study

This study aims to document through annotated data and description of Tense and Aspect of RR. I further identify the morphological forms associated with these categories. It is generally assumed that Bantu languages express Tense as prefixes and Aspect as suffixes, encoding Tense to the left of the verb stem and Aspect to the right. Tone plays an important role in the expression of Tense and Aspect, and is therefore something I have to address as part of this thesis. This thesis consists of two parts, a morpheme-by morpheme annotation of 352 sentences consisting of 2201 morphemes. In addition, a small corpus has been created consisting of 12 transcribed recordings from different genres, as described in Chapter 2. The link to this material is http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Category:Runyankore-Rukiga_Corpus. In addition, I have complemented this material with small collection of examples which reflect my knowledge as a native speaker.

1.3 Purpose and significance of the study

So far little has been written about Tense and Aspect in RR except for the earlier mentioned work by Taylor and Morris and Kirwan. It should be mentioned that neither Taylor nor Morris and Kirwan are native speakers of RR. Secondly, their grammars were written in the 1970s and 80s. Since then not only the languages has changed but also the way grammars are written. In the present study I will examine their work and suggest improvements when necessary and try to fill in gaps when adequate.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

2.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses methodological issues. It also talks about how the study started and what motivated me. It shows how the proposal was developed. It describes my field work. I talk about my informants, and how I selected them. I furthermore talk about data acquisition and the structure of my data. The chapter further explores the methods used in digital data processing, the tools that were applied in data analysis and challenges faced during data collection and analysis.

2.1 Conception of the topic

The final version of my proposal for this thesis was development during December 2010. What motivated me to choose Tense and Aspect as my topic however, goes back to the time when I was still working in Uganda. It was then that I started to understand the general lack of in-depth information about RR's verbs' inflectional system. I therefore wanted to add my voice to those ones that have attempted to describe Tense and Aspect. Secondly, having had an opportunity of participating in writing the first Runyankore-Rukiga monolingual dictionary ever, I was exposed to linguistic terminology. Before writing the dictionary, I thought that a dictionary was just a list of words and their meanings. But as the work started and progressed, I realized that a dictionary goes beyond words and meaning. I was made to understand that grammar is important when one is to write the dictionary. On many occasions, I had to consult many different resources in the attempt to resolve grammatical notions. This was the time when I realized that Tense and Aspect was a key area. If you want to understand the Bantu verb you need to gain a deep understanding of its expression of Tense and Aspect. From then, I never looked back and when the opportunity for a scholarship came, I grabbed this opportunity with both hands.

2.2 Field Work

2.2.1. Informants and Preliminaries

During the summer 2010 I conducted field work in Uganda. My informants came from the Kampala district in the central region of Uganda and from the Mbarara and the Kabale districts in the South-Western region (See Appendix 2 for the location of these districts).

In all the three districts, the informants were native speakers of Runyankore or Rukiga.

In selecting my informants, I basically relied on the people I knew, especially those who were easily accessible. The reason why I had to rely on friends was that most of the informants I had contacted while still in Norway attached monetary value to their time and effort, yet I had no budget. Since I stayed as a student in Norway, people assumed that I had a lot of money which was not the case. So, I had to rely on friends who would not demand money from me.

It is important to note that although I selected friends, I considered their level of education, the languages spoken and age because I knew this would have an impact on the quality of data they would provide. For instance I had an assumption that old people and less educated people would have less influence of second language e.g. English, implying high quality data while young people and very educated people would be affected by second languages, a factor that I did not want to deal with at this point.

However this assumption did not hold at the end. After analyzing data, I realized that other factors, especially the area where one stayed, determined code-switching, between not only English and R/R but also between R/R and Luganda. This can be observed in the recording *Dialogue with NM*, and *Dialogue with HT*³. Whereas all the participants are Banyankore and therefore speak Runyankore as their first language, we see them mixing Luganda with RR, as shown in the following example:

³ The recording itself is available online: http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Corpus:Dialogue_withNM

(1) Nyowe ninkorera hanuuya omu kitundu kya Makerere, kampala

“I work from here in Makerere village Kampala”

Nyowe ninkorera hanuuya omu kitundu
nyowe ni n kor er a ha nuuya ki tundu
me.1SG CONT 1SG work APPL FV CL16 here.PROX in CL7 village
PRON V DEM PREP N

kya Makerere kampala

kya makerere kampala

PART

PREP PN PN

Generated in TypeCraft.

In the phrase above, the speaker uses the Luganda word *ekitundu* ‘village’ comfortably and does not realize that it is in fact a Luganda word, since she lives in a Luganda speaking area. The RR word for ‘village’ is *ekyaro*.

A first look at some of my recordings already shows that a higher education may lead to increased code-switching. Consider my recording *Conversation Runyankore-Rukiga*⁴. In this conversation, all participants except one person had a bachelor degree and we hear them mixing English with RR consistently. The following two examples which are also available on-line by following the links^{5 6} illustrate this observation.

⁴ <http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Corpus:Conversation-Runyankore-Rukiga>

⁵ <http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/1269/17641/>

⁶ <http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/1269/17616/>

(2) Otakakunzire omuntu noobaasa omutaho value egyo, ei naakugambira.

“Before you love someone, you first put that value I told you, on her”

Otakakunzire omuntu noobaasa
o ta ka kun zire o mu ntu ni o baasa
2SG NEG ASP *love* PFV IV CL1 *person* CONT 2SG *can*

Vneg N AUX

omutaho value egyo ei
o mu t a ho value e gyo e i
IV 2SG *put* FV *on.LOC* *value* CL9 *that* IV *which.REL*

V N DEM CONJ

naakugambira

n aa ku gamb ira
1SG PASTim 2SG *speak* APPL

V

(3) Oze nk’omu public, oheereze ebiteekateeko byawe kandi abantu babikunde wade otaine na kikumi?

“*You go in public, you give your ideas and people may love your ideas even if you do not even have one hundred shillings.*”

Oze nk’omu public oheereze

o ze e nk’ o mu public o heerez e

2SG go SBJV like IV in public 2SG give SBJV

AUX PREP N V

ebiteekateeko byawe kandi abantu

e bi teekateek o by awe kandi a ba ntu

IV CL8 thought NMLZ CL8 your and IV CL2 people

N PRONposs CONJ N

babikunde wade otaine na kikumi?

ba bi kund e wade o ta ine na ki kumi?

CL2 CL8 love SBJV even-if 2SG NEG have even CL7 hundred

V CONJ V ADV N

Generated in TypeCraft.

As seen above, the informant uses the English word *value* (2), and *public* (3), and Luganda word *wade* (3). He could have used ‘omuhendo’, ‘orwatu’ and ‘n’obu araabe’, respectively.

My data further shows that that age played a key role for code-switching. When you carefully listen to the audio files which feature speakers of the age of 40 and above like ‘Dialogue with

HT'⁷, and 'Folk tale Rukiga'⁸, you notice a minimal use of English or other African languages other than RR. The speakers use RR with confidence. This could be attributed to age because all the speakers are aged 40 years and above.

2.2.2. Primary Data

My primary data consists of recordings and written answers to the TMA Questionnaire by Dahl (See Appendix 4) although I did not use the information obtained from my questionnaire for the write-up of this thesis.

2.2.2.1 Radio Recordings

I recorded one local radio station called 'K-Fm' which broadcasts in RR and is located in Kyenjojo District, Western Uganda. While recording, I used a digital recorder as well as my mobile phone.

This data from radio recordings is approximately 126.35MB in size or 72.83 minutes and consists of a radio program entitled *Omukozi* 'Worker', and 6 songs.

The recording was spontaneous, I therefore never prepared for these recordings. For instance, whenever I heard a nice song or program on the radio, I would get my digital recorder, if it was near, or my mobile phone and I would go with the radio in an isolated place to minimize noise and start recording. Whenever the program presenters announced that they were going in a commercial break, I would pause the recording and then start immediately when the commercial break ended as evident in the audio file entitled *Radio presentation-Rukiga*⁹.

As indicated, I had little control over my immediate environment or over the timing of the radio program. Therefore my recordings do not adequately represent the flow of the radio conversation which in turn impacts on the transcripts of these audio files and the data in general. For example

⁷ http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Corpus:Dialogue_with_HT

⁸ http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Corpus:Folk_tale-Rukiga

⁹ http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Corpus:Radio_presentation

there are many breaks and also you can hear the presenter announcing the commercial breaks in the middle of the presentation.

2.2.2.2 Dialogues, Monologue and Conversation

This data is approximately 787.7MB or 86.77 minutes. It is comprised of 6 audio files as shown in *Table 4* below. These include one monologue (Folk tale), 4 dialogues which I conducted myself and one group conversation in which I was not involved but appointed a modulator to guide the conversation. The reason why I appointed a different person was to create an enabling environment where they could talk freely without my intervention. However, I set the ground rules and procedures as described in section 2.3.2.4 below. For more information see *Table 4* below.

2.2.2.3 Recording Equipment

For all recordings I used a digital recorder or my mobile phone (Nokia 55:30 Express Music). The digital recorder uses a memory card, and I had a 4 GB memory card which was really sufficient for this study. The recordings made by the digital recorder were of high quality with very clear sound. My mobile produced rather poor quality. It used software called *Adaptive multiple Rate* shortened as ‘AMR’. This software later became problematic because the files were incompatible with PRAAT, a fact that I will discuss later. One might wonder why I used the mobile phone since I had the recorder. To begin with, the recorder was very expensive, so I could not walk with it everywhere for security reasons. Secondly, there are recordings I made spontaneously especially the radio recordings. This means that I had to use the mobile phone which was nearby. And finally, in Kampala, I could not get the specific alkaline cells for the recorder. The ones I brought from Norway got exhausted so that I had to look for a replacement, I could not get the specific type. When I came back to Norway I fortunately was able to convert the audio files recorded with the mobile phone using software called *audicity 1.3 Beta* so that they became compatible with PRAAT, the program that I had planned to use for the processing of my primary data.

2.3.2.4 Recording Procedures

Before I left Norway, I called the people I knew would participate in this study. The purpose was to build a rapport with them. Having stayed in Norway for almost a year, I had lost contact with them. I therefore had to revive our relationship so that when I consulted them they would not hesitate helping me. However when I arrived in Uganda, some disappointed me because they were asking for money. I therefore had to sit down and assess the kind of people I would work with. That is how I came to select my old friends who were there for me at this critical moment. These are the people I used as informants during One- on - One recording as well as for the group- recording.

Before meeting the informant, I would fix an appointment a week before hand, so that they did not get involved in other activities at the time agreed upon.

During the real interview, I would greet them and then inform them about the purpose of our meeting. I would ask whether they felt okay about me recording the conversation. Surprisingly, every one appreciated this and felt encouraged to talk freely, because everyone knew that after the conversation, they could listen to their own voices. This was therefore a motivating factor during our discussion.

I would then go to the room which I had prepared and then check whether the recorder was working well. After that, I would set the ground rules such as, swiTChing off the mobile phones to avoid interruption, minimizing the use of English and other languages where possible, and then asking the respondent to suggest a topic of choice for discussion. This was done to make the dialogue lively. Choosing the topic of discussion for the group conversation recorded was not easy because the participants had different interests. Some were interested in Politics while others were interested in love and marriage affairs. After some argumentation, the group selected love and marriage affairs. For the dialogue, I proposed the topic depending on the profession of the person I was going to interview taking personal circumstances into consideration. It is therefore not surprising that some of the topics addressed education issues (for those who were teachers) and business issues (for business-persons). However After proposing the topic, I would seek for their informant's opinion to find-out whether he or she had an alternative topic of interest. All this happened before I started recording.

After agreeing on the topic, I would start recording by introducing myself and would explain the purpose of the interview and how I was to use the information given then I would request the informant to introduce him or herself and then I would introduce the topic of discussion agreed upon and we would continue in our discussion.

During the discussion, I would ask questions especially where I realized that the informant was using one form of Tense. In this case I would ensure that the dialogue does not break and that the informant for example changed Tense automatically without thinking much about it. Consider the following dialogue from the audio-file 'Dialogue with NM'¹⁰ for an illustration of such intervention from my side.

Informant*Kwonka waaba nookora orikureeba orikutaasa akasente, ...nibiba bitari kubi*

...But if you are working and you see yourself earning, that is not bad

Interviewer: *Mbwenu shi emirimo yaawe neeha neegyenda eta?*

So what is your job and how is it progressing?

Eky'okureeberaho nk'eriizooba waimuka shaha zingahe, waakora ki, orunaku rwagyenda ruta...

For example like today at what time did you wake up, what did you do and how did the day go?

Noobaasa kungambira aha bikwatireine n'ebi waakora eriizooba?

Can you tell me about what you did today?

Informant *Ahh...orunaku oru, naimuka omukasheeshe karekare Shaha emwe yaashanga naimukire, naayetebeekanisa*

Ahhh...today, I woke up very early in the morning 7:00 O'clock found me when I had already woken up, I prepared myself...

¹⁰ In order for you to see the glossing of this text, follow the link http://typecraft.org/TC2wiki/Corpus:Dialogue_withNM . These phrases revealed here are sentence 11-19 of this text.

*Ab'omu kyaro, abarikukyeera kugyenda kukora, abaana b'amashomero,
ahabw'okuba nibaceera Nibarahuka kugyenda aha ishomero*

Those from village, those who wake up early to go to work, school children,
because they wake up and hurry to go to school

Naakyeera, naigura eduuka, naatebekanisa ebintu omu madaara

I woke up early, opened the shop, arranged things in shelves

Naashuubura ebi ...ebi naaba niinyetaagisa kushuubura... naatandika naaguza

I again bought what I needed and then started selling

The motivation behind my intervention is to motivate the informant to change tense from Present Tense to Immediate Past. I have done it tactfully and the dialogue continues flowing.

It is worth to note that whenever there was an interruption in the middle of our discussion, I would pause the recorder and allow the informant to set himself again and then we would continue after the informant was ready. At the end of the discussion, I would thank the informant and then immediately transfer the data from the digital recorder to my laptop to create backup and then I would play the file so that the informant would listen to the recording. Some of them felt extremely happy by appreciating how talented they were in engaging in discussions.

Table 4: List of participants in recorded conversations and dialogues

File name	Participant	Age	District	Level of Education	Language	Type of Recording	Length in Sec	Size
Dialogue with WB	William Bwaraare	65	Kabale	none	Rukiga	Dialogue	00.17.00	171MB
Conversation-Runyankore-Rukiga	Liz Mutamba Cossy Muhimbura Cranma Nuwagira Edson Rutakirwa	24 28 27 29	Mbarara	Bachelor Degrees	Runyankore	Conversation	00.24.00	242MB
FolkTale-Rukiga	Lydia Christine	43	Kabale	non	Rukiga	Folk tale	00.10.53	55MB
Dialogue with MN	Misah Natumanya	35	Bushenyi	Masters degree student	Runyankore	Dialogue	00.08.45	44.1MB
Dialogue with NM	Naome Mukundane	45	Bushenyi	Secondary Education	Runyankore	Dialogue	00.07.29	75.6MB
Dialogue with HT	Herbert Tumuheirwe	52	Mbarara	Diploma	Runyankore	Dialogue	00.19.50	200MB

Table 5: Radio recordings and Runyankore-Rukiga songs

Title	Title translation	Length in sec	Size
Radio Presentation		00.09.56	100MB
Bikagambwa kare na kare	It was foretold long time ago	00.04.35	4.20MB
Abantu ba Nyamuhanga	God's people	00.03.39	3.35MB
Ku oriimukye omu kasheeshe	When you wake up in the morning	00.05.05	4.65MB
Nyine okwikiriza	I believe	00.06.06	5.58MB
Oku wankuzire	How you loved me	00.04.59	4.47MB
Tuteire empaka	'We argued'	00.04.22	4.00MB

2.2.2.5 TA Questionnaire

When preparing my field work I had planned to use the TMA (Tense, Mood Aspect) Questionnaire developed by Dahl 1985. I adopted it without changing anything because being a standard questionnaire; I deemed it wise not to alter it so as to see what the findings would be in comparison to Dahl's findings. Dahl had applied this questionnaire on more than 100 languages.

Also its content convinced me and I could see in my mind that the questionnaire was going to raise good points about Tense and Aspect of Runyankore-Rukiga

This questionnaire is divided into two sections. Section A is composed of sentences while section B is comprised of texts. Both section A and B have contexts which the person filling the questionnaire should base his/her answer on. Section A has 156 questions while section B has 9 connected texts. See Appendix 1 for details.

Table 6: List of participants who filled-in the questionnaire

Name	Level of Education	Position	Place of Work	Language
Oriikiriza Celestino	Phd	AssistantLecturer Runyakitara	Institute of Language MAK	Rukiga
Gumoshabe Gilbert	Phd candidate	Lecturer Runyakitara	Institute of Language MAK	Runyankore
Asiimwe Allen	MA	Teaching-Assistant, Runyakitara	Institute of Language MAK	Rukiga
Mpangainwe Rachel	BA	-	Makerere	Runyankore

2.2.2.6 Administration of the Questionnaire

Before the real interview, I had to schedule an appointment with the people whom I knew had the background to work with the questionnaire. I distributed the questionnaire to 10 people. These were mostly university lecturers of Runyakitara and linguistics at Makerere University (MAK). I sat with them and explained the procedures of filling out the questionnaire. The questionnaire renders the crucial verb forms in their baseform and I explained that one of the crucial points is to avoid translating these English base forms directly into R/R. I explained that the creator of the questionnaire had tried to provide a context to guide them in filling the questionnaire. I also helped them to translate the first 5 five questions, just to get the ball rolling. But as we translated these questions, it became obvious that many questions remained unanswered. I therefore decided that the questionnaire should be worked out together so that I

could answer any questions arising from the questionnaire. However my stay with them was short-lived because they told me that given the size of the questionnaire, they could not get time to sit with me and answer all questions up to the end. They therefore told me that they had understood the nature of the questions and the general procedures of translating it and that they were going to continue with the questionnaire when they had reached home. I kept on calling them to find-out if they had any problems but they said there was no problem and that they were on the right track.

When time came to pick the questionnaire, only 4 people managed to complete it, the rest kept on postponing until I gave up on them, since it was time for me to return to Norway.

All participants of the survey, also those that finished the questionnaire, raised the issue of size of the questionnaire. They told me that the questionnaire was very big and at the same time difficult to fill out. I had anticipated this concern and that is why I only involved few people whom I knew were committed. I should have probably reduced the size by eliminating some questions but given the content of the questionnaire, I foresaw that I was going to lose important information if I left out some questions. I instead decided to give enough time to informants so that they would answer all questions.

2.3 Data Analysis

My field work produced 20 audio files which together have a size of 1.63 gigabytes. Because of time limitations, I could not process all the 20 files. The time it takes organizing and transcribing primary data was clearly underestimated by me, although I had been warned beforehand. I had to select a subset of my data and I chose 13 files with a size of 915 megabytes. Through course work I was most familiar with Praat and TypeCraft (TC); both tools will be discussed below. I used, TypeCraft to annotate transcribed texts. In addition I loaded all audio files to Praat. This work is discussed in sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3. In general I can say that working with these tools was a bit challenging at the beginning although I had taken a linguistic methodology course where we were taught to use digital linguistic tools. After realizing this problem, I had to go for more training especially in TC which I used as my central hub for the analysis of my text data.

In short, the original lack of proficiency in using digital tool made the further digitalisation and annotation of my data a daunting experience. Annotation mistakes, mistakes concerning file handling and the inexperience to organize larger amounts of digital data cost me even more time. Therefore reduction of my data which I could process for my thesis became necessary.

I mainly used my intuition and knowledge as a native speaker of Rukiga in addition to choosing the files with the best quality. I listened to all files several times. I also asked my friend Misah Natumanya, a native speaker of Runyankore, to listen to all the 20 audio files and give his opinion about the technical and linguistic quality of the files. Fortunately his judgment mainly confirmed my choice.

As a way of ensuring a representative sample, I saw to it that both languages were equally represented in the selected files. The quality of the recording in terms of relevance to my topic was paramount during the selection of the files. In addition, I preferred files with limited use of second languages. I tried to keep the diversification and selected recording of songs, dialogue, conversation, monologue and a folk tale. I expected text forms to influence the use of Tense and Aspect which I cannot further discuss in this work.

The selected files were then transcribed using Microsoft WORD. For example, I would play the audio file and then start typing the words that I had heard. I had to listen again and again in order to write every word and sentence. I found this exercise challenging and boring. Challenging in the sense that I had to determine where sentences ended, in addition to considering suprasegmental features (prosodic features) such as tone and intonation, conversations are not necessarily made up by sentences. Utterances are often fragmented and fragments are separated by hesitation. This is illustrated in (4). In (5), it is the intervention of other participants in the conversation that leads to fragmentation.

(4) Kandi ninkora nka... ou waakwetsire nka

“And I work as... whom you would call as...”

Kandi ninkora nka... ou waakwetsire nka

kandi ni n kor a nka... ou w aa kwet sire nka

and CONT 1SG *work* FV *as* REL 2SG IRLS *call* PERF *as*

CONJ V PROrel V REL

Generated in TypeCraft.

(5)

Informant: Baza kunkurura bashuba bareka.

They wanted to pull me and stopped a bit

Ee neeja, ku naahikire ahari Butunduuzi hariiya,

Yeah, I came and when I reached at Butunduuzi there....

Interviewer: Bakutiinire shi?

Were they fearing you?

Informant: Obundi baragira ngu...

Perhaps they were saying...

Informant 2: Obwo baabagizire ngu ku yaafiire, yaafiire, bo baijire barikureeba omurambwe kwonka ku baashangire ahuriire baja n’amashemererwa goona.

They knew that he was dead, for them, they had come to see the corpse but when they found him alive, they were filled with joy

In (5) the informant is a patient and is describing how he went to the hospital and later news broke in his village that he was dead. On return to the village, while in the car that brought him back from the hospital, people come to see the body. The narrator says they stopped a bit, after realizing that he was alive and everybody is filled with joy. Then I asked a question “Were they fearing you?” another participant in our conversation tries to respond to the question and starts “Perhaps they were saying...” and then stops and then starts “They knew.....”

As you can see, there is no connection between the two responses. I have several related examples in my transcriptions and I must admit that I did not find a principled way to treat parts of a dialogue as units that then could be annotated.

On the basis of my experience I would advise future field workers to pursue transcription and other important linguistic tasks, such as reading about secondary sources in parallel. Transcribing 13 files of 914.05 MB or 159.9 minutes took me approximately one month. The transcripts were then uploaded to TypeCraft together with audio-files where they are available to the general public.

2.3.1 Praat

Praat, which in Dutch means ‘talk free’ and it is scientific software used to analyze speech. The program has been designed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink of the University of Amsterdam [<http://www.praat.org>]

The function of Praat is to allow its users to breakdown utterances and to annotate them phonetically. As I mentioned earlier, my plan was to use Praat to show tone variations in R/R related to Tense and Aspect. Although Tone is one of the glosses that can be used to annotated transcripts in TypeCraft, Praat is the program that is designed to handle speech and speech annotation, and therefore was more suitable for this purpose.

I was able to annotate 5 audio files, but then run into problems processing larger files which had to be chunked and saved as a set of smaller files. I had converted my mobile phone files so that

they could be processed with Praat. All in all I spent a month sorting my primary data using Praat.

2.3.2 TypeCraft

TypeCraft is a relational database for interlinear glossed text. The data-base can be accessed online and is combined with an Interlinear Glosser which allows the user to manually annotate text. This tool was been developed by Beermann & Mihaylov (2009, 2010 and 2011). The tool consists of a relational database and a wiki which in combination allows the creation of small corpora consisting of different data types, such as texts, transcripts of recorded conversations or linguistic sentence collections. Using wiki functionality this material can be stored together with its metainformation. I have chosen TypeCraft to completely annotate 13 of my transcripts.

The whole process requires some routine: After logging in with my user name and password to the system which runs in a browser (I use Google Chrome), I select 'New Text' in the navigation bar to open the TypeCraft Editor. To import my WORD files directly into TypeCraft, I copy the WORD file and paste it into the TypeCraft Editor. Since TypeCraft is a multi-lingual database I initially have to determine the language for my data by selecting Runyankore-Rukiga from the ISO list of languages displayed by the system. Phrases were created by using the system's tokenizer.

Morpheme break-up is done by selecting a phrase which opens a dialogue box. I then indicate morpheme boundaries by putting a hyphen between morphemes after which I selecty 'ok'. An annotation table is created. I use the word level tier, the morph level tier, the base form tier, the meaning tier, the Gloss and the POS tier (Part of Speech) to annotate my data.

It is important to note that the system uses a fixed list of glosses and part of speech (pos) symbols. To access gloss and POS tags I can go to the TC home page and then select 'Gloss tag' or 'POS tag' from the navigation bar to see more information about these tags. Actually it took me some time to orient myself in these abbreviations, but later I got used to them and then started enjoying the work. At times, I could come across some linguistic terms I did not understand.

However the developers of the system defined these linguistic terms whose meanings and definitions could be accessed by identifying that specific term in the lists found on the TC wiki and then click footnote with the URL *Gold Reference*, listed together with the annotation symbol to see the definition and its applicability in a sentence. However, not all the terms are defined and exemplified.

In addition to my annotations the corpus of audio files and transcripts that I had created on TypeCraft helps me to listen to my audio files while looking at their respective transcripts. With this facility, I was also able to create an archive of all the informants providing the necessary metadata. As for now, I chose to make references to informants' anonymous by not revealing private name until I have my informants' consent.

I also choose to print my annotations on paper since I prefer to look for pattern in this way. However, I later realized that actually TypeCraft could do more than I thought in identifying the morpheme patterns. For example I could search for specific morphemes by making use of the phrase-search function. This in a way simplified my work since I could access my data online without having to carry with me a bulk of paper printouts.

In short, I found TC very helpful in analyzing my data in the following ways.

- (a) TC enabled me to analyze my data quickly because it is annotated. Since the system is designed in such a way that it automatically proposes glosses for grammatical terms that you have already entered in the system, it makes the annotation process faster. This saved me some time, because I only edited those glosses where I felt that the gloss tags suggested by the system were not appropriate.
- (b) TC enabled me to communicate with other people who have a TypeCraft account. For instance, I exchanged TC-mails in addition to using other programs with my fellow students as well as my supervisor. Whenever I met a challenge, I sent a link with a problematic token around and they could simply follow the hyper-link to look at my annotations. This was very helpful because knowledge could easily be shared.
- (c) Furthermore, with the help of my supervisor who is one of the developers of TC, I could

enter into an annotation group with other native speakers of R/R ¹¹ .

These people could see whatever I was doing on TC and I could also see their work. This helped me to access their information which I could then crosscheck with mine to get a broader perspective about problematic data. In addition, whenever they were not satisfied with my annotations, they could engage me in a *discussion* through the TC wiki, where we could argue to agree. This greatly improved the quality of my annotations. In addition, we were able to harmonize a few issues to avoid discrepancy and inconsistency in our annotations, however, so far no systematic attempts to achieve a better inter-annotator agreement has been made.

- (d) The platform also facilitated the coordination between my supervisor and me, since she could monitor whatever I was doing online and whenever she felt I was going wrong, she could consult me immediately instead of waiting to fix an appointment to resolve issues pertaining to my data.
- (e) Last but not least, TC helped me to keep all my files secure, including the audio files.

I had a few challenges with TypeCraft especially in the technical area. Being my first time to use a technical linguistic tool this program, I was lacking the technical knowledge. For instance how to import and export phrases, build a corpus, open a wiki, and load files. Also mastering the abbreviations, that is annotation labels representing certain grammatical terms, was new to me. I therefore had to undergo training in TC to overcome these challenges.

During annotation, the exercise was tiresome and boring because of repeating the same thing day in day out. Secondly, some issues could not be resolved due to technical issues. I therefore had to rely on my supervisor by fixing appointments to resolve such issues. Notable among them was harmonization of TC with Praat, lack of gloss and pos tags.

Another challenge was how to differentiate between the information to be encoded as ‘Baseform’ within the annotation table. Previously, whenever I indicated the morpheme boundaries and clicked ok, the same information appeared on the Morph and the Baseform tiers. After raising

¹¹ Misah Natumanya and Allen Asiimwe who happen to be among the pioneers of TypeCraft in as far as annotating RR is concerned.

this issue, the developers of the TC program changed the process that led to the creation of an additional tier for the baseform which was left empty for manual annotations implying that the information to be encoded on these tiers was to be different as it is often in RR.

2.4 Analysis of the Questionnaire

Among the 7 people to whom I gave the questionnaire, only 4 people completed the work. In fact I got all the questionnaires back the day before I returned to Norway.

When going through the material later, I realized that the informants had mainly translated the questionnaire, yet lot of effort had gone into this work. Since I expected that, field recordings needed much more time to process than the questionnaire, I started to work on the recordings first.

Regarding how I was to process the questionnaires, I was to transfer the information from the handwritten questionnaires into WORD and then load the texts to TypeCraft for annotation. A further possibility would have been to OCE-scan the questionnaires, but given the handwritten answers, I decided against it.

CHAPTER THREE

Tense and Aspect

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I look at Tense and Aspect in Runyankore-Rukiga. I will analyze my data in the light of previous work on Tense and Aspect in Bantu.

RR just like most Bantu languages encodes Tense on the left and Aspect on the right of the stem. In (1) we reproduce a representation of the Proto-Bantu verbal unit, found in Meeussen (1967:108).

(1)

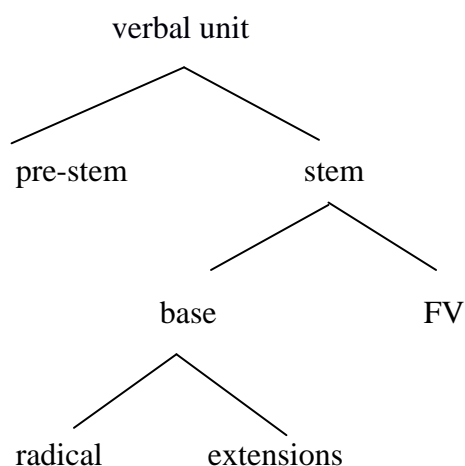


Figure 2: Verbal unit of RR

Let us first look at the pre-stem. It consists according to Meeussen of 6 slots which are aligned in the following order

(2) [Pre-Initial] [Initial] [Post-Initial] [Formative] [Limitative] [Infix] STEM

Each slot is reserved for certain morphemes which according to Meeussen lead to the following

prototypical distribution of morphemes:

[Pre-Initial]	→	primary negative, object relative
[Initial]	→	subject marker
[Post-Initial]	→	secondary negative (in complementary distribution to primary negative)
[Formative]	→	tense, aspect
[Limitative]	→	persistentive <i>-ka-</i>
[Infix]	→	object marker

Considering the post-radical position, Meeussen given the template here shown as (4):

(4) STEM [Extensions] [Pre-Final] [Final] [Post-Final]

He assigns morphemes to these slots as follows:

[Extensions]	→	applicative, causative, passive, reciprocal, reversive, stative, tentative
[Pre-Final]	→	imperfective, repetitive, habitual
[Final]	→	final vowel
[Post-Final]	→	<i>-ni, -nu, -na</i>

The verbal morphology of RR is to a large extent consistent with Meeussen's classification. Only for the Post Final slot, RR adds Post final 2 and Post Final 3 as I explain below. Notice also that you will not find the complete template realized with all slots filled since some of the morphemes cannot co-occur with each other. Notice also that Meeussen's description is not complete. Not all

RR morphemes that can occur in certain slots are listed. We will come back to this point in our discussion.

The only compulsory slots in RR are The Initial, the Formative, Radical and the Final. Those that are optional include the Pre-initial, Initial, Post-initial, Limitative, Infix, Extensions, Pre-final and Post-final.

Again some of the morphemes assigned to the slots that have been proposed by Meeussen differ from those proposed by me. In addition, you will realize that the Aspect and Tense markers are not limited to one slot. For example, the Continuous/Progressive marker can appear in the Pre-Initial Initial slot while Near Past tense can appear at the Final slot. You will also find that the formative slot is only occupied by Tense markers, while the Pre-final slot is not filled by any morpheme. In the Final slot you will observe that it is either occupied by one of the final vowels or the Near Past or Perfect/Perfective marker. The verbal template may be extended by End-clitics which in RR are the locative markers *yo*, *mu*, *ho*. I have also introduced Post-Final 1, Post-final 2 and Post-final 3, where Post-Final 1 goes to *ga* which induces an emphatic reading and serves in Habitual constructions, and Post-final 3 which holds the suffix *-nu* representing a declarative and which is common in Runyankore. I summarize all this information in Table 7 below.

Table 7: The verbal morphology of RR

Slot	Grammatical category	Morpheme
Pre-Initial	Primary Negative, Continuous/Progressive marker	/ti/ /ni-/
Initial	Subject marker	n-, tu-, o-, mu-, a-, ba- (for humans) and noun classes for non humans.
Post-Initial	Secondary Negative	-ta-
Formative	Tense	All tenses except Near Past

	Aspect	All Aspects except Progressive/Continuous, perfect, perfective and habitual
Limitative	Persistent	-ki-
Infix	Object marker	Noun class agreement markers http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Agreement_in_coordinated_noun_phrases_in_Runyankore-Rukiga http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/A_comparative_analysis_of_Runyankore-Rukiga_and_Luganda_pronominal_agreement
Extensions	Applicative Causative, Passive Reciprocal, Reversible, Stative Intensive Reduplicative Instrumental	-er-, -erer-, -ir- -z-, -is- -w- -n- -ur-, -uur- - -gur- Repeat the stem -is-
Pre-initial	-	-
Final	Final vowel Indicative Subjunctive Tense Near Past/ Perfect or Perfective	-a -e -ire
Post-final 1	Locatives	ho, mu,yo

Post-final 2	Emphatic	ga
Post-final 3	Declarative	nu

Basing on Table 7 above, I will use Meeussen’s template, as indicated earlier but I will change the post-stem sequenceto accommodate the End-clitics.

Example (1) illustrates the following instance of the general template

[NEG] [1PL] [PASTrm] [CL7, CL1] [bring] [APPL] [FV] [Final] [LOC] [EMPH] [DECL].

(1)Titukakimureeterahoganu

“We have never ever brought it to him”

Titukakimureeterahoganu

ti tu ka ki mu reet er a ho ga nu

NEG 1PL PASTrm CL7 3SG *bring* APPL FV LOC EMPH DECL

V

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Note that this template also shows that RR has compulsory slots that have to be filled; others are optional, some can co-occur while others cannot co-occur at all. While some slots may contain several morphemes others, like the Pre-Initial slot may only feature one morpheme. You will never find Continuous aspect co-occurring with Primary negative. In the same vein, the Perfective, Near Past and Perfect Tense all marked by /ire/ cannot co-occur with the Final vowel.

3.1 The Universal Tense

The Universal Tense is characterized by the absence of any special Tense marker, yet verbs in the present tense obligatorily carry a subject prefix. One of the functions of Universal Tense is that it also may be used to express events or states which are viewed as permanent or habitual. What here is called Universal Tense is thus inseparable from Aspect which focuses on the internal nature of events rather than their anchoring in time. The fact that the Universal Tense is formed by a verb which agrees with its subject but otherwise lacks any inflection for Tense or Aspect has earned it the name “null tense” (Nurse). Null tenses are common in Bantu and might also be used to express “truth that holds at all times” (Comrie 1985:40), a point that I will not further discuss here. On the relation between Tense and Aspect, I will again comment in section 3.3 of this chapter.

The Universal Tense may be used in narratives where a speaker reports an event that has happened in the Immediate Past, yet it may happen that the speaker while reporting the event switches from using the Immediate Past to using the Universal. Important is that the relevant time frame has been set. Our focus in example (2) is on the use of a periphrastic construction to build the Universal Tense which is an important point since Taylor claims that Universal Tense does not allow periphrastic constructions. In (12), both the auxiliary and the verb carry the subject marker.

The context of (2) is as follows: the mother leaves her child in bed in the presence of elder sisters and goes to the nearby shop do to some little shopping. The child starts crying while the sisters are playing and they don't take care of the kid. Eventually, the kid falls down from the bed and a neighbor hears it crying and comes in to help. After a short while the mother comes back only to find the kid crying and being taken care of by the neighbor. Then the mother wonders how this happened and asks the neighbor what happened. (2) encodes what the neighbor answered.

(2)Mhh, omwana yaatandika kurira yaarira munonga ataine kiyamba, atyo ahanuka aha aha kitanda agwa ahansi, obwe abarumuna babayo bazaana

“Mhh, the kid started to cry, it cried very much without anybody to help it and then fell down from the bed while the sisters were just playing”

Mhh	omwana	yaatandika		kurira							
mhh	o mw ana	y aa	tandik a	ku rir a							
EXCL	IV	CL1	<i>child</i>	3SG	PASTim	<i>start</i>	FV	INF	<i>cry</i>	FV	
PART	N		V			V					
yaarira			munonga	ataine		kiyamba	atyo				
y aa	rir a	munonga	a ta	ine ki	yamba	a tyo					
3SG	PASTim	<i>cry</i>	FV	<i>much</i>	3SG	NEG	<i>have</i>	CL7	<i>helper</i>	3SG	<i>like-that</i>
V		ADJ	V		N	CONJ					
ahanuka	aha	kitanda	agwa	ahansi	obwe						
a hanuk a	aha	ki	tanda a gw a	ahansi	obwe						
3SG	<i>fall</i>	FV	<i>from</i>	CL7	<i>bed</i>	3SG	<i>fall</i>	FV	<i>down</i>	<i>while</i>	
V	PREP	N	V	N	CONJS						
abarumuna		babayo		bazaana							
a ba	rumuna	ba ba	yo	ba	zaan a						
3SG	CL2	<i>sibling</i>	CL2	<i>be</i>	<i>there</i>	CL2	<i>play</i>	FV			
N	AUX		V								

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(2) shows that for the verb *zaana* ‘play’ the auxiliary verb as well as the main verb carry the subject marker *ba-*. In short the use of Universal Tense does not exclude AUX-V configurations,

as suggested by Taylor in his grammar of RR.

Let us also look in some more detail at Taylor's exemplifications of the Universal Tense. Table 8 gives an overview over his examples, the translations are mine.

Table 8: Examples used by Taylor to show Universal Tense (Taylor 1985:150)

Example	Universal Tense	Imperative
tw-anga	we hate	-
m-ba	I am	-
m-pa	I give	give me
m-manya	I know	know me
n-yanga	I hate	hate me
bo-oreka	they show	-

As mentioned by Taylor, Universal Tense is characterized by the absence of a special Tense marker, but it obligatorily carries a subject prefix. We see all the examples in Table 8 above lacking a tense morpheme.

However, failure to show tone variations renders all examples in Table 8 ambiguous as indicated in the second and third columns of Table 9.

High tone on the first and the second syllable triggers a Habitual reading (column 2 Table 9), while a high tone on the first syllable followed by low tone on the second syllable receives an Imperative reading (column 4 Table 9). For monosyllabic verbs stems, the high tone on the syllable leads to a habitual interpretation while a low tone triggers an imperative as also shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Influence of Tone on Universal Tense Constructions

verb	Tone	Universal Tense	Tone	Imperative
mpa	mpá	I give	mpà	give me
mmanya	mmányá	I know	mmányà	know me
nyanga	nyángá	I hate	nyángà	hate me
nyoreka	nyoréká	I show	nyórékà	Show me

Nurse (2008:118-119) claims that the Universal Tense is attested for 52% of his Bantu languages. He identifies its different uses across Bantu languages as; referring to general, frequent and generic situations e.g. ‘we farm’, ‘we often go to X’, ‘Cows eat grass’. Relative to his sample, Nurse observes that the Universal often co-occurs with what he calls the Present Progressives and which I will call the Continuous Aspect in this work. According to my field work data, example (3) available online by following the link¹² represents an instance of a Continuous Aspect combined with a Present Tense.

¹² <http://TypeCraft.org/TCEditor/1281/17935/>

(3)Ninguza eby'okurya, eby'okunywa, ebintu eby'okukozesa omuka buriijo nka shukaari, saabuuni nk'ebyo

“I sell food, drinks, things which are usually used at home, like sugar, soap, and other related items”

Ninguza		eby'okurya		eby'okunywa	
ni	n	guz a e by' o ku ry a		e by' o ku nyw a	
CONT	1SG	<i>sell</i>	FV IV <i>of</i> IV INF	<i>eat</i>	FV IV <i>of</i> IV INF <i>drink</i> FV
V		N		N	
ebintu		eby'okukozesa		omuka	buriijo
e	bi ntu	e by' o ku koz	es a o mu	ka	buriijo
IV	CL8 <i>things</i>	IV <i>of</i> IV INF <i>work</i>	APPL FV IV		<i>home always</i>
N		V		N	ADV
nka	shukaari	saabuuni nk'ebyo			
nka	shukaari	saabuuni nk' e byo			
<i>like</i>	<i>sugar</i>	<i>soap</i>	<i>like</i>	IV <i>those</i>	
PART	N	N	DEM		

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In (3), the speaker uses the Continuous marker *ni-*. The informant expresses that ‘selling goods’ is her job which she does every day. She does not intend to communicate that she is selling goods right there and then. Instead she communicates that selling is not only done habitually but it is also an event that is in a way a timeless and extended affair for her. We probably can say that events in the Universal Tense often receive an aspectual interpretation where it is their extendedness or their habitualness that is stressed rather than the fact that they are part of what we perceive as the ‘Now’.

A similar use of the Universal Tense is illustrated in (5). Here an informant is encouraged to talk about his work as a teacher. In response he describes a normal school day, using the Universal Tense. This use of the Universal Tense is also found in English and other Indo-European languages.

(5) Mbwenu tushoma kuhisya ahari shaha ina n’ekicweka, abaana baza omu bureeka kumara edakiika makumi ashatu

“Therefore we study up to 10:30, then children go for a 30 minutes break ”

Mbwenu	tushoma	kuhisya	ahari	shaha	ina							
mbwenu	tu	shom a	ku hi	sy	a	ahari	shaha	na				
<i>therefore</i>	1PL	<i>study</i>	FV	INF	<i>arrive</i>	CAUS	FV	<i>at</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>four</i>		
CONJ	V	V				PREP	N	NUM				
n’ekicweka		abaana	baza	omu	bureeka							
n’	e	ki	cweka	a	ba	ana	ba	z	a	o	mu	bureeka
<i>and</i>	IV	CL7	<i>half</i>	IV	CL2	<i>child</i>	CL2	<i>go</i>	FV	IV	<i>in</i>	<i>break</i>
N		N		V		PREP	N					
kumara		edakiika	makumishatu									
ku	mar	a	e	dakiika	ma	kumi	ashatu					
INF	<i>finish</i>	IND	IV	<i>minute</i>	CL6	<i>ten</i>	<i>three</i>					
V		N		NUM								

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3.2 Future Tense

As shown in Table 2 in chapter 1, RR has two Future Tenses the Near and the Far Future. In order to distinguish between the two Future Tenses, Hombert (1999:529) identifies the Near Future with today's and tomorrow's Future. Nurse notes that *-laa* is a tentative candidate for the reconstruction of the Proto-Bantu Future.

Languages with multiple futures, mostly Eastern Bantu languages use *-la(a)* or *-ra(a)* for the Far Future. This form is evident in 12 percent of Nurse's matrix languages. Others use the derivatives of the verb *come* (15-17 percent of his matrix languages) to express the Near Future while others use low tone reflexes of *la(a)* to mark the Near Future.

3.2.1 Near Future

Morris and Kirwan note that the Near Future is used for all actions that take place within the next day and also for any future event for which no definite time is specified. Near Future Tense is a periphrastic construction in RR. However, there are few cases where we see this tense forming, without a periphrastic construction as we explain later. Also note that Rukiga and Runyankore differ in the way they build this complex tense, as we will see.

Let us first look at the morphological templates for the formation of the Near Future Tense in Runyankore. We observe 5 patterns in Runyankore. The templates only list those morphemes essential for the formation of Future.

Templates (i-iv) consist of auxiliary verb followed by the main verb, that is, AUX + V, yet the morphological form of the main verb may differ, and next to the verb COME also the verb GO is used in the auxiliary function while templates (v) do not involve the auxiliary as we shall explain later.

(i) CONT ... COME/GO...FV + INF.AUX.FV + CONT... V...FV

(ii) CONT... COME/GO...FV+ INF-AUX-FV + V...SUBJV

(iii) CONT...COME/GO...FV+ INF... V...FV

(iv) CONT... GO...FV + INF-AUX-FV + V...PERF

(v) CONT...INF-V...FV

In (6), we see a Near Future Tense pattern in the form of *niinyija kuba nyine, niinyija kukyeera*. The latter phrase is realized in pattern (iii) and the former in pattern (i)

It is important to note that the existence of Continuous on the main verb in template (i) is determined by the form of the suffix that follows the verb stem. When the verb ends with the indicative [-a], the Continuous marker [ni] is possible. On the other hand, when the suffix is marking the perfective or subjunctive which normally takes the form of [ire] and [e] respectively, the Continuous marker [ni] is not licensed, as in (ii) and (iv). (7) illustrates template (iv)

(7)Niinyija kuba ndiire

“I will have eaten already”

Niinyija kuba ndiire

ni n ij a ku b a n ri ire

CONT 1SG *come* FV INF *be* FV 1SG *eat* PERF

AUX AUX V

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(8) below represents template (i) while (9) represents pattern (iii)

(8) Nibaija kuba nibatebeekanisa ebitabo

“They will be arranging books”

Nibaija kuba nibatebeekanisa ebitabo
ni ba ij a ku b a ni ba tebeekanis a e bi tabo
CONT 3PL *come* FV INF *be* FV CONT 3PL *arrange* FV IV CL8 *book*
AUX AUX V N

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(9) Nituza kumukorera

“We will work for him”

Nituza kumukorera
ni tu z a ku mu kor er a
PRES 1PL *go* FV INF 3SG *work* APPL FV
AUX V

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In previous work on Tense and Aspect in Bantu and also on RR only the auxiliary *ija* ‘come’ is mentioned in the formation of the Near Future. My field work data shows that RR uses in addition the verb *za* meaning *go* to build the Near Future Tense. This is shown in (10).

(10)Ninza kuraara ntebeekaniise buri kimwe kyona

“I will have arranged everything before I go to sleep.”

Ninza kuraara ntebeekaniise buri kimwe
ni n z a ku raar a n tebeekaniis e buri ki mwe
CONT 1SG go FV INF sleep FV 1SG arrange PERF every CL7 one
AUX V V QUANT N
kyona
ky ona
CL7 all
QUANT

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Note that (10) can be used interchangeably with (11) where *ija* has replaced *za*.

(11) Niinyija kuraara ntebeekaniise buri kimwe kyona

“I will prepare everything before I sleep”

Ninyija kuraara ntebeekaniise buri kimwe
nii n y ij a ku raar a n tebeekaniis e buri ki mwe
CONT 1SG come FV INF sleep FV 1SG arrange PERF every CL7 one
AUX AUX V QUANT N
kyona
ky ona
CL7 all

QUANT

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Turning now to pattern (v), a Runyankore pattern, we see that the Continuous marker is an obligatorily part. Notice also that the verb needs to be preceded by an Infinitive marker but that it takes the infinitive form -kwe- or -ku-. (12)-14 illustrate the non- periphrastic Futute Tense formation.

(12) Ninkwija

“I am going to come”

Ninkwija

ni n kw ij a

CONT 1SG INF *come* FV

V

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(13) Ninkumureeba

“I will see him”

Ninkumureeba

ni n ku mu reeb a

PROG 1SG INF 3SG *see* FV

V

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(14)Ninkumukorera

“I will work for him”

Ninkumukorera

ni n ku mu kor er a

CONT 1SG INF 3SG *work* APPL FV

V

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This form of marking the Near Future is widely used in Runyankore and very rare in Rukiga.

Let us now turn to the formation of the Near Future in Rukiga. Like in Runyankore, Rukiga also marks the Near Future periphrastically. Also we observe that in Rukiga, the Continuous Aspect is obligatory in the formation of the Near Future and takes the form of [ra] different from Runyankore where the continuous marker is [ni]. Also observe that unlike in Runyankore where the Continuous marker occupies the Pre-Initial position in both the auxiliary and main verb as in (8), we see a different picture in Rukiga. The Continuous marker precedes the auxiliary and the main verb as in (16).

Whereas Runyankore uses the auxiliary verbs GO and COME interchangeably to mark the Near Future Tense, Rukiga predominantly uses the auxiliary verb GO. (15-19). Examples (15-19) illustrate the formation of Near Future in Rukiga.

A variation of (16) is (17) where instead of the Continuous Aspect the Persistent Aspect occurs. It shows how this calls for the introduction of the Immediate Past Tense which follows the Persistent Aspect marker (ki), just to trace the beginning of the event.

Semantically, (17) represents an event which begun sometimes back but which continues into the Future. For example the activity of ‘working’ started in the Past, which is cutting across the Present and will continue into the Near Future.

(15) Turaza kukora

“We will work”

Turaza kukora
tu ra z a ku kor a
1PL CONT *go* FV INF *do* FV
AUX V

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(16) Turaza kuba turakora

“We will be working”

Turaza kuba turakora
tu ra z a ku b a tu ra kor a
1PL CONT *go* FV INF *be* 1PL CONT *work* FV
AUX AUX V

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(17) Turaza kuba tukyamukorera

“We shall still be working for him”

Turaza kuba tukyamukorera

tu ra z a ku b a tu ky aa mu kor er a

1PL CONT go FV INF be FV 1PL PRSTV PASTim 2SG work APPL FV

AUX AUX V

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(18) Araza kubateerera

“He will call (for) you”

Araza kubateerera

a ra z a ku ba teer er a

3SG CONT go FV INF 3PL call APPL FV

AUX V

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In (19) we see the form involving the Perfective Aspect and the Immediate Past Tense. The auxiliary verbs do not change by form but the main verb changes whereby we see the Immediate Past tense marker preceding the verb stem. Semantically, the point in time refers to the Near Future. The speaker intends to communicate that by the time event X happens, event Y will have been fulfilled. Therefore, (19) expresses Perfective in the Near Future.

(19) Turaza kuba twaagyendire

“we shall have gone”

Turaza kuba twaagyendire

tu ra z a ku b a tw aa gyend ire

1PL CONT *go* FV INF *be* 1PL PASTim *go* PRF

AUX AUX V

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3.2.2 Remote Future

Morris and Kirwan as well as Taylor show that the Remote Future is formed with the affix *rya*. My data suggests that the Remote Future marker has many allomorphs and it is hard to tell which one is the underlying form. However, I would like to suggest that [rya], [ry] as well as [raa] are allomorphs of an underlying affix *ri*. I give the following evidence to support this claim.

To begin with, the morpheme *rya* is not fully decomposed. Instead it is a *y*-compound whose composition is governed by phonological rules. In RR, when the vowel [i] is followed by another vowel it forms a glide. [rya] thus is derived from /*ri+a*/.

Secondly, when I observe languages related to RR, I find that they use [li] which is an allomorph of affix *ri*, to mark the Remote Future. Examples of such languages are Luganda and Runyoro-Rutooro. In (20) we see how Luganda uses the morpheme [li] to mark the Remote Future while in (21) I illustrate the formation of Remote Future in Runyoro-Rutooro.

(20) Baligenda

“They will go”

Baligenda

ba li gend a

3PL FUT go FV

V

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(21) Baliija Kyamukaaga

“They will come on Saturday”

Baliija Kyamukaaga

ba li ij a kyamukaaga

3PL FUT_{rm} come FV Saturday

V N

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Thirdly, Nurse also mentions that languages spoken around Lake Victoria use *-li/ri-* to mark the Remote Future and since RR is among these languages to assume an underlying affix /ri/ as Remote Future marker would be consistent with Nurse's observation.

The TC database contains many examples with verbs marked for the Remote Future. (22) below is one of these examples:

(22)Mbwenu nooreeba ngu twaguma turi omu myaka egi turyaba turi omu kabi kahango ?

So you feel that when we remain with this regime we shall be in a big danger?

Mbwenu	nooreeba			ngu	twaguma			turi				
mbwenu	no	o	reeb a	ngu	tw a	gum	a	tu ri				
<i>therefore</i>	PROG	2SG	<i>see</i>	FV	<i>that</i>	1PL	PASTim	<i>remain</i>	FV	1PL	<i>be</i>	
CONJ	V			CONJ	V			AUX				
omu	myaka	egi	turyaba		turi			omu				
	mi	aka	e gi	tu	rya	b a	tu	ri				
<i>in</i>	CL4	<i>year</i>	CL9	<i>this</i>	1PL	FUTrm	<i>be</i>	IND	1PL	<i>be</i> .	AUX	<i>in</i>
PREP	N	DEM	AUX			AUX		PREP				
kabi		kahango?										
ka	bi	ka		hango?								
CL12	<i>danger</i>	CL12	<i>big</i>									
N		ADJ										

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In (22) the Future tense marker surfaces as [rya]. In (23) the interviewee uses [ri] to mark the Remote Future tense. Now the question at hand is to find out why some respondents do not use /rya/ but instead use /ri/ to mark the Remote Future.

The reason that seems to explain why some people use [ri] and [raa] instead of [rya] is attributed to morpho-phonological factor. Evidence from Table (10) suggests that verbs with [i] as initial stem use [ri] as well as [ry] which is evident in some dialects of Rukiga. On the other hand, Table (11) suggests that verb stems with the consonant in the initial position take [raa] or [rya] as Remote Future Tense marker.

Table 10: Remote Future Tense marker –Morphological variations [ri] and [ry]

Stem	Glossing	Variant 1	Variant 2
ikiriza	accept	turiikiriza	Turyikiriza
ija	come	turiiija	Turyija
imuka	wake-up	turiimuka	Turyimuka
igura	open	turiigura	Turyigura

Table 11: Remote Future Tense marker –Morphological variations [raa] and [rya]

Stem	Glossing	Variant 1	Variant 2
teera	beat	turaateera	turyateera
gamba	talk	turaagamba	turyagamba
sheka	laugh	turaasheka	turyasheka
zaana	open	turaazaana	turyazaana

In (23) we show the use of [ri] rather than [ry] while (24) shows the use of [ri] preceding an intervening object marker.

(23)Kwonka twaba tutakikozireho, turiija kwefuuza

“But if we do not find a solution about it, we will come to regret (that)”

kwonka twaba tutakikozireho

kwonka tu aa b a tu ta ki koz ire ho

but 1PL PASTim *be* FV 1PL NEG CL7 *work* PERF LOC

CONJS AUX Vneg

turiija kwefuuza

tu ri ij a kw efuuz a

1PL FUTrm *come* FV INF *regret* FV

V V

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(24) Okukundana n'eky'obuhangwa n'ekirabo ky'ensi tihaine ekirigingana.

“Love is a natural thing, it's a gift of nature nothing is comparable to it”

Okukundana	n'eky'obuhangwa	n'ekirabo
o ku kund a na n' e ky' o bu hangwa n' e ki rabo		
IV INF <i>love</i> FV ASP COP IV <i>of</i> IV CL14 <i>nature</i> COP IV CL7 <i>gift</i>		
V	N	N
ky'ensi	tihaine	ekirigingana
ky' e n si ti ha ine e ki ri gi ingan a		
<i>of</i> IV CL9 <i>world</i> NEG CL16 <i>have</i> IV CL7 FUTrm AGR <i>be-equal</i> FV		
N	Vneg	V

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3.3 Past Tense

Nurse notes that most Bantu languages use /-a-/ to mark Past Tense. However some Bantu languages use the combination of *-a...ile* while others use the combination of *-a...-a-*.

He mentions that some languages (Sena, Nyali, Ewondo) use Tone in marking the Past Tense. Where Tone is used to mark the difference between the Immediate, Near and Remote Past.

Like many Bantu languages, also RR is a language that recognizes three different past forms, namely the Immediate Past, Near Past and Remote Past.

Semantically, the Continuous Remote Past is probably closest to the Past Perfect. The -ire suffix is a Perfective marker while the long /a:/ marks the Past Tense.

(26) Ku naarwaire naakora ogwokuza omu irwariro.

“When I fell sick, I spent much of my time visiting hospitals”

Ku	naarwaire		naakora
ku	n aa rwa ire	n aa	kor a
<i>when</i> .	CONJ 1SG PASTre	<i>fall-sick</i>	PERF 1SG PASTre <i>do</i> FV
	V		V
ogwokuza		omu irwariro	
o gw o ku z a	omu i	rwariro	
IV <i>of</i> IV INF <i>go</i> FV	<i>in</i> IV	<i>hospital</i>	
V	PREP N		

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(27) Ahakuba niwe yááyámbíre amagara gaawe

“Because he is the one who saved your life”

Ahakuba niwe	yááyámbíre	amagara	gaawe
ahakuba niwe	aa yamb ire	a ma gara ga	awe
<i>because</i>	EMPH 3SG PASTre <i>help</i>	PERF IV CL6 <i>life</i>	AGR <i>your</i> .POSS
CONJ	PRO V	N	ADJ

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In (28) and (29) below, we show /ka/ marking the Remote Past.

(28) Bakaba bagiine kwonka omurembe ogwo gukahwaho.

“They had it (love) but that generation expired”

Bakaba bagiine kwonka omurembe
ba ka b a ba gi ine kwonka o mu rembe
CL2 PASTre *be* FV CL2 AGR *have but* IV CL3 *generation*
AUX V CONJS N
ogwo gukahwaho
o gw o gu ka hw a ho
IV AGR *that* AGR PASTre *finish* FV
DEM V

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(29) Bakaba batagira rukundo?

“Didn’t they have love?”

bakaba batagira rukundo?
ba ka ba ba ta gir a ru kund o?
they.3PL PASTre be.3PL 3PL NEG have FV CL11 love NMLZ
AUX V N

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3.3.2 Near Past

The Near Past is realized by the suffix /ire/ in the Final slot. It has many allomorphs, for example [eire], [tsire] and [ize]. The meaning of the Near Past is a matter of debate. Although referred to

sometimes as Yesterday Past, its use is not restricted to events that took place yesterday. Instead it marks events that took place in the Near Past and that can still carry on or effect the Present. In each case a context is required to do so. This is normally referred to as the Perfect and context is often required to appreciate this reading. In (30)-(32) I try to exemplify this point with data from my fieldwork.

(30) is ambiguous between a Near Past and a Perfect reading. In scenario 1, I asked a friend what he did yesterday. In response, he tells me *Nshomire ebitabo* translated as ‘I read books’. In this situation, the focus is the point in time i.e. yesterday. In the second scenario, we are in a workshop and I spot a girl who is very eloquent and looks to be informed. So, I ask her where she gets all this information and she responds *Nshomire ebitabo*. In this context, the girl is not informing me that she read books yesterday. She is informing me that she has read many books and she is probably still reading more books and that this is the reason why she knows so much. In this case we get a Perfect interpretation because the reading of books is still relevant to the present moment.

Morris and Kirwan note that the Perfect Aspect in RR cannot be used for actions which have already been completed, as in Luganda and English. They further clarify that the Perfect can only be used to express an action which has taken place and is still taking place as in (31).

(30) Nshomire ebitabo

“I read books”

Nshomire ebitabo

n shom ire e bi tabo

1SG read PFV CL7 book

V N

The fact that students passes exams last year is still of relevance.

3.3.3 Immediate Past

The Immediate Past is expressed by a long morpheme as in /a:/ in the Formative slot.

Morris and Kirwan say that this Tense is used for all actions which have just happened or have occurred that day while Hombert (1999:527) claim that this tense represents an event which occurred very recently, so recently that it forms an extension of the Present. For RR ‘very recent’ refers to today, or an event that took place this morning or a few minutes ago. Consider (33) and (34)

(33) Mbwenu omwana ku arikuhika omu kiraasi ashanga harimu omurimo ogu omushomesa yaamutebeekaniisa ogw’okuhandiika.

“So, when the pupil enters the class, he finds work that has been prepared for him by his teacher.”

Mbwenu	omwana	ku	arikuhika	omu	kiraasi								
mbwenu	o	mw	ana	ku	a	riku	hik	a	o	mu	ki	raasi	
<i>therefore</i>	IV	CL1	<i>child</i>	<i>when</i>	3SG	PARTC	<i>arrive</i>	FV	IV	<i>in</i>	CL7	<i>class</i>	
CONJ	N		CONJS	V			PREP	N					
ashanga	harimu	omurimo	ogu	omushomesa									
a	shang	a	ha	ri	mu	o	mu	rimo	o	gu	o	mu	shomesa
3SG	<i>find</i>	FV	CL16	<i>be</i>	LOC	IV	CL3	<i>job</i>	IV	<i>this</i>	IV	CL1	<i>teacher</i>
V		COP	N		DEM								
yaamutebeekaniisa				ogw’okuhandiika									
y	aa	mu	tebeekanis	iz	a	o	gw’	o	ku	handiik	a		
3SG	PASTim	3SG	<i>prepare</i>	APPL	FV	IV	<i>of</i>	IV	INF	<i>write</i>	FV		
V													

In some cases, the event is so recent that you can trace some signs of its occurrence. Hence in (34) somebody is asking where the thieves went. The person asking possibly heard the noise when the other person was yelling for help. When he asks the respondent, the respondent says *baagyenda* a form that is not different from the one used to describe an event that took place in the morning.

(34) Abashuma baagyenda

“The thieves have left”

Abashuma baagyenda

a ba shuma b aa gyend a

IV CL2 *thief* CL2 PASTim *go* FV

N V

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Before I conclude this section, let me stress that there are cases in RR that are similar in form but with two different interpretations in as far as Tense is concerned. One form is interpreted in reference to Remote Past while the other refers to Immediate Past. It is Tone that helps to disambiguate the two interpretations. In (35) and (36) I illustrate this.

In (35), I ask the informant a question but he hesitates to respond. His wife answers the question on his behalf and utters (35). Reading the sentence ‘yaayazengire yaaruhire’ as in (35) out of context may refer to Remote Past or Immediate Past. As far as (35) is concerned, it marks the point in time as Remote Past because we see high tone marked on the phrase *yaayaazengire yaaruhire*. We observe that in ‘yaayaazengire’, the first syllable ‘yaa’, the second syllable ‘yaa’ as well as the third syllable ‘ze’ are marked for high tone while in ‘yaaruhire’ the first syllable ‘yaa’ is the only syllable marked with high tone.

In contrast, (36) which is identical to (35), except for Tone traces the point of reference to Immediate Past. This kind of pattern is very consistent with all verbs in reference to Remote past and Immediate Past. Note in addition that the duplication of the first syllable introduces a durational reading.

(35) Mbwenu ku yááyáázéngire yááruhire

“For sure he was tired of moving here and there”

Mbwenu ku yááyáázéngire

mbwenu ku y aa y aa zeng ire

therefore REL 3SG PASTre 3SG PASTre *wander* PERF

CONJ CONJ V

yááruhire?

y aa ruh ire?

3SG PASTre *get-tired* PERF

V

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(36)Mbwenu ku yaayáázéngire yááruhire

“For sure he was already tired of moving here and there (this morning)”

Mbwenu ku yaayáázéngire

mbwenu ku y aa y aa zeng ire

therefore when 3SG PASTim 3SG PASTim wander PFV

CONJ CONJ V

yááruhire

y aa ruh ire

3SG PASTim *be-tired* PFV

V

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3.4. Participial forms in RR

Nurse (2008:314) assumes for Bantu that Participials only occur in dependent clauses, while regular indicatives, to which they correspond, can constitute the predicative core of independent assertive clauses. Nurse claims that participials stress an ongoing or incomplete nature of the situation. In such phrases, the speaker wants to suggest that the situation is open-ended and that it could continue for a while. He says that participials typically appear in hypothetical or possible situations, as backgrounded material in dependent or subordinate clauses.

Also Taylor classifies participials as occurring in hypotactic or subordinate clauses (1985:167). Taylor further states that some grammarians call these participial forms ‘Relative’ forms but also observes that they are used much more extensively than relatives. Among the grammarians who call these participial forms relative forms are also Morris and Kirwan (1972:82). Morphologically

participials are marked by the form, *-riku* but this form is only applicable to Participial Present Continuous.

In RR, all 7 Tenses in the indicative have their equivalent in form of Participial. It is important to note that in RR, most participial forms start with *ku*... which may be a subordinate marker introducing a conditional reading in some situations. Let us now illustrate this form in RR.

3.4.1. Participial Universal

Taylor acknowledges that this Tense does not show formal distinctions from its indicative counterpart. In (37), I illustrate the use of the Participial Universal where we see all the verbs having an obligatory subject marker. The subordinate marker *ku* sets precedence where *ku* in (37) introduces a conditional reading.

(37) **Ku barya babyama**

“When they eat they sleep”

Ku barya babyama

ku ba ry a ba byam a

CL2 *eat* FV CL2 *sleep* FV

CONJS V V

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3.4.2. Participial Present Continuous

This form is marked by the infix *-riku-* which becomes *[-diku]* after *n-*(the 1st person singular), replacing the indicative prefix *ni-/n-*:

This is the most common form of Participle used in RR and is normally confused with the Continuous and Progressive Aspect because semantically, it also marks an ongoing event but

morphologically, it is different. Table 12 below shows the indicative Continuous Progressive and the participial forms which I further illustrate in (38).

Table12: Participial Present Continuous (Taylor. C 1985:167)

Indicative	Participial
Ninkora	Ndikukora
Nookora	Orikukora
Naakora	Arikukora
Nibakora	Barikukora

In (38), some one hears some noise in a different room of the same house. The person tries to concentrate and wants a quiet environment. He therefore utters (38). In this case the participial introduces a command. In (39) we again show the use of participial Present Continuous only that this time we use the subordinate conjunction *ku* which again introduces a conditional, makes the activity of ‘informing someone’ dependent on whether the person is ‘going to work’ or not.

(38) Orikugamba ahuname

“Let that one who is talking keep quiet”

Orikugamba ahuname
o riku gamb a a hunam e
2SG PARTC *talk* FV 3SG *be-quiet* SBJV
V V

(39) Ku orikukora noomugambira

“If you happen to work you tell him”

Ku orikukora noomugambira

ku o riku kor a ni o mu gamb ir a

if.COND 2SG PARTC *work* FV CONT 2SG 3SG *tell* APPL FV

CONJS V V

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3.4.3 Participial Immediate Past

Taylor calls this tense ‘Participial Today Past’ but I prefer to use Participial Immediate Past for the sake of consistency. This tense is not different from its indicative counterpart. In (40), we illustrate the Participial Immediate Past, which again is introduced by *ku*. Otherwise this form is identical to the Indicative.

(40) Ku naarya naabyama

“When I ate, I slept (a few minutes ago or in the morning)”

Ku naarya naabyama

ku n aa ry a n aa byam a

COND 1SG PASTim *eat* FV 1SG PASTim *sleep* FV

CONJS V V

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3.4.4 Participial Near Past

Also this form cannot be distinguished from its indicative counterpart and (41) is its illustration.

(41) Ku nshomire naayetegyereza

“When I read, I understood”

Ku nshomire naayetegyereza

ku n shom ire n aa yetegyerez a

when 1SG *read* PAST_{hst} 1SG PAST_{im} *understand* FV

CONJS V V

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3.4.5 Participial Remote Past

This tense is marked by the affix long *a* characteristic of Today Past Tense but the stem is modified to the Perfective form. This Tense is relative to the indicative forms which use the Remote Past tense marker as *-ka-*. Table 13 exemplifies the Remote Past in the participial form and in (42) I illustrate how this form functions.

Table 13: Illustration of Participial Remote Past (Taylor 1985:168)

Indicative	Participial
Nkakora	Naakozire
Okakora	Waakozire
Akakora	Yaakozire
Tukakora	Twakozire
Bakakora	Baakozire

(42) Ku naamazire kushoma naatunga omurimo

“when I finished my studies, I got a job”

Ku naamazire kushoma naatunga

ku n aa mar ire ku shom a n aa tung a

when 1SG PASTrm finish PFV INF study FV 1SG PASTim get FV

CONJS V V V

omurimo

o mu rimo

IV CL3 job

N

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In (42), ‘getting job’ was dependent on ‘completion of studies’ a usage that fits well with Participial Remote Past. While in (43), the interviewee informs me that after getting ill, he started visiting many hospitals for treatment implying that ‘falling sick’ resulted into ‘visiting hospitals’.

(43) Ku naarwaire naakora ogw'okuza omu irwariro.

“When I fell sick, I spent much of my time visiting hospitals”

Ku	naarwaire				naakora				
ku	n	aa	rwa	ire	n	aa	kor a		
<i>when</i>	CONJ	1SG	PASTre	<i>fall-sick</i>	STAT	1SG	PASTre	<i>do</i>	FV
		V				V			
ogwokuza			omu	irwariro					
o	gw	o	ku	z	a	omu	i	rwariro	
IV	<i>of</i>	IV	INF	<i>go</i>	FV	<i>in</i>	IV	<i>hospital</i>	
V			PREP	N					

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3.4.6 Participial Near Future

I use Taylor's examples to illustrate this form, which morphologically is marked by /raa/ [daa] following a subject prefix. Note that the same affix [raa] is used to mark the Remote Future Tense but the form is different from this one in that here the verb ends with the subjunctive /e/ while in the former the verb ends with indicative vowel [a].

Table 14: Illustration of Participial Near Future (Taylor C 1985:168)

Indicative	Participial
Ninyija kukora	Ndaakore
Noija kukora	Oraakore
Naija kukora	Araakore
Nibaija kukora	Abaraakore

(44-47) gives an illustration.

(44) Ku baraakore obashashure

“If they work pay them”

Ku baraakore obashashure

ku ba ra a kor e o ba shashur e

COND 3PL FUTnear work SBJV 2SG 3PL pay SBJV

CONJS V V

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(45) Oraakore omushashure

“Whoever will work, pay him”

Oraakore omushashure

o ra a kor e o mu shashur e

2SG FUTnear work SBJV 2SG 3SG pay SBJV

V V

Looking at my fieldwork data, I find few examples as in link¹⁴ and link,¹⁵ the annotations of which are given in (46-47) below.

(46) Hati ekyo omuntu oraakimanye noogwe orikwenda ogwe, iwe omwishiki, wankyenga?.

“Now, the person who will know that is the girl who is going to get married, have you understood me?”

Hati ekyo omuntu oraakimanye noogwe
 hati e kyo o mu ntu o raa ki many e no o gwe
now CL7 that IV CL1 person 2SG FUTnear CL7 know SBJV COP 2SG that
 ADV DEM N V DEM
 orikwenda ogwe iwe omwishiki
 o ri kw end a o gwe iwe o mu ishiki
2SG COP INF want FV IV that you.2SG IV CL2 girl
 PTCP DEM PRON N
 wankyenga?
 w a n kyeng a?
2SG PASTim 1SG understand

v

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¹⁴ <http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Special:TypeCraft/Editor/1269/17727>

¹⁵ <http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Special:TypeCraft/Editor/1269/17770>

Table 15: Illustration of Participial Remote Future (Taylor 1985:168)

Indicative	Participial
Ndyakora	Ndikora
Oryakora	Orikora
Aryakora	Arikora
Baryakora	Abarikora

(48)Ku orikora omugambire

“If you shall work tell him”

Ku orikora omugambire
ku o ri kor a o mu gamb ire
if 2SG FUTrm *work* FV 2SG 3SG *tell* PRF
CONJS V V

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(49)Orikora omugambire

“Whoever will work tell him”

orikora omugambire
o ri kor a o mu gamb ire
3SG FUTrm *work* FV 2SG 3SG *tell* PRF
V V

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3.5. Aspect

In this section, I focus on Aspect. Although some reference is made to general work on Aspect in Bantu, I mainly describe the aspectual categories that I observed for Runyankore-Rukiga. I in particular try to describe the distinction between the Perfective and the Imperfective. For the Imperfective several subcategories can be observed. Figure 3, below, allows an overview.

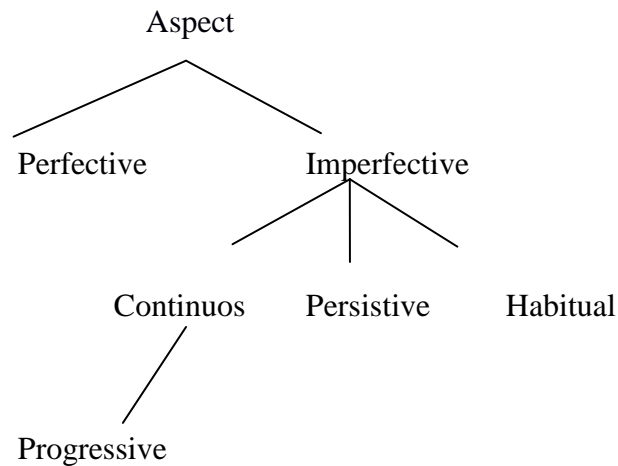


Figure 3: Forms of Aspect in RR

3.5.1 Perfective Aspect

Nurse says that Perfective Aspect refers to a complete event which is seen as a single bounded whole and which may occur in the Present, the Past and the Future Tense. In RR the Perfective is expressed by the morpheme /ire/ which may be part of the expression of Near Past as we discussed in 3.3. 2. The morpheme /ire/ has several allomorphs which are [-ize], [-eire], and [-tsire]. The distinction between the three allomorphs is delicate and can only be disambiguated in the phonological context that they occur in, as I have explained in section 3.3.2. The place of the Perfective marker in the verbal morphological template is the Final slot.

As part of the Near Past, the Perfective morpheme does not seem to mark the Perfective Aspect but rather conspires with the /aa/ to express a Perfect meaning. As such it refers to an event in the past that is perceived as having an effect on or be of relevance for the present. It is not always easy to distinguish between a Perfective and a Perfect reading of this morpheme; while it may express a Perfect Aspect it may also conspire with other morphemes to express a Tense. The Near Past is referring to the moment in time which lies in the past which not always receives a

Perfect reading, but if it does, it refers to an event that started in the past but continues into the Present and has some relevance to the present. I refer to section 3.2.4.2 for illustration of Near Past and Perfect Tenses.

Let me now illustrate the use of Perfective morpheme, and the problem of distinguishing the Perfect from the Perfective Aspect. In (50), also accessible online¹⁶, the informant talks about how he suffered under a sickness. He says he traveled to many hospitals but came to be healed by a nearby doctor. He tries to tell me that he is planning to give the doctor a cow as a sign of appreciation and his wife comments on the same and adds to what her husband says by uttering (50):

(50) Mbwenu ku yaayáázéngire yááruhire

“For sure he has been tired of moving here and there”

Mbwenu ku yaayáázéngire
 mbwenu ku y aa y aa zeng ire
therefore when 3SG PASTim 3SG PASTim wander PRV
 CONJ CONJ V
 yááruhire?
 y aa ruh ire?
 3SG PASTim *be-tired* PRV
 V

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¹⁶ <http://TypeCraft.org/TCEditor/1410/20300/>

In (50), ‘wandering’ from doctor to doctor and as a result the state of ‘being tired’ are depicted as complete and as that as Perfective in nature. Yet, the discussion takes place in a situation where this past event brings about a new event, namely that a gift will be given, which means it still is of relevance to what is happening in the present and therefore might also be perceived by the speakers as Perfect.

3.5.2 Imperfective Aspect

According to Nurse (2008:136) the Imperfective contrasts systematically with perfective. It represents a situation that the speaker wants to show as lasting over a period of time, a situation that is typically unbounded where neither the beginning nor the end are mentioned, relevant, or known. The Imperfective might have subcategories, such as the Habitual, but it might also be represented by a single category. The Congo language Lega for example is said to have only one Imperfective category (Meeussen 1971a). Botne (2003a) analyzes Lega as having also a Progressive and a Persistent, as well as an Inceptive, as subcategories of the Imperfective. Nurse himself mentions Giryama, a Bantu language spoken in Kenya. Also RR falls in this latter category. The Habitual, Persistent and the Continuous Aspect can be found in RR, as well as the Progressive, which is a subtype of the Continuous.

3.5.2.1 Persistent Aspect

According to Nurse, Persistent Aspect expresses that an event is still ongoing. According to my understanding of the persistent, it is based on the following premises:

- (a) That there is shared knowledge about the event or a situation between two parties or a group of people.
- (b) That the event or situation started in the past or at an earlier time to the moment of speech
- (c) That the event or situation is perceived to not have ended by the time of speech.

In RR, the Persistent occupies the Limitative slot.

Below I give a minimal pair to illustrate the formation of Persistent Aspect in Rukiga (51)

and Runyankore (52).

(51)Akaana kakaija nyina akaheekire, kakyayonka, kakyamusheeshera omu mugongo

“The kid came when the mother was still carrying it at the back, still breastfeeding and still urinating at her back”

Akaana kakaija nyina akaheekire
a ka ana ka ka ij a nyina a ka heek ire
IV CL12 *kid* CL12 PASTrm *come* FV *mother* 3SG 3SG *carry* PFV
N V N V

kakyayonka

ka ki aa yonka
3SG PRSTV PASTim *breastfeed*

V

kakyamusheeshera

ka ki aa mu sheesh er a mu gongo
3SG PRSTV PASTim 3SG *urinate* APPL FV *in* CL3 *back*

V

PREP N

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(52) Akaana kakaija nyina akaheekire, nikakyonka, nikakimusheeshera omu mugongo

“The kid came when the mother was still carrying it at the back, still breastfeeding and still urinating at her back”

Akaana		kakaija				nyina		akaheekire				
a	ka	ana	ka	ka	ij	a	nyina	a	ka	heek	ire	
IV	CL12	<i>kid</i>	CL12	PASTrm	<i>come</i>	FV	<i>mother</i>	3SG	3SG	<i>carry</i>	PFV	
N			V			N		V				
nikakyonka												
ni	ka	ki		onk		a						
CONT	CL12	PRSTV		<i>breastfeed</i>		FV						
V												
nikakimusheeshera												
ni	ka	ki		mu	sheesh	er	a		mu	gongo		
CONT	CL12	PRSTV		3SG	<i>urinate</i>	APPL	FV	<i>at</i>	CL3	<i>back</i>		
V												
								PREP	N			

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(51) In Rukiga the persistive marker /ki/ follows the subject marker /ka/ and the Immediate Past marker /aa/. In (52) which is for Runyankore, we see the Persistive marker /ki/ co-occurring with the Continuous Aspect marker (-ni-), a form that we do not see in Rukiga. While in Runyankore, the Continuous Aspect marker co-occurs with the Persistive marker /ki/, it is the Immediate Past marker in Rukiga.

3.5.2.2 Habitual Aspect

For his sample of Bantu languages, Nurse (2008:143) notes that the Habitual occurs in 43 percent of the languages he has investigated. He also observes that the Habitual is less common than the Imperfective and the Progressive in Bantu. He observes that it is often encoded by the inherent suffix *-ag-/-ang-/-anga*.

Nurse observations for Bantu are that

- a) Habituals occur in most Tenses (Gikuyu)
- b) Habituals and Futures are sometimes incompatible presumably because habits are established by past repetition and then extended into the Present but not so often predictable for the Future. (Ngombe and Kanyoka)
- c) Habituals are generally timeless (Rimi and Cewa)
- d) Past contrasts are often neutralized with the Habitual, and the focus is on the Remote Past rather than the Near Past.

Nurse claims that d) is due to the fact that habits tend to develop over a period of time and then are extended across tense boundaries. Shorter periods of time are usually not long enough to develop a habit.

In RR, Habituals can co-occur with the Past and Present and rarely with the Future Tense.

Dahl (1985) notes that the Habitual is identified with generic sentences and those generic sentences have a characteristic of being law-like. Generics describe typical or characteristic properties of a specie, a kind, or an individual.

In RR, Universal Tense is used to express Generics. Dahl notes that unmarked Generics tend to have additional readings and again that the combination of Habituals and a Future Tense are more difficult to find; a case I find rare in RR as well.

Taylor observes that a Habitual reading is presented in two ways that is, by Universal Tense (53), (54) and 56) and by lexical verbs (55). The verb *-gabwa* translated as 'do' may be used to stress

a habitual and a repeated event. Taylor's example is *Abahima bagabwa bahonga embuzi*, the glossing of which I show in (54).

(53) Abahima bahonga embuzi

“The Bahima people sacrifice goats”

Abahima	bahonga	embuzi
a ba hima	ba hong	a e m buzi
IV CL2 Hima-people	CL2 sacrifice	FV IV CL9 goat
N	V	N

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(54) Abahima bagabwa bahonga embuzi

“The Bahima usually do sacrifice goats”

Abahima	bagabwa	bahonga	embuzi
a ba hima	ba gabwa	ba hong	a e m buzi
IV CL2 Hima-people	CL2 do.HAB	CL2 sacrifice	FV IV CL9 goat
N	AUX	V	N

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Just like I stated earlier, Habitual can co-occur with the Past tense and (55) illustrates the past usage of the Habitual where a habit which developed in the far past is said to be typical of the Bahima people up to now. Someone is wondering why the Bahima still sacrifice goats and in response, another person replies (55). Implying that it is not surprising that the Bahima still sacrifice goats today.

(55) Abahima bakagabwa nibahonga embuzi

“The Hima people used to sacrifice goats”

Abahima bakagabwa nibahonga
a ba hima ba ka gabwa ni ba hong a
IV CL2 Hima-people CL2 PASTrm Used to CONT CL2 sacrifice FV
N AUX V
embuzi
e m buzi
IV CL9 goat
N

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There are other verbs that are used to express Habitual Aspect in RR apart from *gabwa*. These include auxiliaries such as *-tuura*, ‘repeatedly do’, *-shangwa*, ‘fond of’ and *-kira* ‘used to’.

Among these auxiliary verbs, only *-shangwa* can substitute *-gabwa* without changing the form (56). However, *-kira* and *-tuura* change the form but the meaning of the Habitual remains as exemplified (57) and (58).

(56) Abahima bashangwa bahonga embuzi

“The bahima are fond of sacrificing goats”

Abahima	bashangwa	bahonga	
a ba hima	ba shang w	a ba hong a	
IV CL2 <i>Hima-people</i>	CL2 <i>fond-of</i> PASS FV	CL2 <i>sacrifice</i> FV	
N	AUX	V	
embuzi			
e m buzi			
IV CL9 <i>goat</i>			
N			

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(57) Abahima batuura nibahonga

“The bahima's life has always been characterized by sacrificing goats”

Abahima	batuura	nibahonga	embuzi
a ba hima	ba tuur a ni	ba hong a	e m buzi
IV CL2 <i>Hima-people</i>	CL2 <i>live</i> FV COP	CL2 <i>sacrifice</i> FV	IV CL9 <i>goat</i>
N	V	V	N

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Let me now give the context of (56) and (57) to illustrate the Habitual Aspect. In (56) a person is discussing with a friend about the Bahima because one of their friends has been asked by elders to sacrifice a goat. The person is therefore wondering why the Bahima sacrifice goats. His counterpart responds by emphasizing that the Bahima are known for that character of sacrificing

goats. It is something they are used to doing and they have been repeating it over and over and from time to time. In (57) the context is the same only that this time, the auxiliary verb *-tuura* ‘repeatedly do’ is used instead of *-shangwa* ‘fond of’

Morphologically in (57) the verb *-tuura* is preceded by subject marker /ba/. At the same time the Continuous marker /ni/ is introduced on the main verb and precedes the subject marker which is then followed by the verb stem *-hong*. This is a different form from what we saw in (54) where the main verb is not marked for Continuous. This however does not affect the semantics of the sentence because Habitual aspect is not affected. In (58) we use the verb *-kira* instead of *gabwa* (55), *shangwa* (56) and *tuura* (57). The only difference with the rest is that this time we introduce the infinitive /ku/ before the verb stem of the main verb. Introduction of continuous aspect marker /ni/ in the slot occupied by infinitive would make the sentence ungrammatical.

(58) Abahima bakira kuhonga embuzi

“The Bahima usually sacrifice goats”

Abahima	bakira	kuhonga	embuzi
a ba hima	ba kir	a ku hong	a e m buzi
IV CL2 <i>Hima-people</i>	CL2 <i>usually</i>	FV INF <i>sacrifice</i>	FV IV CL9 <i>goat</i>
N	V	V	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

The Past Habitual seems to be most naturally expressed by the standard periphrastic construction where the auxiliary carries the Tense marker while the main verb remains uninflected. Hence examples below present activities that used to occur regularly or repeatedly, whose time Reference is Remote Past.

(59)Tukaba tukunda abaishiki

“We used to love girls”

Tukaba				tukunda				abaishiki		
tu	ka	b	a	tu	kund	a	a	ba	ishiki	
1PL	PASTrm	<i>be</i>	FV	1PL	<i>love</i>	FV	IV	CL2	<i>girl</i>	
AUX				V			N			

Generated in TypeCraft.

In addition it appears that the Habitual reading is favored in the presence of the emphatic suffix -*ga*. This morpheme is also highlighted by Nurse to be common among Bantu languages (Nurse 2008:144). The use of -*ga* is shown in Runyankore (60) and Rukiga in (61). The difference between Rukiga and Runyankore in this case is manifested in the auxiliary verb.

(60)Tukaba tukundaga abaishiki

“We used to love girls(Runyankore)”

Tukaba				tukundaga				abaishiki		
tu	ka	b	a	tu	kund	a	ga	a	ba	ishiki
1PL	PASTrm	<i>be</i>	FV	1PL	<i>love</i>	IND	EMPH	IV	CL2	<i>girl</i>
AUX				V				N		

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(61) Twaba tukundaga abaishiki (Rukiga)

“We used to love girls”

Twaba				tukundaga				abaishiki		
tu	a		b a	tu	kund	a	ga	a	ba	ishiki
1PL	PASTrm		be FV	1PL	love	FV	EMPH	IV	CL2	girl
AUX				V				N		

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It is important to point out that when Habitual Aspect is used in reference to the past, it means that the action that used to happen has ceased to take place at the moment of speech. Therefore the event, situation or action is marked for perfective. It is only in the Present where the event is marked as Imperfective. Therefore, the Habitual Aspect attracts two interpretations semantically. In the first place it represents perfective especially when used in reference to Remote past. On the other hand, it represents Imperfective when used in the Present.

3.5.2.3 Continuous Aspect

Continuous Aspect is an imperfective form. It is different from Progressive Aspect (section 3.3.3.1). The Continuous Aspect expresses that the action is not yet terminated at a particular point which might lie in the Past, Present or Future. The Progressive Aspect marks an event or a situation that is ongoing at speech time. This is not necessarily so for the Continuous Aspect which has a broader usage.

In RR, Continuous Aspect is more common than the Progressive Aspect although some grammarians of RR might not differentiate the two aspects and use them interchangeably. I would like to stress that the two are different semantically but identical morphologically. I discuss the details under in the next section.

3.5.2.3.1 Progressive Aspect

Progressive is a subtype of Continuous Aspect (Kibort 2008). It is used when referring to incomplete or ongoing actions (Mithun 1999:95)

Nurse also notes that Progressives are the the commonest subtype of Imperfectives across Bantu. He notes that in some languages Progressives cover a wider perspective and that they tend to be associated with dynamic rather than stative verbs. Some grammarians therefore call this aspect the Non-stative Aspect.

In RR, Taylor, and Morris and Kirwan do not give us a clear distinction between Progressive and Continuous Aspects. They use the two terms interchangeably. Morphologically, both aspects are represented by the same morpheme, the prefix *ni-*. We therefore need to know the context to identify the intended interpretation. Let me illustrate this by looking at a specific situation.

I'm on a telephone with a friend whom I met a couple of weeks ago. I want to take our friendship to another level and therefore want to know a little more about her. I ask her what she does by saying: "*Nookora ki?*" 'What are you doing' and the lady tells me: "*Ninshoma.*" 'I am reading'

Now, *ninshoma* is semantically ambiguous, something induced by the prefix *ni-*. It may mean that she is reading let say a novel at the moment of speech meaning that she is handling two activities simultaneously that is 'talking on a phone' and 'reading the novel', corresponding to a progressive reading

The second interpretation is a Continuous which will make me think that she could be a student, let say a student of linguistics at Makerere University. It means that she has interpreted my question to mean that I'm interested in the work she is doing. In this case, the Continuous Aspects induces a state reading, here a state of studentship.

Relative to the morphological template by Meeussen which shows 6 slots preceding the verb stem, as was shown in (2) here repeated as (62)

(64)Ndareeba oraboroogyera Norway

“I see you talking from Norway (Rukiga)”

Ndareeba oraboroogyera Norway

n da reeb a o ra boroogy er a norway

1SG PROG *see* FV 2SG PROG *shout* APPL FV *country*

AUX V PN

Generated in TypeCraft.

Let us now look at a complex verbal construction which allows us to mark the Progressive Aspect unambiguously. In (65) below the verb consists of two parts, the *barimu* has an auxiliary function. It is combined with the main verb in its infinitival form. Notice that the auxiliary needs to be followed by a locative marker either /-yo/ or /-mu/ , deriving *-riyo* (Runyankore) or *-rimu* (Rukiga).

In (65) we illustrate this pattern for Rukiga.

(65)Abakiga barimukukora

“The Bakiga are working right now”

Abakiga barimukukora

a ba kiga ba ri mu ku kor a

IV CL2 *Kiga-people* CL2 AUX LOC INF *work* FV

PN V

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It is important to mention here that (65) conforms with Bastin’s (1989a) observation who points out that numerous Bantu languages in one way or another derive from the construction / *li +mu+ku*/ to form progressive. He explains that /*li*/ is the locative verb ‘be’, /*mu*/ is the locative prefix and /*ku*/ marks the infinitive. Bastin’s observation fits well with *ri+mu+ku* progressive construction in Rukiga where we see the subject prefix coming first and next to it we see the auxiliary verb *ri* being followed immediately by locative marker *mu*. Next to it, we see the infinitive marker *ku* preceding the verb stem and lastly the final vowel.

In (66-67), we illustrate the formation of progressive in Runyankore. Note that where Bakiga combine auxiliary with the infinitive verb form (65), Banyankore¹⁷ separate the two (66-68). Also observe that *-mu* is used interchangeably with *-yo* (68-69).

¹⁷ People who speak Runyankore

(66) Abakiga barimu nibakora

“The Bakiga are working right now”

Abakiga	barimu	nibakora
a ba kiga	ba ri mu ni	ba kor a
IV CL2 <i>Kiga-people</i>	CL2 AUX LOC PROG 3PL <i>do</i>	FV
PN	AUX	V

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(67) Abakiga bariyo nibakora

“The Bakiga are working right now”

Abakiga	bariyo	nibakora
a ba kiga	ba ri yo ni	ba kor a
IV CL2 <i>Kiga-people</i>	3PL AUX DXS PROG 3PL <i>do</i>	FV
PN	V	V

Generated in TypeCraft.

(68) Nikyo ndiyo ninkugambira ngu amuhe ka ‘share¹⁸’ akakye ahabwokuba ‘omusaayi¹⁹’ tigweye

“That is why I am telling you that he should give the kid a small part of the share because the kid is not his blood”

Nikyo	ndiyo		ninkugambira						ngu	
ni kyo	n	di yo	ni n ku	gamb ir	a				ngu	
<i>is it.EMPH</i>	1SG	<i>be</i>	LOC	PROG	1SG	INF	<i>tell</i>	APPL	FV	<i>that</i>
PROana	AUX		V						CONJ	
amuhe		ka		share	akakye				ahabwokuba	
a mu he	ka			share	a ka kye				ahabwokuba	
3SG	2SG	<i>give</i>	<i>part-of.CL12</i>	<i>share</i>	IV	CL12	<i>small</i>		<i>because</i>	
V		PART		ADJ					CONJS	
omusaayi		tigweye								
o mu saayi	ti	gw eye								
IV	CL3	<i>blood</i>	NEG	<i>of</i>	<i>him</i>					
N		PRON								

Generated in TypeCraft.

In (69) we observe the use of /ra/ in Rukiga which is heard in some dialects of Rukiga as opposed to other dialects which combine the auxiliary and the verb as we shown in (65) above.

¹⁸ This is an English word .The RR translation is *omugabo*

¹⁹ This is a Luganda word whose translation is *eshagama* in RR

(69) Abakiga barimu barakora

Abakiga barimu barakora

a ba kiga ba ri mu ba ra kor a

IV CL2 *Kiga-people* CL2 AUX LOC CL2 PROG *work* FV

PN AUX V

Generated in TypeCraft.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion

My data sample consists of a corpus of 352 annotated sentences based on data collected during my field work in the summer of 2010. The TypeCraft corpus (www.typecraft.org) is larger and consists of 2931 annotated sentences. My corpus is public and can be accessed under the link http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Category:Runyankore-Rukiga_Corpus.

The major objective of the study was to describe Tense and Aspect of Runyankore-Rukiga. I describe and discuss all the 6 tenses in RR, Present, Past and Future. The Present Continuous/Progressive has been categorized under Aspect in this thesis. Following the previous accounts, the study recognizes Immediate Past, Near Past and Remote Past. Next to the Universal Tense, we discuss the Near and Remote Future.

The main categories discussed under Aspect are the Perfective and Imperfective. I recognize 4 as subtypes of the Imperfective namely Continuous, Progressive, Persistent and Habitual.

Near Past, Far future and Remote future occupy the Pre-stem slot while Near Past occupies the Post-stem slot as suffix. The study findings further reveal that the Near Future Tense is generally represented periphrastically using the Auxiliary verbs GO and COME.

I have argued that the Remote future tense marker which previous grammarians present as /rya/ has many allomorphs making it difficult to tell the underlying form. However I have suggested that the affix *ri* is the underlying form. I have supported my argument basing on the morphological composition of this marker where /rya/ is the surface form composed of vowel *i* followed by any vowel ($i+v=y$) which ultimately lead to /rya/. I have also supported my argument by looking at related languages namely Luganda, Runyoro, Rutooro and basing on Nurse's observation from other Bantu languages.

I have also mentioned that tone influences tense and Aspect though I have not been able to look at any details.

In this thesis, attempts have been made to show the distinction between Perfect, Perfective and Near Past. Bearing in mind that the three are represented by the same morpheme /ire/, I have argued that context plays a key role in defining this morpheme. In the same vein, the Continuous and Progressive have been classified under Aspect and an attempt has been made to differentiate the two which have been hitherto used interchangeably. I have argued that the Continuous is the most common form and has a wider usage while Progressive has a limited use. I have given contexts to show the demarcation between the two.

The study has also looked at participial forms in RR which are found to be common in the two languages. I have basically complemented Taylor's description using examples from my data samples where possible.

However, this study has not looked at polarity, especially the so called Negative tenses. This study has also not addressed the issue of Tone systematically. To describe the role of Tone in Tense and Aspect in depth would be a thesis on its own. Much of what I have described complies with the grammars by Taylor and Morris and Kirwan. However my thesis is a first attempt to relate grammar description to naturally occurring languages and the real use of Tense and Aspect in spoken RR. In this respect, my thesis is the first of its kind.

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Helpful links

<http://www.typecraft.org/>

<http://www.ubos.org/>

<http://www.ethnologue.com/>

Appendix 1

The TMA Questionnaire²⁰

Context indications are given within the square brackets. Words given in parentheses are not to be translated.

Part A- sentence

1. [Standing in front of a house] The house BE BIG
2. [Talking about the house in which the speaker lives (The house is out of sight)] The house BE BIG
3. [Talking about a house in which the speaker used to live but which has now been torn down] The house BE BIG
4. [Talking about the house which the speaker saw for the first time yesterday and doesn't see now:] The house BE BIG
5. [Q: What your brother DO right now? (=What activity is he engaged in?) A by someone who can see him] He WRITE letters
6. [C= 6] He WRITE a letter
7. [A: I just talked to my brother on the phone B: What he do right now? A: answer] He WRITE letters
8. [C=7] He WRITE a letter
9. [A: I went to see my brother yesterday. B: What he DO? (= What activity was he engaged in?)] He WRITE letters
10. [C= 10] He WRITE a letter
11. [A: I talked to my brother on the phone yesterday: What he DO? (= What activity was he engaged in?)] He WRITE letters
12. [C= 11] He WRITE a letter
13. [A: When you visited your brother yesterday, what he DO after you had dinner? ANSWER:] He WRITE letters
14. [C=13] He WRITE a letter
15. [Q: What your brother DO if you don't see him today, do you think? A:]
16. [C=13] He WRITE a letter (to me)

²⁰ TMA Questionnaire by Dahl, O. 1985

17. [Q: What your brother do when we arrive, DO you think?(= What activity will he be engaged in?)] He WRITE letters
18. [C=16] He WRITE a letter
19. [Q: What your brother usually DO after breakfast? A:] He WRITE letters
20. [C=18] He WRITE a letter
21. [Q: What your brother usually DO after breakfast last summer? A:] He WRITE letters
22. [C=20] He WRITE a letter
23. [Q : What are you planning to do right now? A:] I WRITE letters
24. [C=22] I WRITE a letter
25. [Neither A nor B can see B's brother. A:What he DO right now, do you think?(= What activity is he engaged in?)] He WRITE letters (I think so because he does that every day at this time)
26. [A: My brother works at an office. B: What kind of work he DO?] He WRITE letters
27. [A: Last year, my brother worked at an office. B: What kind of work he DO there? He WRITE letters
28. [A: My brother has got a new job. He shall start tomorrow. B: What kind of work he DO there?] He WRITE letters
29. [Talking of what happened yesterday] While my brother WRITE the letter, I wait in the garden.
30. [Q: Did your brother finish the letter quickly? A:] (No,) He WRITE the letter slowly.
31. [Talking of the water in a lake which is visible to the speaker and the hearer:](the water is usually warm , but today) it BE COLD
32. [Of a visible lake, what the water is usually like] it BE COLD
33. [Of a visible lake, in which the speaker swam yesterday] (today, the water is warm, but yesterday) It BE COLD
34. [Of a visible lake](The first time I swam in this water many years ago) It BE COLD
35. [Of a visible lake, said in the summer] (Usually the water is warm, but this summer) It BE COLD
36. [C=34] (Usually the water is warm, but last summer) It BE COLD
37. [Its no use trying to swim in the lake tomorrow The water BE COLD (then)
38. [Q: Do you know my brother?] (Yes,) I MEET him (so I know him)
39. [[C=37] (Yes), I just(= a couple of minutes ago) MEET him
40. [C=37](Yes), I MEET him (once) several years ago.

41. [C=37] (Yes) I MEET him often (up to now)
42. [C=37] (No) I not MEET him (in my life)
43. [Q:You MEET my brother at any time in your life until now)
44. [Q: did you know my father, who died last year? (Yes) I MEET him (at least once)
45. [C=43] (yes) I MEET him (several times, now and then)
46. [Assuming that B was going to meet A's brother , A asks:] You MEET my brother (Yesterday as was planned)
47. [Answer to (45):] (Yes,.) I MEET him (yesterday, as was planned)
48. [Answer to (45):] (No,) I not MEET him(yesterday, as was planned)
49. [Q: When you came to this place a year ago, did you know my brother?] (yes) I MEET him(at least once before I came here)
50. [C=48] (yes,) I MEET him (before I came here)
51. [Q: Did you know my father who died last year?] (No,) I not MEET him (at anytime)
52. [Q: When you came to this place a year ago, did you know my brother?](No,) I not MEET him (before I came here)
53. [C=51] (No,) I not MEET him(before I came here but I MEET him later)
54. [A: I want to give your brother book to read, but I do not know which. Is there any of those books that he READ already? B:](yes,) he READ this book.
55. [A: it seems that your brother never finishes books.] (That is not quite true.) He READ this book(=all of it)
56. [Q: Your brother DO what his teacher told him to do today?] (yes,) he READ (all of) this book (as he was told)
57. [Q: Is the king still arrive? A:] (No,) he DIE
58. [A:Have you heard the news? B: No,) What happened? A:] The king BE KILLED (ALT: They KILL the King
59. [Q: Do you think the king will go to sleep? A:] (yes,) he BE TIRED
60. [Looking out of the window, seeing that the ground is wet] it RAIN(not long ago)
61. [The police are investigating burglary. Seeing an open window and footprints beneath it, the police inspector says:] The thief ENTER the house by this window.
62. [it Is cold in the room, the window is closed. Q:] You OPEN the window(and closed it again).
63. [Answer to(61):] (yes,) I OPEN the window

64. [Answer to (61):](No,) I not OPEN the window
65. [Child: Can I go now? Mother:] You BRUSH your teeth?
66. [A: returns home after having been away for a while. B: asks:] what you DO?
67. [Answer to(65): I BUY food
68. [Q: What did you find out when you came to town yesterday? A:] The king DIE
69. [C=67] The king BE KILLED
70. [Q:Why is it so cold in the room? The window is open but the person who asks does not know. The person who opened the window answers:] I OPEN the windows
71. [Q: Has this house always been red? A:](No, earlier) The house BE WHITE
72. [Talking about the speaker's habits: I like to be up early.] I RISE at Six in the morning (ALT: dawn)
73. [This week I have to go to work early.] I RISE at six in the morning (ALT: at dawn)
74. [What kind of sound do cats make?] They MEOW
75. [Q:What do your cats do when they are hungry?] They MEOW
76. If you tease a cat, it MEOW
77. [Q: do cats bark?] (No,) they do not BARK
78. Whatever you tell him, he not ANSWER
79. Whatever you PUT into this bag, it not BREAK
80. I you PUT a stone into this bag, it BREAK
81. Even if you PUT a stone into this bag it not BREAK
82. [Q:What HAPPEN if I eat this mushroom?] you DIE
83. (According to the contract) we not WORK tomorrow
84. [Father to child:] (Please do not disturb me) I WRITE a letter
85. [Q: Your brother WRITE a letter right now?](=Is that the activity he is engaged in?) (No,) he not WRITE a letter (he is asleep)
86. [Q:What your brother DO right now?(=What activity is he engaged in?) A: he SIT in a chair (and) READ a book
87. [C=85] He EAT bread and DRINK water

88. [Q: What your brother DO after breakfast (yesterday)?A:]He GO to the market and /to BUY some apples
89. [Q:What the boy's father DO when the boy came home(yesterday)? A:] He BEAT him and KICK him(several times)
90. [Q: Did you find your brother at home? A:] (No, we did not) He LEAVE (before we arrive)
91. [C=89] No, we did not , we were very unlucky.) He LEAVE (just before we came)
92. [Q: What your brother's reaction BE when you gave him the medicine (yesterday) He COUGH enough.
93. [C=92] He COUGH twice
94. [C=92] He COUGH seven times
95. [C=92] He COUGH many times
96. [C=92] He COUGH for an hour
97. [C=92] He COUGH often
98. Q: Why do you think your brother has caught a cold?] He COUGH often
99. [Q: Why did you think that your brother yesterday had caught a cold?] he COUGH often
100. [Q: How long did it take for your brother to finish the letter?] He WRITE the letter in an hour.
100. [The boy's father sent him a sum of money some days ago and it arrived yesterday] When the boy GET the money, he BUY a present for the girl
101. [Last year, the boy's father sent him a sum of money] When the boy GET the money, he BUY a present for the girl
- 102[The boy used to receive a sum of money now and then] When he GET the money, he BUY a present for the girl.
- 103[The boy is expecting a sum of money] when the boy GET the money, he BUY a present for the girl
- 104 [The boy thinks that he will perhaps get the sum of money] if the boy GET the money, he BUY a present for the girl
- 105 [The speaker knows the boy was expecting some money, but he doesn't know if he got it] If the boy GET the money [yesterday], he BUY a present for the girl
- 106 [The speaker knows the boy was expecting money and that he did not get it] If the boy GET the money (yesterday), he BUY a present for the girl
- 107 [Talking to someone who is leaving in a while] when you RETURN, I WRITE this letter (=FINISH it already at that time)

108 [Said as an order by a teacher leaving the classroom] When I RETURN, you WRITE this assignment (=FINISH it by then)

109 [Assuming that the speaker's brother is trustworthy and speaking of the water in the lake which is not visible to the speaker and the hearer] My brother SAY (right now) that the water BE COLD

110 [Of the water in the lake which is not visible to the speaker and the hearer] My brother SAY (right now) that the water BE COLD (but I don't believe him)

111 [C=110] My brother SAY (right now) that the water BE COLD (yesterday, but I don't believe him)

112 [C=110] my brother SAY (yesterday) that the water BE COLD (yesterday but I think he was wrong.)

113 [C=110] my brother SAY (yesterday) that the water BE COLD (the day before yesterday, but I think he was wrong.)

114 [C=110] my brother SAY (yesterday) that the water BE COLD (today but he turned out to be wrong.)

115 [C=110] my brother THINK (right now) that the water BE COLD (today but he is wrong.)

116 [C=110] my brother THINK (yesterday) that the water BE COLD (yesterday but he was wrong.)

117 [C=110] my brother KNOW (now) that the water BE COLD (today)

118 [C=110] my brother KNOW (yesterday) that the water BE COLD (today)

119 [C=110] my brother BELIEVE (yesterday) that the water BE COLD (usually)

120 [C=110] He FEEL (right now) that the water BE COLD

121 [C=110] (yesterday when my brother went into the water) He FEEL that the water BE COLD

122 [C=110] Of the water in an invisible lake – the speaker knows that the water is in fact cold] My brother not THINK (right now) that the water BE COLD (= he thinks it is warm)

123 [C=110] my brother DOUGHT (right now) that the water BE COLD

124 [C=110] my brother HOPE (right now) that the water BE COLD

125 [uttered a promise]I PROMISE to come to you tomorrow

126 [uttered in a naming ceremony] (for NAME, substitute any suitable verb (e.g. CHRISTEN), for X, substitute any suitable proper name (e.g. John)] I NAME this child X

127 [Looking at a broken cup, angrily:] Who BREAK this cup?

128 [Looking at a house] Who BUILD this house?

129 [Looking at a picture of a house which has torn down] who BUILD this house?

130 [Looking at a house, recently painted] who PAINT this house?

131 [You MUST GO to bed before you GET tired (today)

132 (Yesterday evening) I GO to bed before my brother COME home

133 [The speaker has just seen the king arrive (no one had expected this event)] Have you HEARD the news? The King ARRIVE

134 [A person who has heard (133) but not seen the event says:] Have you heard the news?) the king ARRIVE

135 [The king has been expected for weeks . The speaker has just seen him:] the king ARRIVE

136 [A person who has heard (135) but not seen the event says:] the king ARRIVE

137 When I COME home (yesterday), he WRITE two letters(= first I came and then he wrote letters)

138 When I COME home (yesterday), he WRITE two letters (=he just finished writing them just before I came)

139 When I COME home (yesterday), he WRITE two letters (=that is what he accomplished during my absence)

140 When I COME home (yesterday), he WRITE two letters (= that is the activity he was engaged in).

141 [Conversation takes place in the afternoon. The market referred to is assumed to be situated at a considerable distance from the place where the conversation takes place Q: Do you know my brother?] (yes) I MEET him at the market this morning.

143 [Conversation takes place in the afternoon: Do you know my brother?] (Yes)I MEET him here this morning.

144 [C=143] Do you know my brother?] (yes) I MEET him here yesterday

145[Traveler to local:] If you SHOW me the way, I GIVE you money

146: [Mother to child:] If you not STOP PLAY with that ball, I TAKE it away

147: [Standing in front of a house: Who BUILD this house?] My brother BUILD this house

148[(Of a coughing child:) For how long has your son been coughing?] He COUGH for an hour

149 [A knows that B was going to meet A's brother but not when. A:] You MEET my brother (yet)?

150 [Answers to 149:] (yes) I MEET him.

151 [Answer to 149: (No) I not MEET him

152 [Said by a young man] When I GROW old, I BUY a big house

153 [The speaker has just seen the king arrive (earlier than was expected):] The king ARRIVE already

154 [The king is expected to arrive] The king not ARRIVE yet

155 [Q: Has your brother finished the letter?] (No,) He will WRITE it

156 [What did your brother say yesterday when you asked him if was busy? He SAY that he WRITE letters

PART B- Connected texts

B1. Do you know what happened to me yesterday?] (161) I WALK in the forest .] (162) Suddenly I STEP on a snake. (163) It BITE me in the leg. (164) I TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. (165) It DIE

B2. [I will tell you what happened to me once when I was a child.] (166) I WALK in the forest. (167) Suddenly I STEP on a snake. (168) It BITE me in the leg. (169) I TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. (170) It DIE

B3 [Do you know what happened to my brother yesterday? I saw it myself. (171) We WALK in the forest. (172) Suddenly he STEP on a snake . (173) It BITE him in the leg. (174) He TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake . (175) It DIE

B4 [Do you know what happened to my brother yesterday? He told it himself] (176) He WALK in the forest. (177) Suddenly he STEP on a snake. (178) It BITE him in the leg (179) He TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. (180) It DIE

B5 [Once upon a time, there was a man. This is what happened to him one day (181) He WALK in the forest. (182) suddenly he STEP on a snake. (183) It BITE him in the leg. (184) He TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. (185) It DIE

B6 [I will tell you what happens to me sometimes when I am walking in the forest.] (191) I SEE a snake. (192) I TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake.

B7 [I'll tell you what happened to me sometimes, when I saw a child and was walking in the forest.] (193) I SEE a snake. (194) I TAKE a stone and THROW at a snake.

B8 [I will tell you what I see in the window right now.] The boy TAKE a ball and THROW it to the girl. (197) The girl THROW it back

B9 [The speaker is right back from a walk in the forest: Do you know what just happened to me ?] (186) I WALK in the forest. (187) Suddenly I STEP on a snake . (188). It BITE me in the leg. (189) I TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. (190) It DIE

Appendix 2

