TENSE AND ASPECT IN XHOSA

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By

Stefan Savić
G14S8526
ORCid: 0000-0001-9413-2204
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Supervised by
Professor Mark de Vos
Professor Silvester Ron Simango

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the semantics of each tense and aspect in Xhosa. Since tense and aspect perform important pragmatic functions, the analysis takes into account the correlation between the verb and the wider discourse in which it is embedded.

Tense reflects the temporal relation between the time of the utterance (speech time) and an interval the speaker makes the assertion about (reference time). The Remote Past and the Remote Future tenses differ from their Recent/Immediate counterparts in that they denote events which occurred in a significantly different situation than the speech time and/or events in the surrounding discourse.

Aspect does not only indicate the relation between the time occupied by the real world event and the reference time chosen by the speaker. The Perfective aspect represents an event as a unique change-of-state that pertains to a single point on the timeline which at the same time functions as the reference time. By contrast, for the Imperfective aspect temporally links the event to a contextually provided reference time, e.g. the utterance time, a time adverbial, a period of time previously introduced in the preceding discourse, or the interlocutors' shared experience. At the pragmatic level, the Perfective aspect tends to introduce an event's resulting state into the discourse, whereas the Imperfective aspect tends to rule it out.

Like the Imperfective aspect, the Anterior and the Prospective aspects assert an event's occurrence from a contextually defined reference time. They refer to the consequent and the preparatory states of an event, respectively. On the pragmatic level, the Anterior aspect may also indicate that the truth-conditionality of the event's resulting state is contradicted in the immediate discourse.

This study shows that tense and aspect temporally represent different means of temporally assigning an event to a particular portion of the timeline. I further argue that aspect indicates whether the reference time is provided in the context (Imperfective, Anterior, Prospective) or whether it is introduced by the verb itself (Perfective). Furthermore, this study shows that aspect exhibits a pragmatic function by laying focus on different parts of the event that are relevant in the upcoming discourse.

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Abbreviation List

1	1st class
10	10th class
11	11th class
14	14th class
15	15th class
17	17th class
1a	class 1a
1PL	1st person plural
1SG	1st person singular
2	2nd class
2a	class 2a
2PL	2nd person plural
2SG	2nd person singular
2PRS	2nd person
3	3rd class
3PL	3rd person plural
3SG	3rd person singular
4	4th class
5	5th class
6	6th class
7	7th class
8	8th class
9	9th class
A	cross-reference set A (ergative/possessor) bound pronominal clitic
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
AGENT	agent
PATIENT	patient

AKUFUT	aku-Future
ANT	anterior
APPL	applicative
AOR	aorist
ART	article
ASSUMPTIVE	assumptive
AUG	augment
AUX	auxiliary verb
B	cross-reference set B (absolutive) bound pronominal suffix
CAUS	causative
CMP	completive
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
CONS	consecutive
CONT	continuous
COP	copula
COUNTERFACT	counterfactual
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DISJ	disjoint
DIST	distal
DO	direct object
EMPH	emphatic
EXP	expectational
F	feminine
FUT	future or Immediate Future (Nguni)
FUTSUBJ	Future Subjunctive
FV	final vowel
GEN	genitive

GER	gerund
HAB	habitual
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
INAN	inanimate
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INFIX	infix
INFERENTIAL	inferential
INSTR	instrumental case or instrumental prefix
IPFV	imperfective
IRREALIS	irrealis
JUSS	jussive
LOC	locative case or locative prefix
M	masculine
MED	medial
N	neuter
NEG	negation
NEUTR	neutral
NF	non-feminine
NOM	nominative
NONFIRSTHAND	non-firsthand
NONVISUAL	nonvisual
OBJ	object
OFUT	o-Future
OM	object marker
OPT	optative
PASS	passive
PERS	persistive

PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive pronoun or possessive prefix
POST	posterior
POT	potential
PP	past participle
PROH	prohibitive
PRES	presentative
PERS	persistive
POT	potential
PRF	perfect
PRO	prospective
PROG	progressive
PRON	personal pronoun or absolute pronoun
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
PRT	particle
PST	past, Recent Past (Nguni) or Past form of auxiliary verbs (Nguni)
PSTSUBJ	Past Subjunctive
PSTCONS	Past Consecutive
PTCP	Participial
REALIS	realis
RECPST	Recent Past (except Nguni)
REFL	reflexive
REMFUT	remote future
REMFUTSUBJ	Remote Future Subjunctive
REMPST	remote past
REPORTIVE	reportive
RM	relative marker
SAME=EVENT	same event

SBJRM	relative marker for a non-antecedent subject
SEMEL	semelfactive
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
SUBJ	subjunctive
TEMP	Temporal
TERM	terminative
UNEXP	counter-expectational
VISUAL	visual

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PART I

1. Introduction

In a great number of languages around the world, there exists different morphological or morpho-syntactic forms that indicate whether an event[1] has reached its point of completion as opposed to being incomplete (in progress) or repetitive. In the Serbian example (1), the verb *pročitao (je)* ('he read') refers to the event of reading the letter as complete. By contrast, *čitao (je)* ('he read') in (2) indicates that the event was not finished by the time the other person entered the room, whereas in (3) the same form indicates a series of repeated instances of the (completed or non-completed) event.

(1) Serbian

Juče	je	**pročita-o**	tvoj-e	pism-o.
yesterday	AUX.PRS.3SG	read.PFV-PST.M.SG	POSS.2SG-N.SG.ACC	letter.N-SG.ACC

*He **read** your letter yesterday.*[2]

(2) Serbian

Kad	je	uš-la	u	sob-u,
when	AUX.PRS.3SG	enter.PFV-PST.F.SG	in	room.F-SG.ACC
čita-o	je	tvoj-e	pism-o.	
read.IPFV-PST.M.SG	AUG.PRS.3SG	POSS.2SG.N.SG.ACC	letter.N-SG.ACC	

*When she entered the room, **he was reading** your letter.*

(3) Serbian

Čita-o	je	svoj-u	omiljen-u
read.IPFV-PST.M.SG	AUX.PRS.3SG	POSS.REFL-F.SG.ACC	favourite-F.SG.ACC
knjig-u	svak-e	večer-i.	
book.F-SG.ACC	every-F.SG.GEN	evening.F-SG.GEN	

*He **read** his favourite book every evening.*

This kind of morphological and morpho-syntactic variation in verb forms demonstrated in (1-3) does not appear to express **when** the reported event occurs relative to the present moment (which

[1] In the present study the term *event* refers to all situations designated by the predicate. Note, however, that for some authors such as Bach (1981) the term *event* only refers to a certain type of situation denoted by the predicate, e.g. situations with an inherent endpoint, such as *read a book*, *jump*, *eat*, as in Bach (1981), as opposed to *states*, such as *know* or *live* (Borik 2002:3, 15). For Bach (1981), the term *eventuality* means the same as *event* in this study.

[2] I have opted to provide translations that express the closest intended meaning in English. I have not used literal translations because the glosses fulfil this function.

is encoded by **tense**), but **how** the reported event is viewed and it is called **aspect**. For lack of a generally accepted definition of aspect, its semantics can (provisionally) be described metaphorically: The bolded verb in (1) represents the event of reading as 'momentaneous', whereas its counterparts in (2) and (3) indicates the event is viewed as 'extended' along the timeline or as repetitive. Individual perspectives, such as those in (1) and (2-3) are also assigned a label in the literature. Thus, such verbs as the bolded verb in (1) are referred to as the **Perfective** aspect, whereas the bolded verbs in (2) and (3) represent the **Imperfective** aspect. The Perfective and Imperfective aspects have been detected in a number of languages, but they are not the only aspectual **markers**[3]: The English construction *be* V-*ing* represents a non-completed event (i.e. a semantic 'subset' of the Imperfective aspect), exemplified in the English translation of (2) and it is referred to as the **Progressive** aspect.

The grammar of languages which formally express aspect forces its speakers to indicate in (almost) every utterance whether they see the event as something that extends in time, as something momentaneous, or as something repetitive. A central question regarding aspect is why speakers of some languages such as Russian, Serbian, English, Mandarin Chinese, and French always have to decide how they view an event in order to determine what morphological (or morphosyntactic) form of the verb they will use, whereas speakers of other languages like German, Afrikaans or Kalaallisut never have to (or can) make such a choice, while conveying their message equally successfully. In other words, it is not entirely clear what role aspect fulfils in the speech act (especially when it is taken into consideration that it is an inevitable element of every utterance in a great number of languages) and what replaces this role in those languages that do not formally mark aspect.

The issues outlined in the preceding paragraph are all linked to **aspectual semantics**. Although aspect has been a common topic in an immense number of studies in the past fifty years, there is still surprisingly little consensus about its definition (Guéntcheva 2016:2). One of the main obstacles is the problematic identification of a common denominator that connects all contextual meanings of one aspect in one language. Most accounts of aspectual semantics in both individual languages and in cross-linguistic studies revolve around several ideas:

[3] I use the term *marker* to refer to an overt, formal expression of a type of grammatical meaning, e.g. a plural marker, past tense marker, etc.

(i) **Totality** view: Aspect indicates whether an event is viewed **externally** as a **whole** with all points rolled into one (Perfective), or whether it is viewed **internally** with its internal temporal structure being visible (Imperfective and Progressive);

(ii) **Boundedness** or **limitation** view: Aspect indicates whether an event is represented with its (final or endpoint) internal **boundaries** beyond which it cannot continue (Perfective), or whether it is viewed as unbounded (Imperfective);

(iii) **Relational** theories: Aspect indicates if the time during which the event occurs is a **subset** of (i.e. is included in) the time which the speaker refers to in her or his utterance (Perfective) or whether the latter is the subset of the former (Imperfective);

(iv) **Phasic** theories: Aspect merely changes the predicate's **inherent properties**, e.g. presence or absence of an endpoint (the Progressive aspect turns a predicate with an endpoint into a process without the mention of its endpoint).

Since the totality view is not a falsifiable theory, no formal means exists with which to test what constitutes an event's representation with its internal temporal structure as opposed to with all its moments rolled into one point. The totality view does not provide an explanation why two languages exhibiting the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition, such as Spanish and Russian, differ in the choice of aspect that typically represents predicates accompanied by durative temporal adverbs[4] (e.g. *the whole* [X-time], *for* [X-time], or *during*): The adverb *the whole night* co-occurs with the Perfective verb in the former language, and with the Imperfective verb in the latter, as evidenced in examples (4.a) and (4.b), respectively, an extract from Zafón's (2001) novel originally written in Spanish and from its Russian translation by Smirnova & Temnov (2016).

(4) a. Spanish

Ley-ó		tod-a		la		noche,		
read-PST.PFV.3SG		whole-F.SG		ART.DEF.F.SG		night.F.SG		
ajen-o	a	los		ronquido-s	de	las		
foreign.M.SG	at	ART.DEF.M.PL		snore.M.PL	of	ART.DEF.F.PL		
religios-as	y a	las	estacion-es	fugac-es		en la		niebla.
religious-F.PL	and at	ART.DEF.F.PL	station.F.PL	quickly=passing.F.PL		in ART.DEF.F.SG		fog.F.SG

b. Russian

[4] For further criticism, see Dahl (1985:74-77), Klein (1994:28-30) and (Borik 2002:75-76).

On	**čita-l**	vs-ju	noč’	naprolet,
PRON.3SG.M	read.IPFV-PST.M.SG	whole-F.SG.ACC	night.F.SG.ACC	on=end

ne	zameča-ja	ni	xrap-a	svo-ix
NEG	notice.IPFV-PRS.PTCP	neither	snore.M-SG.GEN	POSS.REFL-F.PL.GEN

sputnic,	ni	mel’kani-ja	okuta-nn-yx	dymk-oj	stancij.
fellow=traveller.F-PL.GEN	nor	glimpse.N-SG.GEN	cloak-PASS-PL.GEN	haze.F-SG.INSTR	station.F.PL.GEN

*He **read** his favourite book every evening.* (Janda & Fábregas 2019)

If one argued that the totality view may exhibit some variation in languages in combination with one particular type of adverbs, as is the case with the durative time adverbs in Russian and Spanish, that difference would have to be consistent. Yet, it is not. Russian predicates, both those with and those without an inherent endpoint can also occur with the Perfective when they are prefixed by *pro-*, whereby emphasis is placed on the duration of the event (**perdurative** meaning, cf. Janda 2004:479, 494, 500-501). Consider example (5.a-b) from a Spanish novel by Pérez Galdós (1876). The bolded verb in the Russian translation (5.b) is claimed to express totality (despite its duration), as opposed to the bolded verb in (4.b).

(5) a. Spanish

Juan	Rey […]	**ejerci-ó**	la	abogacía	en	est-a
Juan.M.SG	Rey.M.SG	practise-PST.PFV.3SG	ART.DEF.F.SG	law.F.SG	in	DEM.F.SG

mism-a	ciudad	durante	treinta	año-s.
same.F.SG	city.F.SG	during	thirty	year-M.PL

b. Russian

Xuan	Rej […]	tridcat’	let	**prosluži-l**
Juan.M.SG.NOM	Rey.M.SG.NOM	thirty.ACC	year.N.PL.GEN	serve.PFV-PST.M.SG

advokat-om	v	sam-oj	Sevil’-e.
lawyer.M-SG.INSTR	in	same-F.SG.LOC	Sevilla.F-SG.LOC

*Juan Rey […] **practised** law in that same city (Seville) for thirty years.* (Janda & Fábregas 2019)

Although prevalent in the recent decades (Sasse 2002:201), the boundedness view, i.e. the idea that aspect denotes the presence or absence of internal bounds also encounters challenges if used to define aspectual semantics[5]. Following this argument, the events in (4.b) and (5.b), both represented by predicates without an inherent point, would differ in that the former does not have

[5] A more elaborate criticism of this view is found in Dickey (2000:17-18).

an internal limit (Imperfective), whereas the latter does (Perfective). However, what constitutes this limit in the Russian examples (4.b) and (5.b) remains unclear.

The idea proposed in the phasic theories that aspect adds or removes the same semantic elements that are otherwise encoded in the properties of the predicate is certainly appealing. Applied to languages with the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition, the implication is that the Perfective adds and the Imperfective removes the internal bound (endpoint or starting point) that is inherent to the predicate. Although the aspectual semantic differences between Russian and Spanish demonstrated in (4.a) and (4.b) could be due to the aspectual operators' different language-specific behaviour, absence of bounds is not explainable in examples with the Imperfective aspect which refers to an event that possibly reached a point of completion, e.g. the Serbian Imperfective *čitao sam* ('I read/was reading') in the dialogue (6). In (6), the Imperfective form in B's response signals that the time frame (i.e. *yesterday*) previously defined in A's question is 'filled up' by the activity of reading without reference to the point of completion although it was quite possibly reached. Furthermore, presence and absence of bounds alone do not explain why in a narration Perfective verbs represent successive events (7) whereas Imperfective verbs denote events that do not progress the narrative time (8): In (7), the Perfective *pročitao (sam)* ('I read') signals that the event of reading introduces its own, new time frame because the event of reading starts only after the event of entering finishes. In (8), the Imperfective form *čitao (sam)* ('I read') indicates that the time frame through which the event of reading is observed is the same as (or at least overlaps with) the time frame from the preceding clause, because both events are (partly) simultaneous.

(6) A: Šta si radi-o juče?
what AUX.be.PRS.2SG do.IPFV-PST.M.SG yesterday

B: **Čitao** **sam** jedn-u pripovetk-u Dostojevsk-og.
read.IPFV-PST.M.SG AUX.be.PRS.1SG one-F.SG.ACC story.F-SG.ACC Dostoyevsky.M-SG.GEN

A: What did you do yesterday?
*B: I **read** a novel by Dostoyevsky.*

(7) Kad sam doša-o kući, večera-o sam,
when AUX.be.PRS.1SG come.PFV-PST.M.SG home eat=supper-PST.M.SG AUX.be.PRS.1SG

pročita-o sam jedn-u pripovetk-u Dostojevsk-og
read.PFV-PST.M.SG AUX.be.PRS.1SG one-F.SG.ACC story.F-SG.ACC Dostoyevsky.M-SG.GEN

i lega-o u krevet.
and lie=down.PFV-PST.M.SG in bed.M-SG.ACC

*When I came home, I ate supper, **read** a story by Dostoyevsky and went to bed.*

(8) Ušl-i smo u učionic-u. Tamo **je** jedan
enter.PFV-PST.M.PL AUX.be.PRS.1PL in classroom.F-SG.ACC there AUX.be.PRS.3SG one.M.SG.NOM

đak naglas **čita-o** nek-u pripovetk-u Dostojevsk-og.
pupil.M.SG.NOM aloud read.IPFV-PST.M.SG some-F.SG.ACC story.F-SG.ACC Dostoyevsky.M-SG.GEN

*We entered the classroom. There, a student **was reading** aloud a story by Dostoyevsky.*

What examples (6-8) show is that aspectual semantics indicates different interactions between an event and a **time interval** from which the event is 'observed'. The Imperfective aspect suggests the event occupies the entire previously introduced time interval (6, 8), whereas the Perfective aspect introduces a new time frame (7) into the discourse.

The only one out of the four views that acknowledges the importance of time interval for aspectual semantics is the relational theory. This is why Klein's (1994) theory, outlined in the following section, will be used as a starting point for the present study of Xhosa tense and aspect.

1.1. Relational theory

The roots of the relational theory (Johnson 1981, Klein 1994) are found in the influential study by Reichenbach (1947) who introduces three notions whose temporal configurations account for the semantics of the entire English temporal system: (i) **point of speech**, the 'now', the 'present moment', i.e. the moment at which the utterance is produced, henceforth **speech time** or **S**; (ii) **point of the event**, henceforth **event time** or **E**; (iii) **point of reference,** henceforth **reference time** or **R**. Johnson (1981) and Klein (1994) see both tense and aspect as reflections of different **relations** (precedence, antecedence, simultaneity, inclusion, etc.) between E, R and S, hence Binnick's (2006) term **relational** to refer to this theoretical framework[6].

[6] Note that what Binnick (2006) refers to as relational theories here is not the only theoretical framework that uses R, E and S to define tense and aspect. Numerous generative studies outside of this functional approach, e.g.

Klein (1994)[7] conceives of E and R as two different **time intervals**[8]:

(9) E is the time interval which occupies the part of the timeline during which the real-world (extra-linguistic information about the) event in reality occurs[9];

(10) R is the time talked about, the subjective time chosen by the speaker, in relation to which she or he asserts the occurrence of the event, i.e. time span 'to which the speaker's claim on this occasion is confined' (Klein 1994:4, 2009:46).

The difference between E and R is best understood in relation to Klein's (1994:2-3, 36ff) view that information about an event consists of (i) a timeless, non-finite **lexical** part, i.e. predicate that denotes a particular type of event (e.g. <*sing*>[10] as opposed to <*sleep*> or <*drink*>) and (ii) a **temporal** part, a time span on the timeline to which said lexical content is linked. Thus, the lexical part needs the temporal part to obtain a temporal anchorage on the timeline and create complete information about an event. The temporal part represents R, while E is the time of the real-world event (recognised as a particular predicate and) referred to by the lexical part. R can be conceived of as a window on the timeline through which an event's occurrence is observed, either as ongoing, as the entire event, as already past (because we see evidence), or as upcoming (using the same metaphor, tense provides information about where we place that window, e.g. before now, now, or after now, and whether it includes the present moment or not). Thus, R is a window into the speaker's subjective vision onto the objective world E which does not mean the event does not occur beyond R.

The difference between E and R is illustrated in (11). The speaker asserts that the event of singing at the protests occurred in a time interval (=R) during which she or he witnessed it as

Reinhart (1986), Borik (2002) (to name a few) do so, too. However, those approaches exhibit considerable differences (relative to the relational theories) in the way they conceive of R, E, and S (points in time vs. intervals), as well as in the way the relations between R, E and S define tense and aspect.

[7] Klein (1994) replaces Reichenbach's notions with his own terms: S is **utterance time** (**UT**), E is **situation time** (**TSit**) and R is **topic time** (**TT**). Although Klein's terminology has been taken over by a number of studies, Reichenbach's terminology is generally more widespread and it will henceforth be used also to refer to its counterparts in Klein's (1994) theory.

[8] As opposed to points on the timeline, as Reichenbach (1947) originally conceived of them.

[9] i.e. the speaker's non-linguistic construal of the event's occurrence along the timeline.

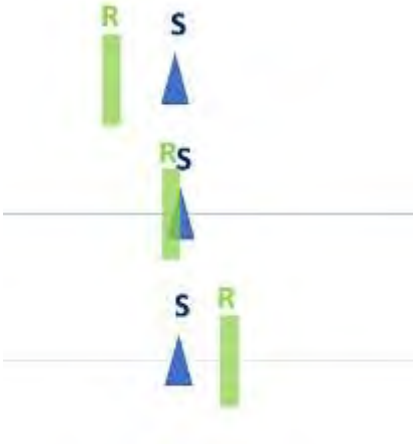
[10] Klein's (1994) representation of the 'lexical content' of an event includes all non-finite elements of a clause, such as the subject, adverbs, etc. For the sake of simplicity, the examples in this section specify only the predicate.

ongoing. However, the information about the entire event of singing at the protest (=E), e.g. when it started or when it ended, is not provided in (11).

(11) The protesters were chanting liberation songs (when I went out to buy bread = They may be still chanting).

Tense represents the relation **between R and S** (**R-S**) along the timeline. When R is a time interval that precedes S (**R_S**) the event is referred to with the **past**[11] tense. If R and S overlap (**R,S**), the **present** tense is used. R's occurrence after S (**S_R**) results in the **future** tense. A schematic representation of R-S relations along a timeline are represented in Figure 1.1. Returning to example (11), irrespective of whether the real-world event of singing, E, continues until S or not, the fact that speaker made the claim about the event for a time interval that ended before S results in the (aspectually marked) Past tense form *were chanting*.

Figure 1.1. *A schematic adaptation of Klein's (1994) representation of R-S along the timeline.*

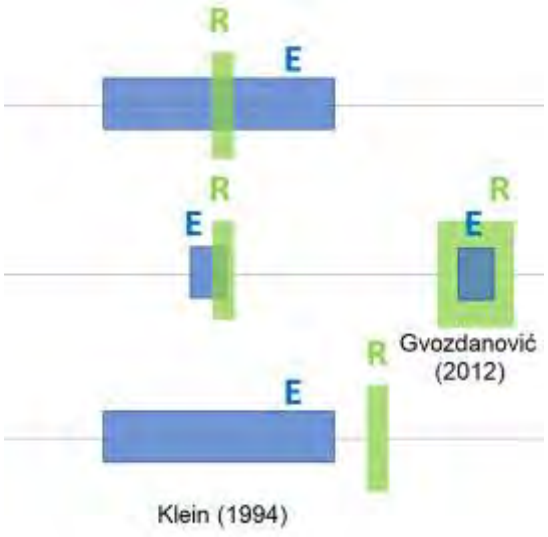


Aspect reflects the relationship **between R and E** (**R-E**). If an event's occurrence is asserted from a time span R that is included in E, i.e. that is a subset of E (**R⊆E**), it is denoted by the **imperfective** aspect. Its aspectual opposition, the **perfective** aspect, entails that R contains both (part of) E and part of the timeline where E does not hold: Klein (1994) defines the perfective

[11] In the present study, when referring to a tense or aspect in the cross-linguistic context, lowercase is used (e.g. past tense, imperfective aspect) to distinguish the term from its language-specific counterpart (e.g. Russian Past tense or Imperfective aspect).

aspect as the partial overlap between E and R (**R∩E**) whereby R includes both (the entire or only a part of) E and the transition into or out of (one or both of) the adjacent (preceding and ensuing) states. Gvozdanović (2012:789-790) proposes a redefinition of the perfective aspect such that it denotes E as a subset of R (**E⊆R**). As for the traditional 'relative tenses"[12], e.g. English Present Perfect, Past Perfect, and Future Perfect, Klein (1994:131) views as combinations of the **perfect** aspect with the present, past or future tense[13]. To Klein (1994), the perfect aspect indicates posteriority of R relative to E (without overlap between the two) (**E_R**). A schematic overview of R-E relations is shown in Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2. *A schematic adaptation of Klein's (1994) representation of R-E (three vertical illustrations on the left-hand side). Adaptation of Gvozdanović's (2012) representation of the Perfective aspect is on the right-hand side (second line).*



With some adaptations, the proposed relations between E and R in the relational theory's framework can account for the semantic difference between the Perfective and Imperfective aspects in the Serbian examples (1-3). The inclusion of R in E (R⊆E) is the appropriate representation of the Imperfective form *čitao (je)* ('he read') in (2) and (3), as it also entails that

[12] In this particular context, the term 'relative tense' is used as in Comrie (19976, 1985), Klein (1994) and Bohnemeyer (2014). It should be noted, however, that elsewhere the present study follows Rose et al.'s (2002) and Nurse's (2008) use of the term.

[13] Without dismissing the legitimacy of the perfect aspect, in the following sections I will challenge the view that relative tense is the same as aspect.

the equation between R and E[14,15](R=E). Thus, in (2) R, the moment when the subject entered the room, is indeed a subset of E, the event of reading: It overlaps and is temporally adjoined (at least on the left side of the timeline, but possibly on both sides) by E. In (3), however, E only needs to occupy the entire R (without necessarily extending beyond it), an implicitly referred period of time which could be made explicit if another time adverbial was added, such as *last year* or *two months ago*. Regarding the semantics of the Perfective verb *pročitao (je)* ('he read') in (1), the relation between E and R is more challenging to determine (as will be shown later, despite the fact that time adverbials may function as R in some cases, they should not be equalised (cf. Klein 1994:159ff)). What is definitely asserted in (1) is the entire E's occurrence including the point of completion, i.e. R includes the ensuing state after the letter has been read to the end. The representation of the perfective aspect as partial overlap between R and E, R∩E, is incorrect if E and R are understood as equal elements of the overlap: For the Perfective semantics in (1) it is important that R contains both a part of E and a part of non-E, whereas the opposite (E containing part of R and non-R) is irrelevant. The other representation of the perfective aspect, i.e. the inclusion of E in R (E⊆R), seems less appropriate, since the inclusion of the entire E in R is not always necessary: Example (1) would be correct even if it was uttered in the context in which the subject started reading the letter many days ago but he finally finished reading it yesterday.

The ability to identify R is of crucial importance to defining aspectual semantics. It has been shown that R may be specified explicitly through a time adverbial, e.g. the dependent clause in (2), but as demonstrated in (3), R's reference may also be implicit (not overtly specified, for example as part of the speaker's and hearer's shared experience or as an interval that has been mentioned earlier in the discourse). Thus, R may cross clausal boundaries and be 'reused' in new sentences. It is this last property of R that explains which time interval is referred to in the Imperfective verb *čitao (sam)* ('I read') in B's response to A's question in (6): B allocates the event of reading, E, to multiple points all over R, which is specified in A's question as *yesterday*. R's 'transferability' from one clause to another can also account for the different behaviour between the Perfective and Imperfective aspects in structuring temporal progression in

[14] Whereby E cannot be confined to referring one instance of reading, but also a series of individual episodes of reading together with intermittent interceptions.
[15] The relation of inclusion does entail the possibility of equation between the two elements.

narrations, which has been demonstrated in (7-8)[16]: Perfective verbs advance the plot by introducing a new R, whereas their Imperfective counterparts do not. Thus, relative to R of the preceding clause, the Perfective *pročitao (sam)* ('I read') moves R forward along the timeline, i.e. it introduces its own, new R which is located at a later point in time on the timeline than the R from the previous clause. By contrast, the Imperfective *čitao (sam)* ('I read') maintains the 'old' R from the preceding discourse.

However, in some discourse (and syntactic) environments the identification of R is challenging. The first part of the problem regards the fact that the same two languages with the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition use different aspects to refer to a verb in the same context. This is illustrated in (4.a) and (4.b), where the durative time adverbial occurs with the Perfective verb in Spanish, but with the Imperfective verb in Russian (for more examples of differences between Spanish and Russian aspect cf. Gorbova 2017, Janda & Fábregas 2019). This kind of difference in aspectual patterning is found even between closely related languages, such as Russian and Czech. For example, habitual events can be Perfective in Czech, but they have to be Imperfective in Russian, cf. (12.a) and (12.b), respectively. The differences between the languages with the same aspectual system (Perfective/Imperfective) which are demonstrated in (4.a-4.b) and (12.a-12.b) raise the question whether R is defined language-specifically (resulting in different R-E relations) or whether certain elements of the same R-E relation results in different aspect usage.

(12) a. Czech

Každ-é	odpoledn-e	chlapec	**skoč-í**	do	vod-y.
every-N.SG.NOM	afternoon.N-SG.NOM	boy.M.SG.NOM	jump.PFV-PRS.3SG	to	water.F-SG.GEN

b. Russian

Každ-yj	den'	mal'čik	**pryga-et**	v	vod-u.
every-M.SG.NOM	day.M.SG.NOM	boy.M.SG.NOM	jump.IPFV-PRS.3SG	in	water.F-SG.ACC

Every afternoon[CZECH]*/day*[RUSSIAN17] *the boy* ***dives*** *into the water.*

(Theodore 1973:100, Dickey 2000:53)

[16] The interaction between aspect and narrative progression has been well-documented outside the relational theory's framework, e.g. in Hopper (1979), Borik (2002), etc.

[17] For practical reasons, Dickey (2000:53) translates the Czech word for *afternoon* with the Russian word for *day*.

The second problem with identifying R concerns examples in which both aspects can produce grammatical clauses[18], yet with a slight difference in the semantic/pragmatic intersection. Compare the Russian examples (4.b) and (5.b) in which the bolded verbs take different aspects even though both co-occur with durative time adverbials: In (4.b) the durative time adverbial (*vsju noč'* 'the whole night') co-occurs with the Imperfective verb *čital* ('(he) read') (which is a default combination in Russian, cf. Janda & Fábregas (2019), whereas in (5.b) the durative time adverbials (*for*-adverbials) *tridcat' let* ('for thirty years') is accompanied by the Perfective verb *proslužil* ('(he) served'). According to Janda & Fábregas (2019), the Perfective verb in (5.b) allows temporal sequencing of this event with other events in the discourse[19], an observation that suggests that the discourse (wider context) around the sentence plays a role in the R-E relation, thus constituting part of aspectual semantics in general. This issue is discussed in more detail in the following section.

1.2. Aspect and information structure

Detecting the difference in R and the R-E relation is challenging in examples like the Russian (13-14) or the Spanish (15-16), in which the choice of aspect reflects which constituent is **focused** and/or what the speaker and the hearer already know about the event. The Perfective verb in (13) indicates that the event of reading the novel is expected to have occurred both on the part of the speaker and of the hearer, e.g. as a question about a school assignment. By contrast, the Imperfective verb in (14) indicates the speaker is asking the hearer whether the event of reading the novel is part of her or his entire previous experience. In the Spanish examples, the Perfective verb in (15) is a report about Borges's death with neutral/broad focus[20], while the Imperfective verb in (16) draws the hearer's attention to the culmination of the event of dying (because it will be relevant for the upcoming information) while leaving the process that led up to it as well as the resulting state out of focus (Arregui et al. 2014:334-336).

[18] Unlike examples (1-3) and (6-8) in which only one particular aspect can be used: In (1-3) and (6), the bolded verbs cannot be replaced by their Perfective and Imperfective counterparts without rendering the clause/sentence ungrammatical, whereas in (7-8) this kind of replacement would primarily affect the temporal structure of the plot.
[19] Janda & Fábregas (2019) also find that the Perfective verb places the observer 'outside'.
[20] No particular constituent is focused or the entire sentence is focused.

(13) Russian
Vy **pročita-li** Vojnu i mir?
PRON.2PL PFV.read-PST.PL war.ACC.F.SG and peace.ACC.M.SG
Did you read *War and Peace?* [prescribed assignment]
(Israeli 1996:16)

(14) Russian
Vy **čita-li** Vojnu i mir?
PRON.2PL IPFV.read-PST.PL war.ACC.F.SG and peace.ACC.M.SG
Have you *[ever]* ***read*** *War and Peace?*
(Israeli 1996:16-17)

(15) Spanish
Ayer **mur-ió** Borges en Ginebra.
yesterday die-PST.PFV.3SG Borges.M.SG in Geneva
Yesterday Borges ***died*** *in Geneva.*

(16) Spanish
Ayer **mor-ía** Borges en Ginebra.
yesterday die-PST.IPFV.3SG Borges.M.SG in Geneva
Yesterday Borges ***died*** *in Geneva.*
(Reyes 1990)

Along with (4.a, 4.b, 5.a, 5.b), examples (13-16) show that the complex aspectual semantics also includes mechanisms for embedding the reported event in the content of the preceding and following discourse (cf. *narrative imperfect* in Bertinetto 1987). The interaction between the larger context which a clause is part of and the structure of the clause (including the verb in it and its aspect), is referred to as **information structure**. Following Foley (1994), information structure is defined as in (17)[21]:

(17) The i[nformation structure] of a particular clause is determined by the larger sentence or discourse of which it is a part (i.e., its context). The communicative effect of the i[nformation structure] is to foreground certain aspects of the message of the clause, but to background others. (Foley 1994)

Aspect does not only reflect the **information about the event** the hearer and the speaker must share **before** the utterance has been produced, e.g. (13-14). It also suggests the speaker intends to

[21] However, as Lambrecht (1994:4) points out, information structure is not to be confused with 'the organisation of the discourse itself'. It is rather concerned 'with the organisation of a sentence within the discourse' (van der Wal 2009:141).

discuss different elements of the event in (15-16) **in further (upcoming) discourse**. As a point of terminological clarification, a particular discourse environment in which a sentence occurs and/or in which it is acceptable (e.g. the surrounding written or spoken text in a narration or a dialogue, the presupposed knowledge shared by the discourse participants before the utterance as well as entity or event that follows the utterance), is in this thesis referred to with the term **context.** Thus, examples (13) and (14) belong to two different contexts: Example (14) is not suitable when uttered in the context of (13) (= a question about a previously prescribed assignment), and vice versa. The same holds true of (15) and (16). As a matter of fact, all previous examples, (1-8, 11-16), are considered pragmatically suitable only when uttered in a particular (set of) context(s).

Aspectual semantics may indicate what **kind of information about an event** is part of the surrounding, preceding or following discourse. For example, the Perfective verb in (6) entails that there is an expectation of the **type of event** represented by the **predicate** *read War and Peace*, whereas no such expectation is suggested in its Imperfective counterpart in (7) which represents a question comprehensible without any previous shared knowledge. By contrast, in the Imperfective verb in (12) suggests that the hearer and the speaker know which **time interval** is referred to, i.e. the interval during which the reported event occurred. This is not the case with the Perfective verb in (11)[22].

(18) Russian

Vy	emu	**pozvon-ili**?
PRON.2PL	PRON.3SG.M.DAT	call.PFV-PST.PL

Did you call him?

(19) Russian

Eto	ty	**zvon-ila**?
DEM	PRON.2SG.NOM	call.IPFV-PST.F.SG

Was it you who called?

Along with the role of aspect in structure event sequences in narrations (cf. 7-8), examples (13-16) and (18-19) show that the R-E relation is to a large extent determined by what the speaker

[22] The two examples illustrate an observation by Rassudova (1984:60-61) who uses similar examples.

assumes the hearer knows about the event before the utterance and by what part of the event the speaker emphasises as relevant for further discourse.

To my knowledge, none of the current versions of the relational theory of aspect take into account information structure. Neither E nor R are defined in terms of the information about the event. Yet, this limitation can be overcome by investigating the evident correlation (cf. 13-16, 18-19) between the use of the Perfective or the Imperfective aspect in a particular clause to refer to an event, on the one hand, and the presence of the information about that event in the discourse that precedes or follows that clause, on the other hand. To this end, Klein's (1994) distinction between type of event and time of event is of crucial importance.

It is precisely for the reasons outlined in this section that this study aims to cast light on the link between aspect and information structure. The following sections provide more information about the present project.

1.3. Rationale

As grammatical means of expressing time, tense and aspect are present in (almost) every[23] clause. However, despite the long research tradition on the topic, the understanding of aspectual, and to some extent temporal[24] semantics is still subject to significant disagreement in the literature (discussed at the beginning of the present chapter). In this section, I will outline the major issues in the current state of research on tense and aspect. Subsequently, I will describe the aim of the present study as well as the methodology used.

One of the most significant reasons for the incongruous views of the meaning of tense and aspect has already been touched upon: The oversight of the role of information structure in aspectual semantics manifests itself primarily in the fact that most data stems from introspection or elicitations and it consists of isolated sentences devoid of the super-sentential context they are

[23] This claim may need to be taken with some reservations in the case of languages which do not overtly mark tense or aspect.

[24] The semantics of tense as a means to locate an event (i.e. the situation of the event, its reference time) relative to moment of speech is less disputed than that of aspect. However, as will be shown in the following chapters, in many forms tense and aspect are not easy to distinguish. Therefore, some of the aspect-related issues concerning aspect regard also tense at the same time.

often uttered in. While both elicitation and introspection provide irreplaceable methods of **language competence**, native speaker intuition is not a reliable source of information about the semantics of a particular form in less frequent, often quite particular surrounding contexts, i.e. in specific discourse environments.

Another reason for the caveats in the research on aspect lies is the fact that in a great majority of theoretical work, the European languages are over-represented (cf. Klein 2009:7, 41-42). As a result, the currently predominant understandings of the form and semantics of aspectual markers is biased towards related languages with a somewhat limited typological diversity. It is precisely for this reason that more **typologically diverse evidence** from less described languages needs to enrich the current body of literature on tense and aspect.

1.4. The present study

The present study aims to contribute to the current body of literature on tense and aspect with data from Xhosa, a Southern Bantu language spoken primarily in South Africa. The topic of tense and aspect in Xhosa and other Nguni languages has not been thoroughly dealt with in the past decades. Even though most studies of the entire system were written around half a century and longer ago, at present the data in the literature on tense and aspect in Xhosa and other Nguni languages relies prevailingly on introspection, whereas the reader's access to the temporal and aspectual markers' semantics is primarily found in translations and labels assigned to those markers.

The goal of this study is to provide a thorough insight into the semantics of tense and aspect in Xhosa. More specifically, it primarily aims to identify the common denominator for the variety of context-dependent semantics of each aspect in Xhosa (Perfective, Imperfective, Anterior). This task is inseparable from a more precise definition of E-R[25] relation for each aspect, which in turn relies on the identification of R in all individual contexts. At the same time, using the example of Xhosa, the study attempts to explain the relation between aspectual semantics (i.e. E-R) and information structure (e.g. known information, relevant information,

[25] The reason is the fact that Klein's (1994) proposed relations between E and R are not sufficiently precise to account for such as cases as examples (13-16, 18-19).

etc.), thus further explaining the role of aspect in the speech act. Aspectual semantics cannot be described without a (re-)definition of R. For this reason, R needs to be determined in the variety of contexts which may or may not contain time adverbials, event sequences in narrations, temporal references known by all dialogue participants, or which signal that an entity or an event is relevant in the discourse after the utterance. Another important question investigated in this thesis is whether E-R relation which encodes aspect in Xhosa in any way differs from the relative tenses in other languages (e.g. the English Past Perfect). With respect to (absolute) tense (cf. distinction between relative and absolute tense in Chapter 2), the present study investigates the semantics of the Past, Future and Present tenses in Xhosa, including the semantic distinction between the two Past and the two Future tenses. Since modality is an integral part of future temporal reference (cf. Chapter 2), the former is addressed inasmuch as it is expressed in the same form as a particular marker of tense or aspect. This includes a reanalysis of those verb forms which are traditionally recognised as moods (Subjunctive, Participial/Situative, Temporal) in the literature on Xhosa and its closest relatives.

The research questions addressed in this study include the following:

I. Which E-R relations are the common denominator of all instances of the Perfective and Imperfective verbs in Xhosa?
II. Is there a cross-linguistic core semantics of aspectual semantics and what is its role in the speech act given the significant variation in its language-specific semantics?
III. Are aspect and relative tense different (in terms of anaphoric dependency of the temporal reference)?
IV. Is the difference between the two past tenses and between the two future tenses one of remoteness from the 'now' or does it concern another semantic property (in addition to tense)?

The study combines data from corpora with elicitations and acceptability judgments. Corpora provide insight into **language use** which includes specific contexts that are otherwise difficult to prime in elicitation sessions with a native speaker. Elicitation and acceptability judgments, by contrast, complete the data from corpora in that they, as pointed out earlier, reflect **language**

competence. They allow the verification of the data from the corpora by native speakers as well as efficient testing of the form-meaning interface. As previously suggested, the data is analysed within the framework of the relational theory as formulated in Klein (1994) with some adaptations. Outside of narrative contexts with temporal progression narrative time, the identification of R is based on (not only temporal) information from the surrounding context of the utterance, i.e. the preceding and the following discourse using a modified version of van der Wal's (2009) accessibility and salience scales (cf. section 1.4.4 on methodology).

The following sections provide general information on Xhosa (section 1.4.1) and the methodology used in the study (section 1.4.2).

1.4.1. General facts about Xhosa and its verbal morphology

Xhosa (also isiXhosa; Guthrie code: S41) is a Southern Bantu language which belongs to the Nguni (isiNguni; S40) group. Xhosa is one of the 11 official languages of South Africa and it is spoken by about 8 million L1-speakers mostly in the province of the Eastern Cape, with other significant populations of speakers also found in the Western Cape, Kwazulu-Natal, Free State, Northern Cape, Gauteng, as well as in Lesotho and Zimbabwe (where it is also an official language) (https://www.ethnologue.com/language/xho). Apart from Xhosa, the Nguni group consists of largely mutually intelligible varieties which include Zulu (isiZulu; S42), Swati (siSwati; S43), Zimbabwean Ndebele (S44), Southern South African Ndebele[26] (S408), and Northern South African Ndebele[27]/isiNdebele[28] (S407). Due to their phylogenetic proximity, most properties of the TAM system in one variety hold true in the other varieties as well. Thus, the literature on the other Nguni languages is largely relevant for the description of Xhosa, too.

Like most Bantu languages, Xhosa is a tonal language with two tones: low and high[29]. It exhibits penultimate-length stress (Nurse & Philippson 2003:7, Gowlett 2003:617). Like the other Nguni languages, the consonant system of Xhosa has clicks of three basic types (i.e. places

[26] Gowlett (2003:610). Crane & Fanego (2020) refer to this variety as the *Northern Transvaal Ndebele*.
[27] Gowlett (2003:610)
[28] Despite the usual exclusion of the class 7 prefix *isi-* when referring to the Bantu languages in English, Crane & Fanego (2020) treat isiNdebele (S407) as an exception. They explain that isiNdebele is commonly referred to as *Southern Ndebele* in Englsh, a name that the speakers of the variety disprove of.
[29] Including bimorphic syllables with the following tonal patterns: high-high, low-low, high-low (falling), and low-high (rising) (Gowlett 2003:617).

of articulation): dental, lateral, palatal. These clicks may occur as voiceless, voiceless aspirated, breathy-voiced, nasalised, breathy-voiced nasalised, voiceless nasalised ejective (Gowlett 2003:615-616), a property it also shares with other Southern African language families, such as Khoe (Kwedam-Khoe), !Ui-Taa (Tuu) and Ju (Ju|'hoan, K'xa) families. In similarity with most Bantu languages, Xhosa is an agglutinating language with rich morphology (Nurse & Philippson 2003:8). Another typical trait of the Bantu language family is a high number of noun classes. Xhosa has 17[30] noun classes. They are reflected in the prefix of the noun, but also in the structure of other word classes, including verbs[31].

The agglutinating nature of the verb structure in the Bantu languages is illustrated in (20), an adapted version (Nurse 2008:65) of Meeussen's (1967:108)[32] Bantu verb template.

(20) Pre-SM + SM + NEG2 + TA + [OM + [[root + extension] + FV]] + Post-FV

(21) SM + (tense marker) + (OM) + radical + (extensions) + FV

(22) Ndi-ya-ba-phek-el-a.
SM.1SG-DISJ-OM.2-cook-APPL-FV
I am cooking / I cook for them.

A verb template that is more relevant for Xhosa is provided by Goldsmith et al. (1986:2) in (21). To aid understanding of the verb templates in (20) and (21), example (22) is provided which consists of one verb in Xhosa that at the same time may function as a complete sentence. As evident in (21), **Pre-SM** (**pre-subject marker**) and **Post-FV** (**post-final vowel**) from (20) are not included as they are not relevant for Indicative verbs of declarative clauses in Xhosa, so these positions will be mentioned only briefly later in the present chapter. **SM** represents the so-called **subject marker**. In (22), SM is *ndi-* and it refers to the 1st person Singular. Like in most Bantu languages, in Xhosa SM is a compulsory[33], initial (at the left edge of the verbal complex), bound morpheme which agrees with the subject[34]. SMs for 2nd and for 3rd person Singular (i.e. 1st class)

[30] The exact number of classes is subject to different interpretations, cf. Katamba (2003:103-120), Gowlett (2003:620-624), Bryant (2009:26-35).
[31] As well as in other word classes, such as adjectives.
[32] Meeussen's (1967:108) template of the Bantu verbs consists of the following elements in the given order: '1 pre-initial > 2 initial > 3 post-initial > 4 formative > 5 limitative > 6.1 infix > 6.2 radical > 6.3 suffix (extension) > 7 pre-final > 8 final = final vowel > 9 post-final'.
[33] An exception is the Imperative mood, in which SM is omitted.
[34] As Nurse (2008:45) notices, some Bantu languages may delete SM in particular contexts. Also, some languages mark the subject outside SM, e.g. as a clitic or as an independent pronoun.

differ only in tone, the former having a low tone /ù/ and the latter having a high tone /ú/[35]. Although tone marking is normally absent in the orthography, in the present study, high tones and falling tones[36] will be marked in cases where semantic ambiguity would otherwise arise. **Object markers** (**OM**) are bound morphemes mark the pronominal object concord[37]. Unlike SMs, they are optional, as indicated by the parentheses in (21). In (22), OM is *-ba-*, and it refers to the 2nd class (Plural) object. Table 1.1 illustrates a list of all SM and OM forms in Xhosa determined by the noun class of the (subject or object) noun that the SM or OM agrees with. For the most part, the forms of OM and SM of the same noun class are identical. The noun class system includes the pronominal system as well, whereby what would correspond to the 3rd person in languages with three grammatical persons is distributed over noun classes 1, 2 and above (i.e. the last four rows in the Table 1.1). By convention, in the Bantu languages the even numbered noun classes in the right half of the table represent the Plural of the corresponding (preceding) odd numbered classes[38].

Table 1.1. *The subject markers (SMs) and object markers (OMs) in Xhosa.*

	Singular		Plural	
	SM	OM	SM	OM
1.SG / 1.PL	ndi- NEG: andi-	-ndi-	si- NEG: asi-	-si-
2.SG / 2.PL	ù- NEG: aku- / awu-	-ku- (-wu-)	ni- NEG: ani-	-ni-
1 / 2	ú- NEG: aka-	-m-	ba- NEG: aba-	-ba-
3 / 4	ú[39]- NEG: awu-	-wu-	i- NEG: ayi-	-yi-
5 / 6	li- NEG:	-li-	a- NEG:	-wa-

[35] Davey (1973:33-42), Riordan et al. (1969:20-23).

[36] According to Riordan et al. (1969:5, 15), in Xhosa there are three tones. Besides the high tone / ˊ / and the low tone / ˋ /, there is a falling tone, as well / ˆ /.

[37] According to Nurse (2008:44), object agreement (concord) can also be marked in Post-FV and post-verbally in some languages. Bantu languages differ in the number of objects they allow in OM position as well as in respect to the type of object which by default takes OM position. In a number of recent studies, OMs are not treated as agreement markers but rather as object pronouns, e.g. Byarushengo et al. (1976) for Haya (JE22), Wald (1979) for Swahili (G40), Bresnan & Mchombo (1987) for Chichewa (N30), and Baker (2003), Demuth (1989), Demuth & Johnson (1989), van der Spuy (1993), Zeller (2004), Zeller & Ngoboka (2005) for the South African Bantu languages (Zerbian 2006:56-57).

[38] The Plural forms of nouns from the 11th class belong to 10th class. The 14th and 15th classes do not have a Plural form.

[39] Riordan et al. (1969:119)

	ali-		aka- / awa-	
7 / 8	si- NEG: asi-	-si-	zi- NEG: azi-	-zi-
9 / 10	i- NEG: ayi-	-yi-	zi- NEG: azi-	-zi-
11	lu- NEG: alu-	-lu-		
14	bu- NEG: abu-	-bu-		
15	ku[40]- NEG: aku-	-ku-		

The position in (20) marked as the **root** (=**radical** in (21)) contains the **verbal** lexeme. In (22), the root is *-phek-* ('cook'). Most verbs end on vowel *-a* and these are represented in the template in (21) as a separate slot, namely **final vowel** (**FV**), also found in (22). FV is a separate morpheme because it can de detached from the verbal lexeme by adding other (optional) bound morphemes called **extensions**. Extensions alter the valency of the verb. For example, *-el-* in (22) is an Applicative extension which converts the (OM or nominal) object into the recipient of the action rather than the direct object. When Applicative *-el-* is added to *-pheka*, verb *-phekela* ('cook for') is created and it introduces the information about the person who is cooked for (beneficiary) rather than about what is being cooked (patient). One verb form can contain several extensions in a row.

The slot **TA** slot stands for **tense and aspect** (=**tense marker** in (21)). In (22), this position is occupied by *-ya-*, yet this infix is not a real tense or aspect marker. Even though its use is restricted to the Present tense, it marks syntactic properties of the clause and/or focused information in the clause (cf. Chapter 3). Nurse (2008:43, 46) notes that in the Bantu languages, both tense and aspect are marked in other positions in addition to TA, e.g. tonally, in FV, Pre-SM, Post-FV, or in compound verbal construction. In those Bantu languages, including Xhosa, where tense and aspect are marked in compound verbal constructions consisting of two verbs, tense is marked on the first, auxiliary verb and aspect on the second, lexical verb.

A number of Bantu languages distinguish between two types of negation (Nurse 2008:44). The primary one relates to the entire main clause, whereas the secondary one occurs in

[40] In addition to class 15, *ku-* can also be SM for another, locative class 17 which is homophonous in Xhosa and in a number of other Bantu languages (Schadeberg 2003:80). Therefore, in the glossed Xhosa sentences locative *ku-* prefixed to nouns and pronouns will be treated as class 17.

subordinated constructions, subjunctives, relatives, etc. The primary negation occurs at **Pre-SM** and the secondary one at **NEG2** (Nurse 2008:44)[41]. The only Post-FV morpheme that is widely attested across Bantu is the Plural Imperative suffix *-ni* (Nurse 2008:39), and it is also found in Xhosa.

1.4.2. Issues related to tense and aspect in Xhosa

A number of tense and aspect markers in Xhosa have unclear semantic domains. Consider the verb forms marked with the suffix *-ile* or *-é*, which are often described as the Recent Past (e.g. Mncube 1957:27, Pahl 1983:116) or the (Present) Perfect (e.g. Davey 1973:46-59, Nxopo 1993:51). In examples (23-24) they refer to events that occurred in the past.

(23) Xhosa
I-zi-kolo **zi-vul-é** izolo.
AUG-8-school SM.8-open-ANT yesterday
*The schools **opened** yesterday.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:197)

(24) Xhosa
A-ma-hashe onke **a-balek-ile**.
AUG-6-horse SM.6.all SM.6-run-ANT.DISJ
*All the horses **ran away**.*
(Davey 1973:49)

With some verbs, such as *-phatha* (‘carry’) or *-lamba* (‘become hungry’), the same suffix indicates the resulting state of said events holds true at present, cf. (25-26).

(25) Xhosa
I-titshala **i-pheth-é** i-ncwadi.
AUG-9.teacher SM.9-carry-ANT AUG-9.book
*The teacher **is carrying** the book.*
(Davey 1973:59)

[41] However, for reasons explained later, negated SMs will still be analysed as one morpheme (SM) rather than two (Pre-SM + SM) in the present study.

(26) Xhosa
Ndi-lamb-ile.
SM.1SG-become-hungry-ANT.DISJ
I am hungry.
(Oosthuysen 2016:188)

Verb forms with the suffix *-é/ile*, henceforth referred to as the **Recent Past** tense, are mostly described as referring to **completed** events, events that occurred in the **recent past**, or both (McLaren 1906:78, Bennie 1939, Mncube 1957:27, Louw & Jubase 1963:41, Botha et al. 1972, Davey 1973:58, du Plessis 1978, Pahl 1983:116, Schonstein Pinnock 1988:152, Nxopo 1993:100-107, Bryant 2007:182, Oosthuysen 2016:188-190). As such, they are contrasted against another verb forms with the infixed *-â-* after SM, henceforth referred to as the **Remote Past**, which are linked to events from the remote past and narrations (Davey 1973: 59, 62-63, Mncube 1957:44, Nxopo 1993:71-88).

(27) Xhosa

U-Yesu	**wâ-bonakal-a**	e-ntlango.
AUG-1a.Jesus	SM.1-appear-FV	LOC-9.desert

*Jesus **appeared** in the desert.*
(Nxopo 1993:71)

However, determining the temporal semantics of the suffix *-é/ile* is a major challenge. It can also refer to events that occurred in the remote past, cf. (28), and well as to events that are not completed, cf. (29).

(28) Xhosa

Le	moto	**ndi-yi-theng-é**	kudala.
DEM.PROX.9	9.car	SM.1SG-OM.9-buy-ANT	long=ago

*I **bought** this car long ago.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:190)

(29) Xhosa

Ndi-fund-é	le	ncwadi	kodwa	**andi-gqib-anga**.
SM.1SG-read-ANT	DEM.PROX.9	9.book	but	NEG.SM.1SG-finish-ANT.NEG

***I have read (engaged myself in reading)** this book, but **I did not finish it**.*
(Savić 2017:66)

1. Introduction

In Xhosa, future events are referred to with two possible verb forms containing either the auxiliary *-za* ('come') or the auxiliary *-ya* ('go') combined with the infinitive of the lexical verb, henceforth referred to as the **Immediate Future** and the **Remote Future**, respectively. The distinction between the two forms is also subject to incongruous opinions, being mostly linked to two how remote the actualisation of the event is from the present moment, to the certainty whether the event will occur, the specificity of the time when the event will occur, or a combination thereof (Bennie 1939:107, McLaren 1936:88, Mncube 1957:47, Pahl 1967, 1983:123, Davey 1973:68, Riordan et al. 1969:152-153, Schonstein Pinnock 1988:165, Nxopo 1993:113-119).

(30) **Ndi-za=ku-sebenz-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-FUT-work-FV now
I will work *now.*
(Nxopo 1993:22)

(31) Ii-ntyatyambo **zi-ya=ku-khul-a**.
AUG-10.flower SM.10-REMFUT-grow-FV
Flowers ***will grow****.*
(Nxopo 1993:23)

Another important part of the verbal paradigm in Xhosa are the compound verb forms with the auxiliary verb *-ba* ('be') followed by a tenseless, dependent verb form of the lexical verb (the so-called **Participial**)[42]. Often, these compound verbs are often contracted into one verb form. They occur with all the four non-Present tenses and are often described as Imperfective, Progressive or Continuous forms (McLaren 1936:90, Bennie 1939:99, 108-110, Riordan et al. 1969:247-251, Dowling 1998:123-129, Bryant 2007:186-199, Louw & Jubase 1963:83-85, Davey 1973:82-93, Pahl 1983:124-127, Einhorn & Siyengo 1993:37), which indicates the insufficient understanding of their exact aspectual semantics. In relation to this issue, Savić (2017:54) provides that these compound verbs cover the imperfective semantics, cf. the Recent Past compound verbs that denote ongoing situations (32), situations that extent over a particular period of time (33), and habitual events (34). However, numerous issues regarding the semantics of these forms remain

[42] In this section, I refer only to the compound verbs with the so-called Present Participial forms (cf. sections 3.10 and 3.10.1-4).

unclear, e.g. what constitutes the difference between the Recent Past compound verb in (35) and the simple Recent Past form with the suffix *-é* in (36).

(32) **Bendi-cul-a** u-bu-suku b-onke.
SM.1SG.be.PST-sing-FV AUG-14-night SM.14-whole
I sang *the whole night.*
(Savić 2017:54)

(33) **Bendi-phangel-a** y-onke i-mi-hla.
SM.1SG.be. PST-work-FV SM.4-every AUG-4-day
I worked *every day.*
(Savić 2017:54)

(34) Ba-fik-é xa **bendi-bhal-a** i-leta.
SM.2-arrive-ANT when SM.1SG.be.PST-write-FV AUG-9.letter
They arrived when ***I was writing*** *a letter.*
(Savić 2017:54)

(35) U-m-hlolo **u-m-thand-ile**.
AUG-1-widower SM.1-OM.1-love-ANT.DISJ
The widower ***lover*** *her.*[43] [she has just passed away]
(Davey 1973:58)

(36) U-Andile **u-b-e** **e-m-thand-a** kunene u-Nomsa.
AUG-1a.Andile SM.1-be-ANT SM.1.PTCP-OM.1-love-FV truly AUG-1a.Nomsa
Andile truly ***loved*** *Nomsa.*
(Ooosthuysen 2016:237)

On the basis of the information from sections 1.1 and 1.2, it is reasonable to assume that information structure plays a central role in aspectual semantics also in Xhosa.

1.4.3. Methodology

In order to gain as accurate an insight into the complex semantics of an aspectual or a temporal form as possible, it is imperative to analyse each tense and aspect marker's semantics in a wide set of contexts, while being able to test their acceptability in any given (controlled) prespecified context. While the former information is best reflected in **language use** which is accessible in

[43] Although Davey (1973:58) adds specifies that the utterance is produced in a context in which the woman loved by the widower has just passed away, this cannot be understood as part of this verb form's basic meaning.

already existing written or spoken texts, i.e. **corpora**, the latter requires access to native speakers' **language competence**, best examined in **elicitation sessions** which allow a controlled investigation of a form's precise meaning and acceptability in a predetermined context. Therefore, the analysis in the present study is based on a combination of two complementary types of data, namely data from corpora and elicited data.

1.4.3.1. Corpus

Corpora provide a natural context with natural language use free from a potentially 'forced' forms or constructions that are often produced during elicitation sessions or language experiments. Corpora provide insight into contexts which are too specific and difficult to invent during elicitation sessions: These are best accessed by analysing the semantics of as many instances of each tense or aspect in the corpus as possible. Although a verb form's frequency does not count as evidence in this study, the higher the number of instances accounted for, the more realistic representation of the form's context-specific semantics. Corpora exhibit certain advantages over elicited data for the following reasons:

(i) Elicited data and data from language production experiments may be unreliable at times for a number of reasons: In elicitation sessions, L1 speakers often struggle to access contextual meanings of a form, to see patterns of the form's use, as well as to notice the role(s) of a form in structuring discourse.

(ii) In addition, in acceptability judgments, native speaker intuition encounters a major challenge to maintain the difference between grammatical use, on the one hand, and grammatical but unusual use of a form in the given context, on the other hand.

(iii) Furthermore, L1 speakers may change their minds each time about their judgments because of their varying awareness of the context-specific usage patterns. This often results in the 'wearing off' of the native speaker intuition in the course of a session.

In summary, corpus data can be said to reveal context-specific semantics across texts which are normally not accessible to one L1 speaker all at the same time (i.e. during an elicitation session). Given the prominence of information structure in the semantics of tense and aspect, the present analysis of any individual verb form (with its specific temporal or aspectual marker) cannot be restricted to the sentence in which it occurs, but also the preceding and the following sentences must be taken into account[44]. Only super-sentential units provide sufficient evidence for the speaker's motivation to represent an event as completed or not, which is especially evident in the phenomenon of narrative progression.

The corpora used in this study were developed by the Language Resource Management Agency (RMA) at the North-West University in South Africa (https://repo.sadilar.org/handle/20.500.12185/1): Genre Classification Corpus (Snyman et al. 2012), AST Text Corpus (Roux et al. 2001), and NCHLT Text Corpus (Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014). The corpora contain approximately 4,900,000 tokens and they provide data from a great variety of genres. Although these are three different corpora, in the context of the current study they will henceforth be referred to as the **corpus**. The texts, which include both Xhosa originals and translations from English, range from novels and magazine articles to official documents and public notifications. This means that besides a more neutral-spoken register, an official style is also found. Both direct and indirect speech are represented, the former especially in novels (e.g. dialogues) and magazine articles (e.g. interviews). The novels tend to contain a more traditional register spoken in the rural areas, with individual lexemes and metaphorical expressions that may pose a challenge to younger speakers familiar with varieties from urban environments. Some of the translated texts, predominantly official documents, as well as some articles, are of poor quality. Typographical mistakes and mistakes emerged during the digitalisation of the files are not uncommon, yet as long as they do not disrupt comprehension, examples from these texts are used and the errors are ignored. Individual files contain excessive amounts of errors or they consist of incoherent strings of words. As the purpose of corpus data is to facilitate analysis of temporal and aspectual markers in real language, the quality of the chosen files had to be verified by one of several L1 speakers of Xhosa who have participated as **consultants** in the present

[44] Although corpus data is open to different personal interpretations, in that it does not provide other means to access the intended meaning with full certainty, I find that this problem can be minimised by analysing large amounts of coherent text. Familiarity with the context narrows down the number of possible interpretations.

study (for more information on the consultants, cf. next section). This way, it was ensured that no data is extracted from incomprehensible text or text that sound unnatural.

The data from the corpus consist of more than 300 excerpts that contain (at least) one analysed verb form, the so-called **target verb**. The target verbs represent verbs which encode the analysed temporal and aspectual markers, e.g. Recent Past tense and Imperfective aspect. Each excerpt extends (if possible) at least several sentences before and after the target verb sentence to ensure that the contextual meaning is understood. The target verbs are chosen by the following criteria:

(i) Diverse use:

Verb forms should contain as many different SMs and OMs. Target verbs in the same syntactic positions, from the same type of genre and from the same file should be avoided whenever possible.

(ii) Surrounding sentences:

The use of a temporal or aspectual marker should be represented both in narrations and in dialogues. More specifically, it is important to include target verbs in clauses which have preceding and/or following clauses (with same-tense verbs) uttered by the same speaker, thus providing insight into the mechanisms of narrative progression. Equally significant are the 'isolated' target verbs at the opening or at the end of a speaker's **turn-constructional units** (cf. Sacks et al. 1974), i.e. units of a speaker's uninterrupted group of sentences between two instances of turn-taking, e.g. a single-sentenced reply in a dialogue. In 'isolated' target verbs the principles behind the choice of aspect cannot be explained with narrative progression. Rather, the choice of aspect can be assumed to reflect the level of the speaker's and the hearer's shared knowledge.

(iii) Predicate properties:

In order to identify the common denominator to all the contextual semantics of a temporal or an aspectual marker, the analysis needs to include predicates which exhibit different inherent properties which may interact with the temporal structure, such as those that pertain to the event having or not having an inherent endpoint, or representing momentaneous or durative events (cf. section 2.4.2. on lexical aspect). More information

on the verbs that are selected for the present analysis and that constitute sufficiently varied predicates is provided in Chapter 5.

1.4.3.2. Elicitation

It has already been suggested that corpus data may provide evidence about tendencies, patterns of use and contextual meanings of a form, yet especially in smaller corpora, it is finding the form in a very specific context poses a challenge. Therefore, one part of a form's semantics requires native speaker intuition, which is not available in corpus studies. The acceptability and the precise semantics of a verb form in a predetermined, controlled context are more efficiently investigated in elicitations using native speaker intuition. The elicited data comprises two sets of data, which are referred to as **elicitation** (**proper**) and **substitution tests**.

The purpose of elicitation proper is to test the contexts which are not attested in the corpus. In some cases, the consultants (L1 speakers of Xhosa) were asked to translate an English sentence to Xhosa (usually with a previously described context). In other cases, they were asked to assess the grammaticality and the acceptability of a Xhosa sentence (also with a predetermined context), a type of task that is henceforth referred to as **acceptability judgments**.

Acceptability judgments are not limited to the elicitation proper. In substitution tests, L1 speakers of Xhosa were asked to deem whether replacing one tense or aspect marker with another one (e.g. replacing the Imperfective aspect of a Recent Past form with its Perfective counterpart) produces grammatical utterances (i), and if so, how the meaning changes (ii, iii):

(i) If a temporal or an aspectual marker is replaced by another one, is the resulting clause still grammatical?
(ii) If the clause is still grammatical, how does its meaning differ from that of the first (original) temporal or aspectual marker?
(iii) In case both the original and the 'substitute' markers produce (almost) the same meaning, provide a context in which this particular one is more often used (and in which the other one is not as usual).

As indicated in the previous section, all the 15 **consultants** who have participated in the present study are L1 (female and male) speakers of Xhosa. A majority of them were aged between 18 and 25 (with the exception of three consultants above that age) and they were students or employees at Rhodes University during my data collection. Although they resided in different parts of the Eastern Cape prior to their affiliation with Rhodes University (including Makhanda, formerly known as Grahamstown), the varieties they speak are not significantly different from the standard variety of Xhosa (cf. Doke 1954:23, Louw & Jubase 1963:ix, Bloom-Ström 2018:93). Hence, dialectal variation is not regarded as relevant for the interpretation of the collected data. All references to a particular consultant's response contain the information about the year when the piece of data was collected, the session type (corpus data, i.e. *corpus*, or elicitation, i.e. *elic*), the target verb (e.g. *fumana* 'get'), its TAM form (e.g. *immf* for Immediate Future or *recp.ipfv* for Recent Past Imperfective), the example/excerpt number (containing the piece of data), as well as a code representing consultant, such as their gender (e.g. *f* or *m*), age group (e.g. *18-25* or *>25*) and a randomly allocated symbol of the consultant (e.g. *A*, *B* or *C*), e.g.: 2015.corpus.fumana.immf3.f18-25A.

1.4.4. Analysis

The analysis of the data is conducted within the framework of the relational theory, i.e. Klein (1994), with some adaptations[45]. R is first defined for those target verbs that occur in same-tensed environments, which are henceforth referred to as **narrations**, as a tool for temporal progression (or lack thereof). Verb forms that move the narrative time forward are said to introduce a new R, whereas those that do not, retain the old, previously introduced R. In target verbs that are not preceded or followed by same-tensed verbs (i.e. target verbs that are not part of a narration), e.g. in dialogues, R needs to be defined by the information from the preceding and the following clauses which are analysed using elements of van der Wal's (2009) **relative accessibility** and **relative salience scales**.

[45] One of the adaptions includes the classification of predicates according to their inherent properties (cf. section 2.4.2. on lexical aspect) which follows that by Botne & Kershner (2000).

Van der Wal's (2009) concepts of relative accessibility and relative salience have been borrowed from Foley (1994) and Slioussar (2007). They serve as a useful tool for analysing phenomena related to information structure, astheyaccount both for the adaptation of the utterance to the hearer's knowledge and for the mechanism of drawing the hearer's attention to the upcoming discourse[46]. The traditionally used terms in the literature on information structure, *topic* or *old information*, and *focus* or *new information*, do not have the same capacity. For example, Prince (1981) and Reinhart (1981) observe that not all discourse-old information necessarily functions as a topic (van der Wal 2009:144). Furthermore, contrasting focus (e.g. *I am talking to **you** (not **them**)*) does not necessarily indicate how discourse-new the element in focus is, but it definitely indicates what the hearer should draw her or his attention to. Another advantage of relative accessibility and salience model is that these do not assign binary values to constituents (e.g. 'accessible' vs. 'inaccessible' concepts), but values relative to those of the other constituents (e.g. one (group of) constituent(s) in the clause is more accessible than the rest of the clause).

The notions of accessibility and salience may fill the gap in Klein's (1994) theory addressed in examples (13-16, 18-19). For example, unlike the Imperfective form in (14), the Perfective form in (13) indicates that the lexical information about the event is more accessible than the remaining information in the clause. By contrast, (14) is an utterance that is perfectly comprehensible in out-of-the-blue contexts where no information about the event needs to be accessible pre-utterance.

Accessibility and salience of information are especially relevant to the data in the present study which is not part of narrations. These target verbs are not surrounded by same-tensed verbs, henceforth referred to as **isolated verbs**, yet they exhibit a variation in their aspectual markers. The semantics of such verbs' Perfective or Imperfective aspects cannot be accounted for with narrative progression. This variation can only be explained if viewed in correlation with the accessibility and salience of temporal and lexical information about the event. Therefore, the analysis of each isolated target verb's semantics needs to address (i) and (ii):

(i) Is lexical or temporal information about the event accessible pre-utterance?

[46] Even though van der Wal's (2009) model is adapted to the language-specific organisation of information structure in Makhuwa (P31), its concepts may be applicable to other languages, too.

(ii) Is lexical or temporal information about the event salient in the following discourse?

The analysis formulated in (i-ii) requires a redefinition of R in isolated target verbs. It is necessary to determine the relation between R, on the one hand, and time adverbials, temporal and lexical information about the event, on the other hand. To this end, it is investigated how isolated Perfective and Imperfective verbs, which primarily differ in the way they encode E-R, interact with time adverbials, as well as various degrees of accessibility and salience of temporal and lexical information.

1.4.5. Organisation of the present study

The study consists of four parts, each divided into chapters. In Part II, which comprises 3 chapters, the basic concepts and descriptions of various systems of tense and aspect (including that of Xhosa) are introduced, serving as a preparation for the analysis (provided in Part III). Chapter 2 introduces the most common theory-neutral terminology and notions common both in language-specific and in cross-linguistic accounts of tense and aspect, which are necessary for understanding the description of these grammatical categories in Xhosa and in other Nguni languages (together with an outline of current issues its research) described in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 provides a theoretical background which covers the history of research of tense and aspect including the origins of the most prominent theories in this domain.

Part III contains the analysis of the collected Xhosa data. Chapter 5 addresses the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition while at the same time providing a redefinition of R. Firstly, aspect is investigated in narrative contexts, whereby R is treated as a tool for narrative progression. Subsequently, R is redefined in isolated target verbs by comparing the different degrees of accessibility and salience of temporal and lexical information about the event between the Perfective and the Imperfective aspects. In Chapter 6, I discuss the Present, Past and Future tenses, as well as the distinctions between them. Using a series of tests, the frequently made claims in the literature about the Past and the Future tenses' semantics are challenged and dismissed, such as the identification of the Recent Past as a Perfect tense/aspect, or the characterisation of the distinction between the two Past and the two Future tenses as one of remoteness. Subsequently, the Present tense as well as the distinction between the two Past and

the two Future tenses are analysed within the framework of the relational theory, with special focus placed on the accessibility and salience of information. Chapter 7 investigates the semantics of the Anterior and the Prospective aspects. Subsequently, forms labelled as the Subjunctive, Participial/Situative, and the Temporal in the literature are re-examined and where necessary, reclassified within the system of tense, aspect and modality, including a brief discussion on the distinction between aspect and relative tense.

Part IV contains Chapter 8 in which the observations from the preceding chapters are summarised forming an outline of the system of tense and aspect in Xhosa. A brief discussion of cross-linguistic aspectual and temporal semantics follows together with a proposed distinction between aspect and relative tense.

PART II

2. Tense, Aspect, and Mood

2.1. Introduction

The present chapter provides cross-linguistic descriptions of the various systems of tense and aspect and their components in theory-neutral terms. In a great number of languages, tense and aspect express time in the verbal complex (Klein 1994:1-2). Together with **mood** or **modality** (cf. section 2.5) a third type of grammatical meaning that also tends to be expressed in the verbal complex, they constitute the notion of **TAM** (**tense-aspect-modality** or **tense-mood-aspect**). TAM is a convenient term primarily because tense, aspect and modality are often expressed in one and the same verb form. However, the fact that tense, aspect, and modality may be fused together in the same verbal complex has led to their frequent confusion in the literature. Furthermore, there are two additional types of grammatical meaning that are commonly associated with TAM, **evidentiality** and **mirativity**, whose semantics may interfere with temporal and aspectual markers (cf. sections 2.5.2. and 2.5.3). Despite not being of primary importance for the current study, evidentiality and mirativity will be briefly addressed in the present chapter.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a systematic overview of the essential terms and concepts in the domain of TAM, such as *tense*, *aspect*, *lexical aspect*, *past*, *imperfective*, *progressive*, *achievement*, *accomplishment*, *durative*, *habitual*, and *mood*, to name a few. In order to provide a relevant contribution in the field, the terminology used in the vast body of literature needs to be addressed first. A special challenge is posed by the frequent terms that exhibit semantic variation in the different linguistic traditions, and sometimes even between individual studies. Often, it is not clear what a scholar means by two somewhat similar, but not identical terms, such as *iterative* and *habitual*, or *continuous* and *progressive*. Another common point of discrepancy in the literature is the classification of one and the same TAM marker (e.g. the English Present Perfect) as an aspect or as a tense. Therefore, the definitions of each term

that constitutes TAM are reviewed here, with the aim to determine their semantics as unambiguously as possible that will later be used throughout the present study.

2.2. Temporality, aspectuality, and grammatical categories

Propositions contain explicit and implicit information about the time and space at which an event occurred, as well as the entities involved in it. The expression of time is a complex system that occurs at several different levels of grammar, as it can be expressed with morphology, syntax and lexis. Thus, in languages time is encoded with some of the following means: by means of grammar (tense and aspect), verbal semantics, particles, verb clusters, and adverbials (Klein 1994: 14, Klein & Li 2009:1).

The expression of time is linked to the notion of **temporality**[47], which has been used ambiguously in the literature. Whereas for some scholars, temporality is homonymous with all expression of time (Klein 1994:1, 14, Desclés 2016:27-28), others (e.g. Binnick 2001:557) use it to denote the location of an event in time relative to the moment of speech, i.e. allocating the event to the past, the present, or the future. In the present study, the term *temporality* will be used in the latter sense. Another important way of expressing time in language is through **aspectuality**[48]. This notion represents the perspective from which the structure of an event is viewed (Binnick 2001:557), e.g. whether the reported event is conceived of as ongoing, iterated or complete. Temporality and aspectuality exist in all languages and they are expressed in every finite verb form (Rose et al. 2002:11, Nurse 2008:14). Grammaticalised overt expression of temporality and aspectuality is referred to as **tense** and **aspect** in the respective order.

Tense and aspect have provisionally been referred to as two different types of grammatical meaning, a notion I henceforth replace with the term **grammatical categories**[49]

[47] For some scholars, *tense* is used in the sense that *temporality* is used in this study. Thus, according to their view, tense exists in all languages and it can be expressed overtly in some, while it is 'invisible' in others. However, in order to prevent polysemous use of the term *tense*, a clear distinction is made here between the expression of time in language, i.e. temporality, on the one hand, which is a property of every language, and the overt expression of time, i.e. tense, on the other hand, which is not necessarily present in every language.

[48] In some studies, aspect is a category that exists in all languages, but for the reason expressed in the previous footnote on tense and temporality, here, a distinction will be drawn between aspectuality, which is a property of every proposition in every language, and aspect, which is an overtly marked grammatical category that exists in some, but not in other languages.

[49] Here, grammatical categories do not include lexical categories (word classes) such as noun, verb, etc. Furthermore, aspectuality, temporality, and modality are understood here as semantic concepts irrespective of the

(henceforth shortened to **category**; alternatively, grammatical categories are also referred to as **grammatical features** or **semantic categories**; Deo (2012:155)). As suggested at the beginning of the present section, tense and aspect are not the only ways of expressing temporality and aspectuality. Prior to describing tense and aspect in more detail in the next section, it is important to clarify what is understood with the term *grammatical category*.

I treat grammatical categories as (semantically grouped) types of grammaticalised meaning. Examples of grammatical categories include gender, case, number, tense, aspect, polarity, evidentiality, etc. It is important to address the distinction between on the one hand the aforementioned universal, **cross-linguistic grammatical categories** (indicated in lowercase), and on the other hand, the **language-specific categories** (indicated in capital letters), such as the German Perfect tense, the Russian Imperfective aspect, the Zulu Person (1st, 2nd, 3rd Person), or the Fijian Number (Singular, Dual, Paucal, Plural). The fact that some languages have three tenses, while others have only two, as well as the fact that the Past tense in one language does not semantically fully correspond to the Past tense in another language, make important points in the debate about the validity of universal grammatical categories (cf. Croft 2012:21, Haspelmath 2010, 2016, Moravcsik 2016, Lander & Arkadiev 2016). However, viewing the Past Tense, Imperfective Aspect, Plural Number, or Second Person in two different languages as part of the cross-linguistic categories (i.e. tense, aspect, number, or person, respectively) does not automatically entail that they cannot exhibit some semantic differences in two languages. Therefore, following Bybee et al. (1994:2-3), I acknowledge the fact that there is a distinction between the universal grammatical categories, on the one hand, and language-specific categories, the so-called **grams**[50] (cf. Bybee et al. 1994:2-3), on the other hand[51]. This view is supported by Dahl (1985:31) and Moravcsik (2016) who claim that two grams (language-specific categories)

form of expression (through grammatical markers, lexical elements, etc). Note that in some theoretical framework, the term *category* has a different meaning which is closer to that of the term *marking* (i.e. overt expression of grammatical categories) here.

[50] Note that the way Bybee et al. (1994:2) define the term *gram* is not very different from my use of *marker*. Despite the fact that the denotations of *grams* and *markers* in most cases overlap, I maintain a distinction between the two notions. Here, grams are primarily semantic concepts, i.e. language-specific subcategories of grammatical (sub)categories which may hypothetically have more than one formal expression (i.e. marker).

[51] The debate in Haspelmath (2010, 2016), Moravcsik (2016), and (Lander & Arkadiev 2016) actually revolves around the validity of the *comparative concepts* as opposed to the *descriptive concepts.* Whereas the comparative concepts are crucial for cross-linguistic, typological studies, the descriptive concepts are used to describe individual languages. Both comparative and descriptive concepts actually refer to more than just grammatical (semantic) categories. They also include syntactic categories (word classes, e.g. *noun*, *pronoun*, *verb*, *adjective*, or *relative clause*) and syntactic functions (e.g. *subject*, *object*, etc.), which are not in the main focus of the present study.

in two different languages may be united under a common label of a grammatical category based on their evident semantic similarities. For example, the Imperfective aspect in Russian and Xhosa do differ, but both represent grammaticalised overt expressions of aspectuality.

Grams differ from the cross-linguistic grammatical categories also taxonomically, in that the former are (language-specific) subcategories of the latter. The English Past tense and the Present tense are two different grams, yet they share one hyperonym, the category of tense. Grams have also a cross-linguistic counterpart: Bybee et al. (1994:3,48) refer to these cross-linguistic subcategories of grammatical categories as **gram-types**. For example, the past tense is a gram-type of the category of tense and its language-specific realisations, grams, include the Lithuanian and the Albanian Past tense. It should be noted, however, that boundaries between two gram-types[52], as well as between a universal grammatical category and its gram-types (subcategories) are often debatable and depend on the researchers' individual views. The terms *grams* and *gram-types* are especially useful in the context of taxonomical relations. Yet, when this is not the case, establishing absolute taxonomic boundaries that divide all grammatical categories from their respective gram-types is problematic in many cases. To avoid this issue, the term *(grammatical) category* can be used to refer both to the cross-linguistic category and to its respective grams and gram-types[53], a practice which allows us to specify the categorial affiliation of grams and gram-types. Such grams as the Russian Past tense can be classified as a **temporal category** (=**tense**), whereas the English Progressive can be classified as an **aspectual category** (=**aspect**).

Another important point about grammatical categories regards their marking (formal expression). As already pointed out, in this study the terms *tense* and *aspect* represent overt, grammatical marking of temporality and aspectuality, respectively. Both tense and aspect are considered verbal categories (Comrie 1976:1, Malchukov 2009:14) since in most languages they are marked in the verb (Comrie 1985:12, Klein 1994:1, Rose et al. 2002:87, Binnick 2001:557),

[52] Comrie (1976:25) considers the progressive aspect to constitute part of the imperfective aspect, which is in turn a part of the category of aspect. It may problematic to use the term *gram-type* to refer to both the progressive and the imperfective aspects without automatically making implications regarding the taxonomic relation between the two. For a thorough debate about the relation between the progressive and the imperfective aspects, see section 2.4.1.

[53] Accordingly, the past tense and the future tense are referred to as two different *temporal categories*, and the perfective and the imperfective aspects as two different *aspectual categories.*

although other marking patterns also exist, for example with separate particles[54] (Bright (ed.) 1992, in Klein 1994:2, Comrie 1985:31). This means that grammatical categories can be marked at different levels. One gram-type, e.g. the future tense, in one language may be marked morphologically, in another it may be marked periphrastically, tonally in a third, and without any overt marking in a fourth language. Another important facet of expressing a grammatical category regards its **obligatory marking** or its **optional marking**[55]. In English, the use of the Progressive aspect is not exchangeable with the complete absence of it. In (1) the Progressive form *was writing* conveys a completely different temporal order of events than (2), in which the verb form *wrote* does not encode the Progressive aspect.

(1) John **was writing** an email when I entered the office.
(2) John **wrote** an email when I entered the office.

This means that the marking of the Progressive aspect in English is not optional, but obligatory. However, in German, the Progressive aspect is used optionally. In (3) the Progressive form *war am Schlafen* is exchangeable with the form *hat geschlafen* in (4).

(3) German
Johan **war** **am** **Schlafen**, als sie **kam-en**.
Johan be.3SG.PST at.N.SG.DAT sleep.INF when PRON.3PL come.PST
Johan was sleeping when they came.

(4) German
Johan **hat** **geschlafen**, als sie **kam-en**.
Johan have.3SG.PRS sleep.3SG.PST when PRON.3PL come.PST
Johan was sleeping when they came.

The exchangeability of the meaning in (3) and (4) shows that, unlike in English, the marking of the Progressive aspect in German is optional.

Lastly, one and the same grammatical category's (gram-type's) semantic variation across languages (addressed in the previous chapter) needs to be articulated in precise terms. The term *context* was introduced to refer to the environment (or set of possible environments) in which a

[54] Here, *particles* refer to individual uninflected words that express grammatical (functional, not lexical) meaning.
[55] That is, obligatory vs. optional use of a grammatical category's marker of a grammatical category.

particular sentence (and every constituent within it) occurs and is acceptable. In that contextually embedded sentence, the verb with its temporal and aspectual markers exhibits a particular **context-bound** semantics that differs from the meaning of the same verb with the same temporal and aspectual markers in another sentence that is produced in another context. The Serbian Imperfective verb *čitao* ('(he) read') from sentences (2) and (3) from Chapter 1, repeated here as (5) and (6), demonstrates two different context-bound semantics of the same form. In (5), the verb refers to a single, past event that was still ongoing when something else happened, whereas in (6) it refers to a series of repeated events.

(5) Serbian

Kad	je	uš-la	u	sob-u,
when	AUX.PRS.3SG	enter.PFV-PST.F.SG	in	room.F-SG.ACC

čita-o	je	tvoj-e	pism-o.
read.IPFV-PST.M.SG	AUG.PRS.3SG	POSS.2SG.N.SG.ACC	letter.N-SG.ACC

*When she entered the room, **he was reading** your letter.*

(6) Serbian

Čita-o	je	svoj-u	omiljen-u
read.IPFV-PST.M.SG	AUX.PRS.3SG	POSS.REFL-F.SG.ACC	favourite-F.SG.ACC

knjig-u	svak-e	večer-i.
book.F-SG.ACC	every-F.SG.GEN	evening.F-SG.GEN

*He **read** his favourite book every evening.*

The context-bound meaning of a particular verb form is referred to with the term aspectual or temporal **reading** or **interpretation**[56]. Thus, *čitao* ('(he) read') in (5) and (6) has two different aspectual readings. The verb's (temporal and aspectual) reading is determined by the context in which the verb and the sentence occur, but it may be indicated by other elements within the clause, such as the verb's co-occurrence with a certain type of time adverbials (for example time adverbials that indicate duration, frequency or position on the timeline). Although it is a fact that sentences are more acceptable in some contexts than others and that their constituents have specific context-bound readings, an objective classification of either contexts or readings according to formal properties is not possible. Breaking up contexts and readings into types with labels is imposed by the researcher, but it nevertheless serves as a useful tool to preliminarily

[56] All constituents have a particular reading, not just the verb. However, in this study the categories marked on the verb are in focus.

point out the semantic differences between two or more (language-specific) grams of the same gram-type (before the semantic concepts that unify all individual types of contexts and readings can be identified). As an example, all non-past (future and present) temporal readings may be referred to with the same temporal marker in one language (e.g. Non-Future tense in the Hua dialect of Yagaria, a language spoken in Papua New Guinea; Haiman 1980:140-144, cited in Comrie 1985:48-50), but in another one they can be expressed with two different (complementary) temporal markers (e.g. the Present tense and the Past tense in Lithuanian).

In the following sections of the present chapter, the categories of tense and aspect will be discussed in more detail. The other important verbal categories that encode information about the reported event, modality, evidentiality and mirativity, will be dealt with in the subsequent sections of the present chapter.

2.3. Tense

At this point, the distinction between the **absolute** and the **relative tense** as two separate categories needs to be made. In the present study, the term *tense* without further specification automatically refers to *absolute tense*.

2.3.1. Absolute tense

Absolute tense represents the grammaticalisation of the location of an event relative to the deictic centre[57], i.e. the moment of the speech act (Comrie 1976:5, Comrie 1985:9, Binnick 2001:557, Rose et al. 2002:87). Thus, in English, an event such as seeing a house in (7), which occurred before the moment of speech will be marked with the Past tense form *saw*. If the event is ongoing at the moment of speech, in English the Present tense *sees* will be used, as in (8). When the speaker indicates that the event will occur at some point in time after the moment of speech,

[57] In the present study the deictic centre is understood as the 'here' and the 'now' of the speech act.

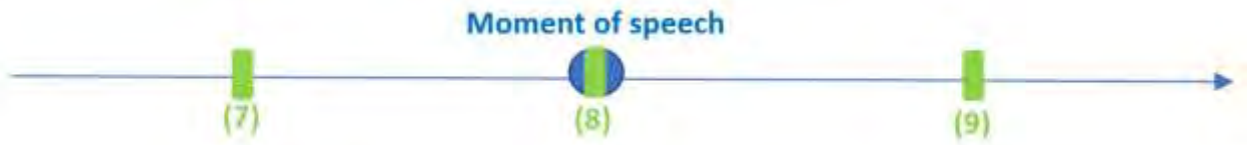
the Future tense is used in English[58], e.g. *will see* in (9). Events from (7-9) occur on different spots on the timeline relative to the moment of speech, as illustrated in Figure 2.1.[59]

(7) Eve **saw** a house.

(8) Eve **sees** a house.

(9) Eve **will see** a house.

Figure 2.1. *Past (7), present (8) and future (9) events of seeing a house as represented on a timeline.*



According to Nurse (2008:14), every event can have only one location in time relative to the present moment. Following this line of reasoning, it can be concluded that one and the same event cannot be placed both in the past and in the future at the same time, or at two different points in the past, without being conceived of as two different events.

As already pointed out in 2.2, languages vary greatly both in the number of temporal categories and in the grammatical means of marking tense. Whereas French has a morphologically marked Present, Past and a Future tense, as shown in examples (10-12), Mandarin Chinese (henceforth Mandarin), does not employ morphology to express the location of the event relative to the moment of speech, but context, as in (13), lexicalised time reference by means of time adverbials, such as *míngtiān* 'tomorrow' in (14), or particles, such as *le* in (15).

[58] Some linguists, such as Palmer (1990:160) and Hewson (2012:512) claim that English has only two tenses: Past and Non-past (whereby the latter corresponds to the *Present* and the *Future* in traditional grammars). Unlike what traditional grammars of English refer to as the Present and the Past tenses, which are marked with inflections, the Future tense is periphrastic (Higginbotham 2009:2). According to Hewson (2012:512), only the morphologically marked tenses of English should be treated as tenses. He argues that despite the fact that *I will eat*, *I shall eat* and *I am going to eat*, semantically refer to future events, it is the Present tense of the auxiliary verb (*will* and *shall*) or the finite verb (*am*) that determines the tense. Prior to discussing this issue in more detail in the following sections, the traditional labels *past*, *present*, and *future tense* will be used to illustrate the semantics of tenses in relation to the time of speech.

[59] The illustration represents only an approximate idea of the temporal location of the denoted events, and not definitions of the temporal relations according to the relational theories.

(10) French

Elle	**a**	**v-u**	une	maison.
3SG.F	AUX.have.3SG.PRS	see-PP	ART.INDEF.F.SG	house.F.SG

She has seen/saw a house.

(11) French

Elle	**v-oit**	une	maison.
3SG.F	see-PRS.3SG	ART.INDEF.F.SG	house.F.SG

She sees a house.

(12) French

Elle	**v-erra**	une	maison.
3SG.F	see-FUT.3SG	ART.INDEF.F.SG	house.F.SG

She will see a house.

(13) Mandarin

Zhāngsān	bǎ	wǒ	**bǎng**	zài	yǐzi shàng.
Zhangsan	PART.7	1SG	tie	in	chair on

Zhangsan tied me in a chair.
(Lin 2012:672)

(14) Mandarin

Wǒ	míngtiān	**xiě**	xìn	gěi	nǐ.
1SG	tomorrow	write	letter	to	2SG

I will write a letter to you tomorrow.
(Lin 2012:673)

(15) Mandarin

Zhāngsān	**diéduàn-**le	zuǒ	tuǐ.
Zhangsan	break-PRF	left	leg

Zhangsan broke his left leg, (and it is still broken).
(Lin 2012:674)

Unlike Mandarin, French has grammaticalised temporal reference, i.e. tense is obligatorily marked (morphologically or periphrastically, but not lexically). This means that the Present, Past and Future verb forms, *voit*, *a vu* or *verra*, respectively, are not mutually exchangeable. Such languages as French will be referred to as **tense languages**. Mandarin, however, does not have obligatory marked tense (Lin 2012), as is illustrated in examples (13-15), and it will be considered a **tenseless language**[60], even if it may mark a tense optionally[61]. Furthermore, all

[60] According to Mǎ & Simango (2014), views differ with regards to the status of Mandarin as a tenseless language. Whereas Li (1924), Dragunov (1952), Yakhontov (1957), Wang (1981), Zhang (1998) and Li (2002) find that Mandarin exhibits tense, others, such as Wang (1943), Gao (1948) and Li & Thompson (1981) argue against this view. The author of this study found that Lin (2012) supports the latter perspective.

[61] Other examples of tenseless languages include Yucatec Maya, Kalaallisut, and Guaraní (Deo 2012:156, Lin 2012:669).

overt marking of an event's temporal location prior to, coinciding with, or following the deictic centre will be treated as tense. Such terms as *continuous*, *progressive*, *imperfect*, *imperfective*, or *habitual* are not to be regarded as tense, as they do not contain information on whether the event is part of the past, the present, or the future.

2.3.2. Relative tense

Relative tense represents the location of an event relative to a contextually given reference point in time other than the moment of speech (Comrie 1985:56, Binnick 2001:559, Lyons 1977:689). For example, in (16) and (17) the verb form *had left* indicates that there is another past reference point, i.e. *when I arrived* in (16) and *by noon* in (17), which it precedes.

(16) Marry **had left** when I **arrived**.

Relative tenses do not require the other point in time that serves as a reference point to be specified in a subordinate clause, which is the case in (16). As is shown in (17) and (18), an example borrowed from Rohrer (1986:93, cited in Binnick 2001:560), they may also be the main verb (and the only verb) in the sentence.

(17) Marry **had left** by noon.

(18) John **explained** that he **wasn't** hungry. He **had eaten** earlier. (Rohrer 1986:93)

Some scholars use the term *relative tense* somewhat differently. For Nurse (2008:120-124), the so-called **narrative tenses** (also called **consecutive**, **subsecutive** or **sequential tenses**[62]) which signal that the denoted event occurred after the previously mentioned event, represent an example of relative tenses[63]. Like in the case of the English Past Perfect example in (18), in

[62] Hyman & Watters (1984:258, cited in Nurse (2008:121)) note that some authors use the terms *consecutive* and *narrative tenses* to refer to a string of events if the subject is the same in all the clauses, whereas *subsecutive* and *sequential tense* imply that subjects change in the clauses of an event sequence. Nurse (2008:121) comments, however, that the difference between consecutive and subsecutive tenses is not used consistently, which is why both types will be referred to as *narrative tenses* here.

[63] Because they relate the situation of the event 'to some other time already established' (Nurse 2008:120).

example (19) from the Bantu language Swahili (G42[64]) each verb form with the narrative tense containing the morpheme *-ka-* (which marks consecutive events) relies on the time reference in the preceding verb forms (Steere 1922:12, cited in Hopper 1979 and Payne & Shirtz 2015:9):

(19) Swahili

A-li-ondok-a	sermala,				
3-PFV-be-FV	carpenter				
a-ka-end-a	ku-oa	m-ke.			
3-ka-go-FV	INF-marry	3-woman			
A-ka-ka-a	na	m-ke	wake	mi-aka	mingi,
3-ka-stay-FV	PREP	3-woman	his	4-year	many
Hatta	**a-ka-pat-a**	ki-jana		mw-anamke.	
until	3-ka-get-FV	7-child		3-girl.	

*There once **was** a carpenter, and **he went (ka)** and married a woman. **He lived (ka)** with his wife for many years, until **she bore (ka)** a child, a girl.*
(Steere 1922:12)

Scholars' views differ on more issues regarding the understanding of what falls under relative tenses. These include the definition (or even acknowledgment) of the difference between relative tense and aspect, as well as the characterisation of a particular TAM marker as a relative tense, as opposed to aspect, a combination of tense and aspect, or an embedded tense (Rose et al. 2002:74, Binnick 2001:559-560). For example, the English Present Perfect is defined by some as a tense, while by others as combination of a temporal and an aspectual marker (cf. Ritz 2012:885ff).

The term *relative tense* will be examined in more detail within the data analysis and it will be redefined in the Chapter 7. Provisionally, any TAM marker that depends on a contextually given point in time (other than the time of speech) relative to which the reported situation is located (and this includes narrative tenses), will be treated as a relative tense.

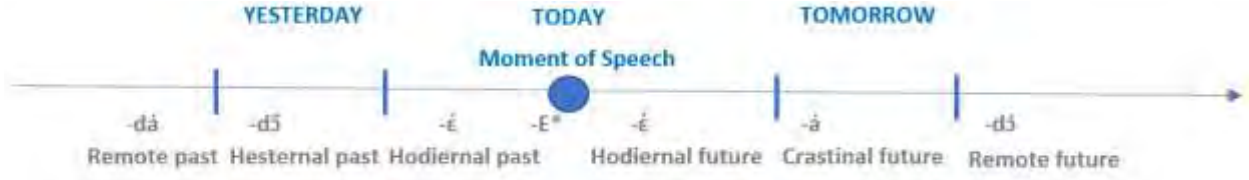
2.3.3. Degrees of remoteness

Certain languages exhibit between several past or future tenses which differ in their degrees of remoteness relative to the moment of speech. Binnick (2001:557-558) refers to such tenses as **metrical tenses**, and in this study their variably marked distance to the moment of speech will be

[64] Guthrie code is provided for every Bantu language next to the first mention of its name.

treated as the grammatical category of **degree of remoteness** (or simply **remoteness**). For example, beside the present tense, the Benue-Congo language Bamileke-Dschang has five past and five future tenses (Comrie 1985:87, Hyman 1980), the Bantu language Gimbala (H41) has three past and three future tenses (Botne 2012:540-541, Ndolo 1972), another Bantu language, Cimwera (P22) has two past and three future tenses (Botne 2012:540-541, Harries 1950), whereas English does not exhibit more than one future and one past tense. The bases for organising marking of remoteness can be the natural cycles (daily, monthly, or yearly cycles, e.g. *earlier today*, *yesterday*, *before yesterday, later today*, *tomorrow*, *after tomorrow*, etc.), the human experience and memory (e.g. events occurring in the mythic times, the speaker's memory, the speaker's living present, etc.), or the epistemic value of the proposition (e.g. speaker's lower degree of certainty that the event will occur) (Botne 2012:537-547). As Rose et al. (2002:74) note, some metrical tenses are defined by fixed cut-off points, whereas others exhibit rather flexible demarcation points on the timeline. In other words, in the case of the former, it is the objective, real word temporal distance between the moment of speech and the event that determines whether the tense will be used, whereas in the case of the latter, the speaker decides which metrical tense is more appropriate for the event. Usually, the fixed demarcation points between metrical tenses are based on natural cycles (Nurse 2008:93), e.g. the three past and three future tenses[65] (Botne 2012:537) found in Grebo, a Kru language. As shown in Figure 2.2, in Grebo, past events which occurred on the day of the moment of speech are part of the *Hodiernal Past*. By contrast, past events from the day before the moment of speech are part of the *Hesternal Past*, whereas older events belong to the *Remote Past*. Similarly, the Future tenses express future events occurring on the day of the moment of speech (*Hodiernal Future*), the day after the moment of speech (*Crastinal Future*), and those that are further away in the future (*Remote Future*, see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2. *The Past and the Future tenses in Grebo with fixed demarcation points (Innes 1966:55, Botne 2013:537). The suffix -E may be realised as [i], [ɪ], [e] or [ɛ].*



[65] Beside the Present tense.

However, a majority of languages have metrical tenses with flexible cut-off points (Nurse 2008:93, Binnick 2001:560). Morolong (1978)[66] notes that in the Bantu language Sotho (S30), speakers may choose to use either the Remote or the Near Past tense when emphasising their feeling of subjective distance or recency of the event, as both past tenses allow to be combined with time adverbials indicating any temporal distance from the deictic centre. Besha (1989, cited in Nurse 2008:93-94) reports about a similar, 'subjective' use of two past tenses (Near or Remote) in Shambala (G23), another Bantu language, which allows speakers to indicate whether the event is part of what they perceive as their own history.

Metrical tenses will not be regarded as a category separate from or mutually exclusive with the absolute tenses or the relative tense. Rose et al. (2002:74) find that metrical tenses with fixed demarcation points constitute part of the absolute tenses, whereas those metrical tenses with flexible cut-off points are relative:

(20) Labels such as Hodiernal = Near Past, Hesternal = Middle Past, Remote = Far Past imply fixed time reference (today, yesterday, before yesterday, etc.) and therefore forms labelled as such are often regarded as absolute. In our experience, these tenses are absolute in some languages but relative in others, that is, events in the Near Past are nearer than those in the Middle Past, which in turn are nearer than those in the Remote Past, but they are not necessarily restricted to absolute time reference.
(Rose et al. 2002:74)

However, this view will not be adopted in this study, as the term *relative tense* will only entail that a contextually given reference point is necessary for the understanding of the time at which a reported event occurred. The fact that the speaker may decide where on the timeline her or his *near past*, *middle past* and *remote past* start and end, does not entail that a point in time was mentioned earlier or that it can be inferred from the context, but it rather shows that she or he bases the cut-off points in one or more factors which have been described in the preceding paragraphs of this section. Therefore, metrical tenses will be considered part of absolute tenses, as long as no contextually given point in time is needed for the full comprehension of their time reference. The degree of remoteness will be treated as a category that may or may not be

[66] Cited in Comrie (1985:90-91) and Dahl (1985:124).

expressed in a particular language-specific absolute tense. For example, the English *Past tense* is an absolute tense that does not express any degree of remoteness, whereas the Grebo *Hesternal past* is an absolute tense that does express a degree of remoteness.

2.4. Aspect

In the present study the term *aspect* denotes a category that is sometimes also referred to as **grammatical aspect**, **verbal aspect** or **viewpoint aspect** in the literature. It is a separate category from **lexical aspect** (also **Aktionsart** or **situation type**), which will be discussed in section 2.4.2. Unless otherwise specified, in this study, the term *aspec*t will by default denote *grammatical aspect*.

2.4.1. Grammatical aspect

Even though no universally accepted definition of grammatical aspect exists (Binnick 2001:561, Guéntcheva 2016:2), Comrie's (1976:3) explanation that this category represents 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation'[67] has been largely used in the literature on TAM[68]. This definition implies that aspect represents the grammaticalisation of different perspectives from which an event is observed. In example (21) from Comrie (1976:3), two different events are shown, the event of reading and the event of entering. They are also shown from two different perspectives. Whereas the event of entering is shown as a completed whole, the event of reading marked with the **Progressive aspect** is represented as ongoing.

(21) John **was reading** when I **entered**.
(Comrie 1976:3)

[67] As Comrie (1976:3) notes, his view is based on a similar definition given by Holt (1943:6).
[68] Other similar definitions include the understanding of aspect as a 'specific perspective adopted by the speaker/writer' (Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000:190), or as 'a particular 'viewpoint' which is described by the situation' (Smith 1991, Klein 2009, Johanson 2000) (Guéntcheva 2016:3). Inspired by Guillaume's (1929) ideas, Hewson (2012:511) offers a somewhat different definition, according to which aspect represents time contained in the event, while tense is the presentation of time that contains the event.

In (21), two verb forms occur: *was reading* and *entered*, each expressing both tense and aspect[69]. Both of them are marked for the same tense, i.e. the Past tense. However, as already stated above, their aspectuality (i.e. the perspectives from which they are viewed) is different. Whereas *was reading* has the Progressive aspect, *entered* is Non-Progressive. The Progressive form *was reading* represents the event with reference to its internal structure (as ongoing, thus serving as a background to the other event), whereas the Non-Progressive form *entered* indicates that the event of entering is an indivisible whole with no mention of its internal structure (Comrie 1976:3-4)[70].

Like tense, aspect is linked to the expression of time[71]. However, one major difference between tense and aspect is that one verb form can have only one tense i.e. temporal location relative to the present moment, while it can have more than one aspect, i.e. perspective from which it is viewed (Nurse 2008:14). This difference is possibly due to the fact that, unlike tense, which relates the time of the reported event to the present moment[72], aspect is not a deictic category. Aspect does not necessarily reflect the objective properties of the event, but the ways in which the speaker chose to represent them, whereas tense is more dependent on the real world and the objective relation between the reported event and the present moment.

As is evident from Comrie's (1976) definition, a universally acceptable and precise explanation of the core semantics of aspect in the speech act is somewhat difficult to capture. It remains unexplained why there are several perspectives (and not just one) from which an event can be viewed, as well as what makes speakers of a language choose one aspect over another when reporting on events. Yet, the importance of aspect in communication becomes obvious when we consider its co-occurrence with overt time expressions (time adverbials), its occurrence in connected clauses, or the possible interpretations of an event's outcome.

[69] This statement pertains to any finite verb form (even if the verb form in question is morphologically unmarked) (Rose et al. 2002:11, Nurse 2008:14), in any tense-language and aspect-language which overtly marks temporality and aspectuality, such as English.

[70] Comrie (1976:3-4) points out that the described semantics actually pertains to the difference between the perfective and the imperfective aspects, which are not found in English. However, this meaning difference is also exemplified in the contextual use of the English Progressive and Non-Progressive verb phrases in (21).

[71] See Hewson's (2012:511) definition of tense and aspect.

[72] The term *present moment* is used here to refer to the moment at which an utterance is produced. In the following sections, in which the relevant theoretical frameworks will be discussed, it will be replaced with the a more adequate notion.

For example, unlike the non-progressive aspect, the progressive aspect does not entail that the event must be completed. De Swart (2012:752-753) provides examples (22) and (23) which show that the English Progressive aspect in the first clause can be combined with a following clause negating the completion of the event, as in (22.c)[73], which is not the case when the first clause has a Non-Progressive verb, as in (23.c). Furthermore, a Non-Progressive verb in the Past tense excludes the interpretation of it holding true at present, which is not the case when the past verb has the Progressive aspect, as shown examples (22.b) and (23.b):

(22) Sarah **was writing** a dissertation in 2009.
   a. It **was completed** in September.
   b. I **think** she **is** still **working** on it.
   c. She never **finished** it, for she **died** in September of that year.
   (De Swart 2012:753)

(23) Sarah **wrote** a dissertation in 2009.
   a. It **was completed** in September.
   b. *I **think** she **is** still **working** on it.
   c. *She never **finished** it, for she **died** in September of that year.
   (De Swart 2012:752)

Some verb phrases have an inherent point of completion, after which the verb phrase cannot hold true, such as *drink a glass of wine.* The point of completion, henceforth referred to as **endpoint**, in the case of drinking a glass of wine is the moment at which the wine from the glass has been consumed. Example (24.a) shows that in predicates of this kind, the meaning of the Non-Progressive verb, which includes the entire event together with its completion, entails the semantics of the Progressive verb. However, the meaning of the Progressive aspect, which does not imply the completion of the event, does not entail the meaning of its Non-Progressive counterpart, as is demonstrated in (24.b).

[73] Sentences marked as (a), (b), and (c) represent continuations of the clause *Sarah was writing a dissertation in 2009*. This rule will be applied in other similar examples, in which a sentence is followed by other sentences which are enumerated alphabetically, e.g. with *(a)*, *(b)*, *(c)*, etc.

(24) a. Susan **was drinking** a glass of wine. ← Susan **drank** a glass of wine.
b. Susan **was drinking** a glass of wine. ↛ Susan **drank** a glass of wine.
(De Swart 2012:754)[74]

In Chapter 1 it was shown that aspect also plays an important role in the temporal sequence of two neighbouring clauses. This is demonstrated again in examples (25) and (26) provided by de Swart (2012:753). Whereas the event of Sara leaving through the back door is subsequent to that of Bill coming into the office in (25), in (26) the two events overlap in time:

(25) When Bill **came** into the office, Sara **left** through the back door.
(De Swart 2012:753)

(26) When Bill **came** into the office, Sara **was leaving** through the back door.
(De Swart 2012:753)

(27) At five o' clock, Sara **was reading** a book.

Bybee et al. (1994) claim that the meaning of the progressive aspect is to view 'an action as ongoing at the reference time'[75], a definition exemplified in (26) and (27). The indicated point in time from which the ongoing event is observed is denoted by the punctual time adverbials: *when Bill came into the office* and *at five o'clock*, respectively (for a redefinition of punctual time adverbials, cf. section 5.4). With the Progressive aspect it is implied that the events started before the punctual time reference, and that they will possibly continue afterwards as well. Hence, **time reference**[76] is encoded in the grammatical aspect of the verb. As it is already specified in the grammatical aspect of the verb, time reference may (but needs not) be further specified lexically, in the form of a time adverbial. However, the time reference and the time adverbial cannot contradict each other. For example, combining a Progressive verb, e.g. *was eating* with a durative time adverbial *during the war* (28) or *every week* (29) in the same clause yields sentences with questionable grammaticality:

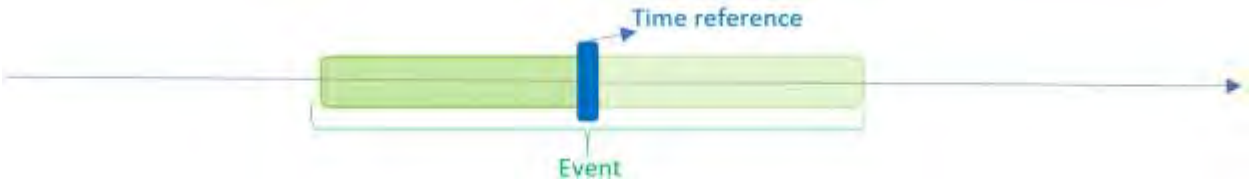
[74] Minor format changes have been applied in relation to the original example in de Swart (2012:754).
[75] Quite similarly, Dahl (1985:91) provides the view that the progressive aspect denotes a dynamic action as ongoing seen from a point in time.
[76] The time reference is punctual in the case of the progressive aspect.

(28) *He **was eating** cabbage during the war[77].

(29) *She **was eating** cabbage every week.

In summary, the progressive aspect indicates that the event extends on at least one side of the punctual time reference, as demonstrated in Figure 2.3. All other relations between the time reference and the event yield the non-progressive aspect.

Figure 2.3. *The relation between the event and the temporal reference from which it is observed in the progressive reading.*



Like the temporal categories, the aspectual ones differ from one language to another. Some languages do not have aspect (i.e. grammaticalised overt expression of aspectuality) at all. While English distinguishes between the progressive and the non-progressive aspects[78], a great number of other languages, e.g. the Slavic languages, the Romance languages, Hindi, Zulu, and Arabic have the **perfective** and the **imperfective** aspects (Dahl 1985:70-72). The perfective and the imperfective aspects encode a different relation between the event and the time reference than the progressive and the non-progressive aspects.

However, in some cases the contrast between the progressive and the non-progressive aspects roughly corresponds that between the imperfective and the perfective aspects, respectively. This is confirmed in the modified translations of examples (22) and (23) to French, shown in (30) and (31) (in the respective order) which were taken from de Swart (2012:759)[79].

[77] The reason why the grammaticality of this sentence is questionable is not only linked to the properties of the time reference, but also with the properties of the predicate, cf. *John was sleeping for ten minutes* which is deemed acceptable to the English native speakers I have consulted.
[78] Many scholars consider that English has also has a third aspectual category, the *Perfect aspect*. Its treatment as a temporal or as an aspectual category will be discussed in the following sections.
[79] The format of the examples has been somewhat adapted, as well as the glossing rules which were applied here.

(30) French

Il	**écriv-ait**	s-a	thèse	en	2009.
PRON.3SG.M	write-PST.IPFV.3SG	POSS.3SG-F.SG	thesis.F.SG	in	2009

*He **was writing/wrote**[80] his thesis in 2009.*

a.

Il	l’	**a**	**fin-i**	en	Septembre.
PRON.3SG.M	PRON.3SG.F.DO	AUX.have-PRS.3SG	finish-PP	in	September.M.SG

*He **finished** in September.*

c.

Je	pens-e	qu’il	**est**	**en=train=d’-écri-re**
PRON.1SG	think-PRS.1SG	that PRON.3SG.M	AUX.be.PRS.3SG	PROG.write-INF

la	conclusion	maintenant.
ART.DEF.F.SG	conclusion.F.SG	now

*I think he **is writing** the conclusion now.*

c.

Il	n’	**a**	jamais	**fin-i**,
PRON.3.SG.M	NEG	AUX.have.PRS.3SG	never	finish-PP

car	il	**est**	**mort**	en	Septembre.
because	PRON.3SG.M	AUX.be.PRS.3SG	die.M.SG.PP	in	September.M.SG

*He never **finished**, for he **died** in September.*
(De Swart 2012:759)

(31) French

Il	**écriv-it**	s-a	thèse	en	2009.
PRON.3SG.M	write-PST.PFV.3SG	POSS.3SG-F.SG	thesis.F.SG	in	2009

*He **wrote** his thesis in 2009.*

a.

Il	l’	**a**	**fin-i**	en	Septembre.
PRON.3SG	PRON.3SG.F.DO	AUX.have-PRS.3SG	finish-PP	in	September.M.SG

*He **finished** in September.*

b.

*Je	**pense**	qu’il	**est**	**en=train=d’-écrire**
PRON.1SG	think-PRS.1SG	that PRON.3SG.M	AUX.be.PRS.3SG	PROG.write-INF

la	conclusion	maintenant.
ART.DEF.F.SG	conclusion.F.SG	now

I think he is writing the conclusion now.

c.

*Il	n’	**a**	jamais	**fin-i**,
PRON.3SG.M	NEG	AUX.have.PRS.3SG	never	finish-PP

car il **est mort** en Septembre.
because 3SG.M AUX=be.PRS.3SG die.M.SG.PP in September.M.SG

He never finished, for he died in September.
(De Swart 2012:759)

[80] De Swart (2012:759) provides the Progressive form *was writing* as the only translation of the Imperfective verb form *écrivait*. However, since the Imperfective and the Progressive aspects are not identical, I add the Non-progressive form *wrote* in the translation of the example.

The Perfective verb *écrivit* in (31) implies that the event of writing the thesis is completed. It is not compatible with a clause denying the completion of the thesis, such as (31.b) or (31.c). By contrast, the Imperfective verb *écrivait* in (30) does not provide any information about the completion of the event. It can be followed by a sentence which describes the completion of the event (30.a), but it can also be followed by a sentence which denies the event's completion (30.b) or which implies that the event is still ongoing at present (30.c).

Perfective verbs in predicates which have an inherent endpoint entails the completion of the event, but this is not the same with the imperfective aspect of the same predicates. This is demonstrated in (32), a translation of (24) to Serbian, another language that exhibits the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition.

(32) Serbian

Suzan-a	**je**	**pi-la**	čaš-u	vin-a. ↛	
Suzana-F.SG.NOM	AUX.be.PRS.3SG	drink.IPFV-PST.F.SG	glass-F.SG.ACC	wine-N.SG.GEN	

*Susan **was drinking/drank** a glass of wine.*

↛ Suzan-a	**je**	**popi-la**	čaš-u	vin-a.	
Suzana-F.SG.NOM	AUX.be.PRS.3SG	drink.PFV-PST.F.SG	glass-F.SG.ACC	wine-N.SG.GEN	

*Susan **drank** a glass of wine.*

As already pointed out in Chapter 1 and in examples (25-26) in this chapter, another property that the progressive/non-progressive shares with the perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition regards the temporal sequencing in two neighbouring same tensed clauses. This property is demonstrated here in the Russian examples (33) and (34), which are translations[81] of the English examples (25) and (26), respectively. Whereas the Perfective verb *vyšla* ('(she) left') in (33) entails the event in the second clause occurred after the one in the first clause, the Imperfective *vyxodila* ('(she) was leaving') in (34) implies a temporal overlap between the two events.

(33) Russian

Kogda	on	**vošj-ol**	v	ofis,	
when	PRON.3.SG.M	enter.PFV-PST.M.SG	in	office.M.SG.ACC	
ona	**vyš-la**	čerez	zadnj-uju	dver'.	
PRON.3.SG.F	exit.PFV-PST.F.SG	through	back-F.SG.ACC	door.F.SG.ACC	

When he came into the office, she went out through the back door.

[81] The names from the English example have been replaced with personal pronouns, as the first name *Bill* does not have a common counterpart in Russian.

(34) Russian

Kogda	on	**vošj-ol**		v	ofis,
when	PRON.3.SG.M	enter.PFV-PST.M.SG		in	office.M.SG.ACC
ona		**vyxod-ila**	čerez	zadnj-uju	dver'.
PRON.SG.F		exit.IPFV-PST.F.SG	through	back-F.SG.ACC	door.F.SG.ACC

When he came into the office, she was going out through the back door.

The denoted event of leaving the premises through the back door in (34) is represented as non-completed at the point in time at which the other person was entering the office. By contrast, the Perfective predicate in (33) would imply that the event is completed. Examples (30), (32), and (34) show that the meanings of the imperfective and the progressive aspects overlap to a great extent. This is because the **progressive reading** with its punctual time reference, which is marked in English with the Progressive aspect, constitutes part of the meaning of the Imperfective aspect in Russian, Zulu, Serbian, French, and other languages which have the perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition. The imperfective aspect, thus, refers to the event as ongoing, i.e. as extending on at least one side of the point in time from which it is observed. However, the imperfective aspect does not require the event to be observed from a point in time indicated by a punctual time adverbial, but it includes other types of time reference as well. This is evident from the fact that the imperfective aspect can co-occur with durative time adverbials and frequentative time adverbials, something that is not possible for the progressive aspect. One such non-punctual type of time reference that is linked to the imperfective aspect is the **habitual** reading, as de Swart (2012:757-758) terms iterated events which co-occur with frequentative time adverbials (35). De Swart (2012:757-758) also recognises the **durative**[82] reading, which is demonstrated in (36) and (37), and which represent events that extend over a period of time, be it that the predicate represents a state[83] (*be hungry*) that extends over an unspecified period of time (36), or that the predicate (*read*) is combined with a durative time adverbial *the whole night* (37).

[82] De Swart (2012:757) does not use the term *durative*, but *stative reading* for examples like (35). However, the term *stative* is somewhat misleading, in that it is associated with the notion of *state*. The term *stative* is associated with the notion of *state* which denotes predicates with no limited duration, with no control exerted by the agent, and no change in its intensity (all moments that comprise a state can be the same) (Mair 2012:808). While lexical properties of the predicate may correlate with the choice of the grammatical aspect, the primary semantic component of grammatical aspect is still its temporal reference. The term *durative* which appears here is taken from Dahl (1985:91-92), who finds that it stresses the duration of the event.

[83] One part of the difference between the non-dynamic states such as *be hungry* or *be tall* and dynamic events such as e.g. *eat* or *read a book* is explained in the previous footnote. However, a more thorough definition of the two types of predicates is provided in the following section on lexical aspect.

Note that both the habitual and the durative readings of the imperfective aspect are translated to English with the Non-Progressive aspect.

(35) a. Russian

Na užin	ja	**pokupa-l**
on dinner.M.SG.ACC	PRON.1SG	buy.IPFV-PST.M.SG

seb-e	obyčno	kolbas-u.
REFL-DAT	usually	sausage.F-SG.ACC

*For dinner I usually **bought** salami.*
(Galton 1976:63, cited in Dickey 2000:74)

b. French

Chaque jour	il	**achet-ait**
every.SG day.M.SG	PRON.3SG.M	buy-PST.IPFV.3.SG

le	quotidien	local.
ART.DEF.M.SG	daily=newspaper.M.SG	local.M.SG

*Every day he **bought** the local daily newspaper.*

(36) a. Russian

Vanja **goloda-l**.
Vanya starve.IPFV-PST.M.SG
(Smith 1991:318, cited in de Swart 2012:757)

b. French

Vanya **av-ait**	faim.
Vanya AUX.have-PST.IPFV.3SG	hunger.F.SG

*Vanya **was** hungry.*

(37) a. Russian

Ona	**čita-la**	vsj-u	noč'.
PRON.3SG.F	read.IPFV-PST.F.SG	whole-F.SG.ACC	night.F.SG.ACC

b. French

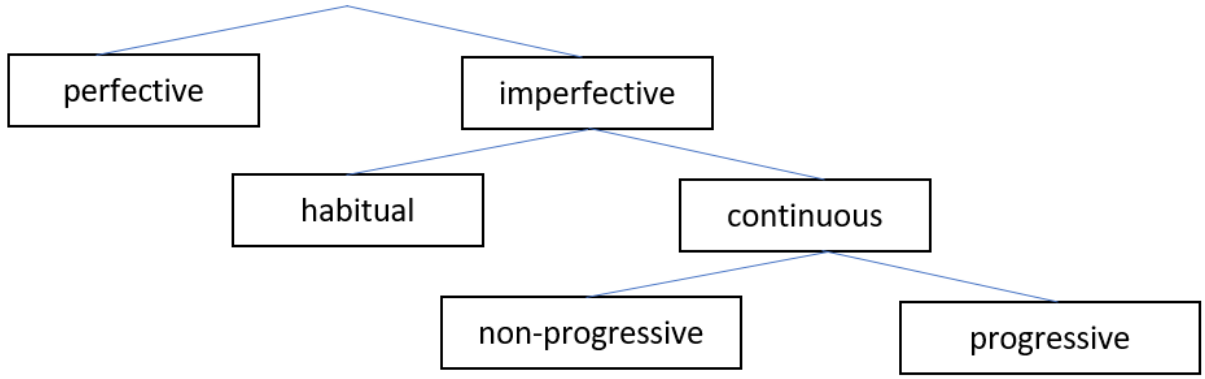
Elle	**lis-ait**	tout-e	la	nuit.
PRON.3SG.F	read-PST.IPFV.3SG	whole-F.SG	ART.DEF.F.SG	night.F.SG

*She **read** the whole night.*

Comrie (1976:24ff) conceives of the different readings of the imperfective aspect, i.e. the progressive, the habitual, and the durative readings (cf. 34-37) as of individual gram-types that are subcategories of the imperfective aspect, i.e. he conceives of the imperfective aspect as consisting of these individual aspectual gram-types. Comrie's (1976:25) view of the relation between the imperfective aspect and its subcategories is represented Figure 2.4. Thus, the progressive aspect (gram-type) is represented by the progressive reading of the Imperfective verb with its punctual temporal reference in (34), whereas the **habitual** aspect (gram-type)

corresponds to the habitual reading with its frequentative temporal reference in (35). In Comrie's (1976:25) scheme, the **continuous** aspect (gram-type) of the imperfective aspect, which is further divided into a progressive and a **non-progressive continuous** gram-type, does not have one particular reading as a counterpart in examples (34-37). The progressive continuous gram-type obviously corresponds to the progressive reading, whereas the non-progressive continuous gram-type can be understood as the durative reading in (35).

Figure 2.4. *Comrie's (1976:25) representation of the most typical subcategories of the imperfective aspect.*



Even though Comrie's (1976:25) scheme may contain conceptual issues which will be addressed in the following paragraph, its main contribution is the systematic representation of the aspectual readings which in some languages represent independent aspectual categories, but are in others combined to constitute the imperfective aspect. For example, the progressive reading in English is marked with an independent, Progressive aspectual marker which does not convey the other imperfective readings, as examples (34-37) show. Besides English, the Progressive aspect is also attested in e.g. Akan, Hindi, English, Mandarin, and Indonesian[84].

However, a major challenge for Comrie's (1976:25) model of the imperfective subcategories is the question whether the **continuous aspect**[85], as well as its **non-progressive**

[84] According to Dahl (1985:90, 160, 166, 168, 179, 180).

[85] Despite the fact that *continuous* is sometimes used in the literature to mean *continuative*, these two notions must be differentiated. According to Bybee et al. (1994:127) *continuative* 'is the meaning of 'keep on doing' or 'continue doing'. Although characterised as an aspect by Bybee et al. (1994:127), I am sceptical as to its purely aspectual semantics because 'keep on doing' or 'continue doing' may be linked to information structure. Namely, it

continuous subcategory exist as cross-linguistic aspectual. The continuous aspect should cover both the progressive and the non-progressive continuous[86] readings, but not the habitual reading. The main difference between the progressive and the durative readings is the fact that in the former, the event extends on one or both sides of the time (= **temporal reference**[87]) indicated by the time adverbial *at twelve o'clock* in (38) and (40), whereas in the latter case, the event is contained within the time indicated by the durative time adverbial, e.g. *for sixty-three years* in (39) and (41) (cf. Figure 2.5).

(38) At twelve o'clock sharp, John **was** still **writing** the letter.
(Dahl 1985:91)

(39) Queen Victoria ???**was reigning / reigned** for sixty-three years.

(40) Russian

Rovno	v dvenadcat'	Ivan	eščjo	**pis-al**	pis'm-o.
exactly	in twelve	Ivan.M.SG.NOM	still	write.IPFV-PST.M.SG	letter-N.SG.NOM

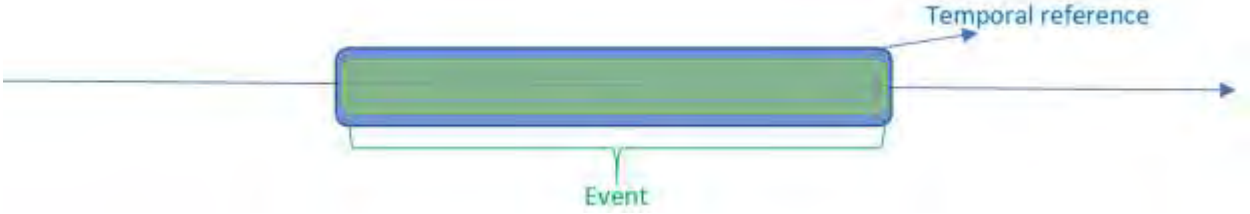
*At twelve o'clock sharp, John **was** still **writing** the letter.*

(41) Russian

Koroleva	Viktori-ja	**pravi-la**	šest'desjat'=tri	god-a.
queen.F.SG.NOM	Viktorija.F-SG.NOM	reign.IPFV-PST.F.SG	sixty=three	year-M.SG.GEN

*Queen Victoria **reigned** for sixty-three years.*

Figure 2.5. *Non-progressive continuous aspect: Durative event and its temporal reference (time adverbial) overlapping in their duration.*



entails that the hearer is previously informed about the fact that the event had started before it could continue occurring.

[86] A number of scholars, such as Chung & Timberlake (1985:219), Bybee et al. (1994:139), Timberlake (2007:34), Deo (2012:165), and Mair (2012:808) view the progressive aspect as typically occurring only with dynamic predicates (cf. section 2.4.2), i.e. predicates of 'limited duration', which 'change in intensity' and which are 'under conscious control of some agent' (Mair 2012:808). This explains why the clauses: *I am running / reading / building a house* are grammatical, whereas non-dynamic, i.e. stative predicates (cf. section 2.4.2), which do not involve a volitional agent (Mair 2012:806) do not yield grammatical clauses in Standard English, cf. **I am knowing / understanding / being hungry.* For a discussion on the non-progressive reading in stative predicates see Bybee et al. (1994:139), de Swart (2012:757), and Mair (2012:808).

[87] What I call *temporal reference* here is evidently tightly linked to the notion of R in the relational theory. However, at this stage I will refrain from equating it with R, since R is to be more precisely defined only in Chapter 5.

In languages with the progressive/non-progressive opposition, such as English, the progressive may occur only in (38), whereas (as already pointed out in (26)) its use with a durative time reference in (39) is questionable[88]. In languages with the perfective/imperfective opposition, such as Russian, both the progressive reading from (38) and the non-progressive reading from (39) would normally be marked with the Imperfective aspect[89], as is demonstrated in the translations in (40) and (41), respectively.

One major issue with postulating the ontological status of the continuous aspect lies in the fact that it has not been detected as a cross-linguistic aspectual category in any of the languages investigated by Dahl (1985) or Bybee et al. (1994:127, 138-139). A few examples of a continuous aspectual marker have been claimed to exist in Mandarin (Xiao & McEnery 2004:182, Mair 2012:806), Cantonese[90] (Matthews & Yip 1994:197, Mair 2012:807), and in Nêlêmwa, a language spoken in New Caledonia[91] (Bril 2016:103). The Mandarin examples (42-45) show that the continuous particle *zhe* is grammatical in (45), but not in progressive contexts such as (43). The progressive reading is fully acceptable if the progressive aspect particle *zài* is used (42). The same particle will be acceptable in the continuous reading in (44) only if the particle *dōu* is added.

(42) Mandarin

Tā	zuótiān	xiàwǔ wǔ	diǎn	**zài**	**kàn**	diànshì.
PRON.3.SG	yesterday	afternoon five	o'clock	PROG	watch	TV

*He **was watching** TV at 5:00 last afternoon.*
(Wú 2007:374)

[88] Note that the English Progressive has an untypically wide semantic range compared to the Progressive in other languages (Comrie 1976:32-33, Dahl 1985:93-94). As a matter of fact, in many cases the English Progressive aspect (depending on the predicate) can be grammatical with durative temporal references, e.g. *John **was singing** for ten minutes* (Dahl 1985:91). This sentence Dahl (1985:91) characterises as questionable, yet the English native speakers I consulted find the sentence acceptable.

[89] In Russian, it is also possible to combine durative time adverbials with the perfective aspect, e.g. in the so-called **delimitative** use, marked with the prefix *po-*. The delimitative *po-* indicates a durative but a temporally restricted event (Isačenko 1962:391-394, cited in Comrie 1976:22f; Dahl 1985:75), unlike the imperfective aspect which is the unmarked aspectual choice for durative events.

[90] Represented by the particle *jyuh* as opposed to the progressive *gán*.

[91] Represented by the verbal suffix *-ve.*

(43) Mandarin

*Tā	zuótiān	xiàwǔ	wǔ	diǎn	**kàn**	**zhe**	diànshì.
PRON.3.SG	yesterday	afternoon	five	o'clock	watch	CONT	TV

*He **was watching** TV at 5:00 last afternoon.*
(Wú 2007:375)

(44) Mandarin

Tā	zhěng	gè	zǎoshang	*(dōu)	**zài**	**kàn**	diànshì.
PRON.3.SG	whole	CL	morning	all	PROG	watch	TV

*He **was watching** TV the morning.*
(Wú 2007:374)

(45) Mandarin

Tā	zhěng	gè	zǎoshang	**kàn**	**zhe**	diànshì.
PRON.3.SG	whole	CL	morning	watch	CONT	TV

*He **was watching** TV the morning.*
(Wú 2007:375)

However, the occurrence of the continuous aspect is substantially lower than that of the progressive, the habitual or the imperfective aspects. Aside from the aforementioned individual observations, to my knowledge the literature does not treat it as a distinct cross-linguistically common gram-type or aspectual marker.

The habitual subcategory in Comrie's (1976:25) scheme, which is associated with the cross-linguistic **habitual aspect**, is represented in examples (35.a) and (35.b) with the time adverbials specifying frequency, *usually* and *every morning*, respectively. Even though the habitual reading in (35.a) and (35.b) is related to the repetition of an event (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012:852), one should not equate repetitive events with the habitual aspect. Consider the following examples:

(46) She **bought** bread in that bakery sixty-one times.

(47) She **bought** bread in that bakery every morning (for two months).

(48) Russian

Ona	**kupi-la**	xleb	v	et-oj
PRON.3SG.F.NOM	buy.PFV-PST.F.SG	bread.M.SG.ACC	in	DEM-F.SG.LOC

buločn-oj	šest'desjat'=odin	raz.
bakery.F-SG.LOC	sixty=one.M.SG.NOM	time.M.SG.NOM

She bought bread in that bakery sixty-one times.

(49) Russian

Ona	**pokupa-la**	xleb	v	et-oj	
PRON.3.SG-F.NOM	buy.IPFV-PST.F.SG	bread.M.SG.ACC	in	DEM-F.SG.LOC	
buločn-oj	každ-oe	utr-o	(dva	mesjac-a).	
bakery.F-SG.LOC	every-N.SG.ACC	morning.N-SG.ACC	two.M.PL.NOM	month.M-SG.GEN	

She bought bread in that bakery every morning (for two months).

Examples (46) and (47) may refer to the same series of events. However, it is the speaker's choice whether she or he wants to report about each occurrence separately (46), or about the entire series of occurrences as one event (47). Translating (46-47) to a language with the perfective/imperfective opposition shows that the two perspectives affect the choice of aspect, as demonstrated in the Russian examples (48-49). Cases such as (46) and (47) have been identified as **iterative**[92], a term that is sometimes used synonymously with *habitual* (Bybee et al. 1994:127, Bertinetto & Lenci 2012:864). However, a distinction between the two readings should be made. While the iterative aspect represented by the series of repeated events in (46) and (48) cannot hold true in the present tense, the events in (47) and (49) can occur in the past, the present and the future (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012:856-857). Furthermore, the iterative aspect represents the repetition of factual events which are represented each with their own temporal reference as in Figure 2.6. By contrast, the habitual aspect can refer to both factual events, as in (47) and (49), and to events that may come to a realisation when certain conditions are met, as in (50) and (51), in which the habitual aspect does not represent a repetition of actualised events as such, but a 'law-like character of the generalizations' (Berinetto & Lenci 2012:870). Accordingly, Comrie (1976:26-27) claims that the core meaning of the habitual aspect is to represent an event as

[92] The way the iterative aspect is understood in the present study is based on Bertinetto & Lenci (2012:854-860). Their view opposes that of Comrie (1976:42) and Bybee et al. (1994:127), according to whom *iterative* refers to a repetition of an event on a particular occasion only, e.g. a series of coughs, and who restrict it to predicates which have an inherent endpoint. If the latter view was followed, (44) or (46) would not represent the iterative aspect, as the repeated events do not occur on one occasion, but rather extend over a long period of time. An important issue with the latter view is how *one occasion* can be formally defined, a challenge that does not affect the former view. A notion related to both habitual and iterative is **frequentative**. Some scholars use it interchangeably with *iterative*, whereas Bybee et al. (1994:127) regard it as a combination of iterative and habitual, in that it denotes frequent repetitions of an event during a period of time (Rose et al. 2002:34). Bybee et al.'s (1994:127, 165) view of the frequentative is difficult to formally distinguish from the iterative or the habitual. If the frequentative asserts that a series of repeated events occurs during a period of time, which then serves as the time reference for that series of events, then it is to be understood as part of the habitual aspect, and not as a separate aspectual category. Whether or not the repetitions of the event are frequent is not part of the aspectual meaning, but a meaning that may as well be expressed with adverbs of manner, such as *often* or *frequently*. Therefore, in this study I do not acknowledge the frequentative aspect as a separate aspectual category.

'characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period'.

(50) Italians **drink** cappuccino.
(Bertinetto & Lenci 2012:870)

(51) John **smokes** in the garden.
(Bertinetto & Lenci 2012:870)

As is now clear, repetitions of events are not the essential part of the habitual meaning, but merely one of its common pragmatic interpretations. Even when an event is represented as repeated, these recurrences do not automatically represent the temporal references. In such cases, the temporal reference is rather the period of time within which the repeated events do (or may) recur, as shown in Figure 2.7. Thus, the core semantics of the habitual aspect is that an event holds true during a period of time (temporal reference), but without the necessity for it to hold true at each and every point in time during that period. Like the continuous aspect, the habitual aspect represents an event that holds true for a certain temporal reference; however, unlike the continuous aspect, the habitual aspect does not necessarily entail that the event must hold true uninterruptedly during that temporal reference.

Figure 2.6. *Iterative aspect: Repetitions of the same event, each occurrence with its own temporal reference.*

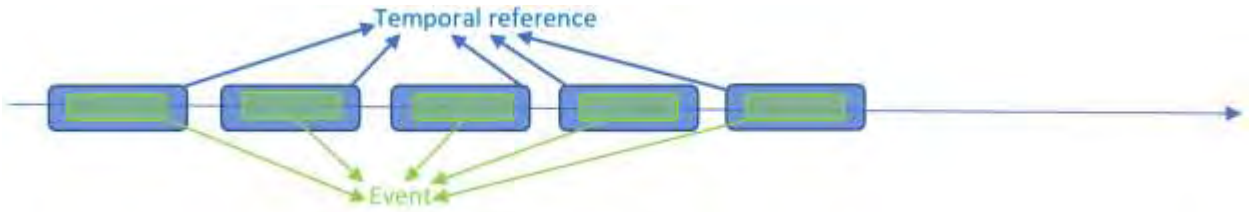
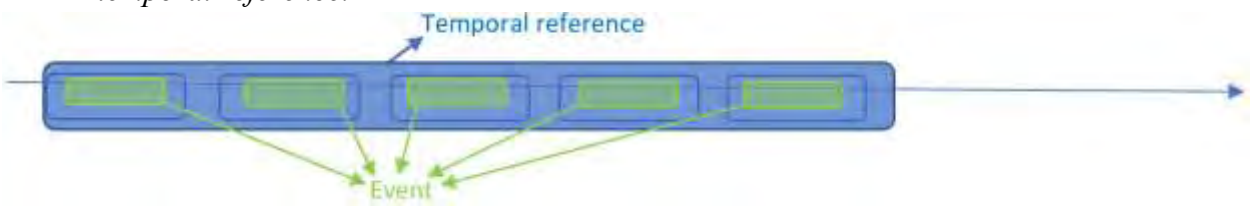


Figure 2.7. *Habitual aspect: Repetition of the same event encompassed by a common temporal reference.*



The Habitual aspect with a separate marker is found in inter alia Swahili, Shona, Georgian, Azerbaijani, Turkish, Seneca, and Greenlandic[93]. Examples of the Habitual aspect include the Cantonese verbal suffix *-hōi* in (52), and the morpheme *-no-* in Shona (S10) (53).

(52) Cantonese

Kéuih	**tái-hōi** Jūng	yī	ge.
PRON.3SG	see-HAB Chinese	doctor	PRT

*She **usually goes** to a Chinese doctor.*
(Matthews & Yip 1994:209)

(53) Shona

Má-karwe	**á-no-dy-á**	vá-nhu.
6-crocodile	SM.6-HAB-eat-FV	2-person

*Crocodiles **eat** people.*
(Fivaz & Ratzlaff 1969:18, cited in Rose et al. 2002:37)

(54) Water **boils** at 100 degrees.
Trask (1993:119)

However, sentences (53-54) also exemplify another, related aspectual category (Dahl 1985:95-100) which is frequently seen in the literature on TAM. It is the namely the **generic** or **gnomic** aspect, which is used to express 'a general or universal truth'. According to Dahl (1985:97, 99) the difference between the generic aspect and the (non-generic) habitual is that the former has a 'law-like character' since it describes 'the typical or characteristic properties of a species, a kind, or an individual', whereas the latter refers to events that occur in the majority of 'a set of occasions', thus allowing for exceptions, as is the case in (50-52). Even though the generic aspect is found as a separate aspectual category in only a few languages (Trask 1993:119), Dahl (1985:99) considers it an aspectual category that is independent from the habitual, in that instances of the generic marker exist which do not cover the non-generic habitual readings, and vice-versa. However, I do not see the semantic difference between the generic and the (non-generic) habitual as one of aspectual semantics. Law-like properties simply imply that under the condition that the entities in the proposition (crocodiles and humans in (53), or water and 100 degrees Celsius in (54)) exist and are in close contact, said event must hold true. But the event is still conditioned and it stops holding true if the entities from (53-54) are not in physical

[93] According to Dahl (1985:96, 98, 101, 157, 164, 165, 173), Rose et al. (2002:37), and Carlson (2012:843).

proximity. Thus, it can be said that the only difference between the generic aspect and the non-generic habitual aspect is one of the conditionality: while the former indicates that an event holds true for every instance of co-existence of the other entities in the clause, the latter describes a tendency of the event occurring in case of the co-existence of those entities, but it allows for exceptions. The similarity the generic and the habitual share is the fact that they entail that the event needs not hold true for every moment of its time reference. Therefore, the generic aspect will not be considered a separate aspectual category here, but an integral part of the habitual. It differs from the non-generic habitual only in the way it specifies the conditional relation between the event and the entities in the clause. Since conditionality is part of the category of modality (a category discussed in section 2.5), the generic aspect will be considered a combination of habitual aspect and modal (conditional) meaning.

Now that the progressive, the continuous, and the habitual aspects, which are said to constitute the meaning of the imperfective aspect, have been individually described, the semantics and the morpho-syntactic properties of the perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition can be further discussed. The existence of the imperfective aspect in a language does not automatically exclude its coexistence with the habitual or the progressive aspects as independent aspectual categories. Such examples include Hindi and Italian, which in addition to the imperfective aspect also exhibit the progressive (Deo 2012:165).

As long as a language uses one common aspectual marker to indicate the habitual, the progressive and the non-progressive readings, it can be asserted that that language has the imperfective aspect, as is the case in for example Russian, French, Italian or Hindi.

So far, the components of the imperfective aspect have been discussed. The invariant meaning needs to be addressed. However, as was briefly outlined in Chapter 1, defining the invariant semantics of the imperfective aspect and the perfective aspect likewise, is still subject to disagreement among researchers. One of the reasons for this situation lies in the fact that in every language, the semantic 'division' between the perfective and the imperfective aspects (as complementary members of the aspectual opposition) follows different lines. In Chapter 1, I indicated that one and the same aspectual category exhibits significant semantic differences in two different languages. Further examples include the meaning of the negated forms of the perfective/imperfective opposition. In the Slavic languages, the negated Perfective predicate negates the completion of the event, but not its preceding integral phases, whereas the negated

Imperfective predicate denies that the event occurred at all, cf. examples (55-56) from Smith (1991:256)[94]:

(55) Russian

Ja	eščjo	ne	**čita-l**	et-u	stat'-ju.
PRON.1SG	yet	NEG	read.IPFV-PST.M.SG	DEM-F.SG.ACC	article.F-SG.ACC

*I **have not read** this article.*
Smith (1991:256).

(56) Russian

Ja	eščjo	ne	**pročita-l**	et-u	stat'-ju.
PRON.1SG	yet	NEG	read.PFV-PST.M.SG	DEM-F.SG.ACC	article.F-SG.ACC

*I **did not finish reading** this article.*
Smith (1991:256)[95].

As Molendijk & de Swart (1999) and de Swart (2012:773) note, the negated aspectual forms in the Romance languages do not exhibit the same effect. Instead, they generally show a preference for the Imperfective aspect with negated predicates[96].

Further differences between individual languages in the perfective/imperfective opposition include the so-called **general-factual** (Dickey 2000:95-110)[97] and the **reversed action** readings (Dickey 2000:110-116)[98] which are part of the Imperfective aspect in Russian. The general-factual reading of the Imperfective confirms the occurrence of the event, but without specifying the circumstances in which it took place (Dickey 2000:96). The general-factual reading of the Imperfective is demonstrated in (57), in which the event of reading is interpreted as completed, but no information as to when the event occurred is provided. The reversed action reading of the Russian Imperfective aspect indicates that the result of the event has been annulled (Dickey 2000:110), a reading exemplified in (58), uttered when the window is closed.

[94] The glossing and transliteration rules used in the original have been adapted. The translation of the two examples was taken from de Swart (2012:773).
[95] The glossing and transliteration rules used in the original have been adapted. The translation of the two examples was taken from de Swart (2012:773).
[96] However, the Perfective aspect is possible too, when bounded with a temporal adverbial that denotes duration.
[97] In Russian aspectology known as *obobščenno-faktičeskoe značenie* or *obščefaktičeskoe značenie* (Dickey 2000:95). It is also referred to as *experiential imperfective* by Grønn (2003:25).
[98] Also called *two-way action* by Forsyth (1970:78) and *bidirectional imperfective* in Grønn (2003:28), cf. *antiresultative* in Plungian (2001).

(57) Russian

Ja	uže	odnaždy	**čita-l**	*Krepost'*.
PRON.1SG	already	once	read.IPFV-PST.M.SG	fortress.F.SG.ACC

*I **have** already **read** The Fortress once.*
(Dickey 2000:96)

(58) Russian

Ty	**otkryva-l**	okn-o?
PRON.2SG	open.IPFV-PST.M.SG	window-N.SG.ACC

***Did** you **open** the window?* (window is closed)
(Rassudova 1984:68, cited in Dickey 2000:110)

Although the general-factual and the reversed action readings are part of the Russian Imperfective aspect, this is not true of every language that exhibits the perfective/imperfective opposition (de Swart 2012:758), e.g. in French.

Another significant difference between languages with the perfective/imperfective opposition concerns the tenses in which this opposition is expressed. Thus, in all the Slavic languages all verbs are either Perfective or Imperfective[99]. This means that in Russian, both the Past and the Future[100] tenses can be Perfective or Imperfective, whereas in French this aspectual opposition is restricted to the Past tense only (Dahl 1985:82-83), as shown in Table 2.1[101].

[99] With the exception of a small number of verbs which are bi-aspectual. The Slavic languages have a fully lexicalised grammatical aspect, which means that, apart from a few bi-aspectual verbs, even the infinitive forms are either Perfective or Imperfective.

[100] Even though morphologically speaking Russian distinguishes only between the Past and the Non-past tenses (Hewson 2012:510, 513-514), Russian has verb forms that have Future time reference, that are in addition aspectually marked. Whereas the Perfective Non-past verb forms tend to denote Perfective Future events, Non-past forms of the auxiliary verb *byt'* ('be') followed by the infinitive of the main verb invariably mark Future Imperfective events (Dahl 1985:84). Events overlapping with the present moment are still ongoing, which is why they are marked with the Imperfective aspect.

[101] The location of the Russian and French verb forms is based on the morphologically marked temporal and aspectual categories present in the verb form. The paradigm of the Russian verb *lit'/vylit'* ('pour') is adapted from Dahl (1985:85).

Table 2.1. *The perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition of the Russian verbs* lit'^{IPFV}/vylit'^{PFV} *('pour') and the French verb* verser *('pour') in the Past and the Non-Past, or Past, Present, and Future tenses.*

		Imperfective	Perfective
Past	RU	ja l-il PRO.1.SG pour.IPFV-PST.M.SG *I poured/I was pouring*	ja vyl-il PRO.1.SG pour=out.PFV-PST.M.SG *I poured*
	FR	je vers-ais PRO.1SG pour-IPFV.PST.1SG *I poured/I was pouring*	je vers-ai / PRON.1SG pour-PFV.PST.1SG j'ai vers-é PRON.1SG AUX-have.PRS.1SG pour-PP *I poured*
Non-Past (Present + Future)	RU	ja l'-ju PRON.1SG pour.IPFV-PRS.1SG *I pour/I am pouring* ja bud-u l-it' PRON.1SG AUX=be.PRS.1SG pour.IPFV-INF *I will pour/I will be pouring*	ja vyl'-ju PRON.1SG pour=out. PFV-PRS.1SG *I will pour*
	FR	je vers-e PRON.1SG pour-PRS.1SG *I pour/I am pouring* je verser-ai PRON.1SG pour.INF-FUT.1SG *I will pour/I will be pouring*	

Another cross-linguistically common category is the **perfect**, **anterior** or **retrospective**. Although it is different from the perfective, the two TAM categories have often been used interchangeably in the literature (Dahl 1985:138). To avoid confusion, I will follow Rose et al. (2002) and use the term *anterior* (=perfect, retrospective)[102]. The categorial affiliation of the anterior is also disputed: Some researchers treat it as an aspectual category, while others view it as a relative tense (Comrie 1976:6, Rose et al. 2002:8, Ritz 2012:885-894). An argument for treating it as an aspectual category is the fact that it can be combined with other tenses, thus yielding the English Present Perfect, Past Perfect and Future Perfect[103]. As already stated earlier in this chapter, one verb form cannot combine two (relative or absolute) tenses, but it can and it often does combine tense and aspect (Nurse 2008:14). Besides English, the Anterior aspect is attested in many other languages including Swedish, Kammu and Maori (Dahl 1985:130).

[102] When referring to this aspectual category in a specific language, the most common term in the literature will be used; this means that the anterior aspect in English will be referred to as the *English Perfect*.

[103] Note that this view contradicts the common alternative view that the English Past Perfect and the Future Perfect in fact represent relative tenses (cf. section 2.3.2) rather than aspect.

The anterior aspect (in combination with the present tense) is a cross-linguistically frequent alternative form to the past tense which refers to past events (Dahl & Wälchli 2016:326). The discussion in the literature around its semantics usually revolves around the English Present Perfect (=Anterior aspect + Present tense) (Dahl & Wälchli 2016:326, Bertrand et al. 2017:4). Some of the most quoted semantics accounts of the English Present Perfect are those by McCawley (1971) and Comrie (1976:56-61) which recognise its 'four types' (=readings) instead of identifying one general meaning. The first reading, the so-called **perfect of result** is exemplified in (59) in which the 'present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation[104]' (Comrie 1976:56). By contrast, the Past tense in the same sentence (60) does not provide any information about the present moment, suggesting that the broken arm has healed in the meantime. The second[105] reading is the **experiential** or **existential perfect** which only asserts that the event occurred at least once in the past (Comrie 1976:59), but it does not indicate the exact time of each occurrence. An example of the experiential perfect is in (61), taken from Comrie (1976:59). The third reading is the **recent past perfect** reading with which the speaker indicates that the event occurred recently, i.e. at a short temporal distance from the present moment. It is demonstrated in (62), in which the event of visiting does not have a clear result which can hold true at the present moment, but it is the recency of the event's result that is relevant. The last type includes the **universal perfect** or the **perfect of a persistent situation**. It is exemplified in (63), a sentence in which an event started at some point in the past and which continues into the present moment (Comrie 1976:60).

(59) He **has broken** his arm (and his arm is still broken now).

(60) He **broke** his arm (last year, but it has healed by now).

(61) Bill **has been** to America.
Comrie (1976:59)

(62) They **have** recently **visited** grandpa.

(63) She **has lived** in Beijing for 30 years (now).

[104] Comrie (1976:56) uses the term *situation* for what has been referred to as *event* in this study.
[105] The exact order in which the different readings of the anterior aspect are given in the original literature is not followed here.

One way to unify the types of the Present Perfect into one general meaning is proposed by McCoard (1978), who finds that this form indicates that a past event has relevance for the present moment (**current relevance** approach), cf. (59) (Ritz 2012:883). According to another popular view, the Present Perfect represents past events as part of an extended period of the present (**extended now** approach; Dahl & Wälchli 2016:326). However, neither view is formally testable. In addition, neither captures alone the complexity of the Present Perfect semantics (Dahl & Wälchli 2016:326).

More indicative of the invariant semantics of the Present Perfect are the restrictions regarding its use. The four common limitations (Bertrand et al. 2017:12), PP.1-PP.4, are demonstrated in (64) and exemplified in (65-68) (cf. also Lindstedt 2000, Ritz 2012, Dahl & Wälchli 2016, Ramchand 2018):

(64) PP.2 No cancellation of result state, cf. (65);
PP.3 No narrative progression, cf. (66);
PP.4 No definite time adverbials, cf. (67);
PP.1 No 'dead' subjects (lifetime effects), cf. (68).

(65) *I**'ve lost my keys**, but I have found them.
(Bertrand et al. 2017:12)

(66) *This morning, Pat **has woken up** and then he **has gotten dressed**.
(Bertrand et al. 2017:12)

(67) *Pat **has climbed Mount Everest** last year.
(Bertrand et al. 2017:12)

(68) *David Bowie **has lived in London**.
(Bertrand et al. 2017:12)

In this study, restrictions PP.1-PP.4 will be used to test whether a TAM marker qualifies as a Present Perfect, i.e. as a combination of the Anterior aspect and the Present tense. Even partial compliance with PP.1-PP.4 will be recognised as partial anterior semantics given the fact this gram-type exhibits much variation between individual languages (cf. Dahl 1985:129ff, Betrand et al. 2017).

2.4.2. Lexical aspect

As already explained in the previous section, grammatical aspect represents the grammatical means through which a proposition obtains a particular aspectual reading (or a set of aspectual readings). However, the expression of aspectuality does not only rely on this grammatical category, but also on the lexical semantics of the verb phrase.

It has been observed in example (24) that some aspectual readings arise only with certain predicates. In (24), repeated here as (69), the English Non-Progressive verb phrase *drink a glass of wine* creates the interpretation that the event has an inherent endpoint, at which the completion of the event occurs and beyond which the event cannot hold true. As already pointed out, the part of the event denoted by the Progressive form is entailed in the Non-Progressive (69.a), but the opposite is not the case (69.b).

(69) a. Susan **was drinking** a glass of wine. ← Susan **drank** a glass of wine.
b. Susan **was drinking** a glass of wine. ↛ Susan **drank** a glass of wine.
(De Swart 2012:754)

However, if the predicate in (69) was replaced with a predicate that denotes an event without an inherent endpoint, such as *run*, the meaning of the Progressive form would entail the meaning of its Non-Progressive counterpart (65.a) and vice-versa (65.b).

(70) a. Susan **was running**. ← Susan **ran**.
b. Susan **was running**. → Susan **ran**.

Unlike (69), the mutual entailment of the Progressive and the Non-Progressive forms in (70) is allowed by the fact that neither involves a point of completion. The same entailment relations are attested in languages with the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition, such as French, as demonstrated in (71-72).

(71) French

Il	**fais-ait**	une	chaise. ↛
PRON.3SG.M	make-PST.IPFV.3.SG	ART.INDEF.F.SG	chair.F.SG

*He **was making**[106] a chair*.
(Comrie 1976:46)

↛ Il **f-it** / **a** **fait** une chaise.
PRON.3SG.M make-PST.PFV.3.SG AUX.have.PRS.3.SG make.PP ART.INDEF.F.SG chair.F.SG
*He **made** a chair*.
(Comrie 1976:46)

(72) French

Elle **cour-ait**. →
PRON.3SG.F run-IPFV.PST.SG
*She **was running/ran***.

→ Elle **cour-ut** / **a** **couru**.
PRON.3SG.F run-PST.PFV.3SG AUX.have.PRS.3.SG run.PP
*She **ran***.

In (71), the Perfective aspect of the verb phrase entails an endpoint of the event, thus implying that it is completed, just like the Non-Progressive aspect in (69.b). By contrast, in (70.b) and (72) alike, the predicate does not entail the terminative point of the event, so if this event stopped a certain amount of time into its start, both the Imperfective and the Perfective aspects would hold true[107], a property which Vendler (1957:144) refers to as **homogeneity** (Filip 2012:730). However, if the event of Susan drinking a glass of wine in (69) stopped several seconds into its start (i.e. before she could finish the glass), it would not hold true that Susan drank a glass of wine. Similarly, if the event in (71) stopped after the same amount of time, it would not hold true that the chair was made. This property is known as **quantisation** (Krifka 1986, 1989, 1992, 1998, cited in Rothstein 2004:8). Quantised events can be counted by the number of their endpoints (indicated by e.g. the number of glasses or chairs made), unlike homogenous events (e.g. *run*), which do not have a point in time beyond which they must cease. Another important

[106] Even though French Imperfective verb are normally translated also with the Non-progressive in English (e.g. here *made a chair*), in this example this is not done in order to rule out the interpretation that the event is completed.

[107] Comrie (1976:47-48) points out that some differences with respect to completion do arise when the verb phrase is combined with the progressive aspect and when it is combined with the imperfective aspect. Comrie (1976:47-48) uses the example of the verbs *die* or *persuade* in English, which, even when used with the progressive, rule out the possibility that the event would not be completed at a later point (e.g. **He was dying, but then he was rescued* or **He was persuading me, but he did not persuade me*). The imperfective aspect of such verbs leaves the possibility open that the completion of the event never occurs.

property of some verb phrases relates to their ability to continue after they have stopped. In (74) the subject can run, stop, and then run some more. This property is identified as **cumulativity** in Krifka (1986, 1989, 1992, 1998, cited in Rothstein 2004:8). By contrast, verb phrase *drink a glass of wine* is not cumulative, because once the glass of wine has been emptied, the event cannot continue. The quantity of wine that was contained in that glass is consumed and, in the event of refilling the same glass with wine, a new event of drinking another glass of wine would commence, as shown in (73).

(73) Susan **drank** a glass of wine.
*Then she **read** my message on the phone and **continued drinking** the glass of wine.

(74) Susan **ran**.
She **stopped to rest** on a bench for a minute. Then she **continued running**.

Another important difference between verb phrases that entail the event's terminative point and those that do not is that the former cannot be combined with time adverbials which indicate duration, the so-called **for-adverbials**, whereas the latter can, as shown in (75-76). Accordingly, time adverbials that indicate the completion of an event, the so-called **in-adverbials**, can be combined with verb phrases that entail an endpoint, but not with verb phrases that do not encode a terminative point of an event, as demonstrated in (77-78).

(75) ??Susan **drank** a glass of wine for 30 minutes.

(76) Susan **ran** for 30 minutes.

(77) Susan **drank** a glass of wine in 30 minutes.

(78) *Susan **ran** in 30 minutes.

Examples (75-78) show that, totally independently from the verb's TAM markers, the lexical properties of the verb phrase determine which temporal adverbial it can co-occur with, as well as the aspectual interpretation of the whole proposition. This phenomenon is known as **lexical aspect**, **Aktionsart**, **aspect 2**[108], **actionality**, **inner aspect**, **aspectual class**, or **situation aspect** (Desclés & Guentchéva 2012:126, de Swart 2012:753, Richardson 2012:962). More precisely,

[108] As opposed to *aspect 1*, the grammatical aspect (Desclés & Guentchéva 2012:126).

Rose et al. (2002:5) define lexical aspect as 'the temporal distinctions lexically inherent in the meaning of the verbal form'. Depending on different criteria, verb phrases can be classified into groups depending on their lexical aspect.

The property of an event having an inherently encoded endpoint is referred to as **telicity**, and it was demonstrated in (64-73). According to Garey (1957:106), **telic** predicates denote 'an action tending toward a goal', whereas **atelic** ones denote events that 'are realized as soon as they begin'. In his definition of *telicity*, Garey (1957) referred to the inherent endpoint encoded in the lexical properties of the predicate. Verb phrases can thus be divided into telic ones, such as *sneeze*, *fall*[109], *build a house*, *write a letter*, and atelic ones, e.g. *swim*, *talk*, *sleep*, *eat*, *think*.

Lexical aspect classifies verb phrases into groups not only by means of telicity. **Dynamism** is another property which was briefly referred to in the previous section in relation to a verb phrase's combinability with the English Progressive aspect. It was stated that dynamic predicates include *write*, *run*, *read*, and *build a house*, whereas the stative ones are *know*, *understand*, and *be hungry*. Dynamism represents the property of a predicate to express whether it represents an event that comprises different moments or not. Thus, **dynamic** predicates, such as *write*, *run*, *read* and *build a house* entail that every moment of the event must be different (e.g. during the event of running, every moment is different, in that the subject is in a different position), whereas every moment of **stative** predicates, such as *know*, *understand*, and *be hungry*, can, but need not be exactly the same (Comrie 1976:49). One way to define the difference between these two types of predicates is based on whether it consists of **successive phases** (**stages**) or not (Vendler 1957:145-146, Rothstein 2004:12, Filip 2012:730-731). Dynamic predicates contain different stages, e.g. *read*, and every moment of such events is different from the previous. By contrast, every moment of a stative predicate is the same, e.g. *know*, *understand*[110]. Comrie (1976:49-51) adds that besides this, dynamic verb phrases require an

[109] Some authors do not agree about which verbs are to be considered telic. Whereas Comrie (1976) excludes verbs indicating a change of state without a process that precedes this change, e.g. *fall* or *sneeze*, Rothstein (2008) includes all verbs that indicate a terminating change of state.

[110] Some authors use the term **state** to refer to stative predicates, while reserving the term **event** for the dynamic events only (Smith 1991:19, among others). Others, such as Comrie (1976) use terms *event* and **process** for dynamic events, depending on the perspective from which they are viewed. The explanation Comrie (1976:51) provides is somewhat unclear, stating that events are viewed perfectively, and processes are viewed imperfectively. Mourelatos (1978:201) uses the term *process* to refer to Vendler's (1957) *activities*, whereas *events* cover both *accomplishments* and *achievements*. *Event*, *state*, and *process* will not denote categories of lexical aspect here; *event* refers to any predicate.

input of **energy** (from inside, e.g. the agent, or from another source, e.g. when operating a device) in order to continue, whereas the stative ones do not. Whether an English verb phrase is stative or dynamic is usually tested with the Progressive aspect: stative predicates typically cannot be combined with the Progressive aspect, as shown in (79)[111].

(79) I am running / reading / building a house / *knowing / *understanding / *being hungry.

Another property distinct from telicity is **durativity**. It provides information on whether or not the verb phrase represents a point in time or a temporal interval. This means that even though they are telic, verb phrases can behave differently depending on whether they are durative or punctual. It is important to mention that all punctual verbs are by default telic[112], but this does not apply to the durative ones. Whereas the durative telic verb phrases cannot be combined with punctual time adverbials, as shown in (80), the punctual telic verb phrases cannot co-occur with the for-adverbials indicating duration, as shown in (81).

(80) *He **read** the book at midnight.

(81) *The vase **fell** for three seconds.

Having introduced the concepts of telicity, dynamism, durativity, the most prominent classifications of lexical aspect can be addressed. One of the most influential classifications is provided by Vendler (1957), who recognises four **actional classes** or **situation types**: **states**, **activities**, **accomplishments**, and **achievements**[113]. In Vendler's (1957) classification, two criteria are especially important in that they can on their own yield the four actional classes

[111] Dowty (1979), Cormie (1976), Bach (1981), Binnick (1991) and others point out that stative verbs in English may occur with the Progressive aspect, if referring to a temporary condition with a potential for change (cited in Filip 2012:728-729). Therefore, the Progressive aspect is perhaps not the most reliable test for dynamism. Another issue with using the Progressive aspect to test the lexical aspect is that many languages such as French, Russian, or Zulu do not have this aspectual category (they have the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition instead). Furthermore, the combinability of a lexical aspect with for-adverbials and in-adverbials is obviously not always granted by the lexical properties of the verb phrase, but it largely depends on the grammatical aspect attached to the verb form in question. Namely, the English Progressive is normally not combinable with in-adverbials or for-adverbials (although the latter seems to become more gradually more acceptable in specific context of some English varieties), but only with punctual time adverbials, such as *when they arrived* or *at midnight*.

[112] Some authors do not treat all punctual verbs as telic.

[113] Vendler (1957) bases his classification on the predicates' logical entailments, interactions with tenses and temporal modifiers (Rothstein 2004:6).

(Rothstein 2004:6-12, Filip 2012:731). The first criterion is that of telicity, whereas the second one is dynamism[114], as illustrated in Table 2. Vendler (1957:148) and Rothstein (2004:11-12) test a predicate's dynamism with its compatibility with the Progressive aspect[115]. States are situations which are atelic and monophasal (Hirtle 2007:87-89, Hewson 2012:516), which means that all moments they comprise are the same. Thus, states consist of not more than one phase or stage, exemplified by such predicates as *believe*, *love*, *know*, *be clever*, and *want*. Activities are processes with no inherent starting or terminative points. They are also atelic, but, unlike states, they are dynamic (they consist of stages), e.g. *run*, *float*, *read*, *eat*. Accomplishments are telic, consisting of a durative process that leads up to a natural terminative point, e.g. *read a book*, *eat up, eat an apple*, *climb a mountain*, *build a house*. Unlike states, activities, and accomplishments which are durative, achievements represent punctual events that bring about a change, e.g. *fall*, *notice*, *spot*. Because they are punctual, Vendler (1957) and Rothstein (2008) consider them telic[116]. At the same time, their punctual nature suggests that they do not consist of successive phases, a property they share with states.

A fifth actional class, the so-called **semelfactives**, was introduced later by Comrie (1976:27f, 42). Semelfactives represent events of very brief duration which do not bring about a change of state, e.g. *sneeze*, *hit*, *kick*, *blink*. They cannot be fully accounted for with the analysis which uses only telicity and dynamism, as they are considered both atelic and dynamic, just like activities (Smith 1991:20). Altered versions of Vendler's (1957) framework which acknowledge durativity as a classification criterion, e.g. Smith (1991:20) shown in Table 3[117], explain the difference between semelfactives and activities with the fact that the former are punctual and the latter are durative[118].

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[114] Rothstein (2004:12) does not use the term *dynamism* for this criterion, but she refers to the existence of successive stages. Even though the two concepts are not identical, successive stages constitute a crucial part of dynamism. In order to reduce the number of terms occurring in this study, the term *dynamism* will be used here to represent the predicate property of successive stages.

[115] Dowty (1979:167-180) and Filip (2012:728-730) do not regard testing combinability with the Progressive as reliable, as most predicates can under certain circumstances, be combined with this aspect. Although aware of this fact, Rothstein (2004:15, 23-24, 36-58) explains that the occasionally felicitous combination of the Progressive aspect with states and achievements is a result of a semantic shift of the predicate.

[116] As already pointed out, Comrie (1976:47) views only durative events as telic, which does not include achievements.

[117] Adapted from the original (Smith 1991:20).

[118] However, Rothstein (2008:186), who does not regard durativity as one of the main criteria for classifying lexical aspect, looks at the properties of the events of a minimal duration (henceforth referred to as *minimal events*) that can be considered activities (henceforth referred to as *minimal activities*) or semelfactives. Even if they last the

Table 2.2. *Vendler's (1957) four situation types (Filip 2012:731).*

	Telic	Successive phases
States	-	-
Activities	-	+
Accomplishments	+	+
Achievements[119]	+	-

Table 2.3. *Smith's (1991:20) five situation types.*

	Telic	Dynamic[120]	Durative
States	-	-	+
Activities	-	+	+
Accomplishments	+	+	+
Achievements	+	+	-
Semelfactives	-	-	-

Vendler's (1957) framework has been very popular in the literature on lexical aspect. However, it has proved to be challenging to apply to some languages[121], and as a result, a number of alterations of this framework as well as alternative classifications have been produced. An example of an alternative classification of lexical aspect is provided by Freed (1979), Botne (1983) and Botne & Kershner (2000:165-166), and it has been prominent in the description of the lexical aspect in the Bantu languages. Freed (1979:33-35) defines the three phases in the following manner[122]:

(82) […] events consist of potentially (at least) three phases: an **onset** (**O**), a **nucleus** (**N**), and a **coda** (**C**), the nuclear phase constituting the characteristic and prominent feature of the event. The onset, if there is one, constitutes the initial phase of the event, different in nature from the nuclear phase. The coda, conversely, constitutes a final phase of an event, again differing in nature from the nuclear phase.

same amount of time, semelfactives, e.g. event of jumping, usually do not temporally overlap with other semelfactives, but minimal activities, e.g. event of walking, can overlap in time with other minimal activities (Rothstein 2008:186).

[119] Note that views differ with respect to whether achievements are to be considered telic and whether they are dynamic. See Table 3.

[120] In her analysis, Smith (1991:3,20) uses the term *dynamism* instead of *successive phases*. Even though Smith (1991:3) links dynamism to the successive phases, she (Smith 1991:19) also views input of energy as part of the meaning of dynamism. This is probably why she considers achievements to be dynamic.

[121] For a discussion about the inadequacy of Vendler's framework see Croft (2012) and Crane & Persohn (2019).

[122] Emphasis in the quotation is added by me.

Based on Beuchat's (1966) observation that Zulu verbs can be divided into durative and punctual verbs[123], Botne & Kershner (2000:165-166) use durativity as the primary line of division of aspectual classes. Thus, the first group comprises verbs with a punctual nucleus, which corresponds to Vendler's (1957) achievements, and the second group with a durative nucleus, which corresponds to Vendler's (1957) states, activities, and accomplishments (Botne & Kershner 2000:165-166). Even if this classification may use some different criteria than those in Vendler's (1957) division into situation types, it is not the case that the two frameworks contradict each other[124].

However, a more problematic case of applying Vendler's (1957) framework are the Slavic languages, which have fully lexicalised grammatical aspect[125]. This means that almost each verb with its entire paradigm, including the Infinitive form, is either Perfective or Imperfective. The fact that every verb has an already encoded grammatical aspect in its form poses a challenge for detecting the lexical aspect in some cases. Whereas finding Imperfective states and activities, as well as Perfective accomplishments and achievements is relatively unproblematic, the questions that arise are those that concern Imperfective accomplishments and achievements, as well as Perfective activities. For example, the Serbian Perfective predicate *preći ulicu* ('cross the street'), *pročitati knjigu* ('read a/the book'), or *napisati pismo* ('write a/the letter') translate to English as accomplishments, and they are quite obviously accomplishments in Serbian as well. However, it is not certain if their respective Imperfective counterparts, *prelaziti ulicu* ('cross the street'), *čitati knjigu* ('read a/the book'), *napisati pismo* ('write a/the letter') are to be considered accomplishments as well. The actual reaching of the event's endpoint is not encoded in any of the verb forms in the paradigm of these Imperfective verbs. In addition, just like the different aspectual classes in English, the Perfective and the Imperfective

[123] Botne & Kershner (2000:165) use the notion *inchoative* for punctual and non-*inchoative* for durative verbs.
[124] Botne & Kershner's (2000) view of lexical aspect is concordant with Klein's (1994) division into actional classes. Klein (1994) divides predicates into 0-state, 1-state and 2-state predicates. 0-state predicates are similar to the Vendlerian notion of states. They denote predicates which cannot cease to hold true, e.g. <pen be red> or <The Nile be in Africa>. 1-state predicates are similar to Vendlerian activities in that they denote predicates which have a starting point and an endpoint, although these bounds are not encoded, e.g. <Lindiwe be asleep> or <Lindiwe be in Cape Town>. 2-state indicate a change-of-state, i.e. predicates which automatically denote two different states, e.g. <Themba enter the room> or <the vase fall over>.
[125] A number of Imperfective verbs become perfective when a prefix is added, and these can obtain their secondary imperfective counterparts by adding suffixes (de Swart 2012:782-783).

forms in the Slavic languages allow combinations with different time adverbials. Irrespective of their semantic, lexical content, Perfective verbs are quantised, whereas Imperfective verbs are homogenous and cumulative. Accordingly, Perfective verbs can co-occur with in-averbials, but not with for-adverbials, whereas Imperfective verbs can be combined with for-adverbials, but not in-adverbials, as shown in Russian examples (83-86). This means that even though the verb phrases in (83-86) lexically correspond to the English accomplishment *repair a chair*, it is the grammatical aspect of the verb phrases in the Slavic languages, namely the Perfective or Imperfective aspects, that determine whether they will be combined with for-adverbials or in-adverbials (Gehrke 2008:171, de Swart 2012:767, 771-772).

(83) Russian

On	**otremontirova-l**	stul	za	tri	čas-a.
PRON.3SG.M	repair.PFV-PST.M.SG	chair.M.SG.ACC	for	three	hour-SG.M.GEN

*He **repaired** a/the chair in three hours.*

(84) Russian

*On	**otremontirova-l**	stul	tri	čas-a.
PRON.3SG.M	repair.PFV-PST.M.SG	chair.M.SG.ACC	three	hour-SG.M.GEN

Intended: *He **repaired** the/?a chair for three hours.*

(85) Russian

On	**remontirova-l**	stul	tri	čas-a.
PRON.3SG.M	repair.IPFV-PST.M.SG	chair.M.SG.ACC	three	hour-SG.M.GEN

*He **was busy repairing** a/the chair for three hours /*
*He **spent three hours repairing** a/the chair.*

(86) Russian

*On	**remontirova-l**	stul	za	tri	čas-a.
PRON.3.SG.M	repair.IPFV-PST.M.SG	chair.M.SG.ACC	for	three	hour-SG.M.GEN

Intended: *He **was repairing/repaired** a/the chair in three hours.*

The similarities between the Slavic grammatical aspect and lexical aspect in English demonstrated above have caused major differences in the ways the two grammatical categories in the Slavic languages are conceived of (Kabakčiev 2000:35-40, de Swart 2012:767). Some authors consider the grammatical aspect in the Slavic languages to actually represent lexical aspect indicating telicity, whereas others see them as two different categories nevertheless (de Swart 2012:767). One of the main arguments for the acknowledgement of lexical aspect and grammatical aspect are the so-called **delimitative** activities, which are marked with the prefix *po-* in the Slavic languages and which denote durative but temporally restricted events (Isačenko

1962:391-392, 394, cited in Comrie 1976:22f; Dahl 1985:75). Being durative and atelic, they combine with for-adverbials rather than with in-adverbials, but they are nevertheless Perfective, as shown in (87-88), an example taken from Gehrke (2008:171).

(87) Russian

On	**posp-al**	dve	minut-y.
PRON.3SG.M	sleep.PFV-PST.M.SG	two.PL.F.NOM	minute.F-SG.GEN

*He **slept** for two minutes*.
(Gehrke 2008:171)

(88) Russian

*On	**posp-al**	za	dve	minut-y.
PRON.3SG.M	sleep.PFV-PST.M.SG	for	two.PL.F.NOM	minute.F-SG.GEN

He **slept in two minutes*.
(Gehrke 2008:171)

When testing predicate properties using their compatibility with various types of time adverbials, what needs to be considered is the fact that the proposition's acceptability cannot be verified fully independently from the TAM markers in the verb phrase. It has already been pointed out that the English Progressive aspect combines well with punctual time adverbials and diverse aspectual classes: activities (89), accomplishments (90), and sometimes also with achievements (91)[126]. The time adverbials which normally co-occur with the Non-Progressive verb, in-adverbials for accomplishments (77), may become questionably acceptable with a Progressive verb (92-93). Punctual time adverbials combined with Non-Progressive (or Anterior) achievements (94) are as acceptable as their Progressive counterpart (91), but as expected, the temporal location of the event relative to the time reference changes.

(89) We **arrived** / At 7pm, he **was working**.

(90) When we **arrived** / At 7pm, he **was reading** a book.

(91) When we **arrived** / At 7pm, he **was** already **drowning**.

(92) *He **was writing the letter** in four hours.

(93) *He **was reading** the book in three days.

[126] Rothstein (2004:49) notes sentences like (92) are acceptable because in Progressive achievements, a semantic change occurs. What the Progressive aspect actually relates to are the events directly preceding and leading up to the culmination, which is represented by the achievement verb.

(94) When we **arrived** / At 7pm, he (**had**) already **drowned**.

The last issue to be discussed about lexical aspect in this section is the size of the syntactic unit in which it is encoded. Whereas verbs alone (without any complements) have an inherent lexical aspect, the complement of the verb phrase has indisputable influence on aspectuality too. When the complement of the accomplishment verb phrase *drink a glass of wine* in (22=64), repeated here as (95), is removed, the lexical aspect of the verb phrase changes to an activity, *drink* in (96), even though the main verb is the same. Unlike accomplishments, the Progressive verb form of the activity *drink* entails the meaning of its Non-Progressive form *drank*, due to the fact that *drink* without a direct object (*a glass of wine*) cannot be completed.

(95) a. Susan **was drinking**. ← Susan **drank**.
b. Susan **was drinking**. → Susan **drank**.

(96) a. Susan **was drinking** a glass of wine. ← Susan **drank** a glass of wine.
b. Susan **was drinking** a glass of wine. ↛ Susan **drank** a glass of wine.

Furthermore, plural objects change the aspectual class of accomplishments (97) and achievements (99) into activities (98, 100).

(97) Thandi **built** a house.

(98) Thandi **built** houses.

(99) Thandi_p **threw** away his_q letter.

(100) Thandi_p **threw** away his_q letters.

In some cases, definiteness of the object may affect lexical aspect. In English, the accomplishment verb phrase *eat up* may be completed only with definite objects, as in (96-97) (de Swart 2012:754).

(101) Susan **ate** up the cake.
(De Swart 2012:754)

(102) Susan **ate** up the cakes.
(De Swart 2012:754)

(103) *Susan **ate** up cake.
(De Swart 2012:754)

(104) *Susan **ate** up cakes.
(De Swart 2012:754)

A similar phenomenon is found in Russian, a language without overt definiteness marking by means of articles. The verb in the Russian example (105) with plural objects is Imperfective. A Perfective verb could be used in that proposition, as shown in (106), however, it would be only acceptable if the object is a set of definite letters (Dahl 1985:75).

(105) Russian

On	**pis-al**	pis'm-a.
PRON.3SG.M	write.IPFV-PST.M.SG	letter.N-PL.ACC

He was writing/wrote letters.
Dahl (1985:75)

(106) Russian

On	**napis-al**	pis'm-a.
PRON.3SG.M	write.PFV-PST.M.SG	letter.N-PL.ACC

He wrote the letters.
Dahl (1985:75)

Examples (95-106) show that it is more accurate to ascribe lexical aspect to the entire predicate, rather than the verb alone. Obviously, this fact does not imply that the verb alone does not have its inherent lexical aspect. However, as Verkuyl (1972) notes, the subject, which is not part of the predicate, may also affect the lexical aspect as shown in his examples (107-108). In (107) the predicate is an achievement which, when combined with a durative time adverbial, renders the proposition ungrammatical. However, in (108) the plural subject changes the aspectual class of the same verb phrase into an activity, thus allowing it to co-occur with a durative time adverbial.

(107) *John **discovered** this village for years/all summer.
(Verkuyl 1972, cited in Rothstein 2004:31)

(108) Tourists **discovered** this village all summer.
(Verkuyl 1972, cited in Rothstein 2004:31)

Scholars disagree whether or not lexical aspect should be considered a category encoded in the verb alone, in the verb phrase, or in the entire clause including the subject.

The present section introduced lexical aspect and the questions related to it. The following sections will discuss the remaining major cross-linguistic verbal categories, namely modality, evidentiality, and mirativity.

2.5. Modality, mood, evidentiality, and mirativity

Aspectuality and temporality are expressed in every finite verb (Klein 1994:1) in which they interact with modality, evidentiality, and mirativity (Binnick 2012:47, de Hann 2012:1020). Therefore, mood as the expression of modality, as well as the expression of evidentiality and mirativity needs to be briefly addressed.

2.5.1. Mood and modality

Mood, the third element in the notion *TAM*, is a verbal category which expresses modality. According to Palmer (1986:16), modality is semantic information associated with the 'speaker's attitudes or opinions' about what is said, thus covering a wide variety of meanings such as ability, desire, permission, probability, possibility, intention or obligation (Rose et al. 2002:52, Depraetere & Reed 2006:269) for an event to happen. More specifically, modality has been defined as the speaker's judgment about the necessity or possibility that a proposition is truthful or that a situation may be actualised (Depraetere & Reed 2006:269). In examples (109-112), the same situation of Sipho being in the house is described with different types of modal meaning. While (109) represents the situation as an asserted fact, (109-112) show different levels of the speaker's certainty or different levels of necessity for it to actualise by means of modal verbs.

(109) Sipho **is** in this house (*but I **am** not sure if he **is** there).
(110) Sipho **could be** in this house (but I **am** not sure if he **is** there).
(111) Sipho **might be** in this house (but I **am** not sure if he **is** there).
(112) Sipho **should be** in the house (but I **am** not sure if he **is** there).

In (109-112), different levels of the speaker's assertion about the same situation are shown. While in (109), the speaker represents the situation of Sipho being in the house as a fact, in (110-112) this is not the case. Instead, the speaker represents the same situation as possible or necessary, thus implying that it has not actualised yet. This is evidenced in the fact that the actualised event in (109) is rendered ungrammatical if a clause is added that negates the situation of Sipho being in the house. By contrast, the non-actualised events in (110-112) can be combined with the same clause.

An important characteristic of modal meaning is that it can pertain to different levels of the proposition. Consider the different levels the modal meaning pertains to in (113) and (114).

(113) Sipho **must be** in the house.

(114) Sipho **must do** his homework.

The necessity in (113) pertains to the relation between the speaker and the truthfulness of the proposition, i.e. the speaker expresses her or his attitude towards the truthfulness of the situation of Sipho being in the house. However, in (114), the necessity does not pertain to the relation between the speaker and the proposition, but to the relation between the subject and the predicate within the proposition. Thus, (113) is an example of **propositional** or **epistemic**[127] **modality**, which reveals 'whether or not the speaker asserts that a proposition is possibly or necessarily true' (van der Auwera & Ammann 2005abc), while **event** or **root modality** in (114) expresses whether or not an event's actualisation is possible or necessary. So, propositional modality characterises the speaker's attitude towards the entire proposition by indicating the degree of possibility or necessity of an event's actualisation, namely how likely or necessary it is that an event occurs, exemplified also in (110-112). It might/may/should/can/could be the case that Sipho is in the house. By contrast, event modality characterises the relation between the agent and the predicate within the same proposition by indicating whether or not an event's actualisation is possible or necessary: Sipho either must or must not do his homework, Sipho either can or cannot do his homework.

[127] Palmer (2001) considers epistemic modality to be a subcategory of propositional modality. He claims the other subcategory of propositional modality to be evidential modality, which expresses the source of information of a proposition (reported, visual, etc.). However, a number of scholars argue against this view, as will be explained in 2.5.2.

In the case of event modality, both the subject and the modal meaning can be extrapolated into an added main clause, while leaving the remainder embedded in the subordinate clause. Thus, it can be paraphrased as *it is possible/necessary for [subject] to [predicate]*, as shown in (116). This is not the case with propositional modality, in which only the modal meaning can be extrapolated into a main clause, but not the subject. Thus, sentences with propositional modality can only be paraphrased as *it is possibly/necessarily the case that [clause]*, as shown in (115).

(115) a. Sipho **must be** in the house =
= It **is** necessarily the case that Sipho **is** in the house.
b. Sipho **must be** in the house. ≠
≠ It **is** necessary for Sipho **to be** in the house.

(116) a. Sipho **must do** his homework ≠
≠ It **is** necessarily the case that Sipho **does** his homework
b. Sipho **must do** his homework. =
= It **is** necessary for Sipho **to do** his homework

Another difference between propositional and event modality observed by Depraetere (2012) regards the temporal relations between the present moment, the modal meaning of likelihood or necessity (encoded e.g. in the modal verbs in (115-116)), and the situation described, the so-called **residue** (the meaning of the remainder of the clause when modality is removed, e.g. <Sipho do his homework> and <Sipho be in the house>[128]). This difference becomes obvious when the modal meaning from (115-116) is transposed to the past, as demonstrated in (117-118). In propositional modality, the modal meaning pertains to the decision made in the present moment about whether or not it is likely or necessary that an event happened in the past, happens at present, or will happen in the future. For example, if a sentence with propositional modality is in the past in (117), the first verb may still remain in the present tense (*it **is** necessarily the case that…[past tense]…*, as opposed to *it **was** necessarily the case that…[past tense]…*). By contrast, in (118), a sentence with event modality which is in the past, the modal meaning is not obliged to be simultaneous with the present moment, but to the tense of the residue (i.e. the situation described). In other words, in (118) it is claimed at the present moment that Sipho is able to do

[128] Huddlestone (1984:168)

his homework now, that Sipho was able to do his homework in the past, or that Sipho will be able to do his homework in the future.

(117) Sipho **must have been** in the house = It **is** necessarily the case that Sipho **was** in the house.

(118) Sipho **had to do** his homework = It **was** necessary for Sipho **to do** his homework.

The two types of modality differ from a semantic point of view, too. As previously shown in (113)[129], propositional modality expresses the speaker's attitude towards the factual status of the proposition. It deals with the degree of necessity or probability ('How likely [or necessary] is it that the proposition is true?' (Depraetere 2012:990)), as opposed to event modality, which deals with an *either/or* question ('is actualization possible/necessary or not?' (Depraetere 2012:990)) (Depraetere & Reed 2011). Event modality can be divided into (i) **deontic modality**, which expresses permissions (119), obligations (120), and commissions[130] (121), and (ii) **dynamic modality**, which encompasses the agent's ability (122) and her or his volition (123). Whereas the source of the modal meaning in deontic modality is outside the agent, e.g. rules, law, or the speaker herself/himself, in dynamic modality, the modal meaning stems from the agent's own power or abilities (Palmer 2001:10, Depraetere 2012:992).

(119) John **may/can come** in now.
Palmer (2001:10)

(120) John **must come** in now.
Palmer (2001:10)

(121) You **shall do** as you **are told**.
(Palmer 2001:73)

(122) John **can speak** French.
Palmer (2001:10)

[129] As already indicated, Palmer (2001) claims that evidential modality is a type of propositional modality. Evidential modality (or **evidentiality**) indicates how the speaker came to learn about the situation denoted by the proposition. In other words, with evidential modality the speaker has for the production of the proposition, e.g. deduction, sensory evidence (visual, auditory) or reported evidence. This view is not followed here. Evidentiality is elaborated on in the following section.

[130] With commissive modality the speaker guarantees the action will take place (Palmer 2001:70); these often include threats and promises.

(123) John **will do** it for you.
Palmer (2001:10)

Not all types of modality can fall under epistemic, deontic, or dynamic modality. Such examples are the **situation permissibility** (124) and **general situation possibility** (125), identified by Depraetere & Reed (2012). Both types share some properties with the propositional and with the event modality. Even though both (124) and (125) can only be paraphrased as *It is possibly/necessarily the case that…*, the modal meaning (*might be brought* and *could have been avoided*) is not simultaneous with the present moment but with the residue, i.e. situations described. The difference between the situation permissibility and the general situation possibility is that in the former case, the source of modality (the English law) can also impose a barrier to the event's actualisation (bringing charge of bigamy), whereas in the latter case (historical circumstances that led to World War I) this does not apply (the historical circumstances do not represent an entity which can impose a barrier to the event's actualisation).

(124) Since the first marriage **was** monogamous in the eyes of the English law a charge of bigamy **might be brought** if the husband later **returned** to England.
(Depraetere 2012:993)

(125) I **don't think** World War I **could have been avoided**.
(adapted from Depraetere 2012:993)

Having discussed the complexity of modal meaning, in the remainder of the present section we can focus on the most common modal markers cross-linguistically (and their basic semantics), some of which will be used when describing modality in Xhosa. Prior to addressing individual modal markers, it is necessary to briefly address the use of terms *modality* and *mood* here. The understanding of the relation between modality and mood parallels that between temporality and tense, or that between aspectuality and aspect. Like temporality and aspectuality, modality can also be expressed in a number of ways which include adverbs, auxiliary verbs, verbal inflections, and particles (Depraetere & Reed 2006:270). Bybee & Fleischman (1995:2) and Depraetere & Reed (2006:270) define mood as the grammatical coding of modal meaning by means of verbal inflections. However, here *mood* will refer to all grammatical, overt, obligatory marking of a

modal category. In the literature, the term *mood* has been used to refer to modal categories which often exhibit unclear interrelations and which are not even necessarily part of one and the same modal system in the same sense as the past, the present and the future are compatible parts of one category, tense, or in the same sense as the imperfective, perfective, progressive, habitual and the anterior are compatible parts of one category, aspect. There are moods that have often been discussed in the literature form at least two parallel modal systems.

In describing the modality in a language, some scholars employ the cross-linguistic binary **realis/irrealis** modal system. Whereas the realis mood represents asserted, actualised or factual events, the irrealis mood denotes unasserted, unactualised or non-factual (Palmer 2001:3, Nordström 2010:25, 35) situations. For example, in sentences (109-112), which exhibit different types of propositional epistemic modality, (109) has the realis mood because the speaker asserts that Sipho being in the house is a fact, whereas (110-112) have the irrealis mood, in that the speaker does not assert that the same situation is a fact[131]. In the realis/irrealis modal system, all instances of event modality are irrealis mood, as none of them assert the occurrence of the event in question. As it primarily refers to assertion (factuality or event actualisation), the cross-linguistic realis/irrealis modal opposition cannot be said to represent a proper example of formal expression of modality, but rather a semantic concept which refers to the modal meaning in any language, irrespective of the overt modal markers it exhibits. Examples (109-112) show that the cross-linguistic realis/irrealis distinction can be used to refer to assertion (factuality or event actualisation) in English, a language which obviously does not exhibit separate modal markers for realis and irrealis. However, the cross-linguistic realis/irrealis opposition is an introduction to the language-specific Realis/Irrealis, another common modal opposition in the literature which is based on the formal marking of modality. The universal realis/irrealis must be clearly distinguished from the language-specific Realis/Irrealis opposition.

The language-specific Realis/Irrealis modal system is especially common in the descriptions of the languages spoken in the Americas and Papua New Guinea (Palmer 2001:107). It is also found in Caddo, a language spoken in Oklahoma which belongs to the Caddoan family.

[131] Views differ with respect to whether the semantics of the modal opposition realis/irrealis is better captured in the notion of **factuality** or **actualisation** (Lyons 1977, Nordström 2010:25, 35), on the one hand, or in the notion of **assertion** (Palmer 2001:3), on the other hand. Some scholars, e.g. Bybee et al. (1994), Bybee & Fleischman (1995), question or dismiss the realis/irrealis opposition altogether, because they find that the semantics of the irrealis mood is too broad, and because the boundary between the two members of the modal opposition varies too much across languages (Nordsröm 2010:35).

As examples (126-127) show, in Caddo the modal distinction is shown in the different 1st person agentive morphemes for the Realis and Irrealis moods, *ci-* and *t'a-*, respectively.

(126) Caddo
Cííbáwʔaʔ.
(ci-yi=bahw-ʔaʔ)
1.AGENT.REALIS-see-FUT
I'll look at it.
Chafe (1995:358)

(127) Caddo
Hít'áybah.
(hí-t'a-yi=bahw)
COND-1.AGENT.IRREALIS-see
If I see it.
Chafe (1995:356)

Unlike the cross-linguistic realis/irrealis opposition, the boundaries between the language-specific Realis and Irrealis moods differ from one language to another. This is best illustrated by means of commands in Caddo, in Central Pomo (a language from the Pomoan family spoken in California), and in Alamblak (a language spoken in Papua New Guinea). In the case of commands, the event cannot be said to represent asserted or factual events. As such, they should semantically form integral part of the universal irrealis mood. However, in Caddo, commands are part of the Realis mood (128), whereas in Central Pomo they are expressed with the Irrealis mood (129) (Palmer 2001:157).

(128) Caddo
Dáyʔbah.
(yahʔ-yi=bahw)
1.AGENT.REALIS-see
Look at it!
(Chafe 1995:358)

(129) Central Pomo

Qʰá=čʰní·-ʔel	**dó-č-hi**,	mú·tu-ya-l
water=bread-DEF=ART	make-SEMEL-SAME=EVENT.IRREALIS	3-PL-PATIENT

qa·-wá-·č-ka-m.
biting-go-IPFV.PL-CAUS-IMP
***Make** the water bread and **invite** them **to eat** it.*
(Mithun 1995:371)

Furthermore, unlike the cross-linguistic realis/irrealis, the language-specific Realis/Irrealis distinction does not need to cover all modal meanings. In Alamblak, commands and exhortations are expressed with the **Imperative mood**, marked by the prefixes *wa-* (131) and *a-*[132] (132), which are neither part of the Realis (130) nor of the Irrealis (133) moods[133].

(130) Alamblak
(Ø-)**Yi**-(Ø-)**më-r**.
DECL-go-REALIS-REMPST-3SG.M
He went.
Bruce (1984:137)

(131) Alamblak
(Ni) Nuat **wa-ya-n-t**.
PRON.2SG sago=patty IMP-eat-2SG-3SG.F
You eat the sago patty!
Bruce (1984:137)

(132) Alamblak
(Nëm) Nuat **a-ya-nëm-t**.
PRON.1PL sago=patty IMP-eat-1PL-3SG.F
Let us eat a sago patty!
Bruce (1984:137)

(133) Alamblak
Fiñji **yay-kah-r-m**.
NEG eat-IRREALIS-2SG.M-3PL
***He does** not **eat them**/**He is** not **eating them**.*
Bruce (1984:138)

As already indicated, the Realis/Irrealis opposition is not the only language-specific modal system used to describe modality in individual languages. Another prominent language-specific modal system is the **Indicative/Subjunctive** modal distinction. The parallel terminology and modal systems are due to the fact that scholars have applied different criteria, relying (to a different extent) on semantics, syntax, and morphology to detect moods in typologically different languages. The Indicative/Subjunctive system is obviously named after its two prominent moods, the **Indicative** and the **Subjunctive**, which are conceived of as morphologically marked verb

[132] Bruce (1984:135-140) analyses the prefix *a-* as the Hortative mood. However, as the difference between *wa-* and *a-* is only one of person which the command is directed at, in that *wa-* directs commands at 2nd person, and *a-* at 1st and 3rd person. This means that the difference between the two prefixes is not modal in nature, and therefore both will be treated as the Imperative mood.
[133] Bruce (1984) does not treat the Imperative as a separate mood, but as part of the Realis/Irrealis modal dichotomy.

forms with modal meaning. The Indicative/Subjunctive modal system is often applied in the traditional grammars of a number of European languages (especially the classical languages, i.e. Latin and Ancient Greek, as well as most modern Romance languages, Germanic languages including English). The Indicative/Subjunctive opposition has also established itself in descriptions of some Bantu languages (Bybee et al. 1994:236, Palmer 2001:3, 107-108). The Indicative indicates that the speaker believes the reported event to be a fact (Trask 1993:72, Rose et al. 2002:), as exemplified by the verb *is* in (109), the Spanish verb *sabía* ('she/he did not know') in (134), or the Italian verb form *o lasciato* ('I have left') in (136). Thus, it roughly corresponds to the Realis mood in the Realis/Irrealis modal system. By contrast, the **Subjunctive** mood tends to occur more often in subordinated clauses than in main clauses, and it covers a wide range of meanings, including that of uncertainty, unlikelihood, suggestions, hope, preferences, or desire (Trask 1993:267, Rose et al. 2002:83, Nordström 2010:2). The Subjunctive is exemplified by the Spanish verb form *supiera* ('(that) she/he didn't know') in (135), and it expresses a greater degree of the speaker's surprise than its Indicative counterpart in (134) (Mauri & Sansò 2017:172). Other meanings covered by the Subjunctive include the Italian verb forms *spieghi* ('(it) explains') in (137), which refers to a non-factual event, as well as *sia arrivato* ('that he has arrived') in (138), which occurs after an emotive or evaluative predicate in the main clause, such as *be glad*, *be surprised*, *regret*, etc. (Mauri & Sansò 2017:172, 174). The Subjunctive roughly corresponds to the Irrealis mood in the Realis/Irrealis modal system.

(134) Spanish

Lo	increíble	**era**	que
ART.DEF.SG	incredible.SG	be.IND.IPFV.3SG	that
Pedro	no	lo	**sabía**.
Pedro	NEG	PRON.OBJ.M.SG	know.IND.IPFV.3SG

*The incredible thing **was** that Pedro **did**n't **know** it.* (indicative, less surprise)
(Givón 2001:322)

(135) Spanish

Lo	increíble	**era**	que
ART.DEF.SG	incredible.SG	be.IND.IPFV.3SG	that
Pedro	no	lo	**supiera**.
Pedro	NEG	PRON.OBJ.M.SG	know.SUBJ.IPFV.3.SG

*The incredible thing **was** that Pedro **did**n't **know** it.* (subjunctive, more surprise)
(Givón 2001:322)

(136) Italian

Sto		**cerc-ando**	il	libr-o
AUX.be.PRS.PROG.1SG		look=for-GER	ART.DEF.M.SG	book.M-SG
che	**o**	**lasci-ato**	qui	ieri.
that	AUX.have.IND.PRS.1SG	leave-PP	here	yesterday

I am looking for *the book that* ***I left*** *here yesterday.* (indicative, referring head)
(Cristofaro 2003:198)

(137) Italian

Sto		**cerc-ando**	un	libr-o	
AUX.be.PRS.PROG.1SG		look=for-GER	ART.INDEF.M.SG	book.M-SG	
che	**spiegh-i**	la	question-e	in	dettagli-o.
that	explain-PRS.SUBJ.3.SG	ART.DEF.F.SG	question.F-SG	in	detail.M-SG

I am looking for *a book* ***explaining*** *the problem in detail (but I don't know whether it exists…).* (subjunctive, non-referring head)
(Cristofaro 2003:198)

(138) Italian

Sono	content-o	che		
be.PRS.1SG	satisfied-M.SG	that		
sia		**arriv-ato**	in	temp-o.
AUX.be.SUBJ.PRS.3SG		arrive-PP.M.SG	in	time.M-SG

I am *happy that* ***he has arrived*** *in time.*
(Mauri & Sansò 2017:174)

Like the language-specific Realis/Irrealis modal system, the Indicative/Subjunctive includes other, common morphologically marked moods which are neither part of the Indicative nor of the Subjunctive mood. Such cases include the **Conditional mood**, which is common in some Romance languages and which indicates that an event's actualisation is conditioned by another situation, as shown in the Italian verb *farei*[134] ('I would do') (139) (Trask 1993:54, Rose et al. 2002:); the **Optative mood** which represents realisable wishes and hopes (Trask 1993:95) exemplified by the Albanian verb form *bëfsh*[135] ('may you make') in (140); the **Imperative mood** which is very common cross-linguistically and which is used to express commands, such as the English verb form *be*[136] in (141); the **Jussive mood** which represents a command directed at 'someone other than the addressee' (Trask 1993:150), demonstrated in the Turkish example

[134] The Italian conditional form *farei* ('I would do') is distinct from the indicative present form *faccio* ('I do') and the subjunctive present form *faccia* ('that I do').
[135] The Albanian optative present form *bëfsh* ('may you make') is distinct from the indicative present form *bën* ('you make'), the subjunctive *bësh* ('that you make'), and the conditional present *do të bëjë* ('if you make').
[136] In English the imperative forms are the same as the indicative forms of the present tense (apart from the third person singular). It is not the case with the verb *be*, as the indicative present for the second person singular is *are*.

gelsin[137] ('let her/him/it come') in (142); the **Hortative mood** with which the 'speaker is encouraging or inciting someone to action' (Bybee et al. 1994:179) demonstrated in the verb form *ngátidyé*[138] ('let us eat') in example (143) from Shona (S10), a Bantu language.

(139) Italian

Se	**foss-e**	così	facil-e, lo		**fare-i**.
if	be.IPFV.SUBJ-3SG	so	easy.SG	PRON.OBJ.SG	do.COND.PRS-1SG

*If **it was** so easy **I would do** it.*
(Mauri & Sansò 2017:177)

(140) Albanian

U	**bë-fsh**	njëqind	vjeç!
PRON.REFL	make-OPT.PRS.2SG	hundred	aged.SG

***May you live** 100 years!*

(141) **Be** nice to them!

(142) Turkish
Gel-sin!
Come-JUSS.3SG
***Let him/her/it come**!*
(Trask 1993:150)

(143) Shona
Ngá-ti-dy-é!
HOR-1.PL-eat-SUBJ
***Let us eat**!*
(Brauner 1995:50)

Just like the complexity of modal meaning, the labels used for formal modal markers are also characterised by numerous issues. The first issue to be addressed at this point regards the varying number of the independent moods within each language-specific modal system, which varies from one language to another[139]. For example, whereas Latin has three moods, Indicative, Imperative, and the Subjunctive, Italian and Ancient Greek have the same moods with the addition of the Conditional mood and the Optative mood, respectively. The situation is similar in the modal systems analysed through the Realis/Irrealis distinction. While Manam, a Papuan language, only distinguish between Realis and Irrealis (Lichtenberk 1983:182-191, Bugenhagen

[137] The Turkish jussive form *gelsin* ('let/her/him/it come') is distinct from the indicative present *gelir* ('he/she/it comes'), the subjunctive *gele* ('that he/she/it comes'), and the conditional *gelse* ('if he/she/it comes').
[138] The Shona hortative form *ngatidye* is distinct from the indicative present *tiri kudya* ('we eat/we are eating'), the habitual present *tinodya* ('we eat') and the subjunctive *tidye* ('that we eat').
[139] The number of possible modal categories discussed in the literature on TAM is extensive and it exceeds those listed in examples (124-135).

1994:9-11, Palmer 2001:160), Alamblak recognises the Imperative mood in addition. The number of language-specific modal labels which have not been discussed in relation to examples (121-141) is extensive and it includes the following: *Desiderative* for expressing wanting and desiring (Trask 1993:80), *Volitive* for expressing wishes (Trask 1993:299), *Dubitative* for positive doubts (Palmer 2001:25), *Potential* for ability or possibility (Trask 1993:213), *Permissive* for instructions or permissions (Palmer 2001:110), *Obligative* for obligations (Palmer 2001:110), *Prohibitive* for negative imperatives and prohibitions (Palmer 2001:180), *Interrogative* for expressing questions (Trask 1993:144), to name a few. Most modal labels may appear in either the Realis/Irrealis or the Indicative/Subjunctive modal systems, as is the case with the Imperative mood.

Another important issue of modal labels regards the boundaries between certain moods which vary greatly from one language to another. Thus, as already shown in (126-131), the Imperative represents a subcategory of the Realis mood in Caddo, in Central Pomo it is part of the Irrealis mood, whereas in Alamblak it is a mood independent from both the Realis and Irrealis. Another example of the varying boundaries between modal labels is the Subjunctive mood which has a very wide range of modal meanings, some of which can correspond to another mood in other languages. The Conditional mood in e.g. Italian, which semantically corresponds to the Subjunctive present form in Latin, as shown in form *erres* ('you would be wrong') in (144) (Palmer 2001:125). Another example is the semantics of the Jussive mood in Turkish in (142), which is covered by the Subjunctive mood in Luvale (K14), a Bantu language, as shown in example (145) with the form *vaize* ('let them come'). Similarly, wishes and hopes, which are represented with the Optative in Albanian (140), are expressed by the Subjunctive in Fula, a Niger-Congo language spoken in Western Africa (Palmer 2001:13, 110-111), exemplified by the verb form *njuulaa* ('may you live') in (146).

(144) Latin

Si	hoc	**facias**,	**erres**.
if	this	do.2SG.PRS.SUBJ	err.2SG.PRS.SUBJ

*If **you did/were to do** this, **you would be wrong**.*
(Palmer 2001:125)

(145) Luvale
Va-iz-e (**veze**) waxi.
3PL.come.SUBJ quickly
Let them come *quickly.*
(Horton 1949:302-304)

(146) Fula
Njuutaa balɗe!
be=long.2SG.SUBJ in=days
May you live long!
(Arnott 1970:299, cited in Palmer 2001:13, 110-111)

A more problematic issue is the fact that the same label may be used in different languages (or sometimes even different studies) to refer to different modal meanings, a phenomenon which leads to great terminological inconsistency in the research on TAM. Thus, for Trask (1993:299) the Volitive mood expresses wishes and is subdivided into the Desiderative and the Optative. The former expresses wishes of entities involved in the situation, whereas the latter expresses wishes of the speaker (Dobrushina et al. 2005). However, the Volitive, the Optative, and the Desiderative have been used with interchangeable meanings in the literature. Whereas Nordström (2010:29) refers to the Fula example (146) as an example of the Optative or the Desiderative mood (thus indirectly equating the semantics between the two categories), Palmer (2001:110-111) sees it an example of the Volitive mood. In addition, semantically, the modal meaning in (146) fully corresponds to the Albanian Optative mood in (140). The term *Optative mood* itself has also been used with various meanings. In some studies, it refers to an inflected paradigm in Ancient Greek and Sanskrit that has much wider semantics: it expresses both the speaker's wishes, as well as possible events (Trask 1993:195). Another meaning of the Optative is given in Bybee et al. (1994:171), where it refers to full person-number paradigms of the Imperative (Palmer 2001:81), i.e. to paradigms of commands directed at the first, second, and third person. The Optative has yet another meaning in other studies. Van der Auwera et al. (2005) define the difference between the Optative, on the one hand, and the Imperative and the Hortative, on the other hand, with the appeal to the hearer to actualise a situation which is absent in the former case, but present in the latter. This view is in line with Dobrushina et al.'s (2005) understanding of Optative mood, which is restricted to refer to the speaker's wishes and hopes, like in the Albanian example (140). This understanding of the Optative mood will also be used here. When it comes to the distinction between the commands and exhortations that can be

actualised by the hearer, the difference between Imperative, Hortative and Jussive is mostly based on the person at which these are directed (Rose et al. 2002:39-40). The Imperative is addressed at the second person (Lyons 1977:747, van der Auwera et al. 2005), while the Jussive and the Hortative are used for commands and exhortations addressed at the first and the third person (Palmer 2001:81). Whereas Palmer (2001:81, 180-181) does not distinguish between the Jussive and the Hortative, in some studies Jussive is treated as typically directed towards the third person (Trask 1993:150, Trask 1997:121, Rose et al. 2002:48), whereas Hortative is directed towards the first person plural (Trask 1993:129, Rose et al. 2002:37-38). In sum, the Imperative, the Hortative, and the Jussive never simply relate to different modal meanings; they do not have independent, complete, person-number modal paradigms, but they rather complete each other to constitute one paradigm.

At this point, the choice between the Realis/Irrealis and the Indicative/Subjunctive to describe the expression of modality in a language needs to be addressed. Palmer (2001:5, 148-149, 185) does not claim the difference between the two language-specific modal systems to be semantic or typological in nature, but he rather ascribes it to the different linguistic traditions. Nevertheless, Palmer (2001:5) notes some morpho-syntactic differences between the two modal systems, so he does not equate the Realis with the Indicative, nor does he do that with the Irrealis and the Subjunctive. The Subjunctive is often restricted to subordinated clauses, whereas the Irrealis occurs both in main and in subordinated clauses. Also, in a number of languages, both the Indicative and the Subjunctive may encode the tense too, thus differentiating such forms as the Present Indicative from the Past Indicative, or the Present Subjunctive from the Past Subjunctive (Palmer 2001:5). This is not the case with Realis/Irrealis. The Realis generally tends to occur with Past or Present tense only, and Irrealis with the Future (Palmer 2001:5).

The problematic boundaries between modal categories are not characteristic of the language-specific modal systems only. They are also found in the binary, universal realis/irrealis modal system, despite the fact that it is supposed to form a semantic distinction that any language-specific modal system can be subsumed under and thus help overcome at least one part of the terminological issues addressed above. As already pointed out, Palmer (2001:3-4) regards the universal realis/irrealis modal system as a system that follows the line of assertion, rather

than factuality or actualisation[140]. This means that the speaker uses the realis and the irrealis moods to mark whether she or he asserts an event to have occurred or not, whereby assertion is part of the speech act, unlike factuality, which is a matter of the objective state of affairs. No universally found clear-cut distinction between the universal realis and the universal irrealis has been agreed upon.

Despite the abovementioned issues, the brief description of modal semantics and the most common labels used to refer to modal markers enables a proper analysis of modality in Xhosa. The present study is primarily interested in modality as a category that often interacts with tense and aspect, in that it is often expressed in temporally and aspectually marked verb forms. Modally marked verb forms will be qualified as propositional modal or event modal markers, as well as universal realis or irrealis markers. However, the Indicative/Subjunctive modal system is already rooted in the tradition of Xhosa and Nguni grammars to refer to particular morphologically inflected verb forms. The already existing labels within the Indicative/Subjunctive modal system will continue to be used, unless terminological inconsistencies and incompatibilities arise in individual cases.

2.5.2. Evidentiality

In some languages, the proposition will be formally different depending on how the speaker acquired information about its content. An example of such a language is Tariana, an Arawakan or Maipurean language spoken in Brazil, in which the past situation of José playing football

[140] Nordström (2010:35-47) offers an alternative view, which acknowledges both the distinction between factual and non-factual, as well as between asserted and non-asserted. She views modal meaning as operating at two different levels. While she argues that the realis, irrealis, indicative, and the subjunctive are only part of propositional modality and that they express whether or not an event is factual, the imperative, hortative, jussive, optative, and the interrogative are part of the so-called **speech-act modality**, in that they represent moods with which the speaker asserts that an event occurred. However, in this study, the linguistically relevant distinction between factuality and assertion will be dismissed as unrealistic, as factuality cannot be discerned from the assertion that an event is factual. Language does not reflect the objective relations from the real world, but the speaker's perception thereof. It will be understood here that when an event is marked as factual, it entails that the speaker asserts it to be factual. It will also be considered unrealistic to think that the speaker may choose to represent an event as factual without choosing to assert it. In some admirative constructions, the speaker chooses to represent an event as non-factual. Even though she or he obviously knows it is factual, the event is automatically non-asserted as well.

differs depending on whether the speaker saw the event herself/himself, heard the event herself/himself, or whether it was reported to her/him by someone else:

(147) Tariana
Juse ɨrida **di-manika-ka**.
José football 3SG.NF-play-RECPST-VISUAL
*José **played** football* (speaker saw it).
(Aikhenvald 2004:2)

(148) Tariana
Juse ɨrida **di-manika-mahka**.
José football 3SG.NF-play-RECPPST-NONVISUAL
*José **played** football* (speaker heard it).
(Aikhenvald 2004:2)

(149) Tariana
Juse ɨrida **di-manika-nihka**.
José football 3SG.NF-play-RECPST-INFERENTIAL
*José **played** football* (speaker infers it from visual evidence).
(Aikhenvald 2004:2)

(150) Tariana
Juse ɨrida **di-manika-sika**.
José football 3SG.NF-play-RECPST-ASSUMPTIVE
*José **played** football* (speaker assumes it based on what we already know).
(Aikhenvald 2004:2)

(151) Tariana
Juse ɨrida **di-manika-pidaka**.
José football 3SG.NF-play-RECPST-REPORTIVE
*José **played** football* (speaker was told).
(Aikhenvald 2004:3)

The grammatical category demonstrated in (147-151) is **evidentiality**, which Aikhenvald (2004:3) defines as 'a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information'. Evidentiality is expressed through what will be referred to as evidential markers, or **evidentials** which in Tariana examples (147-151) are represented by affixes.

In German, evidential markers for reported knowledge include inter alia the modal verbs *sollen* ('shall') and *wollen* ('will'), as shown in examples (152-153). Whereas (152) is simply a case of reported knowledge, (153) is specifically reported by the subject of the clause.

(152) German

Er	**soll**	steinreich	**sein**.
PRON.3SG.M	shall.PRS.3.SG	very=rich	be.INF

*He **is said to be** extremely rich.*
(Hammer 1983:231)

(153) German

Er	**will**	ein-e	
PRON.3SG.M	will.PRS.3SG	ART.INDEF-F.SG.NOM	
Mosquito	**abgeschossen**	**haben**.	
Mosquito.F.SG.NOM	shoot=down-PP	have.INF	

*He **claims to have shot down** a Mosquito (plane).*
(Hammer 1983:232)

Evidentiality can be systematised into a firsthand type, i.e. visual and sensory evidential type (auditory, smell, taste, touch), and a non-firsthand type, i.e. inference, assumption, hearsay and quotative evidential types (whereby the last two belong to the reported type; unlike the quotative, the hearsay type has no overt reference to the source) (Aikhenvald 2004:65). The fact that moods may be used to mark evidentiality (de Haan 2012:1030) has resulted in the view that evidentiality is part of propositional modality alongside epistemic modality, or of epistemic modality itself, a view shared by a number of scholars including Givón (1982), Bybee (1985), Palmer (1986, 1987, 2001:8-9), Chafe (1986), Willett (1988), Matthews (1997:120), van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), Trask (1999:189), Dendale & Tasmowski (2001:343), Nuyts (2001). However, de Haan (1999, 2005, 2012) and Aikhenvald (2004) consider evidentiality a completely separate grammatical category. Aikhenvald (2004:5) follows Hoff (1986), Hardman (1986:121), Donabédian (2001:432), and Hassler (2002:157) in insisting that 'marking information source as a grammatical category does not imply any reference to validity or reliability of knowledge or information', thus arguing that evidentiality is not part of propositional or epistemic modality. De Haan (2012:1032) finds that indirect evidential markers do not inherently decrease the speaker's certainty about the truthfulness of the proposition. Another piece of evidence for this position is the fact that an evidential marker may co-occur in the same clause with an epistemic modal marker (de Haan 2012:1032).

Due to its cross-linguistically common encoding in tense, aspect, and mood (Aikhenvald 2004:6-8, de Haan 2012:1029), evidentiality and its semantic extension to modality need to be addressed in the current study as long as they are expressed in the tense and aspect markers in Xhosa.

2.5.3. Mirativity

The last grammatical category to be introduced in this chapter is **mirativity**, grammaticalisation of 'unexpected new information, and [the speaker's] concomitant surprise'. In the Turkish example (154), the non-firsthand evidential marker *-miş* serves to express the speaker's surprise, i.e. the fact that the speaker did not expect that information, as opposed to (155), in which the mirative affix is omitted, thus merely conveying the information about Nixon's resignation without the indication of the speaker's expectations.

(154) Turkish
Ecevit istifa **et-miş-Ø**.
Ecevit resignation make-PST.NONFIRSTHAND-3SG
*Ecevit **has resigned**!*
(De Haan 2012:1040)

(155) Turkish
Nixon istifa **et-ti-Ø**.
Nixon resignation make-PST-3SG
*Nixon **resigned**.*
(De Haan 2012:1040)

It is argued by some scholars to be a grammatical category in its own right (Aikhenvald 2004), whereas others (de Haan 2012) question its independence from the category of evidentiality because it is most often (but not always) marked with an evidential or, sometimes, with another category.

3. Tense and Aspect in Xhosa

3.1. Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to introduce the general characteristics of the TAM system in Xhosa. A review of the sources on this subject is also provided with the aim to identify the TAM markers that express temporality and aspectuality, while drawing a distinction between them and those that encode modality, evidentiality or mirativity. At the same time, the goal of the review is to point out the currently unresolved issues in this domain.

3.2. Studies on tense and aspect in Xhosa and other Nguni languages

Before proceeding to the description of the TAM categories in Xhosa, a few remarks regarding the relevant literature need to be made. Although the earliest studies on the Nguni varieties, most notably Xhosa and Zulu, date as far back as the first half of the 19th century, e.g. Bennie (1834), Boyce (1834), Appleyard (1850), Davis (1872), and McLaren (1906), some of which have had numerous reprints, all-encompassing reference grammars which include a thorough analysis of the TAM system are still rare. Accordingly, Mă (2013:1-2) observes:

> (1) *In Bantu languages like isiXhosa, studies on temporal references are far and few between. Most of the available literature dates back to the period between the 1930's and the 1960's (e.g. Doke […] 1931; McLaren, 1936; Bennie, 1939; Louw, 1963). In the recent years, some grammar books on isiXhosa have emerged […]*[141]*. These grammar books, however, do not provide systematic accounts on temporal expressions.*

Thus, Bennie (1939, 1954; 1st edition 1834), McLaren (1936; 1st edition 1906), as well as Louw & Jubase (1963) are, despite their age, some of the currently most cited grammars of Xhosa.

[141] Here, Mă (2013:2) refers to Zotwana (1994), Kirsch et al. (1999), Dowling (2006) using a different format.

Besides scarcity, another problem with the grammars is that no consistent theoretical terminology is followed[142]. For example, references to the (in all likelihood aspectually marked)'continuous tenses[143]' are frequently found even in such recent studies as Riordan et al. (1969:247-251), Davey (1973:82-91), Dowling (1998:123) for Xhosa, Nyembezi (1957:84) and Ziervogel et al. (1976:47) for Zulu. Thus, the terminology and the theoretical embedding in the predominantly South African studies on Xhosa strongly diverge from those used in the descriptions of the other (non-South African) Bantu languages and even in the general linguistic tradition. Thus, one and the same term may vary from one study to another and it does not necessarily comply with its conventional use in the general linguistic tradition. Furthermore, the complex semantics of the grammatical categories are rarely elaborated on, instead being only indicated by their descriptive labels, e.g. *Perfect*, *Recent Past*, *Indefinite Past*, etc.

Equally challenging is the classification of the individual markers into their respective TAM categories. The labels used in many of the studies done on Nguni contradict the classification of TAM followed in the present study. As is shown in the following sections of this chapter, the term *tense* is often used for any individually conjugated verb from (regardless of whether its meaning is aspectual, temporal, modal, or a combination thereof), and *mood* is frequently used for any paradigm of such 'tenses'. Therefore, the validity of each Xhosa TAM marker's label and categorial classification needs to be reviewed and, where necessary, redefined. Those TAM markers with labels established in the literature on Xhosa and the other Nguni languages which do not belong to any of the addressed grams or gram-types in Chapter 2 will continue to be used (until their revision) with the quotation mark, e.g. 'Participial mood' and 'Temporal mood'.

The Xhosa and Nguni literature mostly recognises five moods: Indicative, Imperative, the Subjunctive, 'Participial', and 'Temporal'. A number of predominantly older (but not only)

[142] A great number of studies on Xhosa and Nguni included here are in fact textbooks and teaching materials which, despite their openly didactic character, occasionally may provide valuable insights into the semantics of TAM. However, this fact is at the same time probably the reason for the idiosyncratic terminology in these sources, for their scarce theoretical explanations, as well as for their 'detachment' from the linguistic tradition(s) followed in the descriptions of other languages.

[143] Quotation marks indicate that I find the label of the TAM marker inadequate. Capital letters are used for those labels that are established in the literature and that I need to use provisionally due to the lack of a more adequate term. By contrast, lowercase indicates that those labels for TAM markers which are study-specific and which I do not take it over (even provisionally) because they have better alternatives in other studies.

studies (McLaren 1906, Bennie 1939, Canonici 1990:49-50 for Zulu) even include the 'Infinitive' as one of the moods. The Indicative mood is reported to have the following tenses: Present, Recent Past/'Perfect', Remote Past, Immediate/Near Future, Remote Future, and 'Undefined Future'. In the Subjunctive mood, three distinct temporal forms are usually recognised: Present, Past, and Future Subjunctive, whereas the 'Participial mood' is thought to exhibit as many forms as the Indicative (Davey 1973). The 'Temporal mood' has been reported to have a Present, a 'Continuous tense', a Past tense[144] (Louw & Jubase 1963:164-165), while the Imperative distinguishes between a Present (general) and a Future tense (Louw & Jubase 1963:168, du Plessis & Visser 1992:91, Canonici 1990:51[145]). Morphologically complex verbs (often erroneously referred to as the 'complex' or 'compound tenses' in the literature on Xhosa) are usually ascribed aspectual meaning and they are derived by combining auxiliary verbs in the Indicative with the Participial form of lexical verbs. The five affixes which have been described as expressing TAM-related meaning, *-sa-*, *sele-*, *-ka-*, *-kwa-*, *-ngá-*, will also be briefly addressed towards the end of the chapter.

The literature suggests that the Indicative exhibits the highest number of temporally and aspectually marked verb forms. Table 3.1 shows the paradigm of the 1st person singular subject marker (1.SG SM) *ndi-* with the verb *-baleka* ('run') through the tenses of the Indicative mood. As evident in Table 3.1, some TAM markers are found in TA (between SM and verb root), while others are in FV (suffix). The distinction between the long (disjoint) and short (conjoint) forms is explained in the sections on the Present and the Recent Past tenses.

[144] Davey (1973:119) does not refer to this form with a particular term, but claims it denotes completed future actions.

[145] Canonici (1990:51) refers to the Infinitive forms with the Future marker as to an *aspect* which indicates a future intention, rather than *Future tense*.

Table 3.1 *The paradigm of the verb* -baleka *('run') in the first person of the Indicative mood.*

	Long/Disjoint form	Short/Conjoint form
'Contracted form' of the future	nd**o**baleka **/** nda**ku**baleka 'I will run'	
Remote future	ndi**ya ku**baleka > ndi**yo**baleka 'I will run' **a**ndi**yi ku**baleka 'I will not run'	
Near future	ndi**za ku**baleka > ndi**zo**baleka 'I will run' **a**ndi**zi ku**baleka 'I will not run'	
Present	ndi**ya**baleka 'I am running / I run' **a**ndibaleki 'I do not run / I am not running'	ndibaleka 'I am running / I run'
Recent Past/Perfect	ndibaleki**le** 'I ran / I have run' **a**ndibaleka**nga** (also: **a**ndibaleki**le**) 'I did not run / I have not run'	ndibaleke 'I ran / I have run'
Remote Past	nd**â**baleka 'I ran' (andi)**zange** ndibaleke[146] 'I (never) ran / I did not run'	

3.3. Present tense

The relatively unproblematic semantics of the Present[147] tense entails that it refers to an event that holds true at the present[148] moment, both as ongoing (progressive) or as a series of repetitive events (with the intermittent pauses in between) which generally hold true (habitual) (McLaren 1936:170, Davey 1973:45, Schonstein Pinnock 1998:122). Nxopo (1993:100), who uses the Reichenbachian points R, E, and S to formalise tenses (not within the relational theory), represents the Present tense as a coincidence of all the three points: R,E,S. With the exception of

[146] In some studies (cf. section 3.5 on Remote Past), the negated form of the Recent Past is also considered the negated form of the Remote Past.

[147] It should be borne in mind that Xhosa-specific or Nguni-specific, overtly marked TAM categories (with a somewhat, as of yet not fully determined semantics) are referred to with capital letters, whereas the purely semantic, cross-linguistic categories (considered as the actual denotees of those overt markers) are referred to with lowercase.

[148] Unlike specific tenses which are indicated with capitalized letters, in the present study, names of the specific sections of the timeline will contain small initial letters, e.g. *present*, (*recent* or *remote*) *past*, and (*recent* or *remote*) *future*.

a few studies where this form is referred to as the 'Imperfect tense' (Davis 1872:74, Oosthuysen 2016:188-189), the majority of scholars recognise it as the **Present tense**.

As already indicated in Table 3.1, the Present tense distinguishes between a short and a long form. The short form consists of the basic verbal structure, with all the 'obligatory' morphemes: SM-verb=root-FV[149], whereas the long one has the infix *-ya-* inserted between SM and the verb root (or OM, if present). Besides the terms *short* and *long* to refer to these forms, which are predominant in the South African studies of the Nguni languages (van der Wal 2017:15), the terms **conjoint** and **disjoint**[150], respectively, which stem from Meeussen's (1959) description of the same phenomenon in Kirundi[151], are quite popular in the general Bantu linguistic tradition. The conjoint/disjoint contrast is restricted to the Indicative, affirmative clauses. The negated form of the Present tense does not exhibit the conjoint/disjoint opposition and it is formed with a prefixed *a-* before the SM[152], and the replacement of the final vowel *-a* with *-i*[153].

The semantic difference between the two forms is somewhat complex, which is why it is still subject to debate in studies on the Bantu languages. In Xhosa, the conjoint form cannot occupy the clause-final position, as demonstrated in (2-3) in which the first verb forms are conjoint[154] and the second forms are disjoint.

(2) ***Ú-ty-a / Ú-ya-ty-a**.
SM.1-eat-FV SM.1-DISJ-eat-FV
*She **is eating***[155].

[149] If present, OM is inserted between SM and the verb root.
[150] As is shown in this section, in Xhosa conjoint and disjoint are not grammatical categories, but primarily syntactic phenomena.
[151] Meeussen (1959) was not the first one to describe the conjoint/disjoint distinction. Earlier descritpions with a different terminology are found in Endemann (1876) for Sotho, Doke (1927) for Zulu, and van Warmelo (1937) for Venda (van der Wal 2017:15).
[152] The inserted negative marker *a-* can be treated both as a prefix with a position in the template in its own right (Pre-SM), and as a negative subject marker (NEG.SM). In the present study, the latter approach will be followed because some of the negative markers show an obscure relation to their affirmative counterparts, e.g. SM.1 *u-* ↔ NEG.SM.1 *aka-*.
[153] Only a handful of verbs do not have *-i* in FV when negated. These include: *-tsho* ('say so'), *-va* ('hear, feel'), *-kho* (*-khona*) ('exist, be there'), whereas *-thi* ('say, do') and *-azi* ('know') already have *-i* as their default FV.
[154] Conjoint forms are not glossed because the conjoint form in the Present tense is characterised by the absence of the disjoint marker *-ya-*.
[155] The sentence has both the progressive and the habitual reading. However, the translation indicates only the former to avoid erroneous association of either reading with the conjoint or the disjoint forms in the original.

(3) U-Lindiwe ***ú-ty-a** **/ ú-ya-ty-a**.
AUG-1a.Lindiwe SM.1-eat-FV SM.1-DISJ-eat-FV
*Lindiwe **is eating***[156].

The conjoint form needs to be followed by another constituent[157], e.g. the object noun isonka ('bread') in (4). However, the disjoint form can also be followed by another constituent. For example, when an object noun follows the disjoint verb, the verb must also integrate an OM which refers to the same object, as in (5).

(4) U-Lindiwe **ú-ty-a** i-sonka.
AUG-1a.Lindiwe SM.1-eat-FV AUG-7.bread
*Lindiwe **is eating** bread.*

(5) U-Lindiwe ***ú-ya-ty-a / *ú-si-ty-a / ú-ya-si-ty-a** i-sonka.
AUG-1a.Lindiwe SM.1-DISJ-eat-FV SM.1-OM.7-eat-FV SM.1-DISJ-OM.7-eat-FV AUG-7.bread
*Lindiwe **is eating (the)** bread.*

The OM is not restricted to disjoint verbs. It can be integrated into a conjoint verb form, too, if the following constituent is not coreferential with it, cf. *úndinika* ('she gives/is giving me') in (6). Conjoint forms need to be followed by a constituent to complete the clause, yet not a constituent that is already referred to by an OM, which is why *úsitya* ('she eats/is eating it') renders the sentence ungrammatical in (5). The disjoint form *úyatya* ('she eats/is eating') in (5) is not licenced because the completed phrase represented by the verb is followed by an adjunct which has a denotee that is not already included in the verb in the form of an OM.

(6) U-Lindiwe **ú-ndi-nik-a / ú-ya-ndi-nik-a** i-sonka.
AUG-1a.Lindiwe SM.1-OM.1SG-give-FV SM.1-DISJ-OM.1SG-give-FV AUG-7.bread
*Lindiwe **is giving me** bread.*

[156] The sentence has both the progressive and the habitual reading. However, the translation indicates only the former to avoid erroneous association of either reading with the conjoint or the disjoint forms in the original.
[157] This applies to the reversed order of constituents when the verb is the first constituent (out of two or more). Poulos & Msimang (1998:260) note that in Zulu, the postponed subject noun requires a disjoint verb, e.g. *Bayasebenza abantu* ('They work, the people').

As demonstrated in (6), both the disjoint and the conjoint verb may occur in sentences with two objects, whereby one object is an OM and the other one is a noun[158] (Davey 1973:43-44, Du Plessis 1992:24). Two nominal objects can also follow a conjoint verb (Davey 1973:44)[159], cf. (7).

(7) U-Lindiwe **ú-nik-a** a-ba-ntwana ii-ncwadi.
AUG-1a.Lindiwe SM.1-give-FV AUG-2-child AUG-10.book
*Lindiwe **is giving** books to children.*

Constituents other than object nouns may also follow disjoint verbs. These include the interrogative particle *na*, cf. (8), whereas question words such as *-ni* / *ntoni* ('what'), *phi* ('where'), *nini* ('when'), *njani* ('how') usually occur after conjoint forms, cf. (9). Other constituents following the verb also show preferences for one of the verb forms. Clitics such as *ke* ('well, well then')[160] and *nje* ('just, simply')[161] usually follow disjoint forms, while adverbs, locative nouns, conjunctions (e.g. *ukuba* 'that'), participial clauses (e.g. *ecula* '(he/she) singing') and Infinitive clauses usually follow conjoint verbs (Mncube 1957:14, 43-44, 137-138, Davey 1973:43, Satyo 1989:263, Bryant 2007:42, Poulos & Msimang 1998:260-262 for Zulu; Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976:175-176 for Swati).

(8) ***U-sebenz-a** / **U-ya-sebenz-a** na?
SM.2SG-work-FV SM.2SG-DISJ-work-FV Q
***Do you work**?*

(9) **U-sebenz-a** / ***U-ya-sebenz-a** phi / njani / nini / nabani?
SM.2SG-work-FV SM.2SG-DISJ-work-FV where how when COM=who
*Where/How/When/With whom **do you work**?*

[158] This claim about double-object constructions needs to be taken with some reservations as a number of rules regulate the order of the direct and the indirect object, as well as which objects can be referred to by OM (cf. Zeller 2012:221ff).
[159] Note that two nominal objects can also follow a disjoint verb. Such cases are described for Zulu in Zeller (2012), whereas a comparable study of this phenomenon in Xhosa does not exist to my knowledge.
[160] As opposed to Mncube (1957) who claims that all enclitics in Xhosa, including *ke* (along with *phi* and *ni*) which 'draw the penultimate [vowel] length forward' must follow conjoint forms, Poulos & Msimang (1998:260-261) and Ziervogel & Mabuza (1976:175) assert that *ke* occurs after disjoint verbs in Zulu and Swati, respectively.
[161] Note the semantic contrast between *Ndihamba nje* ('I am merely walking with no purpose') and *Ndiyahamba nje* ('I am merely walking') (Davey 1973:43).

Having considered some of the main properties of the conjoint/disjoint distinction, its semantic accounts in the literature on Xhosa and the other Nguni languages can be discussed. Already in the earliest studies, scholars such as McLaren (1906:76)[162], Louw & Jubase (1963:38-39), Riordan et al. (1969), Davey (1973), Schonstein Pinnock (1988:122-123), Satyo (1989), Bryant (2007), Oosthuysen (2016), Andrason & Dlali (2017) for Xhosa; Ziervogel et al. (1976:52), Poulos & Msimang (1998) for Zulu; Ziervogel & Mabuza (1976), Nichols (2011) for Swati, Amand et al. (Bowern & Lotridge) (2002) for Zimbabwean Ndebele[163]) recognise that the meaning of the conjoint/disjoint distinction is linked to one or both of the following concepts (yet, without necessarily excluding other meanings):

(i) **Constituency**: The disjoint verb is not followed by other material (e.g. adjuncts, arguments) in the clause;
(ii) **Focus** or **emphasis**: The disjoint indicates that the sentential focus is on the verb, as opposed to on other constituents such as the object, adverb, etc.

It is evident that the already discussed restrictions of the conjoint form with regards to the clause-final position exemplified in (2-4) constitute the main argument behind the constituency-based semantic component in (i). With regards to the focus-based semantic component in (ii), the conjoint form indicates the focus is on the argument or adjunct following the verb, e.g. on the object *isonka* ('bread') in (4), whereas the disjoint form signals that the focus is on the verb, e.g. *úyasitya* ('she eats/is eating it') in (5). Some authors characterise the disjoint form as an indicator

[162] McLaren (1906=1952:82) claims that disjoint verbs contain emphasis, both when sentence-final and when followed by an adjunct Nxopo (1993:13-14).
[163] Some of these authors see the meaning of *-ya-* as linked to constituency, but not focus, e.g. Mncube (1957), Oosthuysen (1958=1967:9), Du Plessis (1978:115-117), Zotwana (1991:27), Munnik (1995), Jokweni (1995), Dowling (1998) and Kirsch et al. (1999) for Xhosa; Nyembezi 1957 and Canonici 1990 for Zulu; Corum (1978) and Rycroft (1981) (according to Nichols 2011:38) for Swati; Pietraszko (2017) for Zimbabwean Ndebele; Crane & Fanego (2020) for South African isiNdebele (S407). Focus, but not constituency, as the semantics of the long form, is found in Bennie (1834=1939=1953:104), Pahl (1967:115=1983), Nxopo (1993) and Einhorn & Siyengo (1993) for Xhosa; Doke (1927=1965:337), van Eeden (1956:245), Engelbrecht (1962:27), and Ziervogel et al. (1976:178) for Zulu (Nxopo 1993:12-16, 19-20, van der Wal 2017:41).

of **contrastive focus**, which is demonstrated in (10) and (11) (Davey 1973:42, Satyo 1989:263, Nxopo 1993:18[164]).

(10) U-yise **ú-ya-ba-mkel-a** abantu,
AUG-1a.her/his=father SM.1-OM.2-welcome-FV AUG-2-person
aka-ba-gxoth-i.
NEG.SM.1-OM.2-chase=away-NEG
*Father **welcomes** people, he **does not chase them away**.*
(Satyo 1989:263)

(11) **Ndi-ya-lal-a** e-bhedi-ni.
SM.1SG-DISJ-lie-FV LOC-9.bed-LOC
*I **am lying** on the bed.*
(Davey 1973:42)

The semantic components in (i) and (ii) have developed further and given rise to two different, mutually exclusive approaches (not just in the literature on the Nguni languages, but also in the literature on the Bantu languages in general) which contradict each other with regards to whether it is constituency or focus that lie at the foundation of the conjoint/disjoint opposition (cf. van der Wal 2017)[165,166]. The former seems to prevail in the studies on the Nguni languages: While Voeltz (2004) argues for the focus approach in Zulu, constituency underlies the conjoint/disjoint distinction in Jokweni's (1995) account of Xhosa and in van der Spuy's (1993) account of the Nguni languages, whereby the latter's analysis is echoed in the studies of Zulu by Buell (2005, 2006), Cheng & Downing (2009, 2012), Adams (2010), Zeller (2012, 2014), Halpert (2012,

[164] Nxopo (1993:18; for Xhosa) and Ziervogel et al. (1976:52; for Zulu) claim that emphasis can be placed on an adverb that follows a disjoint verb, e.g. *Ndiyalamba ngoku* ('I am starving now, that is previously I have not been starving at all') (Nxopo 1993:18), which contradicts the usual characterisation of the disjoint verb as the emphasised part of the clause. This contradiction is perhaps a result of old information (focus) being mistaken for contrasting information (contrasting focus).

[165] Cf. the focus-based approach in Givón (1975) for Bemba (M42), Kinyarwanda (JD61) and Zulu, Hyman & Watters (1984) for Kirundi, Bemba and Aghem, and Güldemann (2003), Watters (1979) for Aghem, Creissel (1996) for Tswana (S31), Ndayiragije (1999) for Kirundi (JD62), van der Wal (2009) for Makhuwa, Rose et al. (2002), Voeltz (2004) for Zulu, Nurse (2008), van der Wal (2017), Gibson et al. (2017), Bostoen & Nshemezimana (2017) for Kirundi, Creissels (2017) for Tswana. The constituency-based approach is Louwrens (1985) for Northern Sotho (S32), in Khoali (1991) for Southern Sotho (Sesotho) (S33), in Yoneda (2017) for Matengo (N13), and in Ngoboka & Zeller (2017) for Kinyarwanda (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017:362).

[166] It is acknowledged in the literature that one approach may hold for one Bantu language but not necessarily for another Bantu language (cf. van der Wal 2017:25, 50-52).

2017), Zeller et al. (2017) (Zerbian 2006:62, Zeller et al. 2017:296ff, Ngoboka & Zeller 2017:362)[167]. According to van der Spuy (1993), Buell (2005, 2006), and Halpert (2012), the conjoint form can occur only if followed by other VP-internal material[168] (Zeller et al. 2017:297). By contrast, the disjoint form marks the VP boundary[169]. If any material follows the disjoint form, it is placed outside the VP, i.e. the domain of focus (Buell 2006, Cheng & Downing 2009, Zeller et al. 2017)[170] (Zeller et al. 2017:297-298). This analysis seems to constitute the most comprehensive view, as it accounts both for the constituency-related and for the focus-related properties of the conjoint and the disjoint forms. Thus, following Buell (2006), Cheng & Downing (2009), and Zeller et al. (2017), object nouns which have a coreferential OM in the preceding disjoint verb are dislocated outside VP (the domain of focus). For example, unlike in (4), in (5) *isonka* ('bread') represents a non-focused object noun.

Having considered the prevailing definitions in the literature about the conjoint/disjoint distinction, the less common semantic accounts of this distinction in the Present tense need to be briefly reviewed as some of them provide observations relevant for the analysis of the Present tense in Xhosa in Chapter 6.

(iii) **Definiteness of the object noun** in disjoint forms:

A number of authors (e.g. Mncube 1957:43, Louw & Jubase 1963:68, Satyo 1989:263, Dowling 1998:43, Bryant 2007:173-174 for Xhosa; Poulos & Msimang 1998:260 for Zulu; Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976:175 for Swati) report that there is a semantic difference between the conjoint and the disjoint forms. A disjoint form containing an object marker and a coreferential OM in the

[167] This view can be traced back to Cole's (1955:427-444) treatment of full object constituents (nouns) in Tswana as 'outside the basic sentence unit'. Louwrens (1985:60) analyses the same phenomenon in Northern Sotho as 'being dissociated from the verb by the sentence boundary', whereas Kosch (1988:4) observes that object nouns follow 'the basic communicative unit' (Zerbian 2006:52).

[168] In van der Spuy's (1993) and Buell's (2006) analysis, the disjoint verb marks the end of the IP, whereas Adams (2010), Cheng & Downing (2012), Halpert (2012) and Zeller (2012) see the disjoint verb as the final element of the VP (Zerbian 2006:62, van der Wal 2017:25).

[169] This claim is further supported by phonological evidence. The disjoint form constitutes an independent phonological phrase (even when it is not the last constituent in the clause), which is evidenced in the lengthened penultimate vowel of the verb. By contrast, the conjoint verb form creates one phonological phrase together with the subsequent element(s), the last of which exhibits the penultimate vowel lengthening (cf. Jokweni 1995, Zeller et al. 2017).

[170] According to Buell (2006), the domain of focus covers the constituents that follow the conjoint verb, whereas Cheng & Downing (2009) define the entire VP to be the domain of focus (Zeller et al. 2017:297-298).

preceding verb as in (5), indicates that the object is definite, whereas the conjoint verb (with the nominal object only and without OM) implies that the object is indefinite[171]. However, this view does not explain why the conjoint/disjoint distinction exists in utterances without object nouns or OM. For further evidence (from Zulu) that OM with a coreferential object noun does not always entail definiteness, cf. Zeller (2012:226-227).

(iv) **Progressive aspect** (and related aspectual categories) as the meaning of the disjoint form:

The disjoint form is characterised as the 'present **incomplete** tense' (Afrikaans: 'onvoltooide teenwoordige tyd') in Oosthuysen (1958=1967)[172]. Similarly, Riordan et al. (1969:91) claim it is used 'to emphasise the **continuous** present as against the habitual', to denote an 'action which continues further' (= **Continuative** aspect?) in Satyo (1989:263), or to indicate 'a process in progress' (= **Progressive** aspect) in Oosthuysen (2016:319), an aspectual category which he refers to as the '**imperfect** aspect'. In the Swati grammars by Ziervogel (1952:97), Ziervogel & Mabuza (1976:174) and Corum (1978:6.4), the disjoint form is termed the '**continuous** present tense' and it is reported to denote 'an action which is being carried out or going on', as opposed to the conjoint form which marks a generally or habitually carried out action. The '**Progressive**' is another label describing the disjoint form in Sindebele/Northern Transvaal Ndebele (S408) (Ziervogel 1959, van der Wal 2017:16) and Zimbabwean Ndebele (Amand et al. (Bowern & Lotridge) 2002:36) . In a similar fashion, Doke (1927) characterises the Zulu disjoint form of the Present tense as '**definite**' or '**continuous**' (Doke 1954:169-170). According to Doke (1954:170), the disjoint form can exhibit a continuous meaning, as opposed to the conjoint form which may have a habitual meaning, a characterisation which is restricted to certain cases only, as he notes (by contradiction?) that the two forms otherwise do not differ in meaning. Ziervogel et al. (1967) use confusing terminology, too: The disjoint form is referred to as the '**continuous**

[171] Related to this approach is the view that the disjoint form is linked to the presence of an OM in the verb or to an OM followed by a coreferential nominal object like in (5) (e.g. Mncube 1957:43, 137-138, Louw & Jubase 1963:39, 68, Davey 1973:42, Satyo 1989:263, Jokweni 1995:37, Dowling 1998:43, Bryant 2007:173-174, Oosthuysen 2016:192, Andrason & Dlali 2017:153 for Xhosa; Poulos & Msimang 1998:260 for Zulu, Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976:174-175 for Swati; Amand et al. (Bowern & Lotridge) 2002:36 for Zimbabwean Ndebele; cf. Demuth (1978:24) for Sotho).

[172] This observation has been taken from Nxopo (1993:14, 17) who does not quote Oosthuysen (1958) directly, but a 1967 edition (page 9) which is not listed in his bibliography.

present tense' (as opposed to the conjoint 'simple present tense') (Ziervogel et al. 1967:167), while the conjoint/disjoint distinction is defined as primarily syntactic several chapters earlier (Ziervogel et al. 1967:52), thus overtly dismissing the suggested semantic differences between the two forms. In Ziervogel et al. (1976:47) the disjoint form is also viewed as representing a '**continuous** action' (Nxopo 1993:13, 17). Also for Khumalo (2007:89), the Zimbabwean Ndebele disjoint form is a marker of the 'present **continuous** tense', as opposed to the conjoint form's meaning as the 'present tense with a sense of indefiniteness' (Khumalo 2007:88). A diachronic link between the disjoint form and the Progressive or Continuative aspects is suggested by van der Westhuizen (1950:22)[173]. Similarly, Posthumus (1983:88-89) considers the Zulu disjoint morpheme *-ya-* to originate from the Proto-Bantu *γa which marks **continuity** of an activity (Nxopo 1993:16).

(v) **Habitual aspect**:

Although more studies link habituality to the conjoint forms, in Davis (1872:73-74) it is the conjoint form that is aspectually marked: While the disjoint form is translated both with the English Present Simple (Non-Progressive aspect) and Present Continuous (Progressive aspect), the conjoint form is translated only with the latter aspect. Furthermore, some studies such as du Plessis (1978:124) and Oosthuysen (2016:192) identify **habituality** as one of the semantic components of the disjoint form.

(vi) **Other labels** for the disjoint form:

The treatment of the disjoint form as the **present** tense marker in du Plessis (1986:71-73) (for Xhosa) and as a '**present-present**' form in Ziervogel (1959) (for Sindebele/Northern Transvaal Ndebele) is obviously motivated by the fact that this morpheme only occurs in the present tense of the indicative mood affirmative clauses. Yet, these descriptions are far from precise because they do not explain how the disjoint form differs from the conjoint one, which is commonly used in the same type of clauses, too. Another semantically obscure term '**(in)definite**[174] tense' occurs

[173] Nxopo (1993:16).
[174] Not to be mistaken with the (In)Definiteness of the object noun.

in several, mostly earlier studies. Thus, the disjoint form is termed the '**definite** tense' in Doke's (1927) Zulu grammar, whereas Davey (1973:43) characterises the Xhosa disjoint form as sometimes having 'a more **definite** meaning'. Accordingly, for Khumalo (2007) the Zimbabwean Ndebele conjoint form is a 'tense' which 'express[es] what is happening in the present with a sense of **indefiniteness**'. Yet, a contradictory use of the term *definite* is found in Davis (1872): For him, the disjoint form is a 'present **indefinite** tense' (Davis 1872:73), as opposed to conjoint form which he refers to as the 'present **imperfect** tense' (Davis 1872:74) (by comparison, the term '**imperfect** tense'' is also found in a very recent study, Oosthuysen (2016), but it refers to the present tense, both the conjoint and the disjoint forms). In his grammar of Sindebele/Northern Transvaal Ndebele, along with the abovementioned 'progressive'' (v) and 'present-present'', Ziervogel (1959) described the disjoint form surprisingly as '**completive**'' (van der Wal 2017:16). Other less typically mentioned semantic descriptions of the conjoint/disjoint opposition include the '**immediate future**' (12-13)[175] and '**immediate past**' (16-17) about the conjoint form of certain intransitive verbs (but not 25-26) when combined with the adverb *ngoku* ('now') (du Plessis 1978:125, Nxopo 1993:21-22, 119)[176].

(12) **Ndi-hamb-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-walk-FV now
I am going *now.* [the event has not yet occurred][177]
(Nxopo 1993:21)

(13) **Ndi-ngen-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-enter-FV now
I am going in *now.* [the event has not yet occurred][178]
(Nxopo 1993:21)

(14) !!!**Ndi-sebenz-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-work-FV now
I am working *now.* [Present interpretation only; Immediate future interpretation excluded: **I am about to work now*]

[175] Du Plessis (1978) links this use of the Present tense to the conjoint forms of a subclass of intransitive verbs which indicate movement (Nxopo 1993:21).
[176] Another noteworthy characterisation of the conjoint/disjoint opposition is found in the description of a non-Nguni Zone S language, (Southern) Sotho by Khoali (1991), who states that the disjoint form is a **case absorber** because it requires no syntactic constituents to follow it in order to form a complete clause.
[177] I replaced the following original translation provided in Nxopo (1993:21): *I am going just now/I am on the point of going, i.e. I have not yet gone at the moment, but the going will take place now – i.e. in the immediate future).*
[178] I replaced the following original translation provided in Nxopo (1993:21): *I am going in just now/I am on the point of going in.*

(Nxopo 1993:21)

(15) !!!**Ndi-lil-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-cry-FV now
I am crying *now.* [Present interpretation only; Immediate future interpretation excluded: **I am about to cry now*]
(Nxopo 1993:21)

(16) **Ndi-vuk-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-wake=up-FV now
I have *just* ***woken up*** *now.*
(Nxopo 1993:21)

(17) **Ndi-fik-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-arrive-FV now
I have just arrived *now*.
(Nxopo 1993:22)

The characterisations of the conjoint/disjoint opposition in (iv-vi) seem to be directly linked to the inconsistent TAM-related terminology in the literature on the Nguni languages. Firstly, a great number of the abovementioned (especially older) studies make no distinction between tense and aspect as is evident in their use of such terms as 'continuous tense', 'progressive tense' (instead of aspect), or of the 'imperfect tense' for verb forms which probably contain the Imperfective aspect. Secondly, the lack of a unified terminology results in unclarity about what is meant by each term: one scholar's 'continuous' is another scholar's 'Progressive', 'definite' or 'incomplete aspect'. Thirdly, the different interpretations of the aspectual semantics of the conjoint and the disjoint forms in the Present tense contradict each other: for some, the disjoint marks progressive, while for others it marks habitual (interpretations of) events. As Nxopo (1993:94-96, 99-100)[179] and Buell (2005:145)[180] point out, both the disjoint and the conjoint forms seem to refer both to habitual and progressive meanings which implies the conjoint/disjoint distinction does not pertain to aspect. Also Mă & Simango (2014) find that Xhosa does not make a distinction between the Progressive and habitual aspects in the Present tense[181]. Lastly, van der Wal (2017:41) argues that the fact the conjoint and the disjoint forms share one negated form indicates that both forms share 'the same temporal-aspectual category'.

[179] For Xhosa.
[180] For Zulu.
[181] A similar observation is made by Louwrens (1994:120-121, 126) for another (admittedly non-Nguni) Zone S language, Northern Sotho. He ascribes a range of different **imperfective** aspectual meanings to the disjoint form:

By way of summary, I have not found sufficiently convincing arguments in the literature which prove that TAM constitutes a semantic component of the conjoint/disjoint distinction. Instead, Cheng & Downing (2009) and Zeller et al. (2017) suggest that this distinction primarily indicates which material is included in the VP, which in turn directly reflects the scope of focus. Their approach is followed in this study too[182].

3.4. Recent Past tense

The exact meaning of the **Recent Past tense**[183] in the Nguni languages has been subject to different views in the literature. Table 3.1 shows that, like the Present tense, this form also distinguishes between a conjoint and a disjoint form. Whereas the Recent Past conjoint form has the suffix *-é*[184] (instead of *-a*) in FV position, the disjoint form is marked with the suffix *-ile*. It is a relatively unchallenged view that the semantic difference between these conjoint and the disjoint forms is the same as between their counterparts in the Present tense[185]. The negative Recent Past form consists of a negated SM (like in the Present tense) and most often the suffix *-anga* replacing *-ile* or *-é*. As will be shown later in this section, in some cases the negated form can retain the affirmative suffix. Verbs with irregular formations of the conjoint/disjoint (*-ile/-é*) distinction will also be discussed.

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from '**momentaneous**' (=progressive), over '**universal**' (=generic), and (non-successive) '**habit**' (=habitual), to the '**continuous**' (=non-progressive imperfective) aspect (but explicitly not '**progressive**', which corresponds to my understanding of **persistive** (which is translated to English with the adverb *still*). This suggests that Louwrens (1994) does not view the disjoint form as a marker of one particular aspect, especially given the fact that he does not define the perfective aspect as the opposition of the abovementioned imperfective aspectual meanings.

[182] Both for the Present tense and for the Recent Past tense, in which this distinction also exists. Even though I do not operate with notions *topic* and *focus* in the present study's analysis (cf. Chapter 1), I will not pursue further analysis of the conjoint/disjoint distinction (with the aim to adapt it to the theoretical framework of information structure used here), as it is not of primary relevance for the present study.

[183] Despite the unresolved issues around its semantics, for ease of reference, this TAM marker will continue to be referred to with the currently most widespread term, *Recent Past*, an approach which will be applied to all other forms with debatable semantics throughout the present study.

[184] Davey (1973:50) notes that the suffix in the conjoint form is a long vowel with a high-low tonal sequence: */ée/*, but here this suffix will be represented as */é/* because vowel length is normally absent from the orthography. More importantly, for the purpose of disambiguation from another TAM marker (which will be discussed later in this chapter), it suffices to mark the conjoint form of the recent past only with the high tone, i.e. */é/*.

[185] Riordan & Mathiso (1969:154).

The disagreement around the semantics of this tense is centred around its two most important references in the literature: (i) **recent past**[186] (tense), on the one hand, or (ii) **completed** event (and the related (iii) **perfect** tense/aspect), on the other hand. This question revolves around the form's status as purely temporal or as a combination of tense and aspect. It should be borne in mind that some scholars combine two views, either as individual, integral parts of one meaning, or by recognising *-ile/-é* as several isomorphic markers with different meanings.

(i) *-ile/-é* as a marker of events from the **recent past**:

Those studies which use **remoteness** to explain the meaning of *-ile/-é*, claim that this form places an event's occurrence into a more recent past, e.g. Mncube (1957:27), Pahl (1983:116), for Xhosa[187], Doke (1927)[188], van Eeden (1956:258-259)[189], Malcolm (1960)[190], Posthumus (1983:91)[191], Buell (2005:114-115) for Zulu[192,193], Thwala (1995:109-112) for Swati[194], and Khumalo (2007:92-93)[195] and Pietraszko (2017:15) for Zimbabwean Ndebele. The location of

[186] In accordance with the convention used in the present study, cross-linguistic categories are referred to with lowercase, while overt Xhosa-specific or Nguni-specific markers which might represent these semantic concepts are indicated with capital letters. Following this convention, *recent past* as across-linguistic category will be referred to with lowercase, as opposed to the capital letters when referring to the suffixes *-ile/-é* in Xhosa and the other Nguni varieties.

[187] Kirsch et al. (1999:110-111) do not provide a semantic account of the form, but the name *recent past* suggests that they consider it to denote temporally defined events which are located in the recent past.

[188] Doke (1954:172).

[189] Van Eeden (1956) provides several analyses of *-ile/-é*, which implies he treats them as different markers, one of which is the meaning of the recent past (Nxopo 1993:64-65).

[190] Nxopo (1993:70).

[191] Nxopo (1993:65-67); Posthumus's (1983) reliance on remoteness is not absolute. He views the Recent Past as an indicator that the event occurred before the moment of speech (S), adding the information that it refers to the part of the timeline that belongs to the recent past in parentheses (Nxopo 1993:65), perhaps because remoteness as an equally important criterion would contradict his own observations with regards to examples (18-19).

[192] Mncube (1957), Doke (1927), van Eeden (1956) and Malcolm (1960) exclude the use of *-ile/-é* to refer to present states (a meaning which will be elaborated on in the following paragraphs) from their definition of this TAM marker.

[193] Hall (2005), Buell (2006), Zeller (2012, 2014), Cook (2013) and Zeller et al. (2017) do not provide an overt definition of this form, but their choice of term to refer to it, i.e. *near past* (Hall 2005) and *recent past* (Buell 2006, Zeller 2012, 2014, Cook 2013, Zeller et al. 2017) suggests a temporally based definition via occurrence in the recent past. Cook's (2013) translation of the forms to English with Past Simple confirms this view.

[194] Corum's (1978) and Rycroft's (1981) understanding of this form as a temporally defined one (in that it locates events in the recent past) is not based on a definition of this form but on the translations that they provide or on the label they use to refer to them. Corum (1978) translates the form with the English Past Simple, while Rycroft (1981) uses the label *Immediate Past tense* to refer to it. Similarly, Satyo (1989:268-277) does not provide a definition, but he refers to it as *Ixesha Elidlulileyo* ('(Recent) Past tense').

[195] Khumalo (2009) analyses *-é* as a marker of the 'immediate past tense', which is only one out of several *-ile/-é* TAM markers.

the cut-off point along the timeline between the recent past and the remote past is subject to different views: Mncube (1957) finds that the recent past covers the same period of time as adverbials *today*, *yesterday* or *near past*, whereas Poulos & Msimang (1998:271) claim that the Recent Past 'must be used for all past actions that occurred today or yesterday, further than that the picture become blurred and the perfect [=Recent Past] overlaps with past [=Remote Past]'. A different line of division between the recent past and the remote past is suggested in Dahl's (1985:125, 204) questionnaire-based, cross-linguistic study: The Zulu speakers use the Recent Past tense for events occurring on the morning of the same day (= Hodiernal Past), while already events from the day before (= Hesternal Past) are referred to with the Remote Past. However, Posthumus (1983)[196] and Oosthuysen (2016:190) show that the Recent Past can denote situations from the far past, e.g. (18), (20), just like its Remote Past tense counterparts, e.g. (19), (21), respectively[197].

(18) Zulu
Ngi-fund-é[198] e-kolishi nyakenye.
SM.1SG-study-ANT LOC-5.college last=year
I studied *at college last year*.
(Posthumus (1983) in Nxopo (1993:84))

(19) Zulu
Ngâ-fund-a[199] e-kolishi nyakenye.
SM.REMPST.1SG-study-FV LOC-5.college last=year
I studied *at college last year.*
(Posthumus (1983) in Nxopo (1993:84))

(20) Le moto **ndi-yi-theng-é** kudala.
DEM.PROX.9 9.car SM.1SG-OM.9-buy-ANT long=ago
I ***bought*** *this car long ago.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:190)

[196] Nxopo (1993:84).
[197] This observation which is in accordance with Ma's (2013:59-60) claim that remoteness is not the criterion that determines the choice of tense, but rather the relevance of the event's result for the current moment.
[198] SM for 1st person singular in Zulu, Zimbabwean Ndebele and Swati is *ngi-*, and not *ndi-* like in Xhosa.
[199] SM for 1st person singular of the Remote Past in Zulu, Zimbabwean Ndebele and Swati is *ngâ-*, and not *ndâ-* like in Xhosa.

(21) Le moto **ndâ-yi-theng-a** kudala.
DEM.PROX.9 9.car SM.REMPST.1SG-OM.9-buy-FV long=ago
*I **bought** this car long ago.*
(Reconstructed example based on a claim in Oosthuysen 2016:190[200])

(ii) *-ile/-é* as a marker of **event completion**:

The opposed view according to which the Recent Past is not related to remoteness, but rather event **completion**[201] is proposed in Louw & Jubase (1963:41), Botha et al. (1972)[202], du Plessis (1978)[203], and Oosthuysen (2016:188-190) for Xhosa, de Clercq (1961:10)[204], Ziervogel et al. (1967:39-40), Taljaard & Bosch (1988)[205], Botne & Kershner (2000)[206] for Zulu, Ziervogel (1952:98-99) for Swati, and Khumalo (2007 :89)[207] for Zimbabwean Ndebele.

Yet, a majority of studies combine the two views by claiming that *-ile/-é* indicates events which were completed in the (recent) past, e.g. Bennie (1939)[208], McLaren (1906:78)[209], Davey (1973:58)[210], Schonstein Pinnock (1988:152), Nxopo (1993:100-107)[211], Bryant (2007:182) for Xhosa, Nyembezi (1957:118), Engelbrecht (1962:34)[212], Beuchat (1966)[213], Rycroft & Ngcobo (1979)[214], Canonici (1990:54), Poulos & Msimang (1998:265) for Zulu, Ziervogel & Mabuza

[200] Oosthuysen (2016:190) observes that '[(…) the a-past tense tends to be used when referring to events that occurred some time in the past, but this must not be over emphasised, as also verbs in the perfect tense are often used to describe what occurred in the remote past, as in: *Le moto ndiyithenge kudala.* (I bought this motor-car long ago.)]'
[201] Event completion is not necessarily linked to one tense only.
[202] Nxopo (1993:55).
[203] Nxopo (1993:57-58).
[204] Nxopo (1993:67-69).
[205] Botne & Kershner (2000:166).
[206] Botne & Kershner (2000) propose a more complex analysis of *-ile* and *-é* (as different types of markers), which will be discussed later in this section.
[207] Khumalo's (2007:89) view of *-ile/-é* as a marker of an event's completion does not pertain to the use of this form to refer to present states.
[208] Bennie (1939:105-106).
[209] McLaren (1936:85). In the first edition, McLaren (1906:78), there is no mention of completion as part of the meaning of *-ile/-é*, which is why that edition would rather be classified under the recent past approach.
[210] Davey (1973:58) links his view to Beuchat's (1964) definition.
[211] The inclusion of Nxopo (1993) to this approach is arguable as it is difficult to decide which of his definitions of the meaning of *-ile/-é* is the main one. He does define this form in Reichenbachian terms as E preceding R and E which are simultaneous: E_R,S (Nxopo 1993:100-107); This could be interpreted as a purely temporal location of the event in the (recent) past. However, he also mentions that it denotes completion of the event (Nxopo 1993:100-101).
[212] Nxopo (1993:54-55).
[213] Botne & Kershner (2000:166).
[214] Botne & Kershner (2000:166).

(1976:179-180) for Swati. However, in most of these studies the concept of completion and its interplay with telicity is underdefined. For example, Nxopo (1993:100-107) claims that the Recent Past tense indicates an event that has been 'completed'[215], yet at the same time he suggests that this TAM marker indicates the temporal anteriority of the Reichenbachian E (which he takes to refer to time adverbials like *izolo* ('yesterday')) relative to R and S which are simultaneous (which he takes to represent adverbials like *ngoku* ('now')): E_R,S[216]. In Nxopo's (1993) analysis of E, R, and S, much room is left for interpreting how the event's completion affects the relation between the three points[217]. Furthermore, some authors such as Posthumus (1983), explicitly dismiss completion as the contemporary meaning of Zulu *-ile/-é*, despite acknowledging the possibility that completion may have constituted the meaning of this marker at earlier stages of the language (Nxopo 1993:65).

(iii) *-ile/-é* as a marker of **definiteness**:

Event completion is connected to an equally obscure term of **definiteness**, e.g. '**definite** tense[218]', cited (along with completion in the recent past) as the meaning of the Recent Past tense in McLaren (1906:78). Also van Eeden (1956:258-259) finds that this verb form indicates a past event's occurrence at a '**definite time**, **place** or **circumstances**' as one of its several (parallel, separate) meanings (Nxopo 1993:64-65). Du Plessis (1978)[219] explains that completion refers to a **definite point in time** indicated by means of other words or by the situation itself[220]. An obvious challenge for this approach is the definition of a 'definite event', or a 'definite time, space or circumstances', as well as how these are distinguished from their 'indefinite' counterparts.

(iv) *-ile/-é* as the **perfect/anterior** tense/aspect marker (or related categories):

[215] Nxopo (1993:100).
[216] Nxopo (1993:100-107).
[217] This includes the question whether incomplete events could result in the same relation between E, R and S according to Nxopo (1993).
[218] Here, the use of the term *definite* differs from Doke's (1927, 1954:172) and Malcolm's (1960:105) reference to the disjoint marker *-ile* as 'definite', and the conjoint marker *-é* as 'indefinite'.
[219] Nxopo (1993:67).
[220] De Clercq (1961) finds that the completion of an event automatically locates an event into the recent past when no further specification is provided (Nxopo 1993:67).

Another concept related to the concept of completion is the interpretation of *-ile/-é* in Zulu as a marker of the **perfect** (**anterio**r) tense/aspect[221], e.g. in Rose et al. (2002:8) and Nurse (2008). Nurse (2008:94-99) argues his point of view with the fact that the Recent Past inchoative verbs must hold at the moment of speech[222]. In his cross-linguistic study, Dahl (1985:175) classifies Zulu *-ile/-é* as a transitional form between the Perfect (= Anterior) and the Hodiernal Perfective. Related to this approach is the analysis of *-ile/-é* as a **resultative** marker, i.e. as an indicator that the result of a past event holds at, or is relevant for the moment of speech, as one of the meanings in van Eeden (1956:258-259) or as its main meaning, e.g. in Mă (2013:59-64) who follows Simango's (2003) analysis of the corresponding marker in other Bantu languages. According to Mă (2013:61-62), the Recent Past tense in (22) indicates that the subject is still in South Africa irrespective of how long ago he entered the country. When the subject is no longer in South Africa at the moment of speech, the other, Remote Past tense is used (23). The definition of *-ile/-é* as a **Perfective** marker is found in Jokweni (1995) for Xhosa, Canonici (1996)[223], and Crane & Fanego (2020) for isiNdebele (S407).

(22) U-njingalwazi Cata **ú-hamb-ile** e-Mzantsi=Afrika
AUG-1a.professor 1a.Cata SM.1-go-DISJ.ANT LOC-9.South=Africa
nge-xesha wa-y-e-m-ncinci.
INSTR-5.time SM.REMPST.1-go-ANT-ADJ.1-young
*Professor Cata **went** to South Africa when he was young.*
(Mă 2013:61-62, 99)

(23) U-njingalwazi Cata **wâ-hamb-a** e-Mzantsi Afrika
AUG-1a.professor 1a.Cata REMPST.SM.1-go-FV LOC-9.South=Africa
nge-xesha wa-ye-m-ncinci.
LOC-5.time SM.REMPST.1-go-ANT-ADJ.1-young
*Professor Cata **went** to South Africa when he was young* (he is not in South Africa at the moment of speech).
(Mă 2013:61-62, 99)

[221] Even though they do not provide a definition of the semantics of *-ile/-é*, the fact that Boyce (1834, 1844), Appleyard (1850), Davis (1872), Zotwana (1991), du Plessis & Visser (1992), Kirsch et al. (1999), Mă & Simango (2014) (for Xhosa), as well as Amand et al.'s (Bowern & Lotridge) (2002), Khumalo (2007) (for Zimbabwean Ndebele) and Nichols (2011) (for Swati) use the term *Perfect / Anterior* to refer to said form (sometimes interchangeably used with *Recent Past*) suggests that the scholars understand it as the attainment of an event's completion in the (recent) past. A similar view is reflected in the translation of the form with the English Present Perfect in Einhorn & Siyengo (1993), Dowling (1998), Andrason & Dlali (2017) (for Xhosa) and in Nichols (2011) (for Swati).

[222] Nurse (2008:94-99) develops a set of tests to delimit the Recent Past markers from the Anterior markers, a common problem in the Bantu language family.

[223] Khumalo (2007:97-98).

A special challenge for the definition of *-ile/-é* and at the same time, the reason for its interpretation as several different, homophonous markers is the fact that it is used with a certain type of verbs to refer to (resulting) states which obligatorily hold at the present moment. Thus, (24) refers to the subject's present state of being hungry. Similarly, (25) refers to the state of being seated (note that the verb *-hlala* ('sit down') has an irregular Recent Past form, which will be discussed later in this section)[224]. It cannot be used to refer to an instance of the subject becoming hungry in the past or sitting down if the resulting state no longer holds true. Posthumus (1983) supports this claim with the fact that a past time adverbial like *izolo* ('yesterday') cannot be combined with the Recent Past form of *-hlala* in (26). Some of those verbs do not even refer to actual events that represent transitions to the resulting states, but to the states only, such as the properties of 'being good' in (27-28). In other words, examples (27-28) are used without referring to the state of the weather or the person going through the transition from the quality of 'not being good' to 'being good'.

(24) **Ndi-lamb-ile**.
SM.1SG-get=hungry-DISJ.ANT
I am hungry.

(25) **Ndi-hlel-i**.
SM.1SG-sit=down-ANT
I am sitting.

(26) ***Ndi-hlel-i** izolo.
SM.1SG-sit=down-ANT yesterday
Intended: *I **sat** yesterday.*
(Posthumus 1983)[225]

(27) I-mozulu **i-lung-ile**.
AUG-9.weather SM.9-become=good-DISJ.ANT
*The weather **is good**.*

(28) Lo m-ntu **ú-lung-ile**.
DEM.PROX.1 1-person SM.1-become=good-DISJ.ANT
*This person **is good**.*

[224] Buell 2005:115-116) interprets cases such as (24-25) as referring both to the resulting state and as referring to the event, i.e. 'I got hungry' and 'I sat down'. The reasons why this view is not accepted here will be discussed at a later point in this chapter.
[225] Nxopo (1993:66).

Some authors (e.g. Mncube 1957, Louw & Jubase 1963, Riordan et al. 1969, Davey 1973, Doke 1927, Ziervogel 1952, Nichols 2011) refer to such verbs as *-lamba* ('become hungry'), *-hlala* ('sit down'), and *-lunga* ('become/be good') as the **stative verbs** (note, however, that the term *stative* in this context is completely different from the (lexical aspect) *stative verbs* as opposed to dynamic verbs). Other authors prefer the term **inchoative verbs** (Cole 1955, Beuchat 1966, Poulos & Msimang 1998, Botne & Kershner 2000)[226]. In order to avoid potential confusion, in the present study the term *inchoative* will be used to refer to verbs such as (24-31), which in the Recent Past describe the referent's present state[227].

(29) **Si-lamb-ile**.
SM.1PL-get=hungry-ANT
We are hungry.

(30) **Asi-lamb-anga**.
NEG.SM.1PL-get=hungry-NEG.ANT
We did not get hungry.

(31) **Asi-lamb-ile**.
NEG.SM.1PL-get=hungry-ANT
We are not hungry.
(Buell 2005:115-116)

One important issue in the semantics of the inchoative verbs[228] regards their negated form. Besides the 'default' pattern which consists of the negated SM (SM prefixed with *a-*) and the suffix *-anga* in FV, several studies (e.g. Bennie 1939:119, Mncube 1957:57, Davey 1973:50, Pahl 1983:120, Oosthuysen 2016:200-201, Doke 1927, 1954:172, Nyembezi 1957:119, 1970:55, Posthumus 1983[229], Poulos & Msimang 1998:268, Buell 2005:115-116) have reported that the affirmative suffixes *-ile* or *-é* can be used to refer to the (resulting) state at the present moment

[226] Nichols (2011:44ff).
[227] Note that inchoative verbs are not to be confused with verbs that denote a momentaneous transition from one state to another, i.e. a change-of-state, like *-wa* ('fall') or *-nika* ('give'). The difference between these two groups of verbs is explained in section 5.2.
[228] Poulos & Msimang (1998:268).
[229] Nxopo (1993:67).

specifically, and not the past event indicating the transition to that state[230]. Thus, while the negative verb in (30) focuses on the event, (31) and (32) focus on the resulting state.

(32) I-ntombazana **ayi-f-ile**, **i-lel-e**.
AUG-9.girl NEG. SM.9-die-ANT SM.9-sleep-ANT
*The girl **is not dead**, **she is asleep**.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:201)

A number of verbs in the Nguni languages obtain irregular conjoint and disjoint forms in the Recent Past tense. This pertains mostly to verbs ending on *-ana*, *-ala*, *-ela*, *-atha*, etc. (McLaren 1936:84-85, Bennie 1939:106-107, Louw & Jubase 1963:66), which obtain the following Recent Past endings: *-ene*, *-ele*, *-ele*, *-ethe*, respectively. Thus, some of the most frequent verbs have the following Recent Past forms: *-lala* ('sleep') > *-lele*, *-bulala* ('kill') > *-bulele*, *-fumana* ('get') > *-fumene*, *-phatha* ('carry, handle, manage') > *-phethe*. Other frequent verbs with the irregular Recent Past form include *-hlala* ('sit') > *-hleli*, *-hlutha* ('become full/satisfied') > *-hluthi*, *-ma* ('stand') > *-mi*. A great majority of these are inchoative verbs. Two frequent verbs with irregular Recent Past forms which are not inchoative in the sense described in the preceding paragraph include *-thi* ('say') > *-thé* and *-ba* ('be, become') > *-be*[231]. Whereas most scholars (e.g. Bennie 1939:106-107, McLaren 1936:84-85) claim that such irregular forms in Xhosa only have a conjoint form (or that they do not distinguish between a conjoint and a disjoint form), Beuchat (1966) and Botne & Kershner (2000) claim that some of these verbs in Zulu actually exhibit the conjoint/disjoint distinction, whereby they in addition distinguish between two types of the disjoint form: The suffix *-ile* in (34) and the **imbricated**[232] morpheme *-i…e* which is merged together with the verb root (33).

[230] Nyembezi (1970:55), Nxopo (1993:67), Buell (2005:115-116).
[231] Note that even though *-thi* ('say') usually refers to a momentaneous change-of-state, which may in certain contexts also be the case with *-ba* ('be, become'), these two verbs do not qualify as inchoative, cf. section 5.2. With respect to other examples of irregular Recent Past forms, these include Passive verbs which contain the extension *-w-*, thus ending of *-wa*. In the conjoint form, their Recent Past suffix is *-we*, whereas the disjoint form is *-iwe*.
[232] Botne & Kershner (2000)

(33) Zulu
Ú-lel-e.
SM.1-fall=asleep-ANT
She/He[233] is sleeping. (Beuchat 1966:27)

(34) Zulu
Ú-lal-ile.
SM.1-fall=asleep-DISJ.ANT
She/He slept. (Beuchat 1966:27)

The literature on the same constructions in Xhosa does not confirm that 'she/he slept' can be expressed as in (35)[234], suggesting rather that a compound verb is used instead to convey the same meaning (cf. sections 3.10.1-3.10.3). Botne & Kershner (2000) interpret this tripartite distinction of one verb as three different morphemes. They analyse *-ile* as two distinct morphemes: *-il-* and *-e* (the latter is the same one as the conjoint *-é*), whereby they recognise two different types of the former: *-il1-* and *-il2-*. Morpheme *-e* in (33-35) marks the event's **completion**, whereas *-il1-* and *-il2-* signal the internal or external perspective on completion. Morpheme *-il2-* is evident in (34) and it represents the external perspective, the **perfective** aspect, whereas the imbricated *-il1-* shown in (33) represents the internal perspective, the **completive** aspect: It is only added to inchoative verbs (such as *-lala*) while it undergoes a phonological change with the verb root, thus creating the irregular, imbricated Recent Past forms. Despite its significance for the analysis of the coexistence of imbricated forms along with disjoint ones, this study is not uncontested. Crane & Fanego (2020), who document a similar relation between imbricated and non-imbricated forms in isiNdebele (S407), show that for this Nguni variety, no unambiguous semantic relationship can be established between the former and the latter. Instead of breaking *-ile* down into two aspectually different markers, they interpret the difference between the current state and the past change-of-state interpretation of the Recent Past as an epiphenomenon of the constituency and focus-based conjoint/disjoint distinction.

[233] The original translation contains only the pronoun *he*, but the author of this study added the feminine counterpart for more accuracy.
[234] In Xhosa, only such forms as (33) are reported in the literature about the inchoative verbs. This does not mean that all inchoative verbs have imbricated Recent Past forms.

(35) Zulu
Ú-lal-e e-ndl-ini.
SM.1-fall=asleep-CONJ.ANT LOC-9.house-LOC
She/He slept *in a house.*
(Beuchat 1966:27)

Alternative accounts which 'decompose' *-ile* into two morphemes include van Rooyen (1953:120) who considers *-il-* to mark emphasis, in a similar fashion as *-ya-* in the Present tense, a view he shares with Posthumus (1983) (Nxopo 1993:66).

The overview presented in this section has shown that there is disagreement about the basic semantics and about the categorial classification of *-ile/é* in the literature. The brief review only suggests that event completion (ii) and event definiteness (iii) can be ruled out as potential descriptions of this marker's semantics. However, it remains to be tested whether this suffix represents a particular (recent past) remoteness degree (i) or a form that combines the Present tense and an anterior aspect (iv) similar to the English Present Perfect. To this end, in the analysis in Chapter 6, the properties of *-ile/é* need to be examined and compared to the description of the anterior aspect (in combination with the present tense) as outlined in section 2.4.1. In case *-ile/é* proves not to correspond to the anterior aspect, its status as a recent past marker needs to be investigated. In section 2.3.3, it was pointed out that remoteness degrees may be defined with fixed or with flexible demarcation points. Evidence provided in this section suggests that *-ile/é* does not represent the former case. In order to identify the principle behind the flexible demarcation of the recent past, we need to focus on information structure, i.e. on the patterns in the interaction between each instance of *-ile/é* and its surrounding discourse. Despite not having established its exact semantics yet, for ease of reference *-ile/é* will be referred to with one of the most common terms found in the literature: The Recent Past tense.

3.5. Remote Past tense

Unlike the Recent Past tense which is marked by means of suffixes (36), the **Remote Past,** sometimes also labelled **A-Past**, because *-a-* is infixed between SM and the verb root (or, if present, before OM), thus producing forms like: SM.1SG *ndi-* + REMPST *-a-* >

SM.REMPST.1SG *nda-*; as shown in Table 3.1 and in (37). Note that the inserted */â/* is a long vowel with a falling tone[235], the tone and the length of the vowel being the only difference between this form and the Past Subjunctive (cf. section 3.9.1) alternatively called *Narrative Past*, because it typically occurs in narrations. To distinguish between the two TAM markers, the infixed vowel of the Remote Past will henceforth be indicated as *-â-*.

(36) **Ndi-hamb-ile**.
SM.1SG-walk-ANT.DISJ
I have walked (gone) / I walked (left)[236].

(37) **Ndâ-hamb-a**.
SM.REMPST.1SG-walk-FV
I walked (left)[237].

The negated form of the Remote Past is subject to different views. While some authors (Mncube 1957:57, Louw & Jubase 1963:71, Riordan et al. 1969:281, Botha et al. 1972[238], Davey 1973:60, Schonstein Pinnock 1988:189, Doke 1965:172[239], Nyembezi 1957:119-120, Posthumus 1983[240], Poulos & Msimang 1998:271-272, Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976:106) consider that the Remote Past shares its negative form with the Recent Past[241] (38), others consider that the negated form consists of a so-called **deficient**[242] verb *-zange* ('never do [past]') (optionally with a negative SM prefix) followed by the lexical verb in the Present Subjunctive (39-40) (cf. section 3.9; note that the only difference between the Present Subjunctive and the conjoint form of the Recent Past is

[235] Cf. Riordan et al. (1969:5); High-low tonal sequence (on the vowel) with the terminal tone of this tense form also high, according to Davey (1973:61).
[236] Example taken from du Plessis 1978 (in Nxopo 1993:73). Unlike (46) in which the original translation is shown, the present example's translation is given by the author of the current study.
[237] Example taken from du Plessis 1978 (in Nxopo 1993:73). Unlike (47) in which the original translation is shown, the present example's translation is given by the author of the current study.
[238] Nxopo (1993:78-79).
[239] Nxopo (1993:79).
[240] Nxopo (1993:85-86).
[241] This claim pertains only to the forms with the suffix *-anga*.
[242] Deficient verbs are verbs with no lexical meaning but which require a clausal complement (Duncan 1989, in Du Plessis & Visser 1992:246). They often encode TAM-relevant information and include such verbs as ***-soloko** 'do always'*, and ***-mana*** 'do continually' (Mini et al. (eds.) 2003, Bryant 2007).

the accent and the tone) (Pahl 1983:122, Nxopo 1993:88, Einhorn & Siyengo 1993:19, 37, Dowling 1998:77, Bryant 2007:191-192).

(38) **Andi-hamb-anga**.
NEG.SM.1SG-walk-NEG.ANT
I have not walked (left) / I did not walk (leave).

(39) **Zange ndi-ba-bon-e** a-ba-ntu aba-nje apha.[243]
never=do SM.1SG-OM.2-see-SUBJ AUG-2-person ADJ.2-like=this here
I have never seen *people like this here.*
(Du Plessis & Visser 1992:255)

(40) **Andi-zange** **ndi-ba-bon-e** a-ba-ntu aba-nje apha.
NEG.SM.1SG-never=do SM.1SG-OM.2-see-SUBJ AUG-2-person ADJ.2-like=this here
I have never seen *people like this here.*
(Du Plessis & Visser 1992:255)

Although there are unresolved issues around the semantics of the Remote Past in the literature, the considered possibilities are less various than in the case of the Recent Past tense or the conjoint/disjoint distinction. Most scholars define the Remote Past with the category of **remoteness**, i.e. as a means to locate an event into the Remote Past, either as its only meaning or as one of its semantic components. Typical time adverbials this tense co-occurs with include: *ngenye imini* ('one day'), *ngamini ithile* ('a certain day'), *ngaminazana ithile* ('a certain day'), *ngeholide edlulileyo* ('last holiday'), *kulo nyaka uphelileyo* ('last year'), *nyakenye* ('last year'), *kudala/mandulo* ('long ago') (du Plessis 1978)[244]. Whereas a majority of scholars do not provide an explanation regarding the part of the timeline which is designated by the Remote Past (e.g. McLaren 1936:86, Pahl 1983:122, Schonstein Pinnock 1988:189, Zotwana 1991:177-178[245], Einhorn & Siyengo 1993:19, 37, Dowling 1998:75, Bryant 2007:191, Doke 1954:172, Botha et al. 1972)[246], some define this tense 'negatively', namely, as an indicator that the event did not occur specifically in the recent past (e.g. Bennie 1939:105, Louw & Jubase 1963:66, Davey

[243] Adaptation of example (36.b) in du Plessis & Visser (1992:255).
[244] Nxopo (1993:73).
[245] Zotwana (1991:177) claims that the Remote Past is often interchangeable with the Recent Past as there is no clear cut-off point on the timeline that delimits the two tenses.
[246] Although no description is provided, the label *remote past* used in Einhorn & Siyengo (1993:19, 37), Kirsch et al. (1999), Nyembezi (1957:119), and Zeller et al. (2017) suggests the same view about the meaning of this TAM marker.

1973:62-63). As for the definitions of temporal remoteness based on exact cut-off points, the 'day before yesterday' or 'two days ago or earlier' is the most frequent, which is why (41-42) are grammatical, unlike (43-44) which have time adverbials that could co-occur with the Recent Past only (Mncube 1957:44, Nxopo 1993:109-111, Mă 2013:59-60, Posthumus 1983[247], Canonici 1990:51-52, Poulos & Msimang 1998:270-271, Buell 2005:118, Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976:181, Corum 1978:12.8-12.9). Even Mă (2013:59-61), who observes that remoteness cannot be the (only) criterion for the choice of the Remote Past over Recent Past, notices that the former tense cannot relate to such adverbials as *namhlanje* ('today') or *izolo* ('yesterday').

(41) **Wâ-sebenz-a** e-Kapa kudala.
SM.REMPST.1-work-FV LOC-9.Cape=Town long=ago
She/He worked *in Cape Town long ago.*
(Nxopo 1993:109-111)

(42) **Wâ-sebenz-a** e-Kapa nyakenye.
SM.REMPST.1-work-FV LOC-9.Cape=Town last=year
She/He worked *in Cape Town last year.*
(Nxopo 1993:109-111)

(43) ***Wâ-sebenz-a** e-Kapa izolo.
SM.REMPST.1-work-FV LOC-9.Cape=Town yesterday
She/He worked *in Cape Town yesterday.*
(Nxopo 1993:109-111)

(44) ***Wâ-sebenz-a** e-Kapa ngoku.
SM.REMPST.1-work-FV LOC-9.Cape=Town now
She/He worked *in Cape Town now.*
(Nxopo 1993:109-111)

A slightly different temporal boundary for the Remote Past tense is set by van Eeden (1956)[248], who finds that even *izolo* ('yesterday') can licence a Remote Past verb (45.a). In her examples provided in (45.b), Zotwana (1991:177) notices that Recent Past and Remote Past are often used interchangeably, although she only provides examples of Recent Past extending to the entire spectrum of past references and not the other way around. Thwala (1995:110) see remoteness in Swati as a relative scale which depends on the conceptual and deictic proximity of the chosen

[247] Yet, Posthumus (1983) finds that context to some extent also determines the choice of tense in some cases (possibly where the temporal references of the two tenses overlap) (Nxopo 1993:84-86).
[248] Nxopo (1993:81-84).

time adverbial: whereas *kutsanti* (‘the day before yesterday’) and *nyakenye* (‘last year’) licence the Remote Past they may include more recent moments than such adverbs as *namuhla* (‘today’), *manje* (‘now’), *itolo* (‘yesterday’), *lonyaka* (‘this year’) which do not combine with this tense. Already at this point, it becomes obvious that much contradicting information is provided in the literature with regard to the distinction between the Recent Past and the Remote Past (in terms of remoteness) and with regard to the temporal references that may co-occur with each tense.

(45) a. [Zulu:] Izolo **ngâ-m-shay-a** nge-wisa. /
yesterday SM.REMPST.1SG-OM.1-beat-FV INSTR-9.knobkierie

[Xhosa:] Izolo **ndâ-m-beth-a** nge-gqudu.
yesterday SM.REMPST.1SG-OM.1-beat-FV INSTR-9.knobkierie

*Yesterday, **I beat him** with a knobkierie (club).*
(Nxopo 1993:82)

b. U-Sipho **ú-zel-w-é** ngo-1953.
AUG-1a.Sipho SM.1-give=birth-PASS-ANT INSTR-1953

U-mninawa wa-khe, u-Mafu, yena
AUG-1a.younger=brother POSS.1-1 AUG-1a.Mafu PRON.1

wâ-zal-w-a ngo-1956.
SM.REMPST.1-give=birth-PASS-FV INSTR-1956

*Sipho **was born** in 1953. His younger brother, Mafu, **was born** in 1956.*
(Zotwana 1991:177)

Several approaches argue against remoteness as a definition source for the use of the Remote Past. As evidence against the remoteness-approach, de Clercq (1961) uses the fact that the Remote Past does not have its own negated form but instead, it shares it with the Recent Past (Nxopo 1993:86-87). Thus, de Clercq (1961)[249], Ziervogel et al. (1967:46) and du Plessis (1978)[250] claim that the Remote Past tense may refer to any point in the past, but that the difference between the Recent Past tense and the Remote Past tense is that the latter is **unmarked for completion**, whereas the former must denote a completed event. The Recent Past verb in (46) is only possible when referring to a completed event, whereas the event’s completion is irrelevant in the case of its Remote Past counterpart in (47) which often opens

[249] Nxopo (1993:86-87).
[250] Nxopo (1993:73-74).

narrations. By contrast, Botha et al. (1972)[251], Canonici (1990:52), and Bryant (2007:191) find that the Remote Past tense explicitly denotes an event which was completed (in the remote past). These opposed views could be a result of the different ways in which each scholar conceptualises the notion of completion.

(46) **Ndi-hamb-ile**.
SM.1SG-walk-ANT.DISJ
I have finished walking.
(du Plessis 1978, in Nxopo 1993:73)

(47) Ndâ-hamb-a.
SM.REMPST.1SG-walk-FV
I walked *(in the past).*
(du Plessis 1978, in Nxopo 1993:73)

Another equally underdefined semantic concept which has been used to account for the Remote Past tense (often in combination with the remoteness-approach) is that of **definiteness**. The Remote Past is labelled the '**indefinite** past' in Davis (1872:76) and Doke (1965:172), and McLaren (1936:85-86) claims that it refers to a 'remote' or 'quite **indefinite** past time', while Davey (1973:62-63) views it as a tense with an '**indefinite** meaning' that refers to any time which is not specifically in the recent past. In the same fashion, Schonstein Pinnock (1988:189) defines it as a tense used when the speaker is 'not quite sure of the exact time something happened, only that it was long ago'. By contrast, van Dyk (1952) considers that (one of the) meaning(s) of the Remote Past is to indicate that the event is linked to a **known point of time**, **space**, or **circumstances** without reference to its ('aspectual') properties, such as punctuality or durativity (Nxopo 1993: 82-84). Although Nxopo (1993:107-112) sees remoteness as the main meaning of the Remote Past (and completion as a likely implicature of the main meaning), definiteness also constitutes part of his understanding of this tense. In his view, the fact that the aspectual properties are considered irrelevant for said tense is a direct result of the definiteness of the event reference. He views the Remote Past as: E_R_S, whereby the Remote Past time adverbials represent E. Thus, the main difference as compared to the Recent Past is the anteriority of R relative to S.

[251] Nxopo (1993:77).

Perhaps what is perceived as 'definiteness' is the fact that the Remote Past is used in narrations in which each individual event is allocated its own physical location and temporal location (traceable to the hearer and) defined through the other events. The understanding of the Remote Past as the **narrative tense** is widely recognised in the literature, e.g. in Bennie (1939:105), Mncube (1957:44), Pahl (1983:122), Zotwana (1991:177), Kirsch et al. (1999:111), Engelbrecht (1962:47)[252], Ziervogel et al. (1967:46), Ziervogel (1952:99-100), to name a few. In (Dahl 1985:175), the Zulu Remote Past tense is even recognised as an example of the (cross-linguistic category of) narrative tense[253]. Oosthuysen (2016:201-202) emphasises the narrative role of the Remote Past to such an extent that he views it as a contracted variant of a complex (albeit tonally different) Past Subjunctive (Consecutive) construction[254] (cf. section 3.9.1), a relative tense which temporally links the denoted event to a time reference given by the preceding absolute tense. However, as will be shown in section 3.9.2, the meaning of the Remote Past which provides a temporal reference of its own is quite different from that of a relative tense which needs another verb at the beginning of the sentence to realise its temporal reference. Furthermore, Oosthuysen's (2016:200-201) analysis does not account for the extensive use of the Remote Past outside of narrations.

A relevant observation for the current discussion lies in the recognition of the Recent Past as some kind of a resultative form (cf. preceding section), a claim which may suggest that the Remote Past has a complementary meaning: it indicates an event (or an event's result) which is irrelevant for the present moment (S). This idea is pursued in Simango (2003), Khumalo (2007:92) and Mă (2013:59-64) and it exhibits some similarities with one type of Plungian & van der Auwera's (2006) gram-type **discontinuous past**, i.e. '**past with no present relevance**', a category which, unlike the 'ordinary' past tense, leaves the relation between a past event (or its result) and the present moment by default undetermined. The discontinuous past can be expressed in various ways, but Plungian & van der Auwera (2006:334, 336-337) recognise that in a number of languages which exhibit remoteness of tenses, the distinction between the discontinuous past and the (unmarked) past may manifest itself as two different degrees of

[252] Nxopo (1993:74).
[253] It should be borne in mind that in some cross-linguistic studies the term *narrative tense* is used to refer only to relative tenses in narrations (e.g. Rose et al. 2002:54, Nurse 2008:24, 120-123).
[254] Oosthuysen (2016:200-201) finds that the Remote Past is a shortened version of a two-verb construction, whereby the first one (which provides the temporal reference) is not apparent.

remoteness. They provide an example of a narrative from a similar very system to that of the Nguni languages, namely from Aghem (Grassfield Bantoid, Niger-Congo language). The discontinuous past can thus be understood to represent a logical opposition of the anterior/perfect with respect to (the lack of) current relevance: While in some languages the anterior/perfect (in combination with the present tense) represents a specialised past marker which indicates current relevance for S (present moment), others may have a past marker which indicates that the event or its result no longer pertains to S (present moment), with other past markers being undetermined relative to the present moment relevance.

Having touched on some of the main questions around the semantics of the Remote Past, several issues remain to be further investigated. It is not clear if the semantic difference between the Remote Past and the Recent Past primarily concerns the degree of remoteness (with flexible demarcation points) or whether the two TAM markers differ with respect to current relevance. In the latter case, either the event's current relevance is part of the meaning encoded in the Recent Past (whereby the Remote Past is undetermined with respect to the relation between the event and the present moment), or it is the Remote Past that marks absence of current relevance (leaving the Recent Past as the ambiguous Past form with respect to that property).

3.6. Immediate Future tense

Unlike the other Indicative tenses discussed so far, the **Immediate Future**[255] **tense** is constructed periphrastically. As shown in Table 3.1 and in (48), it consists of two verbs: the auxiliary verb *-za* ('come') in the Present tense which is followed by the Infinitive form of the lexical verb with the prefix *ku-* (the Infinitive mark without the augment initial *u-*). Orthographically, *-za ku-* is written separately as the form belongs to two different verbs from the etymological point of view, but in the glossed sentences in the present study they are connected with '=' due to their common, unified meaning. The Future marker *-za ku-* is often contracted to *-zo-* in speech and in less formal written genres of Xhosa, a form that is also more common as a standard written form

[255] Despite the unresolved issues around its semantics, for ease of reference, this TAM marker will continue to be referred to with the currently most widespread term, *Immediate Future*.

in Zulu (cf. Nyembezi 1957:55, Nyembezi 1970:75, Poulos & Msimang 1998:254, 263-265)[256]. When *-zo-* is referred to as the short form, it is not to be confused with the short and long forms from the conjoint/disjoint opposition, because *-zo-* is not conditioned syntactically or by information structure. The transitional forms between *-za ku-* and *-zo-*, namely *-zawu-*[257], *-zoku-*[258], and *-zowu-* are also found in speech (Louw & Jubase 1963:183, Davey 1973:63, Dowling 1998:117, Bryant 2007:181, Oosthuysen 2016:202), cf. (49). Some authors consider the Future form with the infixed *-o-* and *-aku-* to be contracted forms of the Immediate Future (e.g. Davey 1973:63), but because there are scholars who ascribe a slightly different meaning to these two infixes, these will be addressed in a separate section.

(48)

U-mama	**ú-za=ku-pung-a**	i-kofu	ngoku.
AUG-1a.mom	SM.1-FUT-drink-FV	AUG-9.coffee	now

*Mom **will/is going to drink** coffee now.*

(49)

U-mama	**ú-zawu-pung-a** /		**ú-zoku-pung-a** /	
AUG-1a.mom	SM.1-FUT-drink-FV		SM.1-FUT-drink-FV	
ú-zowu-pung-a /	**ú-zo-pung-a**	i-kofu	ngoku.	
SM.1-FUT-drink-FV	SM.1-FUT-drink-FV	AUG-9.coffee	now	

*Mom **will/is going to drink** coffee now.*

In the negative form of the Immediate Future the negative SM is combined with *-zi ku-* (in place of *-za ku-*) as demonstrated in (50). The contracted (or altered) negated forms which are more common in speech include *-zuku-, -zu-*[259]*, -zoku-, -zo-, -uku-, -ku-, -u-*, *-oku-*, and *-o-* (Davey 1973:63, Bryant 2007:181, Oosthuysen 2016:202)[260], some of which are shown in (51).

[256] The corresponding markers in the other Nguni languages include: *-za-* in Zimbabwean Ndebele (Amand et al. (Bowern & Lotridge) 2002:38), *-za-*, *zaku-*, *-zo-*, *-zoku-* in isiNdebele (S407) (Crane 2017), *-tawu-* (*-taw'-*), and its variants *-taku-, -ta-*, *-toku-*, *-towu-*, *-to-* in Swati (Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976:98-99, 180-181, Corum 1978:11.3-11.5, Nichols 2011:40-41).

[257] Louw & Jubase (1963:183) claim that this form is only found in the Mpondo dialect of Xhosa. Similarly, Botha et al. (1972) consider it only a dialectal form (Nxopo 1993:34). By contrast, Oosthuysen (2016:202) does not restrict it to a particular variety, while ascribing it to the spoken language and in some instances to the written language too.

[258] Buell (2005:121) considers this form to be the 'full form' of the Zulu Immediate Future tense.

[259] This form is the ordinary negative form of the Immediate Future tense in Zulu (Nyembezi 1957:56, 1970:75).

[260] In Zimbabwean Ndebele this is expressed with a complex verb containing the deficient verb *-soze* ('not do') followed by a Subjunctive form in Zimbabwean Ndebele (Amand et al. (Bowern & Lotridge) 2002:38). In Swati, the infixes *-tu-, -naku-,* and *-nawu-* (Corum 1978:11.5-11.6, Nichols 2011:42-43, Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976:106) are

(50) U-mama **aka-zi=ku-punga** kofu ngoku.
AUG-1a.mom NEG.SM.1-FUT-drink-FV 9.coffee now
*Mom **will not/is not going to** drink coffee now.*

(51) U-mama **aka-zu=ku-pung-a** / **aka-zu-pung-a** /
AUG-1a.mom NEG.SM.1-FUT-drink-FV NEG.SM.1-FUT-drink-FV
aka-ku-pung-a kofu ngoku.
NEG.SM.1-FUT-drink-FV 9.coffee now
*Mom **will not/is not going to** drink coffee now.*

A majority of studies treat *-za ku-* as a form marked for **remoteness**, i.e. as an indicator that the event occurs in the **immediate future** or **near future** (thus indicating that the remote future is signalled by another Future tense), e.g. Bennie (1939:107), McLaren (1936:88), Mncube (1957:47), Pahl (1967, 1983:123)[261,262], Davey (1973:68), Riordan et al. (1969:152-153), Schonstein Pinnock (1988:165), Nxopo (1993:113-119), Satyo (1989)[263], Einhorn & Siyengo (1993:20, 37), Nyembezi (1957:55) [264], Engelbrecht (1962:43), Ziervogel et al. (1967:48), and Poulos & Msimang (1998:254, 263-265).

Just like with the remoteness degrees in the Past tenses, pointing down where on the timeline the immediate future ends and the remote future starts poses a challenge. Most scholars describe the portion of the timeline in the future referred to by *-za ku-* as immediate, signalling that 'the action will occur shortly' (Bennie 1939:107), while others account for the semantics of this Future marker through some typical time adverbs that it co-occurs with, such as *ngoku* ('now'), *namhlanje* ('today'), *kamsinyane* ('immediately'), or *soon* (Riordan et al. 1969:152-153, Schonstein Pinnock 1988:165, Einhorn & Siyengo 1993:37). Riordan et al. (1969:153) define the remoteness degrees of the Future tenses as relative, in that those temporal units which contain the

used along with the complex verb which contains the deficient verb *-te-* (originally the Recent Past form of *-ta* 'come') followed by a Past Subjunctive verb (Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976:106, Nichols 2011:42-43).
[261] Nxopo (1993:31).
[262] Pahl (1983:123) does not explicitly mention which portion of the timeline is designated by the Immediate Future, but the label he uses to refer to it *ixesha elizayo* (lit: 'coming time') suggests that it refers to the near future, because other authors like Pahl (1967) and Satyo (1989) use the same label to do so and because *-za* is an element used to construct this tense.
[263] Nxopo (1993:31).
[264] Nxopo (1993:23).

present situation belong to the Immediate Future (e.g. *today*, *this week*, *this year*, *this century*, etc.), as opposed to those temporal units which have not yet started (*tomorrow*, *next week*, *next year*, etc.). Poulos & Msimang (1998:263-265) view the near future as covering any point within several minutes, hours, days, weeks, all the way to several months from the moment of speech. According to Poulos & Msimang (1998:263-265), actions that occur months after the moment of utterance can be denoted by both the Immediate Future and the Remote Future. According to Buell (2005:120), however, the Immediate Future in Zulu extends only up to several days after the moment of speech.

The translations to English provided in some of the studies imply that the Immediate Future may also encode **modal information**. Thus, McLaren (1936:88), Mncube (1957:47-48, 56-57), and Nxopo (1993:31) translate *-za ku-* with such constructions as *be (just) about to* and *be (just) going to*, which suggest a higher degree of **intention**[265] (=**event modality**) than is the case with *will* or *shall*. In line with this view, Nxopo (1993:113-119, 123-124) claims that the Immediate Future in some cases expresses a higher degree of **volition** (**intention=event modality**) and of the speaker's **certainty** (=**propositional modality**) about the event's actualisation than the Remote Future. Modality as the actual distinction between two or more Future tenses in the Bantu language family is also suggested in Nurse (2008:92).

Some authors do not explicitly link the Immediate Future to any degree of remoteness. That the Immediate Future tense does not refer only to the near future is observed especially in more recent studies, in which it is even implied it could be a kind of an **unmarked**, general, default, main Future tense (which entails the Remote Future tense is marked for remoteness), e.g. Zotwana (1991:50-52), Bryant (2007:179-181), Mă (2013:72-74). Mă (2013:72-74) considers that a significant semantic generalisation might have occurred in the language recently. The earliest grammars of Xhosa characterise *-za ku-* as a Future form marked for a proximal degree of remoteness, whereas Mă's (2013) questionnaire-based study reveals that speakers accept it in all contexts regardless of the degree of remoteness, unlike the Remote Future tense. In other studies, the Immediate Future tense is represented as one of the forms of the Future tense without elaborating on the semantic difference between it and the Remote Future tense, e.g. Louw &

[265] In addition to the shorter temporal distance.

Jubase (1963:42-43), Dowling (1998:116-117)[266], Nxopo (1993:112-119, 123-124), Kirsch et al. (1999:96-97), and Einhorn & Mfeka (1992)[267] for Zulu. According to Nxopo (1993:112-119, 123-124), the Immediate Future tense denotes posteriority of E relative to R and S, i.e. R,S_E, which is the same representation as for the Remote Future tense. Although Nxopo (1993:39-47) acknowledges other semantic components in the Immediate Future (deixis, volition, intention[268], etc.), these are not formalised in his definition of this TAM marker.

Some scholars, such as Botha et al. (1972:97)[269] and Posthumus (1983:87)[270] even question the status of the Immediate Future as a tense. Botha et al. (1972:97) insist instead that it is a **Future** '**aspect**' of the Present tense. This view is probably linked to van Eeden's (1956:275)[271] observation that the Immediate Future, as a periphrastic construction consisting of a Present tense verb and an Infinitive verb, is not to be regarded as a Future tense in the same way as the Future tenses in English or Afrikaans (Nxopo 1993:37). More importantly, van Eeden (1956:275) supports his claim with the remark that the auxiliary verbs *-za* and *-ya* in the Immediate and the Remote Future tenses, respectively, have retained some degree of their original, i.e. **deictic** meaning. This claim implies that the Immediate Future encodes movement **towards the speaker,** that is, it expresses the **ventive**, a category which Rose et al. (2002:90) classify as 'aspectual'[272]. The opposite of the movement towards the speaker is the movement **away from the speaker**, i.e. the **itive** or **andative**, which Rose et al. (2002:7, 48) view as a 'modal' category[273]. The deictic interpretation of *-za ku-* is unambiguously proposed for Zulu in Gowlett (2003:635-636). A similar understanding of this TAM marker is found in Botha et al. (1972:97) who translate the two Xhosa Future tenses as equally remote[274], but add in the parentheses the deictic information from the primary meaning of their auxiliary verbs, *-za* and -

[266] Dowling (1998:116-117) does not mention the Remote Future tense at all, thus making any mention of remoteness superfluous.
[267] Nxopo (1993:38-39).
[268] These factors are discussed in the following paragraphs of the present section.
[269] Nxopo (1993:33-34).
[270] Nxopo (1993:34).
[271] Nxopo (1993:37-38).
[272] I am sceptical about the classification of ventive as an aspectual category because it expresses spatial relations as well as the speaker's attitude to the necessity or probability of the proposition's actualisation (modality).
[273] Rose et al. (2002:7, 48) regard itive and andative as modal categories. However, just like ventive, this category expresses spatial relations, which is why it does not suit my understanding of aspect.
[274] Botha et al. (1972:97) translate the Immediate and the Remote Future to Afrikaans with the same (Future) auxiliary verb, *sal*, which suggests they do not acknowledge a difference between the two Future tenses in Xhosa as two different degrees of remoteness.

ya[275], thus suggesting that the Immediate Future implies movement towards the speaker. Davey (1973:68), too, recognises that besides remoteness degrees, deixis may also represent a significant semantic component of the Immediate Future tense. His translation of example (52) contains a ventive meaning, while he adds the itive or andative meaning to his translation of the Remote Future form in (53).

(52) I-tishala **i-za=k-ohlway-a** a-ba-ntwana.
AUG-9.teacher SM.9-FUT-punish-FV AUG-2-child
*The teacher **is coming to punish** children.*
(Davey 1973:68)

(53) I-nkosikazi **i-ya=ku-thung-a**.
AUG-9.lady SM.9-FUT-sew-FV
*The lady **is going to sew**.*
(Davey 1973:68)

However, Oosthuysen (2016:191) argues convincingly against deixis as a semantic component of the Immediate or Future Remote tenses. Such sentences as (54) and (55) are neither contradictory nor ungrammatical, despite the opposite movement directions encoded in the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb.

(54) **Ú-za=ku-y-a**.
SM.1SG-FUT-go-FV
She/He will go.
(Oosthuysen 2016:191)

(55) **Ndi-ya=ku-z-a**.
SM.1SG-REMFUT-yo-FV
I will come.
(Oosthuysen 2016:191)

Another notion that is frequently used to describe *-za ku-* is that of '**definiteness**', yet its meaning varies significantly between the studies. For Oosthuysen (2016:190-191, 202-203) and Nxopo (1993:118-119, 123-124), the 'definite' Immediate Future tense (as compared to the more

[275] The other, Remote Future tense is constructed with the auxiliary verb *ya* ('go'). This tense will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

hypothetical Remote Future tense) probably refers to the speaker's certainty whether or not the event will actualise itself (= propositional modality). According to Oosthuyen (2016:191), the Immediate Future is marked for definiteness, unlike the Remote Future which is ambiguous in this respect. By contrast, van Eeden (1956:278)[276], Ziervogel & Mabuza's (1976:180-181) and Schonstein Pinnock's (1988:165) the term 'definite future' suggests that *-za ku-* refers to a **definite**, **specific time span**, as opposed to the '**indefinite** future' (Remote Future), in which said event may eventually occur.

The unresolved questions regarding the semantics of the Immediate Future include whether or not *-za ku-* is the default Future tense marker, as well as whether it differs from *-ya ku-* primarily with respect to remoteness, modal meaning (such as the subject's intentions, volition, the speaker's certainty about the event's actualisation), or both.

3.7. Remote Future tense

Like the Immediate Future, the **Remote Future** tense is also constructed periphrastically, whereby the only difference is that the auxiliary verb *-ya* ('go') is used instead of *-za* ('come') (in glossed sentences represented as *-ya=ku-*), cf. (56). As shown in (57), in speech and less formal written language *-ya ku-* is sometimes shortened to *-yo-* or, more rarely, to *-yawu-*[277] (Louw & Jubase 1963:183), the former being the common Remote Future tense marker in Zulu (Nyembezi 1957:56, Nyembezi 1970:75)[278]. Like in the case of *-za ku-*, some studies treat the Future forms with the infixed *-o-* and *-aku-* as contracted forms of the Remote Future (e.g. Pahl 1967:123-124, Einhorn & Siyengo 1993:37, Oosthuysen 2016:203, van Eeden 1956[279]). However, it has already been pointed out in the preceding section that certain scholars ascribe a slightly different meaning to *-o-* and *-aku-*, which is why they will be addressed in a separate

[276] Nxopo (1993:39-40).
[277] Louw & Jubase (1963:183) claim that this form is only found in the Mpondo dialect of Xhosa. Similarly, Botha et al. (1972) consider it only a dialectal form (Nxopo 1993:34).
[278] Buell (2005:121) considers *-yoku-* to be the full form of the Remote Future in Zulu. The corresponding Remote Future markers in Swati include *-yaku-*, *-yawu-*, *-yoku-*, *-yowu-*, *-yo-* (Nichols 2011:40-41, 42-43) and in isiNdebele (S407) they include *-yoku-* and *-yo-* (Crane 2017).
[279] Nxopo (1993:38).

section (cf. section 3.8). In the negated form of the Remote Future tense, the negative SM is followed by *-yi ku-*[280] instead of *-ya ku-*, cf. (58).

(56) I-ngqina **li-ya=ku-fik-a** kungekudala.
AUG-5.witness SM.5-REMFUT-arrive-FV soon
*The witness **will arrive** soon.*

(57) I-ngqina **li-yawu-fik-a** / **li-yo-fik-a** kungekudala.
AUG-5.witness SM.5-REMFUT-arrive-FV SM.5-REMFUT-arrive-FV soon
*The witness **will arrive** soon.*

(58) I-ngqina **ali-yi=ku-fik-a** kungekudala.
AUG-5.witness NEG.SM.5-REMFUT-arrive-FV soon
*The witness **will not arrive** soon.*

It the earliest studies, the Remote Future is considered the general, unmarked and temporally unrestrained Future marker, which is evident from the terms chosen by the scholars to refer to it. In Davis (1872:82), this form is the only non-contracted (periphrastic) Future tense marker and it is termed the '**indefinite** future', whereas *-za ku-* is not even mentioned. In Bennie (1939:107) and McLaren (1936:86-88), the Remote Future is simply termed *Future tense*. According to McLaren (1936:86), this form 'simply foretells', whereas the Immediate Future has a more specialised, marked meaning which expresses 'more immediate futurity'.

In numerous studies, the Remote Future is considered to refer to both near and remote future as long as its time reference is '**indefinite**' (Pahl 1967:123, Satyo 1989[281]). Similarly, Mncube (1957:48) and Schonstein Pinnock (1988:165) find that the Remote Future tense indicates an event's occurrence at an **indefinite time in the future**. A similar view linked to the indefinite time reference is expressed in Ziervogel & Mabuza (1976:180) who observe that the Remote Future indicates that an 'action will ultimately happen'. In the recent study by Oosthuysen (2016:191) proposes that, unlike the Immediate Future, the Remote Future is reserved for more **hypothetical** situations[282].

[280] The common negative Remote Future tense form in Zulu iz *-yu-* (Nyembezi 1957:56, 1970:75). In Swati the corresponding forms are *-yi ku-* and *-yuku-* in Swati (Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976:106, 180, Nichols 2011:42-43).
[281] Nxopo (1993:30-31).
[282] Oosthuysen (2016:191) characterises the Immediate Future as a Future tense marked for 'definiteness', a notion that reflects a higher degree of speaker certainty. Oosthuysen (2016:191) does imply that he finds the Remote Future tense slightly less marked. The Immediate Future is the only one termed the 'definite future', while

In another set of studies which are generally more recent, the temporal reference of the Remote Future tense is defined in terms of **remoteness**. While some scholars see this TAM marker as a combination of the indefinite temporal reference and the **remote future**, Riordan et al. (1969:153), Davey (1973:62-63)[283], Engelbrecht (1962:43)[284], and Ziervogel et al. (1967:48) define its meaning negatively, that is, as a form that is 'specialised' to refer to a future event that is **not specifically in the near future**, e.g. Nyembezi (1957:55). Doke (1927:177), Einhorn & Siyengo (1993:37), Poulos & Msimang (1998:265), and Buell (2005:119-125) do not choose either member of the Immediate/Remote Future opposition as marked, whereas Zotwana (1991:51), Bryant (2007:181) and Mă (2013:72-74) find that the Remote future's temporal reference is restricted to the remote future, treating that of the Immediate Future as less temporally restricted or completely unrestricted.

A number of scholars share the opinion that the distinction between the two Future tenses is unclear and that they are often **interchangeable** (Zotwana 1991:51, Oosthuysen 2016:191, Ziervogel et al. 1967:48). According to Poulos & Msimang (1998:265), the Remote Future reference starts several months after the speech time, including a time span that could be denoted by either Future tense, thus making the choice of tense a matter of the speaker's subjective feeling. However, Buell (2005:120) believes that any event happening later than several days after the moment of speech is denoted by the Remote Future tense. Some translations of the Remote Future tense to English in Einhorn & Siyengo (1993:37) include a default time adverb *then*, as opposed to *now* and *soon*, which are part of the translations of the Immediate Future. In other translations of this tense to English (McLaren 1936:88, Mncube 1957:47-48, 56-57, Nxopo 1993:31), the verbs *will/shall* are used thus not suggesting the **intention** behind the event as opposed to the Immediate Future (cf. previous section 3.6).

In the previous section, it was pointed out that some authors identify a deictic[285] component of the Future tenses' semantics. Thus, van Eeden (1956:275), Botha et al. (1972:97), Davey (1973:68), Ziervogel & Mabuza (1976:180), as well as Gowlett (2003:635-636) suggest

the Remote Future does not have any other attributes but 'future'. Furthermore, he finds it relevant that the Remote Future tense is much more prevalent in the Xhosa Bibles of 1942 and 1996 than the Immediate Future.

[283] Davey (1973) also claims that the remote future temporal reference covers the entire timeline which is not specifically near future.

[284] Nxopo (1993:23).

[285] In the sense of spatial deixis.

that the Remote Future has **itive** meaning[286]. However, examples (54-55) from the previous section showed that deixis is not part of either Future tense. Another, somewhat self-contradictory account of the difference between the Remote Future and the Immediate Future is found in Nxopo (1993:113), who claims that the two tenses do not differ semantically by using the same representation for both Future tenses: R,S_E (Nxopo 1993: 118-119, 123-124), while acknowledging that the two tenses occasionally differ in terms of remoteness and emphasis (Nxopo 1993:39-47). Studies which do not account for the semantic difference between the Immediate and the Remote Future tenses include Louw & Jubase (1963:42-43), Dowling (1998:116-117)[287], Kirsch et al. (1999:96-97), and Einhorn & Mfeka (1992)[288].

Judging by the observations provided by Mă (2013:74-76), the Remote Future has most likely undergone a major semantic change in the past decades, that is, since the time of the first grammars of Xhosa. This conclusion is confirmed by the considerable semantic and morpho-syntactic variation in the Future tense marking between the closely related Nguni varieties (cf. the present section and the preceding section).

The unresolved issues of the Remote Future semantics largely resemble those pointed out in the previous section. Besides the degree of remoteness and modality, it remains to consider whether the two Future tenses differ in the level of specificity or definiteness (hearer and speaker accessibility) of their temporal reference.

3.8. Contracted forms of the Future tense: -o- and -aku-

The **contracted forms** of the **Future** tense is morphologically marked. The choice of the lowercase to refer to these forms indicates that in the present study they are not considered semantically different Future tense markers, but only alternative forms of the two other, already discussed Future tenses. The contracted Future has two forms. In the first one, *-o-* is infixed between the SM and the verb root (59). The second form has *-aku-* infixed in the same position

[286] Schonstein Pinnock (1988:166) warns that the Remote Future should not be confused with the itive use of *-ya* with purpose Infinitive clauses, as these constructions have the same form.
[287] Dowling (1998:116-117) does not mention the Remote Future tense at all, thus making any mention of remoteness superfluous.
[288] Nxopo (1993:38-39).

(60). Both forms are shown in Table 3.1. If OM is integrated in the verb, *-o-* or *-aku-* precede it, cf. (61). For ease of reference, the two forms of the Future tense will be referred to as the **o-Future** and the **aku-Future**, respectively, without any implication that they represent two semantically distinct categories.

(59) **Nd-o-buy-a**.
SM.1SG-OFUT-return-FV
I will return.
(Louw & Jubase 1963:183-184)

(60) **Nd-aku-buy-a**.
SM.1SG-AKUFUT-return-FV
I will return.
(Louw & Jubase 1963:184)

(61) **Nd-o-kw-enz-el-a** ke (ngenxa y-oko).
SM.1SG-OFUT-OM.2SG-do-APPL-FV then because=of POSS.9-DEM.MED.15
I will do it for you *(because of that).*
(Pahl 1967:124)

The o-Future and the aku-Future share the same negated form which combines the negative SM with an infixed *-u-* in the slot where *-o-* and *-aku-* stand in the affirmative form, cf. (62).

(62) **And-u-buy-a**.
NEG.SM.1SG-NEG.CONTRFUT-do-FV
I will not return.

In the earliest studies, independent semantics is ascribed to the o-Future and the aku-Future. Thus, Bennie (1939:107-108), McLaren (1936:87-88), Pahl (1967[289], 1983:124) refer to the o-Future and the aku-Future as '**contingent**', i.e. a marker of a future event that is contingent or conditioned by another event. McLaren (1936:87) adds that the contingent o-Future always has 'a reference to the person spoken to', i.e. the addressee. According to Pahl (1983:124), the o-Future carries a meaning of emphasis (and/or conditionality) which he illustrates in (61),

[289] Nxopo (1993:32).

although his understanding and scope of emphasis remains unclear. Nxopo (1993:44-45) is of the opinion that the contracted forms are marked for contingency, emphasis, and volition/certainty ('determination') as illustrated in (63).

(63)

Nokuba	ku-nzima	**nd-o-lu-phumelel-a**	
even=if	SM.17-difficult	SM.1SG-OFUT-OM.11-pass-FV	
olu	viwo	lwa-lo	nyaka.
DEM.11.PROX	11.examination	POSS.11-DEM.PROX.3	3.year

I will pass *this year's examination no matter what (lit: […] even if it is difficult)*[290].
(Nxopo 1993:45)

While some consider the o-Future to be the contraction of *-za ku-* (Davey 1973:63, Dowling 1998:117), it has more often been traced back to *-ya ku-*[291] as its original form (Einhorn & Siyengo 1993:37, Oosthuysen 2016:203, van Eeden 1956:275ff[292]). Yet, the highest number of studies view the o-Future as a contraction of both Future tenses (Oosthuysen 1958[293], Louw & Jubase 1963:183-184, Botha et al. 1972:97[294], Schonstein Pinnock 1988:165, Einhorn & Siyengo 1993:37, Kirsch et al. 1999:96, Doke 1954:178, Einhorn & Mfeka 1992[295], Poulos & Msimang 1998:264, Buell 2005:121). Some scholars suggest that the aku-Future (64) has the same origin as the o-Future, identifying them as contractions of *-za ku-* (Davey 1973:63), *-ya ku-* (Oosthuysen 2016:203, Pahl 1967:123-124), or both *-za ku-* and *-ya ku-* (Louw & Jubase 1963:183-184). This view is supported by the fact that in verb roots which begin with a vowel, the Infinitive marker *-kw-* is found between *-o-* and the verb root (65), thus resulting in resemblance between the two contracted Future markers, cf. (64-65) (Louw & Jubase 1963:184).

[290] Adapted translation.
[291] Bennie (1939:107-108), McLaren (1936:87-88), Pahl (1967:123-124) and Nxopo (1993:44) see the origin of the o-Future in the Remote Future marker, *-ya ku-*. However, as exmplained in the preceding paragraph, these scholars assume that the o-Future has additional semantic elements not contained in *-ya ku-*.
[292] Nxopo (1993:38).
[293] Nxopo (1993:28-29).
[294] Nxopo (1993:33).
[295] Nxopo (1993:38-39).

(64) **Nd-akw-akha**.
SM.1SG-AKUFUT-build-FV
I will build.
(Louw & Jubase 1963:184)

(65) **Nd-okw-akha**.
SM.1SG-OFUT-build-FV
I will build.
(Louw & Jubase 1963:184)

3.9. Subjunctive mood

In the literature on the Nguni languages, two TAM markers ('tenses'[296]) are commonly grouped together under the **Subjunctive** mood: the Present and the Past 'tenses' of the Subjunctive mood. Some authors assume that there is a third 'tense' (or group of 'tenses') in the Subjunctive mood, i.e. the Subjunctive Future (cf. section 3.9.2).

The **Present Subjunctive**, for ease of reference henceforth referred to as the **Subjunctive**[297], is marked with the suffix *-e* in the position of FV[298] (final vowel), cf. (66-67). The Subjunctive exhibits different phonological properties than the conjoint form of the (Indicative) Recent Past marker *-é* which is characterised by a high vowel (Davey 1973:50, Oosthuysen 2016:197)[299]. Verbs which have an irregular Indicative Recent Past form, e.g. *-hlala* ('sit down') > *-hleli*, do not follow the same pattern, but obtain a regular form in the Subjunctive, e.g. *-hlale* in (67). In addition, the Subjunctive SM for the 1st class is *a-* instead of the Indicative SM.1 *ú-*, cf. (68). The Subjunctive mood does not exhibit the conjoint/disjoint opposition in any of its tenses (66-68). Unlike the Indicative mood, negation does not affect the SM, but it is

[296] The legitimacy of referring to these forms as 'tenses' of the Subjunctive mood will be revised in the following paragraphs.
[297] The term *Present Subjunctive* is well-established in the literature and is provisionally accepted in the present study. However, for ease of reference, it will be referred to as *Subjunctive*, whereby the full label will continue to be used (until further review) for the other two forms that are recognised as 'tenses' of the Subjunctive, the Past Subjunctive and the Future Subjunctive.
[298] Note that FV here only refers to the final vowel of the Indicative or Infinitive affirmative form of a verb. FV does not include the final vowels suffixed in the negated forms or in other TAM markers.
[299] Davey (1973:50) in fact notes that the Indicate Recent Past marker *-é* is a sequence of a high-low tonal sequence, cf. section 3.4.

expressed with the infix *-nga-* directly after SM in combination with the suffix *-i* in the position of FV (like the Present tense of the Indicative mood), cf. (69-70).

(66) Indicative (Present): ndi-ya-fund-a > Subjunctive: ndi-fund-e
SM.1SG-DISJ-read-FV SM.1SG-read-SUBJ
I am reading[300] *(that/and) I read*

(67) Indicative (Recent Past): ndi-hlel-i- ≠ Subjunctive: ndi-hlal-e
SM.1SG-sit=down-ANT SM.1SG-sit=down-SUBJ
I am sitting[301] *(that/and) I sit (down)*

(68) Indicative: ú-ya-fund-a > Subjunctive: a-fund-e
SM.1-DISJ-read-FV SM.1SG.SUBJ-read-SUBJ
she/he is reading[302] *(that / and) she/he reads*

(69) Indicative: andi-fund-i > Subjunctive: ndi-nga-fund-i
NEG.SM.1SG-read-NEG SM.1SG-NEG.SUBJ-read-NEG
I am not reading *(that / and) I do not read*

(70) Indicative: aka-fund-i > Subjunctive: a-nga-fund-i
NEG.SM.1-read-NEG SM.1.SUBJ-NEG.SUBJ-read-NEG
she/he is not reading *(that / and) she/he does not read*

Often, the Subjunctive does not occur as the only verb in a sentence, but as a second (or subsequent) verb after an (Indicative) Present (71-72), an (Indicative) Immediate Future or a Remote Future verb (73), or after an Imperative verb (74), and it represents a **consecutive** event to a present or future event, or to the event referred to by the command. In cases such as (71-72) it functions as a **relative tense**[303], the temporal location of which is anchored in the preceding, Indicative verb. In such cases, a lexically 'empty' Subjunctive (deficient) verb *-za* ('and then do') may be added to support the consecutive nature of the event sequence (Bryant 2007:153), as shown in (72).

[300] The translation of the Indicative Present tense in (66, 68-70) is illustrated only with the Present Continuous in English. The Present Simple which is an equally suitable translation is not included due to space constraints.
[301] The translation of the Indicative Present tense in (80-81) is illustrated only with the Present Continuous in English. The Present Simple which is an equally suitable translation is not included due to space constraints.
[302] The translation of the Indicative Present tense in (80-81) is illustrated only with the Present Continuous in English. The Present Simple which is an equally suitable translation is not included due to space constraints.
[303] According to Nurse's (2008:120-124) definition of *relative tense*.

(71) Ndi-vuk-a **ndi-hlamb-e** **ndi-nxib-e**
SM.1SG-wake=up-FV SM.1SG-wash-SUBJ SM.1SG-dress-SUBJ
ndi-ty-e **ndi-y-e** e-si-kolw-eni.
SM.1SG-eat-SUBJ SM.1SG-go-FV LOC-7-school-LOC
I wake up and (then) ***wash*** *and (then)* ***dress*** *and (then)* ***eat*** *and (then)* ***go*** *to school.*
(Bryant 2007:151)

(72) Ndi-vuk-a **ndi-z-e** **ndi-hlamb-e**.
SM.1SG-wake=up-FV SM.1SG-come-SUBJ SM.1SG-wash-SUBJ
I wake up ***and then I wash***.
(Bryant 2007:153)

(73) Ndi-ya=ku-z-akh-el-a i-ndlu, **ndi-hlal-e** ku-yo.
SM.1SG-REMFUT-REFL-build-APPL-FV AUG-9.house SM.1SG-live-SUBJ SM.17-9
I shall buy myself a house ***and live*** *in it.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:224)

(74) Vuk-a, **u-nxib-e**, **u-y-e** e-msebenzi-ni!
wake=up-FV SM.2SG-dress-FV SM.2SG-go-FV LOC-3.work-LOC
Get up, ***get dressed and go*** *to work!*
(Oosthuysen 2016:225)

With Imperative verbs, the Subjunctive verb may denote a consecutive command (74), but not necessarily (75). The Subjunctive is thus most often used in subordinated clauses, and it is linked to the main clause via an Indicative or Imperative verb.

(75) Y-omelel-a-ni, **ni-ng-oyik-i**!
IMP-become=strong-FV-IMP.2PL SM.2PL-NEG.SUBJ-fear-NEG
Be strong and ***do not fear****!*
(Oosthuysen 2016:225)

However, the Subjunctive can also be the main verb in a sentence. The negated Subjunctive is used to express polite negative commands, such as (76) (Davey 1973:28, 101), a meaning related to the use of the Subjunctive in subordinate clauses following verbs of request (Bryant 2007:154), cf. (77). Furthermore, when the verb of the command contains an OM, the Subjunctive mood is used instead of the Imperative mood (78) (Davey 1973:27, 101).

(76) **Ni-nga-tshay-i**.
SM.2PL-NEG.SUBJ-smoke-NEG
You may not / should not / ought not to smoke.
(Davey 1973:101)

(77) Ndi-cel-a (ukuba) **ni-nga-tshay-i**.
SM.1SG-request-FV that SM.2PL-NEG.SUBJ-smoke-NEG
*Please, **do not smoke** (lit: I request **that you** (pl.) **do not smoke**).*

(78) **Ba-fuman-e**!
OM.2-find-SUBJ
Find them!
(Davey 1973:101)

As the main verb, the Subjunctive may also occur in sentences like (79-80), which Davey (1973:101) describes as expressions of **wish** or **purpose**, although I find it challenging to define the distinction between examples (78) and (80): Examples (79-80) rather appear to represent the speaker's expressions of **necessity** that said events occur (= event modality). The same meaning is expressed when the Subjunctive of the main verb *-ba* ('be') is followed by the Participial form of the lexical verb, as in (81) (Davey 1973:100). Polite requests (82) as well as Hortatives (83) are also expressed with Subjunctive verbs prefixed with *khawu-/khani-* ('won't you [sg./pl.]') and *ma-* ('let (me/us/her/him/it/them)'), respectively.

(79) **U-theth-e** **u-nga-thul-i**!
SM.2SG-talk-SUBJ SM.2SG-NEG.SUBJ-be=quiet-NEG
You ought to talk and not be quiet!
(Davey 1973:101)

(80) **U-m-bamb-e**!
SM.2SG-OM.1-catch-SUBJ
You ought to catch him!
(Davey 1973:101)

(81) **A-b-e** e-theth-a!
SM.1.SUBJ-be-SUBJ SM.1.PTCP-speak-FV
***He ought to** be talking!*
(Davey 1973:100)

(82) **Kha-wu-hlamb-e** i-zi-tya?
IMP-SM.2SG-wash-SUBJ AUG-8-plate
***Won't you please wash** the dishes?*
(Bryant 2007:154)

(83) **Ma-si-cul-e**!
HORT-SM.1PL-sing-SUBJ
Let's sing*!*

Commands and necessity for an event's actualisation represent different degrees of **deontic modality**. These are represented in (76-83) together with other types of deontic modality which include desire, intention or purpose characteristic of the Subjunctive in subordinate clauses (Bryant 2007:158).

Modality is also expressed by Subjunctive verbs in subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *ukuba* ('that')[304] (cf. Bryant 2007:158). Thus, deontic or dynamic event modality in the subordinate Subjunctive is linked to the main verb that specifies the source, the basis of modal meaning, such as *-funeka* ('must, should, have/need to') (84), *-fanela* ('be necessary') (85), *-nqwenela* ('wish') (86), *-nyanzela* ('force') (87).

(84) Ukuba u-fun-a uku-theng-a i-ndlu
if SM.2SG-want-FV INF-buy-FV AUG-9.house
ku-funek-a (ukuba) **u-londoloz-e** i-mali.
15-need=to-FV that SM.2SG-save-SUBJ AUG-9.money
*If you want to buy a house you must **save** money.*
(Bryant 2007:156)

(85) U-fanel-e ukuba **u-tyelel-e** u-Makhulu.
SM 2SG-be=necessary-ANT that SM.2SG-visit-SUBJ AUG-1a.grandmother
*You are expected **to visit** Grandmother.*
(Bryant 2007:158)

(86) Ndi-nqwenel-a ukuba u-Sipho **a-ndi-fowun-el-e**.
SM 1SG-wish-FV that AUG-1a.Sipho SM.1.SUBJ-OM.1SG-phone-APPL-SUBJ
*I wish that Sipho **would phone me**.*
(Bryant 2007:158)

(87) Ndi-m-nyanzel-a ukuba **a-sebenz-e**.
SM 1SG-OM.1-force-FV that SM.1.SUBJ-work-SUBJ
*I am forcing her/him **to work**.*
(Bryant 2007:158)

[304] The expression of necessity does not require the conjunction *ukuba* ('that') (Bryant 2007:156), as shown in (84).

However, constructions in which Subjunctive verbs follow deficient verbs need not express modal meaning. They can convey temporal and aspectual information, e.g. after such deficient verbs as *-soloko* ('do always') and *-mana* ('do continually'). Already cited examples of deficient verbs which govern Subjunctive verbs include *-za* ('and then do') in (72) and *-zange*[305] ('never do [past]') in (40), repeated here as (88), one of two suggested negated forms of the Remote Past. Other frequent deficient verbs include *-soze* ('never do [future]') in (89), *-khe* ('ever do') in (90), and *-da* ('eventually do') in (91), and *-phinda* ('do again') in (92-93).

(88) Andi-zange **ndi-ba-bon-e** a-ba-ntu aba-nje apha.
NEG.SM.1SG-never=do SM.1SG-OM.2-see-SUBJ AUG-2-person ADJ.2-like=this here
*I have never **seen** people like this here.*
(Du Plessis & Visser 1992:255)

(89) Asi-soze **si-yi-thwal-e** le nto.
NEG.SM.1PL-never=do SM.1PL-OM.9-carry-SUBJ DEM.PROX.9 9.thing
*We will never **carry** this thing.*
(Du Plessis & Visser 1992:255)

(90) A: U-khe **u-y-e** e-lwandle?
SM.2SG-ever=do SM.2SG-go-SUBJ LOC-12.sea
*Do you ever **go** to the sea?*

B: Ewe, ndi-khe **ndi-y-e** e-lwandle.
yes SM.1SG-ever=do SM.1SG-go-SUBJ LOC-12.sea
*Yes, I <u>sometimes</u> **go** to the sea.*
(Bryant 2007:211)

(91) I-bhasi i-za=ku-de **i-fik-e**.
AUG-9.bus SM.9-FUT-eventually=do SM.9-arrive-SUBJ
*The bus will eventually **arrive**.*
(Bryant 2007:216)

(92) Ndi-phinda **ndi-bhal-e** u-viwo.
SM.1SG-do=again SM.1SG-write-SUBJ AUG-12.exam
*I **rewrite** the exam again.*
(Bryant 2007:216)

[305] Many deficient verbs seem to originate from the Recent Past form of lexical verbs: *-ze* and *-zange* from *-za* ('come'), *-khe* from *-kha* ('build'), etc. (Louw & Jubase 1963:259-265). Some of the deficient verbs exhibit a difference in the final vowel depending on the tense, i.e. *-de* vs. *-da* and *-phinde* vs. *-phinda*, respectively.

(93) Ndi-za=ku-phinda **ndi-bhal-e** u-viwo.
SM.1SG-FUT-do=again SM.1SG-write-SUBJ AUG-12.exam
*I will **rewrite** the exam again*.
(Bryant 2007:216)

The Subjunctive also occurs after subordinating conjunctions, such as *kunokuba* ('rather than') in (96) or *de* ('until') (97).

(94) Ndi-kheth-a u-ku-phumelel-a kunokuba **ndi-tshon-e**.
SM.1SG-choose-FV AUG-15-succeed-FV rather=than SM.1SG-fail-SUBJ
*I choose to succeed rather than **fail***.
(Bryant 2007:169)

(95) Ba-dlal-a de **ba-biz-w-e** ngu-Mama.
SM.2-play-FV until SM.2-call-PASS-SUBJ COP.1a-mother
*They play until **they are called** by Mother.*
(Bryant 2007:169)

Providing a unified semantic account of the Subjunctive in all its uses does pose a challenge. On the one hand, this TAM marker partly corresponds with the typical semantics of the Subjunctive (as a modal category) across a number of languages (cf. section 2.5.1) which covers a range of non-factual events within event modality. This is evidenced in (74-86) where it expresses deontic modality, and in (87) where it expresses dynamic modality. On the other hand, in some sentences, the Subjunctive in Xhosa does not convey non-factual, modal meaning[306]. For example, in (72-73) the Subjunctive also denotes factual, consecutive events which is rather characteristic of **relative tenses** than of modal markers.

In the constructions with deficient verbs and subordinating conjunctions in (88-95), the Subjunctive refers to both factual and non-factual events. In the position after the affirmative form of *-khe* ('ever do') in B's answer in (90) and after *-phinda* ('do again') in (92), the Subjunctive represents factual, habitual events. After *-phinda* ('do again') in (93) with the future temporal reference, it represents a factual event likewise (with only one repeated instance). By

[306] It can be argued that the Subjunctive refers to factual events in some of the constructions involving deficient verbs and subordinating conjunctions in (88-95).

contrast, in (88-89) the Subjunctive denotes events whose occurrences are not asserted because they have never occurred in the past, e.g. after *-zange* ('never do [past]') in (88), or because they never will occur in the future, e.g. after *-soze* ('never do [future]') in (89)[307]. It seems that the modal, temporal and aspectual meaning of the Subjunctive verb in the constructions with the deficient verbs and subordinating conjunctions (88-95) is not part of its inherent semantics, but is rather motivated by the preceding lexical element (deficient verb or subordinating conjunction). In other words, modality as such is probably not part of the Subjunctive semantics in (88-95): What all these examples have in common is that they designate **events whose factuality is not asserted and whose temporal anchoring is not specified**. The information about these events' **factuality** and about their **temporality** is not encoded in the Subjunctive form itself, but 'externally' in the preceding element, i.e. the deficient verb or the subordinating conjunction, *-ze* ('and then do') in (72), *-zange* ('never do [past]') in (88), *-soze* ('never do [future]') in (89), *-khe* ('ever do') in (90), *-da* ('eventually do') in (91), *-phinda* ('do again') in (92-93), *kunokuba* ('rather than') in (94), and *de* ('until') in (95).

When the Subjunctive follows an Indicative Present or Future tense verb, e.g. (71-73), the events are factual and temporally subsequent to the main verb. Following the Imperative verb in (74-75), the Subjunctive 'borrows' the modal (non-factual) meaning of request or command from the main verb, while its temporal reference is not uniform: In (74) the Subjunctive verb represents a command subsequent to that of the main verb, whereas in (75) it is simultaneous with the request denoted by the main Imperative verb. In (76) and (78), the Subjunctive is the only, main verb and it has the non-factual modal meaning identical to that of the Imperative mood.

By way of summary, the present section has shown that the typical syntactic environment of the Subjunctive are subordinate clauses, although there are exceptions too[308]. With respect to

[307] With respect to future events, it is debatable to what extent they can be treated as factual. If future temporal reference is taken not to be purely factual (because the event has not yet occurred), we can say that the Subjunctive verbs following *-da* ('eventually do') in (91), *-phinda* ('do again') in the future in (93), and the conjunction *de* ('until') in (95) also represent events whose occurrence has not yet been asserted.

[308] It is debatable whether the Subjunctive verb occurring as a main verb should be interpreted through its presumed origin from the construction in which it was part of a **subordinate clause** that followed an elided main clause (e.g. *I request that …*; *I ask that …*; *I find it necessary that …*), or whether the main Subjunctive verb is to be interpreted as a separate construction with its own, independent meaning.

the semantics of this TAM marker in Xhosa, it indicates events whose **factuality is not asserted** (whereby their non-factuality is not entailed). Each individual Subjunctive verb's modal, temporal and aspectual meaning relies entirely on its syntactic surrounding. This view of the semantic and syntactic properties of the Subjunctive in Xhosa is compatible with its counterpart[309] in the other Bantu languages where it is found to occur in a number of functions such as the 'hortative, imperative, jussive, and certain types of subordinated clauses' (Rose et al. 2003:83). With respect to the temporal consecutiveness which is often (yet not always) part of the Subjunctive semantics, this is probably a result of frequent association of posteriority of the non-factual verb (which expresses a purpose, wish, or an intention), relative to the preceding Indicative verb, e.g. in (84-87). Perhaps for the same reason the Subjunctive has evolved into a future tense marker (not in Nguni, though) in a number of Bantu languages (Rose et al. 2003:83-84, Nurse 2008:261-262).

3.9.1. Past Subjunctive

The **Past Subjunctive** is orthographically identical to the Indicative Remote Past, cf. (96-97), yet their phonological properties are not the same. Whereas the first vowel in the Remote Past is long and has a falling tone (cf. section 3.5.), this is not the case with the Past Subjunctive. The negative form is marked by adding *a-* in front of the SM, cf. (98-99).

(96) Ndi-fik-é **nda-phek-a**.
SM.1SG-arrive-ANT SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-cook-FV
I arrived **and cooked**.
(Bryant 2007:202)

(97) Ndâ-fik-a **nda-pheka**.
SM.1SG.REMPST-arrive-ANT SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-cook-FV
I arrived **and cooked**.
(Bryant 2007:202)

[309] The Subjunctive in Xhosa (and Nguni) has its counterparts in other Bantu languages in which it exhibits similarities in the morphological marking. Even the reconstructed Proto-Bantu form has *-e* in FV (Rose et al. 2002:83-84, Nurse 2008:261-262).

(98) Ndi-fik-é **anda-phek-a**.
SM.1SG-arrive-ANT NEG.SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-cook-FV
I arrived and **did not cook**.
(Bryant 2007:202)

(99) Ndâ-fik-a **anda-phek-a**.
SM.1SG-arrive-ANT NEG.SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-cook-FV
I arrived and **did not cook**.
(Bryant 2007:202)

The semantics of the Past Subjunctive is less diverse than that of the Present Subjunctive: It occurs in subordinated clauses which follow an Indicative (Recent or Remote) **Past** tense verb in the main clause, cf. (96-99). The Past Subjunctive is a typical relative tense[310] (cf. section 2.3.2) which indicates temporal **consecutiveness**: It expresses that an event is subsequent to the event represented by the preceding verb (verb from the preceding clause). In other words, to establish the 'full' temporal location, the Past Subjunctive requires a main verb.

Besides its role as a consecutive tense in past narratives, the Past Subjunctive is also used in constructions with deficient verbs, such as *-khe* ('ever do') (100), *-phantse* ('almost do') (101-102), *-phinda* ('do again') (103-104) and *-da* ('eventually do') (105-106) and (the Past Subjunctive form of) *-ze* ('and then do') (107).

(100) A: N-â-khe **na-bon-a** i-ngwe ngaphambili?
SM.2PL.REMPST-ever=do SM.2PL.PSTSUBJ-see-FV AUG-9.leopard before
*Have you ever **seen** a leopard?*

B: Ewe, sâ-khe **sa-yi-bona**.
yes SM.1PL.REMPST-ever=do SM.2PL.PSTSUBJ-OM.9-see-FV
*Yes, we have **seen** one.*
(Bryant 2007:211)

(101) Ndi-phantse **nda-w-a**.
SM.1SG-almost=do SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-fall-FV
*I almost **fell**.*
(Bryant 2007:210)

[310] According to Nurse's (2008:120-124) definition of *relative tense*.

(102) Ndâ-phantse **nda-w-a**.
SM.1SG-almost=do SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-fall-FV
*I almost **fell**.*
(Davey 1973:102)

(103) Ndi-phinde **nda-bhal-a** u-viwo.
SM.1SG-do=again SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-write-FV AUG-12.exam
*I **have rewritten** the exam again.*
(Bryant 2007:216)

(104) Ndâ-phind-a **nda-bhal-a** u-viwo.
SM.1SG.REMPST-do=again-FV SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-write-FV AUG-12.exam
*I **rewrote** the exam again.*
(Bryant 2007:216)

(105) I-bhasi i-de **ya-fik-a**.
AUG-9.bus SM.9-eventually=do SM.9.PSTSUBJ-arrive-FV
*The bus has eventually **arrived**.*
(Bryant 2007:216)

(106) I-bhasi yâ-da **ya-fik-a**.
AUG-9.bus SM.9.REMPST-eventually=do-FV SM.9.PSTSUBJ-arrive-FV
*The bus eventually **arrived**.*
(Bryant 2007:216)

(107) Nda-z-a **nda-yi-lung-is-a**.
SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-come-FV SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-OM.9-be=good-CAUS-FV
*And then **I repaired it**.*
(Davey 1973:106)

Examples (100-107) show that, although the Past Subjunctive 'borrows' modal, temporal and aspectual properties from the deficient verb[311], its temporal reference is restricted to the past (unlike the Present Subjunctive with the same deficient verbs).

In addition, Louw & Jubase (1963:161) and Davey (1973:106) claim that the Past Subjunctive can occur as the main verb *-be* and *-ye* ('and then do'), which is followed by a Participial verb. However, the fact that the translations provided for (108-109) begin with the

[311] Like the (Present) Subjunctive, the Past Subjunctive 'borrows' (non-)factuality from the preceding deficient verb: In (103-104), the counterfactual semantics transfers to the Past Subjunctive . The same holds true for the Past Subjunctive following *-khe* ('ever do') in A's question in (100).

conjunction *and* suggests that the examples should be accompanied by a main clause with the Indicative verb which provides the absolute temporal reference[312].

(108) **Wa-be** e-lim-a.
SM.1.PSTSUBJ-and=then=do SM.1.PTCP-plough-FV
***And then he** ploughed*.
(Davey 1973:106)

(109) **Nda-ye** ndi-nga-thul-anga.
SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-and=then=do SM.1SG-NEG.PTCP-be=quiet-NEG.ANT
***And then I did** not keep quiet*.
(Davey 1973:106)

Oosthuysen (2016:190) believes that the Indicative Remote Past is derived from the Recent Past tense of verb *-ya* ('and then do') as the main verb followed by a Past Subjunctive, whereby the first verb has eventually been elided, as illustrated in (110). The tonal difference between the Indicative Remote Past and the Past Subjunctive Oosthuysen (2016:190) considers insignificant. However, his account does not explain the semantic distinction between the (Indicative) Recent and the Remote Past which revolves around the event's remoteness and/or current relevance (cf. sections 3.4 and 3.5), or the fact that morphologically and semantically similar markers are found in other Bantu languages (cf. Nurse 2008:80ff, 121).

(110) ú-y-e wa-bon-a > wâ-bon-a
SM.1-go-ANT SM.1.PSTSUBJ-see-FV SM.1.REMPST-arrive-FV
he/she saw
(Oosthuysen 2016:190)

By way of summary, the Past Subjunctive is a relative tense which indicates **past temporal reference.** Its exact location on the timeline depends on the syntactic environment: The temporal location represents either a (factual) **subsequent** event, when occurring after an Indicative or another Past Subjunctive verb, or it is 'copied' (along with the modal and aspectual meanings) from the preceding deficient verb. Because factuality is by default part of the meaning of the Past Subjunctive[313], the Subjunctive mood does not seem to be the appropriate category

[312] Even though Louw & Jubase (1963:161) and Davey (1973:106) do not include such main clauses with the Indicative verb in their examples.
[313] Unless otherwise indicated by the deficient verb, like in examples (103-104).

under which to classify this TAM marker. This view is supported by the observation that, unlike its counterparts in a number of European languages, the Subjunctive mood in the Bantu language family, as described in Rose et al. (2002:83-84) and Nurse (2008:261-262), is not divided into tenses. The Past Subjunctive's semantics and syntactic behaviour rather resemble that of a **relative tense**, a **narrative (consecutive) tense**, which has no (exact) temporal location of its own, but which relies on the preceding Past tense main verb (Rose et al. 2002:19-20, 54, Nurse 2008:120-123). Even the morphological structure of the Past Subjunctive resembles that of the most common 'narrative' (= consecutive) marker in the Bantu language family:

(111) A survey of a few dozen languages reveals that this narrative function is marked in several ways. One is by the use of *-a-* […]. Since this is the commonest marker of past tense in Bantu, and since most narratives have to do with past situations, it is unsurprising that *-a-* should have been generalized to all narrative reference. (Nurse 2008:121)

Thus, the Past Subjunctive seems to be part of the Indicative mood. Possibly, the term *Past Subjunctive* has been established in the literature by analogy with the consecutive meaning of the Present Subjunctive, which is, as already pointed out in the preceding paragraphs, only one of its semantic components, but probably not its primary, main meaning. (**Past**) **Consecutive** seems to be a more accurate term to replace the term Past Subjunctive[314].

3.9.2. Future Subjunctive

Ziervogel et al. (1967:91)[315] and Davey (1973:107-109) assume that the Subjunctive mood in Zulu and Xhosa, respectively, has a Future 'tense', which can be expressed in several ways. The full forms are formed by infixing *-ze ku-* and *-ye ku-* after the Subjunctive SM (Davey 1973:107), cf. (112-113), yet Davey (1973:107) observes that they are seldom used. Instead, more common

[314] It is henceforth also glossed as Past Consecutive.

[315] Ziervogel et al.'s (1967:91) translations of what they refer to as the *Future Subjunctive* are purpose clauses (e.g. 'so that' clauses), which suggests that their understanding of this TAM marker is somewhat different from Davey's (1973:107-109) who views it as a marker of consecutiveness.

are the morphologically expressed forms which are characterised by *-zoku-* and *-yoku-*, respectively, in the position after the Subjunctive SM (Davey 1973:107), cf. (114-115). The same position in the negated form is occupied by *-ngazi ku-* and *-ngayi ku-*, respectively, cf. (116-117).

(112) Ba-za=ku-theng-a i-ti **ba-ze=ku-yi-phung-a**.
SM.2-FUT-buy-FV AUG-9.tea SM.2-FUTSUBJ-OM.9-drink-FV
*They will buy tea **and will drink it**.*

(113) Ba-ya=ku-theng-a i-ti **ba-ye=ku-yi-phung-a**.
SM.2-REMFUT-buy-FV AUG-9.tea SM.2-REMFUTSUBJ-OM.9-drink-FV
*They will buy tea **and will drink it**.*

(114) Ba-za=ku-theng-a i-ti **ba-zoku-yi-phung-a**.
SM.2-FUT-buy-FV AUG-9.tea SM.2-FUTSUBJ-OM.9-drink-FV
*They will buy tea **and will drink it**.*

(115) Ba-ya=ku-theng-a i-ti **ba-yoku-yi-phung-a**.
SM.2-REMFUT-buy-FV AUG-9.tea SM.2-REMFUTSUBJ-OM.9-drink-FV
*They will buy tea **and will drink it**.*
(Davey 1973:107)

(116) Ba-za=ku-theng-a i-ti **ba-nga-zoku-yi-phung-a**.
SM.2-FUT-buy-FV AUG-9.tea SM.2-NEG.SUBJ-FUTSUBJ-OM.9-drink-FV
*They will buy tea **and will not drink it**.*

(117) Ba-ya=ku-theng-a i-ti **ba-nga-yoku-yi-phung-a**.
SM.2-REMFUT-buy-FV AUG-9.tea SM.2-NEG.SUBJ-REMFUTSUBJ-OM.9-drink-FV
*They will buy tea **and will not drink it**.*

Davey (1973:108-109) also adds forms with infixed *-bo-* (< *-be + ku-;* for ease of reference, henceforth as the **bo-Future**) as a type of the Future Subjunctive: *-bo-* is inserted in the same position as the *-zoku-* and *-yoku-*. He treats it as an 'emphatic' type of the Future Subjunctive, but his translations show a clear (deontic) modal meaning of necessity (129). Therefore, I find the term *Future Subjunctive* misleading when referring to the bo-Future.

(118) **U-bo-lw-a**.
SM.2SG-EMPH.FUTSUBJ-fight-FV
*You **should** fight.*
(Davey 1973:108)

The reason why Louw & Jusbase (1963:223) and Davey (1973:108) treat forms like (118) as a type of Subjunctive is only related to the fact that he reconstructs *-bo-* from a Subjunctive form of verb *-ba* ('be') followed by the Infinitive (without the augment *u-*).

The described semantics of *-zoku-* and *-yoku-* suggest that these TAM markers are in fact relative tenses which mark (non-factual) consecutive events restricted to the future temporal reference[316]. However, the Present Subjunctive has the same semantics when following a (Recent or Remote) Future Indicative verb, so the question which imposes itself at this point is whether the two Present and Future Subjunctive forms are interchangeable. It is not only unclear to what extent *-zoku-* and *-yoku-* semantically differ from their Present Subjunctive counterparts, but also whether the former exhibit additional ventive, or itive semantics, just like the 'full forms' *-ye ku-* and *-ze ku-* would if treated as parts of two separate words. If itive and ventive meanings were part of the Future Subjunctive, the 'full forms' would imply that it is only the first verb (*-za* or *-ya*) that is in the Subjunctive mood, whereas the Infinitive is not. Thus, the Future Subjunctive does not seem to express temporal (or aspectual) semantics different from that of the Present Subjunctive: Its status as a separate temporal category within the Subjunctive mood is not justified. This conclusion is in line with the observation (from the preceding section) that temporal distinctions are generally not acknowledged in the Subjunctive mood in the literature on other Bantu languages (cf. Rose et al.2002:83-84, Nurse 2008:261-262).

3.10. Participial mood

The **Participial mood**, also known in the literature as the **Situative mood,** is reported to include the same number of tenses as the Indicative mood (Davey 1973:69). Together with Indicative verbs, Participial verbs form complex verbs which are purportedly marked for both tense and aspect. The most frequently described tense of the Participial mood in the literature is the Present Participial.

Most Present Participial forms are mostly orthographically identical to their counterparts in the Indicative mood. However, Present Participial and Indicative forms exhibit tonal

[316] From their description in the literature, it is not clear whether these forms may occur with the past temporal reference.

differences[317]. The only forms in which the SMs for the Present Participial are different from their Present Indicative counterparts are the Participial SMs for 1st and 6th class *e-* (instead of the Indicative SMs *ú-* and *a-*, respectively), cf. (119), and the Participial SM for 2nd class *be-* (instead of the Indicative SM *ba-*), cf. (120). Furthermore, there is no conjoint/disjoint distinction in the affirmative form of the Present Participial, cf. (119-121). In addition, when no OM is present, the additional infix *-si-* is added before monosyllabic verbs[318], cf. (120), and the infix *-s-* is added in front of vowel verbs[319], cf. (121).

(119) Indicative (Present): ú-ya-fun-a > Participial Present: e-fun-a
SM.1-DISJ-want-FV SM.1.PTCP-want-FV
she/he wants *she/he wanting*

(120) Indicative (Present): ba-ya-ph-a > Participial Present: be-si-ph-a
SM.2-DISJ-give-FV SM.2.PTCP-INFIX-give-FV
they give *they giving*

(121) Indicative (Present): ú-y-oyik-a > Participial Present: e-s-oyik-a
SM.1-DISJ-be=afraid-FV SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-be=afraid-FV
she/he is afraid *she/he being afraid*

In the negative form, *-nga-* is infixed after the Participial SM and *-i* is suffixed in the position of FV, cf. (122-124). The infixed *-si-* and *-s-* from the affirmative forms of the monosyllabic and vowel verbs do not occur in the negative worms, cf. (120-121, 123-124).

[317] The tonal structure of each verb form depends on the tonal structure of the verb root and the other individual morphemes, including the underlying tonal structure of the given TAM form. With respect to the tonal differences between the Participial and the Indicative, Davey (1973:70-71) claims that in general, the final underlying high tone is lowered in the Indicative (except for monosyllabic high-toned verb roots), whereas it is retained in the Participial. However, unlike the tonal differences between orthographically identical Indicative SM.2SG *u-* and SM.1 *ú-*, the number of factors involved in the tonal difference between the Indicative forms and their Participial counterparts is too high to be dealt with in this section or for the tonal distinction to be consistently marked throughout the study. Another difficulty poses the contradicting information in the literature about the tonal properties of the Participial. For example, Bennie (1939:114) claims all SMs become high-toned in the Participial (unlike the Indicative), but this view is not supported by Davey (1973:70-71) who insists that Participial SMs can be both high-toned and low-toned.

[318] i.e. verb roots which are monosyllabic.

[319] i.e. verb root which begin with a vowel.

(122) Indicative (Present): aka-fun-i > Participial Present: e-nga-fun-i
NEG.SM.1-want-NEG SM.1.PTCP-PTCP.NEG-want-NEG
she/he does not want *she/he not wanting*

(123) Indicative (Present): aba-phi > Participial Present: be-nga-ph-i
NEG.SM.2-give-NEG SM.1.PTCP-give-NEG
they do not give *they not giving*

(124) Indicative (Present): ak-oyik-i > Participial Present: e-ng-oyik-i
NEG.SM.2-be=afraid-NEG SM.1.PTCP-NEG-be=afraid-NEG
she/he is not afraid *she/he not being afraid*

The Present Participial is mostly used in subordinated clauses to refer to events simultaneous with those denoted by the Indicative verb in the main clause, disregard of the Indicative verb's tense. Thus, the Participial forms in (125-126) refer to the present, while (127) and (128) refer to the past and the future, respectively.

(125) Ndi-m-bona **e-si-za**.
SM.1SG-OM.1-see-FV SM.1.PTCP-come-FV
*I see him **coming**.*
(Louw & Jubase 1963:81)

(126) A-ba-ntwana ba-dlal-a e-manz-ini **be-nga-khwaz-i**.
AUG-2-child SM.2-play-FV LOC-6.water-LOC SM.2.PTCP-shout-NEG
*The children are playing in the water **not shouting**.*[320]
(Bryant 2007:159)

(127) Bâ-fik-a **ndi-si-ty-a** i-nyama.
SM.2.REMPST-arrive-FV SM.1SG-INFIX-eat-FV AUG-9.meat.
*They arrived **while I was eating** meat.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:174)

(128) Ba-za=ku-fik-a **ndi-si-ty-a** i-nyama.
SM.2.FUT-arrive-FV SM.1SG-INFIX-eat-FV AUG-9.meat.
*They will arrive **while I am eating** meat.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:174)

The Present Participial verbs also follow locative (or spatial) demonstrative copulatives, the so-called **presentatives**, such as *Here is …*; exemplified in (129) (du Plessis & Visser 1992:175-

[320] The main verb in the original translation of this sentence has the Present Simple form: 'The children *play* in the water not shouting', but I believe that simultaneity between two concrete actions is more convincingly illustrated with the progressive interpretation than with the habitual interpretation of the main verb.

176). Another common use of the Participial includes the position after a number of conjunctions, e.g. *kutheni* ('why'), cf. (130), *yiyo loo nto* ('this is why'), cf. (131), *kuba* ('because'), cf. (132), *noxa*/*nangona* ('although'), cf. (133), *njengokuba* ('as, since'), *ngangokuba* ('as much as'), *xa* ('if, when'), cf. (134), *mhla* ('(on) the day that'), *nyaka* ('the year that'), *oko* ('when, since'), cf. (135), *kudala* ('for a long time, long ago'), cf. (136).

(129) Na-nku **e-si-z-a** ngo-loliwe.
PRES-1 SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-come-FV INSTR-1a.train
*Here she/he is, **coming** by train.*[321]
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:175-176)

(130) Kutheni **e-si-z-a** ngoku nje?
why SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-come-FV now just
*Why **is he coming** now?*
(Davey 1973:74)

(131) Yiyo loo nto **be-wel-a** u-m-lambo.
COP.9-9 DEM.MED.9 9.thing SM.2.PTCP-cross-FV AUG-3-river
*This is why **they are crossing** the river.*
(Davey 1973:74)

(132) Ú-z-ile kuba **e-fun-w-a**.
SM.1-come-ANT.DISJ because SM.1.PTCP-want-PASS-FV
*He came because **he was wanted**.*
(Davey 1973:75)

(133) Si-ya-ba-thand-a nangona **be-gez-a** nje.
SM.1PL-DISJ-OM.2-like-FV although SM.2.PTCP-be=naughty-FV just
*We like them even though **they are naughty**.*
(Bryant 2007:169)

(134) Andi-fun-i u-ku-sebenz-a xa **ndi-m-dala**[322].
NEG.SM.1SG-want-FV AUG-15-work-FV when SM.1SG-ADJ.1-old
*I do not want to work **when I am old**.*
(Bryant 2007:169)

(135) Oko **e-hamb-a** si-vuy-ile.
when.PST SM.1.PTCP-walk-FV SM.1PL-be=happy-ANT.DISJ
*When **he left** we were pleased.*

[321] The original translation has been adapted.
[322] Participial verb forms which are orthographically isomorphic with their Indicative counterparts will be glossed without special indication that they are in the Participial mood, a fact otherwise evident from the difference in their tones, syntactic position and their semantics.

(Davey 1973:76)

(136) Ku-dala **ndi-si-ty-a**.
15-long=ago SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-eat-FV
I ate *long ago.*[323]
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:175)

The Present Subjunctive also occurs after some deficient verbs such as *-hlala* ('do continuously, do usually'), cf. (137), *-soloko* ('always do'), *-mana* ('do often, keep doing, do continuously'), cf. (138), *-fudula* ('do usually'), cf. (139).

(137) Ú-hlala **e-botorosh-a**.
SM.1-do=continuously-FV SM.1.PTCP-tease-FV
He is *always* ***teasing***.
(Davey 1973:75)

(138) Ba-mane **be-theth-an-a**.
SM.2-keep=doing-FV SM.2.PTCP-talk-RECIP-FV
They keep on ***talking to one another***.
(Davey 1973:75)

(139) A-ma-Xhosa a-fudul-a **e-thand-a** ii-bhokwe.
AUG-6-Xhosa SM.6- M.1-do=usually-FV SM.6.PTCP-like-FV AUG-10.goat
Xhosa people usually ***like*** *goats.*[324]
(Davey 1973:75)

After certain conjunctions (mostly the temporal ones, such as *xa*, *oko*, *mhla*, *nyaka*, but also *yiyo loo nto* and *nangona*) the Present Participial can obtain the suffix *-yo*[325], cf. (140). In the dialects spoken in Ciskei, *a-* is preferred instead of *e-* as SM.1.PTCP after *xa* (Davey 1973:75-76).

(140) Xa **e-nga-lum-i-yo** / **a-nga-lum-i-yo**.
if SM.1.PTCP-NEG-bite-NEG-DISJ SM.1.PTCP-NEG-bite-NEG-DISJ
If ***he does not bite***. (Davey 1973:76)

[323] The original translation does not convey a clear meaning as it reads: 'It is a long time that I am eating'.
[324] The original translation has been slightly modified.
[325] *-yo* is glossed as DISJ, because it is treated as the disjoint form of the **relative verb forms**, cf. section 3.16.

The other non-compound forms of the Participial mood which are often referred to in the literature as tenses include the Recent Past[326], the Immediate and Remote Future forms. The Recent Past is formed when the Present Participial FV is replaced by the conjoint *-é* or disjoint *-ile*. In the Immediate Future and Remote Future Participials, *-za ku-* or *-ya ku-* (or any of their variations), respectively, are inserted directly after the Participial SM, although to my knowledge, no grammar describes these forms' structure in much detail (cf. section 3.10.4). It seems that unlike their Present Participial counterparts, the infixes *-si-* or *-s-* are not added before monosyllabic and vowel verb roots, thus making SM.1 and SM.6 *e-*, and SM.2 *be-* the only indicator of the Participial mood. In the negated form, the Participial SM is followed by *-nga-*: In addition, the negated Participial Recent Past obtains the suffix *-anga*, and in the negated Participial Future forms *-zi ku-* or *-yi ku-* replace the affirmative form's *-za ku-* or *-ya ku-*, respectively.

Table 3.2. *Participial (Situative) tenses: 1st class singular of the verb* -baleka *('run')*

Participial (Situative)	Affirmative	Negative
Remote Future	e-ya ku-balek-a	e-nga-yi ku-balek-a
Immediate Future	e-za ku-balek-a	e-nga-zi ku-balek-a
Present	e-balek-a	e-nga-balek-i
Recent Past	e-balek-e, e-balek-ile	e-nga-balek-anga
Remote Past	/ (relative form: wabalekayo)	/ (relative form: engazange ubaleke)

Before proceeding to the Remote Past counterpart of the Participial mood, the forms' status as tenses needs to be briefly discussed. As illustrated in (141-142), the different Participial tenses seem to differently 'align' the event they denote relative to that of the main clause. Whereas the Present Participial represents the **subordinate clause event**[327] as simultaneous with the **main clause event**[328], the Future Participial represents the former as prospective[329] relative to the latter, cf. (141). The opposite holds in the case of the Recent Past Participial, which represents

[326] As a matter of fact, this label is not used in the literature. Davey (1973) and du Plessis & Visser (1992) refer to this form as the 'Perfect tense' of the Participial mood, and they draw a clear parallel between the temporal system of this mood and that of the Indicative mood. In order to maintain the link between this category of the Participial and its Indicative counterpart, I use the label *Recent Past*.
[327] Event represented by the verb from the subordinate clause.
[328] Event represented by the verb from the main clause.
[329] i.e. the event is viewed from a point before its beginning.

the subordinate clause event as already finished by the time the main clause event starts, cf. (142-143).

(141) A-ba-ntu ba-theng-a **be-za=ku-hamb-a**.
AUG-2-person SM.2-buy-FV SM.2.PTCP-FUT-walk-FV
*The people are buying **while they are about to depart**.*[330]
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:170)

(142) Ndi-ba-bon-é **be-cul-ile**.
SM.1-OM.2-sse-ANT SM.2.PTCP-sing-ANT.DISJ
*I saw them **when they had just finished singing**.*[331]
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:171)

(143) Bâ-ngen-a **be-lamb-ile**.
SM.1-OM.2-sse-ANT SM.2.PTCP-sing-ANT.DISJ
*They came in **hungry**.*[332]
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:171)

The Participial forms only align the events they denote relative to the main clause event, irrespective of where on the timeline the former are located. Therefore, the Participials **cannot be regarded as absolute tenses**. The Present, Past and Future Participials can only express three different positions relative to the main clause event[333]: **simultaneity**, **anteriority** and **posteriority**, respectively. The Participial forms do not encode any remoteness distinctions, such as that between the Immediate and Remote Future, or between the Recent and Remote Past[334].

If the Present, Past and Future Participials are not tenses, then we may take into consideration their status as aspectual categories or as relative tenses, depending on how we define the delimitation between grammatical aspect and relative tense[335]. For example, Nurse

[330] The original translation has been adapted.
[331] The original translation has been adapted.
[332] The original translation has been adapted. With respect to the temporal alignment of the two events in this example, it is not the subjects' state of being hungry that is anterior to the event of entering, but the onset of their state of hunger (denoted by the inchoative verb *-lamba* 'become hungry').
[333] i.e. relative to a deficient verb, copula or a conjunction (125-140).
[334] I have not found any explanations in the literature for when the Future Participial forms prefer *-za ku-* over *-ya ku-* or vice versa. There is no evidence for assuming that temporal distance between the main clause event and the subordinate clause event could determine whether the Future Participial will exhibit *-za ku-* or *-ya ku-*. Instead, it rather seems likely that other (perhaps modal) factors determine the choice of the Future Participial infix, too.
[335] Simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority resemble the imperfective (or progressive), anterior and prospective aspects, respectively.

(2008:124, 314, 316) refers to the Participial as the **Participial** or **Situative** '**aspect**', although his understanding of this term corresponds semantically only to the Present Participial in Xhosa, and not to the Past and the Future Participials. Nurse (2008:295) detects imperfective semantics in the meaning of the Participial 'aspect' as a cross-linguistic category found across the Bantu languages, cf. (144). With the exception of the association of the Participial with hypothetical contexts[336], (144) represents a relatively accurate description of the Present Participial in Xhosa.

(144) Thus imperfective and situative are semantically similar, the main difference being that the situative appears in hypothetical situations, as backgrounded material, in dependent or subordinate clauses, and as the second member of compound verb constructions, where it behaves as a verb in a subordinate clause. So the situative is an imperfective reduced to a dependent, subordinate role.
(Nurse 2008:295)

The Participial in Xhosa does not seem to represent a modal category. Instead, the Participial forms are part of the Indicative mood. They are **subordinate relative tenses** or **aspects** which indicate **anteriority**, **simultaneity** or **posteriority** relative to the main verb event, i.e. another temporal reference point (presentative, deficient verb, copula or conjunction, cf. 125-140). Even though it has been established that the Participial forms do not represent tenses within a separate (Participial) modal category, for ease of reference I will continue to refer to them as Present, Past and Future Participials.

Now that the semantics of the Future, Present and Past Participials has been addressed, we need to consider the counterpart of the Remote Past in the Participial paradigm which seems to differ from the counterparts of the other Indicative tenses. The infix *-â-* cannot simply be inserted after a Participial SM to create a grammatical verb form (cf. Table 3.2). Instead, when it is specified that an event denoted by a Participial verb occurred in the remote past, a **relative form**[337] needs to be used (cf. Table 3.2; cf. section 3.15), which is a syntactic category that

[336] As a matter of fact, no contexts in which it the Participial has been illustrated in the present section is hypothetical. One may perhaps argue that Future Participials represent hypothetical events, but since it is in the nature of the posterior point of view to denote not yet actualised events, the level of non-factuality is no different in the Future Participials than in the Future Subjunctive or the Future tenses of the Indicative mood.
[337] Sometimes referred to as the 'relative mood' in the literature. They are not to be confused with the *relative tense*.

otherwise semantically corresponds to the relative clause[338] in the Indo-European languages[339]. For example, the relative forms in (145-146) refer to events that occurred in the remote past. The examples provided in the literature (du Plessis & Visser 1992:173-204) suggest that the Remote Past relative forms do not denote temporal distance (i.e. remote anteriority) from the main clause event (like the other Participial forms, cf. 125-143), but that they are restricted to the remote past relative to the moment of speech.

(145) Ndi-fik-a **bâ-cul-a-yo**.
SM.1SG-arrive-FV SM.2 -sing-FV-DISJ
I am arriving ***when they have already sung*** *(they sang long ago).*[340]
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:171-172)

(146) Ndi-fik-a **be-nga-zange** **ba-cul-e**.
SM.1SG-arrive-FV SM.2.PTCP-NEG-never=do SM.2-sing-SUBJ
I am arriving ***when they have not at all sung yet****.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:172)

As du Plessis & Visser (1992:171-172) observe, Remote Past relative forms are seldom used in contexts like (145-146). This fact supports the view that the semantics of the Participials is simultaneity, anteriority or posteriority relative to the main clause verb, and not the location of an event or degrees of remoteness relative to the moment of speech.

Having discussed the basic issues around the form and semantics of the Participial paradigm, we can address the **compound verbs** which consist of a combination of an Indicative and a Participial verb. It has been reported in the literature that compound verbs in the Nguni languages express **aspect** in addition to tense, which is why they will be at the centre of the present study's analysis.

[338] Unlike relative clauses, the relative forms represent one word in the Bantu languages.
[339] In a great number of contexts, the relative forms in Xhosa can replace Present, Past and Future Participial forms (du Plessis & Visser 1992:183ff).
[340] The original translation has been adapted.

3.10.1. Compound verbs with the auxiliary verbs *-ba* ('be') and *-ya* ('go')

The compound verbs consist (minimally) of two verbs. The first, Indicative verb, is the auxiliary verb *-ba* ('be') or *-ya* ('go'), whereas the second, Participial verb is a lexical verb. As shown in Table 3.3, the tense of the auxiliary verb can be marked for the Remote Past, Recent Past, Immediate Future and Remote Future[341]. The Participials include the Present, Past Participials and Future Participials (both *-za ku-* and *-ya ku-*).

Table 3.3. *Affirmative compound verb forms with the auxiliary verbs* -ba *('be') and* -ya *('go') in the 1st person singular of the verb* -baleka *('run'). The contracted forms are provided under the full forms.*

	Present Participial	Past Participial	Future Participial
Remote Future	ndi-ya kube ndi-balek-a[342]	ndi-ya kube[343] ndi-balek-ile[344]	/ [345]
Immediate Future	ndi-za kube ndi-balek-a[346]	ndi-za kube ndi-balek-ile	
Recent Past	ndi-be ndi-balek-a **bendi**-balek-a	ndi-be ndi-balek-ile **bendi**-balek-ile	ndi-be ndi-za ku-balek-a[347] **bendi**-za ku-balek-ile
Remote Past	nda-ye ndi-balek-a[348] **ndandi**-balek-a	nda-ye ndi-balek-ile **ndandi**-balek-ile	nda-ye ndi-ya ku-balek-a **ndandi**-ya ku-balek-a

As demonstrated in Table 3.4[349], the negation is marked only on the Participial verb by infixing *-nga-* after SM. In addition, in the Present Participial FV is replaced by the suffix *-i*, in the Past

[341] In the Present tense, these auxiliary verbs create compound verbs with a different, more specialised meaning, as will be shown later in the present chapter. The auxiliary verb *-ya* ('go') is reported to create progressive events (Bennie 1939:105, 133, Oosthuysen 2016:291), whereas *-ba* ('be') is reported to denote habitual events (Oosthuysen 2016:246). According to Louw & Jubase (1963:190-193) with copulatives (instead of lexical verbs) as the second element, auxiliary *-ba* ('be') in all tenses is said to refer to the denotee's process of becoming (as opposed to the state of being, which is otherwise indicated in the absence of the auxiliary *-ba*).
[342] Alternatively, *-yobe-* can occur instead of *-ya kube*.
[343] Both *kube* and *kuba* can be used in the Future Participial.
[344] Due to space limitations, only the disjoint forms are provided.
[345] Although forms including the Future Indicative and the Future Participial, such as e.g. *ndizobe ndiyo-* do exist, they are fairly rare in comparison to the other forms in the table, and are not included in any grammar.
[346] Alternatively, *-zobe-* can occur instead of *-za kube*.
[347] The alternative forms exhibit infixed *-zoku-*, *-zo-*, *-ya ku-*, *-yoku-*, *-yo-*, etc. in the Participial verb, which could not be explicitly shown in the table due to space limitations.
[348] Somewhat more rarely, the auxiliary *-ba* ('be') can also be used instead of the *-ya* ('go') in compound verbs with the Remote Past Indicative auxiliary verb.
[349] The translations of the forms from left to right read 'I was (not) running / ran (/did not run)', 'I had (not) run', and 'I would run'.

Participial the suffixes *-é* or *-ile* are replaced by *-anga*, and in the Future Participial the infixed *-za ku-* and *-ya ku-* are replaced by *-zi ku-* and *-yi ku-*, respectively.

Table 3.4. *Compound verb paradigm of the auxiliary verb* -ba *('be') in the Recent Past with the verb* -baleka *('run') in 1st person singular. The contracted forms are provided under the full forms.*

Class	Present Participial	Past Participial	Future Participial
1.SG	ndi-be ndi-balek-a **bendi**-balek-a	ndi-be ndi-balek-ile **bendi**-balek-ile	ndi-be ndi-za ku-balek-a[350] **bendi**-za ku-balek-a
NEG	ndi-be ndi-nga-balek-I **bendi**-nga-balek-i	ndi-be ndi-nga-balek-anga **bendi**-nga-balek-anga	ndi-be ndi-zi ku-balek-a **bendi**-nga-zi ku-balek-a

As shown in Table 3.4, in each compound verb, the two verbs' SMs undergo a change together with the auxiliary verb, thus yielding contracted forms. In some cases, the two SMs are merged together, e.g. SM.1PL.REMPST: ***sâ-ye si-***[VP.PTCP] > ***sâ-*** + ***si-*** > ***sasi-***, while in others the auxiliary verb merges with one of the SMs, e.g. SM.1PL.PST: *ndi-**be ndi-***[VP.PTCP] > ***-be*** + ***ndi-*** > ***bendi-***[351], resulting in 'specialised', new Recent Past compound verb SMs and Remote Past compound verb SMs, which are used more often than their 'full' counterparts (Doke 1954:172, Louw & Jubase 1963:84, Pahl 1983:124-127, Oosthuysen 2016:237; cf. Bryant 2007:186-198). Thus, the originally periphrastic expression of tense and aspect in the compound verbs can be said to have become morphological. The entire paradigm with SMs for all classes in the Recent and the Remote Past compound verbs (with the Present, Past and the Future Participial) is provided in Table 3.5[352].

[350] This represents also its alternative forms with infixed *-zoku-*, *-zo-*, *-ya ku-*, *-yoku-*, *-yo-*, etc. in the Participial verb, which have not been explicitly shown in the table due to space limitations.

[351] Some of the contracted prefixes can be traced back to all the three elements, i.e. both SMs and the auxiliary verb, e.g. *ubu-* for SM.2SG.RECPST and SM.3.RECPST: ***u-be u-***[VP] > ***u-b-*** + ***u-*** > ***ubu-***.

[352] The translations of the forms read 'I/she/he/it was running', 'you/we/they were running', or 'I/you/she/he/it/we/they ran'.

Table 3.5. *Compound verb paradigm of the auxiliary verb* -ba *('be') or* -ya *('go') in the Recent and Remote Past with the verb* -baleka *('run').*

Class	Recent Past: Present Participial		Remote Past: Present Participial	
1.SG	ndi-be ndi-balek-a	> **bendi**-balek-a	ndâ-ye ndi-balek-a	> **ndandi**-balek-a
NEG	ndi-be ndi-nga-balek-a	> **bendi**-nga-balek-i	ndâ-ye ndi-nga-balek-i	> **ndandi**-nga-balek-i
2.SG	u-be u-balek-a	> **ubu**-balek-a	wâ-ye u-balek-a	> **wawu**-balek-a
NEG	u-be u-nga-balek-i	> **ubu**-nga-balek-i	wâ-ye u-nga-balek-i	> **wawu**-nga-balek-i
1.PL	si-be si-balek-a	> **besi**-balek-a	sâ-ye si-balek-a	> **sasi**-balek-a
NEG	si-be si-nga-balek-i	> **besi**-nga-balek-i	sâ-ye si-nga-balek-i	> **sasi**-nga-balek-i
2.PL	ni-be ni-balek-a	> **beni**-balek-a	nâ-ye ni-balek-a	> **nani**-balek-a
NEG	ni-be u-nga-balek-i	> **beni**-nga-balek-i	nâ-ye ni-nga-balek-i	> **nani**-nga-balek-i
1	ú-be e-balek-a	> **úbe**-balek-a > **ebe**-balek-a	wâ-ye e-balek-a	> **waye**-balek-a
NEG	ú-be e-nga-balek-i	> **úbe**-nga-balek-i > **ebe**-nga-balek-i	wâ-ye e-nga-balek-i	> **waye**-nga-balek-i
2	ba-be be-balek-a	> **bebe**-balek-a	bâ-ye be-balek-a	> **babe**-balek-a
NEG	ba-be ba-nga-balek-i	> **bebe**-nga-balek-i	bâ-ye be-nga-balek-i	> **babe**-nga-balek-i
3	u-be u-balek-a	> **ubu**-balek-a	wâ-ye u-balek-a	> **waye**-balek-a
NEG	u-be u-nga-balek-i	> **ubu**-nga-balek-i	wâ-ye u-nga-balek-i	> **waye**-nga-balek-i
4	i-be i-balek-a	> **ibi**-balek-a	yâ-ye i-balek-a	> **yayi**-balek-a
NEG	i-be i-nga-balek-i	> **ibi**-nga-balek-i	yâ-ye i-nga-balek-i	> **yayi**-nga-balek-i
5	li-be li-balek-a	> **beli**-balek-a	lâ-ye li-balek-a	> **lali**-balek-a
NEG	li-be li-nga-balek-i	> **beli**-nga-balek-i	lâ-ye li-nga-balek-i	> **lali**-nga-balek-i
6	a-be e-balek-a	> **ebe**-balek-a	â-ye e-balek-a	> **aye**-balek-a
NEG	a-be e-nga-balek-i	> **ebe**-nga-balek-i	â-ye e-nga-balek-i	> **aye**-nga-balek-i
7	si-be si-balek-a	> **besi**-balek-a	sâ-ye si-balek-a	> **sasi**-balek-a
NEG	si-be si-nga-balek-i	> **besi**-nga-balek-i	sâ-ye si-nga-balek-i	> **sasi**-nga-balek-i
8	zi-be zi-balek-a	> **bezi**-balek-a	zâ-ye zi-balek-a	> **zazi**-balek-a
NEG	zi-be zi-nga-balek-i	> **bezi**-nga-balek-i	zâ-ye zi-nga-balek-i	> **zazi**-nga-balek-i
9	i-be i-balek-a	> **ibi**-balek-a	yâ-ye i-balek-a	> **yayi**-balek-a
NEG	i-be i-nga-balek-i	> **ibi**-nga-balek-i	yâ-ye i-nga-balek-i	> **yayi**-nga-balek-i
10	zi-be zi-balek-a	> **bezi**-balek-a	zâ-ye zi-balek-a	> **zazi**-balek-a
NEG	zi-be zi-nga-balek-i	> **bezi**-nga-balek-i	zâ-ye zi-nga-balek-i	> **zazi**-nga-balek-i
11	lu-be lu-balek-a	> **belu**-balek-a	lwâ-ye lu-balek-a	> **lwalu**-balek-a
NEG	lu-be lu-nga-balek-i	> **belu**-nga-balek-i	lwâ-ye lu-nga-balek-i	> **lwalu**-nga-balek-i
14	bu-be bu-balek-a	> **bebu**-balek-a	bâ-ye bu-balek-a	> **babu**-balek-a
NEG	bu-be bu-nga-balek-i	> **bebu**-nga-balek-i	bâ-ye bu-nga-balek-i	> **babu**-nga-balek-i
15 / 17	ku-be ku-balek-a	> **beku**-balek-a	kwâ-ye ku-balek-a	> **kwaku**-balek-a
NEG	ku-be ku-nga-balek-i	> **beku**-nga-balek-i	kwâ-ye ku-nga-balek-i	> **kwaku**-nga-balek-i

In a number of studies, the compound verbs have labels that reflect their morpho-syntactic properties rather than their semantic properties. Thus, the compound forms are known as

'**compound tenses**'[353] in Bennie (1939:107-110), Groenewald (2014)[354] and Oosthuysen (2016:237-246) for Xhosa, Engelbrecht (1962:96), Griesel (1982:145)[355], Poulos (1990), Poulos & Louwrens (1994), Poulos & Msimang (1998:306ff) for Zulu (the same approach for non-Nguni Zone S Bantu languages is found in Guma (1971:168)[356] for Southern Sotho, Poulos & Louwrens (1994:249ff)[357] for Northern Sotho, and Poulos (1990:293ff)[358] for Venda). Poulos & Msimang (1998:307) further suggest referring to each compound verb by the tenses of its two component verbs (auxiliary and Participial verbs)[359]. Other examples of common labels for the compound verbs include Wanger's (1917:426ff) '**participial tenses**'[360] and McLaren's (1936:90-95)[361] '**secondary tenses**'[362].

Those studies that refer to the compound verbs based on to their semantics can be divided into two groups: (i) the **relative tense approach** and (ii) the **aspect approach**. According to the relative tense approach, the compound verbs in the Nguni languages represent **relative tenses**[363], e.g. in Posthumus (1983, 1988, 1990, 1999, 2001, 2008), Pretorius (1997:164ff)[364], Gowlett (2003), and Hall (2005). To account for the Zulu verbal paradigm, Posthumus (2001, 2008) and Hall (2005) employ the Reichenbachian (1947) notions E, R and S[365] which they treat as **temporal units** on a timeline, which can only coincide, precede or follow one another (and not as intervals that can partly overlap, fully include or be included within one another). When not

[353] Despite labelling compound verb forms with the Present Participial as *continuous*, thus evidently recognising their semantics, van Eeden (1956:320) insists that all compound verb forms (irrespective of the type of Participial) be treated as one grammatical and semantic whole, namely the '**compound tenses** with *-ba*/*-be*' (Afrikaans: 'samegestelde tydvorms (met *-ba*/*be*)') (Hall 2005:13).
[354] Bennie (1939) and Groenewald (2014) do provide a further classification and semantic analysis of their 'compound tenses'.
[355] 'Saamgestelde tye en modi' in Afrikaans (Hall 2005:13)
[356] Guma (1971) does provide a further classification of what he terms *compound tenses*, thus indicating a more specific semantics of each form (Hall 2005:8).
[357] Hall (2005:11).
[358] Hall (2005:7).
[359] They leave the possibilities open with regards to the choice of the exact label that may be used to refer to each type of compound tense (Hall 2005:14-15).
[360] i.e. 'Partizipialzeiten' in German (Hall 2005:12).
[361] McLaren (1936:95) claims that the second component of the compound verb can either have the Indicative mood, e.g. *Baya kuba bayafika ngoku* 'They will be arriving now' or the Participial mood, e.g. *baya kuba befika ngoku* 'They will be arriving now'.
[362] McLaren (1936:90-95) provides a further description of each subcategory of his 'secondary tenses'.
[363] In this approach, the understanding of relative tenses differs considerable from Nurse's (2008) definition.
[364] Hall (2005:9-10).
[365] In the relative tense approach, R, E, and S are not defined according to the relational framework that I use in the present study.

coinciding, the distance between them can be either **short** or **long**. For example, for both the Recent Past (e.g. *bendibaleka* 'I was running') and the Remote Past compound verbs with the Present Participial (e.g. *ndandibaleka* 'I was running'), R and E coincide while preceding S. The only difference between these two compound verbs is that their distance from S is short in the former, and long in the latter case, cf. Table 3.6 where commas represent coincidence, single underscores represent a short distance, and double underscores represent a long distance between the Reichenbachian points (E, R, and S). Thus, all compound verbs with the Present Participial indicate that E coincides with R.

Table 3.6. *Adapted representation of the Recent Past and Remote Past compound verbs with the Present Participial and the Past Participial (1st person singular of* -baleka *'run') according to Hall (2005:62).*

E,R_S: ndi-b-e ndi-balek-a SM.1SG-be-ANT SM.1SG-run-FV	E,R__S: ndâ-y-e ndi-balek-a SM.1SG.REMPST-ye-ANT SM.1SG-run-FV
E_R_S: ndi-be ndi-balek-ile SM.1SG-be-ANT SM.1SG-run-ANT.DISJ	E_R__S: ndâ-y-e ndi-balek-ile SM.1SG.REMPST-be-ANT SM.1SG-run-ANT.DISJ

There are several issues with the relative tense approach. Given that E and R are conceived of as points rather than intervals, it is unclear if the partial temporal overlap between two events with different onsets and endpoints should be treated as simultaneity or as consecutiveness of E and R. Equally unclear is what constitutes the difference between the position of R[366] in the Recent Past Indicative, e.g. *ndibalekile* ('I ran, I have run') and the Recent Past compound verbs with the Present Participial, e.g. *bendibaleka* ('I was running, I ran'). If anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority do not suffice to describe all possible combinations between E and R, then one must assume that partial or total temporal coincidence between E and R also exists. This, in turn, would imply either that E can represent a point in time included within R, or that R is a point in time encompassed by E. Both possibilities rather resemble the definition of aspect in terms of E-R relation, than any of the previous descriptions of relative tense.

Another challenge with the relative tense approach is the definition of the relations *shortly before*, *shortly after*, *long before* and *long after* as they cannot be formally tested. Likewise, the definitions of R, E and S are not precise enough, thus leaving much room for individual interpretation and incompatible study-specific conceptualisations of the tripartite

[366] Where can R be positioned in the recent past if it does not coincide with E which is also in the recent past?

relations between them. For instance, E preceding R on a timeline, which in turn precedes S (E_R_S) seems to represent two different verb forms in Posthumus (2001, 2008) and Hall (2005) on the one hand, and Nxopo (1993), on the other hand. In Nxopo's (1993) analysis it represents the Remote Past, such as *ndâbaleka* 'I wrote', whereas in Hall's (2005) analysis (depending on the distance between R and S), it corresponds to the Recent and the Remote Past compound verbs with the Past Participial, such as *ndibe ndibalekile* and *ndaye ndibalekile* ('I had run'), respectively, cf. Tables 3.6 and 3.7. The problems outlined here are the reason why the relative tense approach does not seem to successfully account for the rich TAM system in Xhosa.

Table 3.7. *Adapted representation of the Recent Past and Remote Past tenses (1st person singular of* -baleka *'run') according to Nxopo (1993:vi).*

S,R,E: ndi-ya-balek-a SM.1SG-DISJ-run-FV	S,R_E: ndi-za=ku-balek-a SM.1SG-FUT-run-FV
E_S,R: ndi-balek-ile SM.1SG-run-DISJ.ANT	E_R_S: ndâ-balek-a SM.1SG.REMPS-run-FV

The aspect approach is found both in cross-linguistic typological studies, such as Dahl (1985:71, 80, 175) and Nurse (2008:133), as well as in studies which investigate TAM in Xhosa, e.g. Mă (2013:21, 26, 65-67, 76), Savić (2017), and Savić et al. (forthcoming). In his study of tense and aspect in the Bantu languages, Nurse (2008:133) observes that Zulu (and Nguni) compound verbs combine temporal and aspectual information[367]. The first, Indicative verb expresses tense, and the second, Participial verb encodes aspect: The Present Participial expresses the Imperfective aspect, and the Past Participial marks the Anterior aspect[368] (Nurse 2008:133). The aspect approach will be further elaborated in sections 3.10.2, 3.10.3, and 3.10.4.

[367] Nurse (2008:133) finds that this pattern of encoding temporal and aspectual information (which is also found is Swahili), is relatively common across the Bantu languages.

[368] Nurse (2008) does not link the Future Participial to the Posterior aspect but he mentions the infix *-sa-*, which conveys the meaning of adverb *still*, as marker of Persistive aspect. However, in the present study, Persistive is not considered a (purely) aspectual category. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that in Zulu and Swahili the second, the Participial verb cannot be the Remote Past (Nurse 2008:132-133). This fact supports the claim from the preceding section that remoteness is not expressed in the Participial paradigm. The fact that Zulu (unlike Swahili) allows both *-za ku-* and *-ya ku-* in the Future Participials (Nurse 2008:133) shows that the distinction between *-za ku-* and *-ya ku-* does not concern remoteness.

3.10.2. Compound verbs with the Present Participial

In the literature, the **compound verbs with the Present Participial** have mostly been described in the Recent and Remote Past tenses. The meaning of the compound verbs with the Present Participial has mostly been explicitly or implicitly linked to **aspectuality**.

In studies which do not distinguish between tense and aspect[369], these verb forms are often referred to as the '**continuous tense(s)**' of the Recent and Remote Past tenses, e.g. in Bennie (1939:99, 108-110), Riordan et al. (1969:247-251), Dowling (1998:123-129), Bryant (2007:186-199) for Xhosa, Nyembezi (1957:84-88), Ziervogel et al. (1967:111-115), Taljaard & Bosch (1988:149)[370], Buell (2005:75-76) for Zulu, or as the 'continuous tense(s)' of both the Past and the Future tenses, e.g. in Louw & Jubase (1963:83-85[371]), Davey (1973:82-93), Pahl (1983:124-127), Einhorn & Siyengo (1993:37) for Xhosa, Doke (1954:175-179), van Eeden (1956:320)[372], Canonici (1990:51,56)[373], Poulos & Msimang (1998:306-315) for Zulu, and Bosch et al. (1991:144ff)[374] for Swati[375]. Other terms used to refer to these compound verbs include the '**imperfect tenses**' (for both Past and Future auxiliary verbs) in Davis (1872:77-87), whereas McLaren (1936:90) terms the past forms of the compound verbs the 'Past **progressive tense**'.

Although the term *continuous* can be assumed to stand for the Progressive aspect[376], one cannot rely on the labels alone to precisely convey the meaning of the verb form. Besides the indistinction between tense and the other TAM categories (which results in inadequate labels

[369] i.e. which do not define the distinction between tense and aspect followed in this study.
[370] For the Remote Past only (Hall 2005:14).
[371] The Afrikaans label they use to refer to them is 'Voortdurende tydvorme (van die indikatiewe modus)' (Louw & Jubase 1963:83-85).
[372] Hall (2005:13).
[373] Canonici (1990:51) uses the label 'Recent Past Continuous' and 'Remote Past Continuous', but he does show the awareness that this form expresses aspect. He terms the aspectual category that he detects in these two forms the '**imperfect-durative aspect**'.
[374] Hall (2005:11).
[375] The analysis of the corresponding TAM markers in the non-Nguni Zone S Bantu languages within the Past tenses as 'continuous' include van Wyk et al. (1995:117) (Northern Sotho), Ziervogel & Ndau (1961:162) (Venda) and Ferreira (1964:82) (Southern Sotho), whereas analyses of the corresponding TAM markers for both Past and Future tenses include Lombard et al. (1988:90) (Northern Sotho), Cole (1955:249-255) for Tswana, Doke & Mofokeng (1957:252ff) and Guma (1971:168) (Southern Sotho) (Hall (2005:6-11)).
[376] By analogy with the still frequently used (Present, Past or Future) 'continuous tense' in the didactic literature on English.

such as continuous, imperfect, or progressive 'tenses'), the individual scholars' understandings of such terms as *continuous*, *imperfect* and *progressive* differ greatly. These interpretations are rarely thoroughly elaborated and are mostly only inferable from the brief explanations and translations provided. Thus, some scholars, such as Bennie (1939:99, 108-110), McLaren (1936:90-95), Davey (1973:82-93), Oosthuysen (2016:237-246)[377], Ziervogel et al. (1967:111-115), Taljaard & Bosch (1988:149)[378], Bosch et al. (1991)[379][380], describe events denoted by compound verbs with the Present Participial as being in progress, as ongoing, or proceeding at a certain point in time (=Progressive aspect). The same view is shown in the translations (of the compound verb with the Present Participial) which contain the Progressive aspect, such as Davis (1872:77-87), Louw & Jubase (1963:83-85)[381], Nyembezi (1957:84-88), Davey (1973:82-93), Einhorn & Siyengo (1993:20, 37, 39) and Groenewald (2014)[382].

Semantic accounts which provide translations to English with both Progressive and Non-Progressive aspects, e.g. Riordan et al. (1969:247-251), Dowling (1998:123-129), Bryant (2007:186-199), Doke (1954:172-180)[383], Poulos & Msimang (1998:306-315), imply that compound verbs with the Present Participial do not only indicate ongoing events (=Progressive aspect), but that they also allow stative (e.g. *She was clever*) and durative (e.g. *She slept on the couch*) interpretations, thus suggesting that this type of compound verbs represents the Imperfective aspect. Furthermore, Poulos & Msimang (1998:306-314) imply that the Future tense compound verbs with Present Participials unify habitual, stative, and progressive readings (=Imperfective aspect). Quite differently, in the **relative tense approach** (Posthumus 1983, 1988, 1990, 1999, 2001, 2008, Hall 2005), the compound verbs with the Present Participial mark the coincidence between E and R.

[377] Oosthuysen's (2016:237-246) translations, however, do include stative and durative interpretations, especially in compound verb with the Recent Past auxiliary verbs.
[378] Hall (2005:14).
[379] Hall (2005:11).
[380] A similar description of the corresponding TAM markers in Tswana is given by Cole (1955:249-255).
[381] The translations to Afrikaans use the construction 'aan [VP] te wees'.
[382] Groenewald (2014:8) explains that the meaning of his 'compound tenses' includes a continuous component, however, his understanding of this term is provided only in his translations.
[383] Doke (1954) provides translations only. As they also include the Non-Progressive aspect, it can be concluded that he views this marker as the Imperfective aspect.

The explicit recognition of aspectual semantics in the compound verbs with the Present Participial is first found in van Rooyen (1977:204ff)[384]. He identifies the **Imperfective aspect** in this type of compound verbs (Hall 2005:14), a view seconded in Dahl (1985:71, 80, 175) [385], Nurse (2008:133), Mă (2013:21, 26, 65-67, 76), Savić (2017), Savić et al. (forthcoming). Despite the inaccuracy of the term he uses ('imperfect-durative aspect'), Canonici's (1990:51, 56, 77)[386] can be considered part of this approach, as he shows awareness that the Imperfective semantics represents an **aspectual** category. The reason why Savić (2017:54) interprets compound verbs with the Present Participial as Imperfective is found in the fact that they unite durative (147)[387], progressive (148), and habitual (149) readings.

(147) **Bendi-cul-a** u-bu-suku b-onke.
SM.1SG.be.PST-sing-FV AUG-14-night SM.14-whole
I sang *the whole night.*
(Savić 2017:54)

(148) **Bendi-phangel-a** y-onke i-mi-hla.
SM.1SG.be. PST-work-FV SM.4-every AUG-4-day
I worked *every day.*
(Savić 2017:54)

(149) Ba-fik-é xa **bendi-bhal-a** i-leta.
SM.2-arrive-ANT when SM.1SG.be.PST-write-FV AUG-9.letter
They arrived when ***I was writing*** *a letter.*
(Savić 2017:54)

Some scholars suggest that compound verbs with the Present Participial besides their Imperfective semantics additionally may signal **reversed actions**[388] (actions with cancelled results). Thus, Davey (1973:87) observes that the Remote Past compound verbs with the Present Participial besides denoting events in progress at some point in the past, also indicate that the

[384] Although it follows from van Rooyen's (1977) description of the verb form's semantics that he regards it as a marker of the Imperfective aspect, in his translation to Afrikaans he uses the progressive construction 'aan [VP] te wees' (Hall 2005:14). However, this can perhaps be explained with the fact that this is the closest morpho-syntactic means to convey the imperfective interpretation that is available in Afrikaans.
[385] Dahl (1985:80) points out that marking the Imperfective aspect in both the Past and the Future tenses (which is the case in Zulu) is cross-linguistically less common than restricting this aspect to the past time tenses, like in the case of the Romance languages.
[386] Canonici's (1990:51, 77) description of the 'imperfect-durative/habitual aspect' covers both progressive and habitual interpretations, thus suggesting it represents the Imperfective aspect.
[387] Example (32) from section 1.4.2 is repeated here as (147).
[388] I borrow this term from Dickey (2000:110).

results of the event are no longer felt in the present. As for the Recent Past compound verbs with the Present Participial, along with the expected translations *was/were doing* and *have been doing* (which correspond to the Imperfective aspect), Bryant (2007:186) also provides the translation *had done*. Furthermore, Mă (2013:44-45, 53-56, 58-59, 65-67) finds that the Recent Past compound verb with the Present Participial in (150) implies that the students have left Makhanda by the time of speech, an interpretation that also arises from the Indicative Remote Past verb in (151), whereas the Recent Past verb in (152) suggests that the students were still in Makhanda (earlier Grahamstown) at the moment of speech.

(150) A-ba-fundi **bebe-fik-a**[389] e-Rhini.
AUG-2-student SM.2.ba.PST-arrive-FV LOC-9.Grahamstown
*Students **arrived** in Grahamstown*[390].
(Mă 2013:45)

(151) A-ba-fundi **bâ-fik-a** e-Rhini.
AUG-2-student SM.2.REMPST-arrive-FV LOC-9.Grahamstown
*Students **arrived** in Grahamstown.*
(Mă 2013:45)

(152) A-ba-fundi **ba-fik-ile** e-Rhini.
AUG-2-student SM.2-arrive-ANT.DISJ LOC-9.Grahamstown
*Students **arrived** in Grahamstown.*
(Mă 2013:44)

The ability of the Imperfective aspect to refer to reversed actions (as its context-bound meaning[391]) is also attested in Russian, Ukrainian and Bulgarian. In the Russian example (153), the verb that denotes the event of opening the window is Imperfective, thus indicating that the window is closed at the moment of speech. Leinonen (1982:200-207) explains that the Russian Imperfective denotes reversed actions because it asserts the claim for a certain period in time in the past, with no relevance for the present moment. It is the temporal 'gap' between the past interval for which the claim is made and the present moment which gives rise to the inference that the result is annulled (Dickey 2000:110-111).

[389] Contracted SMs are glossed according to the class/person, auxiliary verb and its tense only, disregard of which of the elements from the periphrastic construction (that have merged together) are still recognisable.
[390] The name of the city has changed to Makhanda.
[391] i.e. not the default meaning.

(153) Russian

Ty	**otkryva-l**	okno?
PRON.2SG	open.IPFV-PST.M.SG	window.N.SG.ACC

***Did** you **open** the window?*
(Rassudova 1984:68, in Dickey 2000:110)

In some studies, the semantics of the compound verb with the Present Participial is linked to a combination of both **aspect** and **remoteness**. Pahl (1983:124-127) suggests that the Recent Past compound verb form with the Present Participial as an indicator of a **just recently** occurred event, or as an (often) **habitual** event that occurred a **short time ago**, whereas its Remote Past counterpart is understood as having happened a (**longer**) '**while**' **ago**. By contrast, according to Poulos & Msimang (1998:306-315) the former exhibits a **progressive** interpretation in the **recent past**, whereas the latter is regarded as **habitual** and is located in more **distant past**. The incompatibility of the two views suggests that neither is accurate enough to base any claims about the interaction between the habitual and progressive readings, on the one hand, and remoteness, on the other hand.

Mă (2013:59-61) observes that the Imperfective semantics of the compound verbs with the Present Participial entails greater **flexibility** with respect to **remoteness**. According to her, the Recent Past compound verb forms with the Present Participial can refer to events in the remote past too, cf. (154). The bolded verb in (154) could be replaced by an Indicative Remote Past verb, but the difference would be that it could not refer to hodiernal and hesternal past (Ma 2013:60-61).

(154)

U-tata wa-m		**ube-cheb-a**	ii-gusha
AUG-1a.father POSS.1-1.SG		SM.1.be.PST-shear-FV	AUG-10.sheep
ku-lo	nyaka	u-phel-ile-yo.	
17-DEM.PROX.3	3.year	SM.3-finish-ANT.DISJ-REL	

*My father **sheared/was shearing** sheep last year.*
(Ma 2013:61)

Besides their aspectual meaning, the Recent Past compound verb forms with the Present Participial are also used as purely modal, non-aspectual markers in the hypothetical (non-factual) antecedent of conditional sentences which do not assert that said events may actualise themselves, such as (155)[392]. Probably, the modal meaning of this subtype of compound verb is linked to its use in polite requests and expression of possibilities (Taljaard & Bosch 1988:150)[393]. However, the present study is primarily interested in the compound verbs as aspectual markers, and not as much in their modal, non-aspectual meaning.

(155) Ukuba **bendi-fuman-a** i-dilesi ya-bo,
if SM.1SG.be.PST-get-FV AUG-9.address POSS.9-2
bendi-ya=ku-ba-mem-a.
SM.1SG.be.PST-REMFUT-OM.2-invite-FV
*If **I found** their address, I would invite them.*
(Bryant 2007:209)

Enough evidence is provided in the studies reviewed in this section to conclude that the compound verbs with the Present Participial convey both progressive and habitual interpretations, which are essential elements of the imperfective aspect. Therefore, I will refer to compound verbs with the Present Participial as (Recent Past, Remote Past, Immediate Future, or Remote Future) **Imperfective** (compound) **verbs**.

However, in Chapter 1 it was pointed out that the perfective/imperfective opposition exhibits great variation from one language to another. Therefore, we need to investigate the context-bound semantics of the Imperfective compound verbs in Xhosa, especially in those contexts in which their semantics interacts with the information structure of an utterance.

3.10.3. Compound verbs with the Past Participial

Compound verb forms with the Past Participial are shown in the middle column of Tables 3.3 and 3.4. Irrespective of whether they define it as an absolute tense, relative tense or grammatical aspect, the meaning of this type of compound verbs has invariably been understood as denoting

[392] Note that the consequent in (152) is a compound verb with a Future Participial.
[393] Hall (2005:14).

an event which **has occurred** or is **completed before** another event, i.e. before another past or future **point in time** (which is not the moment of speech), cf. (156-157).

(156) U-m-bhali **ebe-fumen-é** i-ndlu.
AUG-1-writer SM.1.be.ANT-get-ANT AUG-9.house
*The writer **had found** a house.*
(Davey 1973:85)

(157) I-nene **i-ya=ku-b-e** **i-xel-iw-é**.
AUG-9.truth SM.9-REMFUT-be-ANT SM.9-tell-PASS-ANT
The truth **will be told**.
(Davey 1973:92)

In the case of inchoative verbs, these compound verb forms denote a past or a future **state** entered by a particular point in time, cf. (158-159). Like the non-inchoative (Recent or Remote) Past Imperfective verbs, inchoative (Recent or Remote) Past compound verbs with Past Participials may signal that the resulting state is no longer in force at the time of utterance (Mă 2013:66).

(158) **Waye-lel-é**.
SM.1.REMPST.go.PST-fall=asleep-ANT
She/He was asleep.
(Oosthuysen 2016:244)

(159) **Ndi-za=ku-ba** **ndi-lamb-ile**.
SM.1SG-FUT-be SM.1SG-get=hungry-ANT.DISJ
I will be hungry.
(Davey 1973:92)

In the literature, non-inchoative compound verbs with the Past Participial are typically translated to English with the Past Perfect or Future Perfect, whereas inchoative compound verbs with the Past Participial are translated with the (Past or Future) Progressive or Non-Progressive. Some studies focus only on Past tense compound verbs with the Past Participial which they describe as (recent and remote) past **perfect** '**tenses**', e.g. in Bennie (1939:108-110), McLaren (1936:92-95), Louw & Jubase (1963:221-222), Pahl (1983:124-126), Einhorn & Siyengo (1993:38-39), whereas others acknowledge the existence of both past and future perfect 'tenses', e.g. Davis

(1872:81, 86-87), Davey (1973:84-93), Oosthuysen (2016:238-246), Doke (1954:173-180)[394]. Poulos & Msimang (1998:313-315) use a compositional approach to refer to each form as a combination of its two component verbs' tenses, e.g. *Future* + *Perfect* for (Immediate or Remote) Future compound verbs with the Past Participial (Poulos & Msimang 1998:315)[395].

In some studies, **aspectuality** is recognised as a component of the compound verbs with the Past Participial. Canonici (1990: 51, 78) characterises it as the **Perfective aspect**, whereas Nurse (2008:133) and Savić (2017:53) see it as the **Anterior (Perfect) aspect**[396]. According to the **relative tense** approach, Posthumus (1983, 1988, 1990, 1999, 2001, 2008) and Hall (2005)[397] view this type of compound verb forms as relative tenses in which E precedes R. This relation between E and R also corresponds to the view of the **anterior** (perfect) **aspect** in the aspectual theories[398], e.g. Hewson & Bubenik (1997:14).

The important question about what constitutes the (past or future) **point**, before which the reported event is said to have occurred, does not seem to be thoroughly elaborated in the literature. Besides the usual descriptions of said point as simply another event or a reference point in time provided in the context, Doke (1954:174) provides an interesting explanation that is linked to information structure:

(160) The perfect stem of non-stative verbs may be used in this tense, provided it has an adjunct, e.g. *Bengimthandile kodwa wathuka*[399] (I did like him, at one time, but he swore). In this use the verb indicates past immediate perfect action, which has since ceased for some reason.

[394] A similar approach to the analysis of the Future and the Past tense compound verbs with the Past Participial as the second complement is found in studies on other non-Nguni Zone S languages, e.g. Junod (1923:55), Cole (1955:252-255), Doke & Mofokeng (1957:252ff), Guma (1971:168) (Hall 2005:6-11).

[395] Although they only focus on the Past compound verbs, Ziervogel et al. (1967:112, 115) take a somewhat similar approach in that they do not introduce a separate term only reserved for compound verbs with the Past Participial. Instead, they label both the compound verbs with the Past Participial and the Present Participial as **continuous past tenses** with an indication about the kind of the Participial verb as an addition. Thus, compound verbs with the Past Participial are referred to as **continuous past tense with perfect** (with non-inchoative verbs) or **continuous past tenses with stative** (with inchoative verbs).

[396] Baumbach (1987:226) proposes a similar analysis for Tsonga: He sees the Future tense compound verbs with Past Participials as a combination of the **Perfect aspect** and the **Future tense** (Hall 2005:8).

[397] Pretorius (1997:164ff) applies Posthumus' (1983, 1988, 1990) approach in his analysis of Tswana (Hall 2005:9-10).

[398] Here, I do not refer to the aspect approach but to the prominent theories which define the cross-linguistic aspectual categories.

[399] *Bengi-m-thand-ile kodwa wa-thuk-a*: SM.1SG.be.ANT-OM.1-like-ANT.DISJ but SM.1.PSTSUBJ-swear-FV

Doke's (1954:174) statement about adjuncts conditioning the use of the Recent Past tense compound verbs with Past Participials is neither confirmed in other sources, nor accurately illustrated in the provided example. However, it proposes an original idea that this type of compound verbs indicates information which is immediately **contradicted** in the following discourse.

Following the terminology established in the preceding section, compound verbs with Past Participials will henceforth be referred to as (Recent Past, Remote Past, Immediate Future, or Remote Future) **Anterior** (compound) **verbs**, due to the convincing evidence in the literature that they primarily encode the **Anterior aspect**. As suggested in this section, the Anterior aspect seems to interact with information structure, a fact that remains relatively understudied. In order to identify the underlying meaning of the Anterior aspect in Xhosa, the present study aims to document its context-dependent semantics.

Like the Imperfective compound verbs, Anterior compound verbs may also function as modally (and not aspectually) marked antecedents in counterfactual[400] conditional clauses, cf. (161). However, it has already been stated in the preceding section that exclusively modal use of compound verbs is not of primary interest to the present study.

(161) Ukuba **bendi-fumen-e** i-dilesi ya-bo,
if SM.1SG.be.ANT-get-ANT AUG-9.address POSS.9-2
nge-ndi-ba-mem-ile.
COUNTERFACT-SM.1SG-OM.2-invite-ANT.DISJ
*If **I had found** their address, I would have invited them.*
(Bryant 2007:209)

3.10.4. Compound verbs with the Future Participial

The infix *-za ku-* in the **compound verbs with the Future Participial** shown in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 can also be replaced by *-ya ku-* or any of the two markers' contracted forms. In the literature, the Future Participials have only been described in combination with Past tense and rarely with

[400] Note that in the present study, counterfactuality is regarded as part of non-factuality.

Future tense compound verbs[401]. Some studies label it the '**contingent tense**' (Louw & Jubase 1963:228-229[402], Davey 1973:89-91) or the '**contemplated tense**' (Bennie 1939:108-110), thus emphasising the fact that it inter alia refers to non-actualised events. Common translations to English include the counterfactual *would have* (McLaren 1936:92, 94, Davey 1973:91, Nyembezi 1970:370-371), but also the factually undetermined expression of intention *was going to*. However, some sources prefer the translation with the hypothetical (non-factual) conditional *would* (Davis 1872:87-91, Louw & Jubase 1963:228-229, Poulos & Msimang 1998:311, 313), which does not exclude the (unlikely) actualisation of the event in the future. The non-factual interpretation of the compound verbs with Future Participials is found in the consequents of the hypothetical (non-factual) type of conditional sentences, e.g. *bendiya kubamema* ('I would invite them') in (155). In the literature, most translations to English do not indicate any significant semantic difference between Recent Past and Remote Past compound verbs with the Future Participial. The few existing exceptions will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

There is some discrepancy in the literature with regards to the level of factuality indicated by the compound verbs with Future Participials. Whereas McLaren (1936:92-95), Davey (1973:89-91), Pahl (1983:125-127) and Canonici (1990:56-57) suggest that this type of compound verbs denotes **non-actualised**, **counterfactual** events[403], a number of studies express the opinion that they **do not preclude** the event's **actualisation**: Thus, these compound verbs may refer to contemplated events, events that are about to occur seen from a preceding reference point in time (Bennie 1939:108-110), past tenses of future events (Louw & Jubase (1963:228), unfulfilled intentions and intentions fulfilled in spite of obstacles (Nyembezi 1970:370-371), as well as conditional hypothetical actions that would take place if the circumstances permitted (Poulos & Msimang 1998:311, 313). In the few studies that distinguish between the semantics of the Recent Past compound verbs with Future Participials and the Remote Past compound verbs with Future Participials, the difference is defined in terms of factuality. McLaren (1936:92, 94) translates the Recent Past compound verbs with the Future Participials with both *would have* and *was going to*, whereas their Remote Past counterparts only correspond to *would have*. Similarly, Pahl (1983:125-127) is of the opinion that the latter only indicate events whose actualisation has

[401] Canonici (1990:63) and Posthumus (2006:108) do provide examples of Future tense compound verbs with the Future Participial, but without a thorough explanation of their semantics.
[402] Afrikaans: 'kontingente tydvorme'
[403] Often the existence of particular circumstances which the event's actualisation depends on is emphasised.

been prevented by something, whereas the former are semantically broader and they may also include unfulfilled intentions and wishes. Furthermore, Pahl (1983:125-127) claims that whether the Future Participial in this type of compound verbs contains *-za ku-* or *-ya ku-* (or one of their contracted variants) depends on the (loosely defined) **temporal remoteness** of the reported situation's actualisation from the reference point in time.

Based on the preceding paragraphs, the semantics of compound verbs with Future Participials seems to be primarily linked to factuality and thus to modality. The different levels of factual meaning are best demonstrated in conditional sentences[404], a common environment for compound verbs with Future Participials, cf. (162). Cross-linguistically, conditional sentences are divided into two primary types: **non-factual**[405] (162-163) and **factual conditionals** (164) (Pany 1975:24, 30). The difference between the non-factual (162-163) and the factual (164) conditionals revolves around the speaker's **assertion that the event's actualisation in the future is possible**: In (164) the speaker expresses that it is possible the event will actualise itself in the future. By contrast, in (163) nothing is said about this possibility, whereas in (162) the possibility for the event's actualisation is ruled out. Non-factual conditionals can be further divided into **counterfactual** (162) and **hypothetical conditionals** (163) (Pany 1975:30). Counterfactuals represent events which are contrary to the facts (162), whereas their hypothetical counterparts (163) do not (Pany 1975:30). In other words, while counterfactuals make claims about an irreversibly non-actualised event (162), the suppositions formulated as hypothetical non-factual conditionals do not preclude the event's actualisation (163)[406].

[404] As is evident from the literature review, factuality is identified as the primary meaning of compound verbs with the Future Participials. Therefore, an exception should be made to the remark from the preceding sections that modal (non-aspectual) use of compound verbs does not occupy a central position in the present study, and at this point the use of compound verbs with Future Participials in conditional sentences ought to be addressed.
[405] Note that there is some variation across studies with respect to how *non-factuality* and *counterfactuality* are used. In the present study, Pany's (1975) approach will be followed.
[406] Even though counterfactuals are typically linked to past situations, and hypothetical conditionals to situations that may actualize themselves in the future, the interaction between modality and temporality is more complex. Pany (1975:24-32) shows that both factual and non-factual conditionals allow nearly any combination tenses between the antecedent and the consequent.

(162) If they **had invited** me, I **would have come** to the party. =>
[The party is over and the subject was not invited;
It is not possible to invite the subject at the moment of speech, i.e. nothing about the past situation can be changed from the present moment.][407]

(163) If they **invited** me, I **would come** to the party. =>
[The subject is not invited to the party at the present moment;
The party might be a real event that is either taking place at present or is planned in the future, but it could also be a hypothetical event;
The speaker says nothing about the probability for the situation to change in the future (the possibility exists for the subject to be invited to the party).]

(164) If they **invite** me, I **will come** to the party. =>
[The subject is not, i.e. has not yet been invited to the party;
The party is a real event which is already taking place or will take place in the future;
Unlike in (163), the speaker indicates that the probability exists for the situation to actualise itself in the future (the subject suggests it is possible she or he will be invited to the party).]

As already pointed out, in Xhosa consequents of hypothetical conditionals are expressed using compound verbs with Future Participials[408]. This means that they refer to **non-factual**, i.e. **hypothetical**[409] and **counterfactual** events.

Now that their modal properties have been addressed, we need to consider the function of the compound verbs with the Future Participial as aspectual markers, i.e. as relative tenses. In the relative tense approach (Posthumus 1983, 1988, 1990, 1999, 2001, 2008, Hall 2005) they indicate the posteriority of E relative to R. This view shares evident similarities with the definition of the **prospective aspect** (cf. Comrie 1976:64-65, Hewson & Bubenik 1997:14, Hewson 2012:511) in the aspectual theories[410]. Therefore, I consider that the compound verbs with the Future Participial encode the Prospective aspect.

However, the current definitions of the prospective aspect as a cross-linguistic aspectual category still has caveats regarding its interaction with modality. What needs to be investigated

[407] Note that counterfactuals are not restricted to past situations, as indicated in the last footnote.
[408] The same level of factuality is found in the Imperfective compound verbs which function as antecedents in hypothetical conditionals.
[409] Henceforth, the term *hypothetical* will refer to the type of conditional sentence exemplified in (163).
[410] Here, I do not refer to the aspect approach but to the prominent theories which define the cross-linguistic aspectual categories.

is if the prospective aspect only denotes posteriority of E relative to R (while covering all degrees of epistemic modality) or if it is restricted to a particular level of factuality. Studies seem to differ in their approaches to this problem. Comrie (1976:64-65) claims that the intention in (165) represents the Prospective aspect, whereas the Future tense in (166) does not.

(165) Bill **is going to throw** himself off the cliff.
(Comrie 1976:64-65)

(166) Bill **will throw** himself off the cliff.
(Comrie 1976:64-65)

He notes that unlike (166), the Prospective aspect in (165) still remains true even if the event is not actualised in the future, because the agent's intention (= event modality?) of its actualisation existed at the given moment. Thus, Comrie (1976:64-65) claims that the event's actualisation is not an integral part of the Prospective aspect. Instead, the intention suffices for the statement to be true. Conversely, Trask (1997:178) associates the prospective aspect with a high degree of certainty (= propositional modality) (Rose et al. 2002:71). A different view is provided by Hewson & Bubenik (1997:12) who do not acknowledge the Future tense in English, but find that sentences such as (166) denote the Prospective aspect of the Present ('Non-Past') tense.

The relation between the prospective aspect and modality remains unresolved in the literature. On the one hand, it is not possible to assert at a given point in time that an event is yet to occur without linking it to the speaker's own assessment of the probability of or necessity for the event's actualisation. On the other hand, modality should not function as a tool to define prospective as an aspectual category. I find the latter argument more convincing: By analogy with the anterior aspect, the underlying meaning of the prospective aspect should be to simply locate E after R.

A clearer insight into the relation between the prospective aspect and modality will be provided in the present study's analysis of the context-bound meanings of the compound verbs with the Future Participials in Xhosa. By analogy with the Imperfective and Anterior compound verbs, these compound verbs will be referred to as (Recent Past, Remote Past, Immediate Future, and Remote Future) **Prospective** (compound) **verbs**.

3.11. Temporal mood

The Temporal mood is a subordinate verb form which indicates the occurrence of an event relative to the event indicated by the main verb. It is formed by inserting *-aku-* after SM[411], cf. (167-169). An exception is SM.1 which merges into the infixed *aku-*, cf. (170). Negation is formed by adding *-nga-* after *-aku-* and by replacing FV with *-i*, cf. (171). The Temporal form is translated as temporal *when*-clause, with the temporal anchoring in the main clause which may exhibit any tense.

(167) **Ndaku-fik-a** ba-ya-hamb-a.
SM.1SG.TEMP-arrive-FV SM.2-DISJ-walk-FV
***When I arrive**, they leave.*
(Davey 1973:117)

(168) **Baku-fik-a** e-khaya ba-za=ku-phek-a.[412]
SM.2.TEMP-arrive-FV LOC-5.home SM.2-FUT-cook-FV
***When they arrive** home, they will cook.*
(adapted from Bryant 2007:201)

(169) **Saku-fik-a** e-khaya si-phek-ile.
SM.1PL.TEMP-arrive-FV LOC-5.home SM.1PL-cook-ANT.DISJ
***When we arrived** home, we cooked.*
(adapted from Bryant 2007:201)

(170) **Aku-fik-a** e-khaya wâ-phek-a.
SM.1.TEMP-arrive-FV LOC-5.home SM.1.REMPST-cook-FV
***When she/he arrived** home, she/he cooked.*
(adapted from Bryant 2007:201)

(171) **Waku-nga-yi-theng-i** u-ya=ku-vuy-a.
SM.2SG.TEMP-TEMP.NEG-OM.9-buy-NEG SM.2SG-REMFUT-rejoice-FV
***When you do not buy it**, you will rejoice.*
(Davey 1973:118)

[411] This includes the usual phonological processes, such as the deletion of the SM vowel (e.g. SM.5 *li-* + TEMP. *-aku* = SM.5.TEMP *laku-*, etc.), which are also found in e.g. the Remote Past tense of the Indicative mood.
[412] Examples (171-174) are taken over from Bryant (2007:201), but the SMs have been altered to show the various Temporal SMs.

Events denoted by the Temporal telic verbs like (167-171) occur before those denoted by the main verb. As du Plessis & Visser (1992:167-168) report, in the case of atelic verbs, such as (172-174), it is only the **onset** (and not the middle phases or the endpoint) of those events that temporally precedes the main clause event.

(172) Ndi-fik-é **baku-cul-a**.
SM.1SG-arrive-ANT SM.2.TEMP-sing-FV
*I arrived **when they began to sing**.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:167)

(173) Ndi-khumbul-a **aku-ncom-a**.
SM.1SG-remember-FV SM.1.TEMP-praise-FV
*I remember **when he begins to praise**.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:168)

(174) Ndi-dubul-a i-ntaka **yaku-bhabh-a**.
SM.1SGshoot-FV AUG-9.bird SM.9.TEMP-fly-FV
*I shoot the bird **when it begins to fly***[413].
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:168)

By comparison, the Participial forms (175-177) in the same position simply indicate that the main clause event occurs at any point (between the onset and the endpoint) of the Participial event.

(175) Ndi-fik-é **be-cul-a**.
SM.1SG-arrive-ANT SM.2.PTCP-sing-FV
*I arrived **while they were singing**.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:167)

(176) Ndi-khumbul-a **e-ncom-a**.
SM.1SG-remember-FV SM.1.PTCP-praise-FV
*I remember **while he praises**.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:168)

(177) Ndi-dubul-a i-ntaka **i-bhabh-a**.
SM.1SG-shoot-ANT AUG-9.bird SM.9-fly-FV
*I shoot the bird **while it flies**.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:168)

[413] The original translation has been adapted.

Louw & Jubase (1963:164) note that the Temporal paradigm also has a '**continuous tense**', cf. (178), as well as a '**Past tense**', cf. (179-180), which are formed by combining the Temporal form of *-ba* ('be') with the corresponding (Present or Past, respectively) Participial form of the lexical verb. Davey (1973:119) believes, however, that the Temporal form of *-ba* ('be') combined with the Past Participial in (178) only denotes **future completed** actions.

(178) **Aku-b-a** e-theth-a …
SM.1.TEMP-be-FV SM.1.PTCP-talk-FV
***When he** is speaking …*
(Louw & Jubase 1963:164)

(179) **Aku-b-a** e-theth-ile …
SM.1.TEMP-be-FV SM.1.PTCP-talk-FV
***When he** has spoken …*
(Louw & Jubase 1963:164)

(180) **Waku-b-a** u-mama e-fund-ile kakhulu …
SM.1.TEMP-be-FV AUG-1a.mother SM.1.PTCP-learn-ANT.DISJ a=lot
***When mother** has learnt a lot …*
(Davey 1973:119)

Another important use of the Temporal form includes the verb *-bona* ('see') before the conjunction *ukuba* ('that') and a Present tense verb. The Temporal *-bona* ('see') loses its original lexical meaning. Instead, it creates a subordinate temporal *while*-clause together with the verb in the *ukuba*-clause (Louw & Jubase 1963:165, Davey 1973:119), cf. (181). The Temporal is also common after the Recent Past form of verb *-thi* ('say') in narrations, where the latter does not exhibit a specific, lexical meaning, but has the meaning *do so*, *thus do* (Bryant 2007:201), cf. (182).

(181) **Baku-bon-a** ukuba ba-ya-theth-a ku-fik-é in-kwenkwe.
SM.2.TEMP-see-FV that SM.2-DISJ-talk-FV SM.17-arrive-ANT AUG-9.boy
***While they** were talking the son arrived.*
(Louw & Jubase 1963:165)

(182) Ú-th-é **aku-ndi-bon-a** wa-hlek-a.
SM.1-say-ANT SM.1.TEMP-OM.1SG-see-FV SM.1.PSTSUBJ-laugh-FV
(It was thus that) ***When he saw me****, he laughed.*
(Davey 1973:119)

The Temporal form indicates the anteriority of an event's onset relative to the main clause event. I consider the term 'Temporal mood' inadequate because the Temporal paradigm does not seem to express any modal meaning. Instead, the Temporal paradigm is part of the Indicative mood, just like Participials and the Past Subjunctives.

3.12. Infinitive

The Infinitive exhibits both verbal and nominal properties (Davey 1973:24-25, du Plessis & Visser 1992:87). In much of the literature on Bantu languages, it is treated as a class 15 noun, although opposing views also exist[414] (cf. du Plessis & Visser 1992:87-121). The Infinitive is marked with the prefix *uku-*, cf. (183-185), whereby the first *u-* is the augment which is omitted from the Future markers *-za ku-* and *-ya ku-*. In the negated form, *-nga-* is inserted after SM and FV is replaced with *-i*, cf. (186).

(183) **U-ku-balek-a** ku-ne-mpilo.
AUG-15-run-FV SM.15-COM-9.health
Running *is healthy.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:88)

(184) Ba-fun-a **u-ku-thand-w-a**.
SM.2-want-FV AUG-15-love-PASS-FV
They want ***to be loved****.*
(Davey 1973:24)

(185) Ba-fuman-a i-mali **ngo-ku-sebenz-a**.
SM.2-get-FV AUG-9.money INSTR-15-work-FV
They get money ***by working****.*
(Davey 1973:24)

[414] These views are based on numerous similarities which the Infinitive shares with other verb forms.

(186) **U-ku-nga-gcin-i**.
AUG-15-NEG-look=after-NEG
Not to look after.
(Davey 1973:24)

One major similarity that the Infinitive shares with nouns is that it functions like other nominal constituents, i.e. subject (183), object (184), or adverb (185), and it can also co-occur with a copulative (187).

(187) **Ku-ku-phuml-a**.
COP.15-15-rest-FV
It is the resting.
(Davey 1973:24)

Yet, the Infinitive has also verbal characteristics. As already shown, it can be negated, conjugated for tense, e.g. the Future tense[415] in (188), and it can contain OMs (189) and verbal extensions, such as the Passive *-w-* in (184).

(188) U-m-fundi ú-fun-a **u-ku-za=ku-fund-a** ngomso.
AUG-1-student SM.1-want-FV AUG-15-FUT-learn-FV tomorrow
*The student wants **to study** tomorrow.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:91)

(189) U-titshala ú-qal-a **u-ku-ba-ncom-a** a-ba-fundi.
AUG-1a.teacher SM.1-start-FV AUG-15-OM.2-praise-FV AUG-2-student
*The teacher starts **to praise** the students.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:91)

When followed by a Possessive, the Infinitive may also function as a TAM marker that is semantically close to the Temporal form. Bryant (2007:201) describes it even as an alternative

[415] Louw & Jubase (1963:168), Du Plessis & Visser (1992 :91), Canonici (1990:51). It is not entirely clear if *-za ku-* indeed represents future temporal reference and whether it marks the event's temporal posteriority relative to moment of utterance or relative to the main verb. As a form that is supposed to be non-finite, the Infinitive should not inflect for any TAM categories. It cannot be ruled out at this point that *-za ku-* actually has some other, e.g. deictic (ventive), meaning.

form of the Temporal paradigm. However, du Plessis & Visser (1992:167-169) show that the Temporal and the Infinitive do not exactly convey the same meaning. Consider the Infinitives of verbs with a **durative** nucleus (cf. section 2.4.2) in (190-191). They denote events which are in progress at the time of the main clause event. The Infinitive verbs in (190) and (191) convey the same meaning like their respective Participial counterparts in (175) and (177).

(190) Ndi-fik-é **u-ku-cul-a** kwa-bo.
SM.1SG-arrive-ANT AUG-15-sing-FV POSS.15-2
*I arrived **while** they **were singing**.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:167)

(191) Ndi-dubul-a i-ntaka **u-ku-bhabh-a** kwa-yo.
SM.1SG-shoot-FV AUG-9.bird AUG-15-fly-FV POSS.15-9
*I shoot the bird **while** it **is flying**.*[416]
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:168)

However, the Infinitive of **punctual** verbs (cf. section 2.4.2) conveys a different meaning than their respective Participial counterparts, cf. (192-193). The Participial of the intransitive verb *-hamba* ('depart, walk') in (193) indicates the course of the event of walking, while the Infinitive of the same verb in (192) focuses on a different phase of the event, namely the departure.

(192) Si-ty-é i-nyama **u-ku-hamb-a** kwe-thu.
SM.1PL-eat-ANT AUG-9.meat AUG-15-walk-FV POSS.15-1PL
*We ate meat **when** we **departed**.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:168)

(193) Si-ty-é i-nyama **si-hamba**.
SM.1PL-eat-ANT AUG-9.meat SM.1PL-walk-FV
*We ate meat **while walking**.*[417]
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:168)

[416] The original translation has been adapted.
[417] The original translation has been adapted.

With transitive punctual verbs, the Infinitive seems to represent a nominal reference to the event without any reference to (any part of) their temporal structure, cf. (194-195). By contrast, the Participial forms of the same verbs refer to the moments occupied by the events, cf. (196-197).

(194) Ndi-khumbul-a **u-ku-ncom-a** kwa-khe.
SM.1SG-remember-FV AUG-15-praise-FV POSS.15-1
*I remember his **praising**.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:168)

(195) Ndi-ba-bon-é **u-ku-cul-a** kwa-bo e-khonsath-ini.
SM.1SG-OM.2-see-ANT AUG-15-sing-FV POSS.15-2 LOC-9.concert-LOC
*I saw their **singing** in the concert.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:169)

(196) Ndi-khumbul-a **e-ncom-a**.
SM.1SG-remember-FV SM.1.PTCP-praise-FV
*I remember **while he praises**.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:168)

(197) Ndi-ba-bon-é **be-cul-a** e-khonsath-ini.
SM.1SG-OM.2-see-ANT SM.2.PTCP-15-sing-FV LOC-9.concert-LOC
*I saw them **while they were singing** in the concert.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:169)

In a number of grammars, e.g. Bennie (1939:103), Davis (1872:71), McLaren (1936:80), Riordan et al. (1969:342), Pahl (1983), Oosthuysen (2016:233-235), the Infinitive is treated as a 'mood'[418]. However, as a non-finite verb form the Infinitive does not express modal meaning. This is why the 'Infinitive mood' is not an adequate term. It is only in particular syntactic positions that the Infinitive of intransitive verbs (followed by possessive pronouns) exhibits temporal semantics akin to temporal adverbials.

3.13. Imperative

The Imperative mood is typically used for instructions and commands. This is the only mood in which SM is omitted from the verb. Namely, it consists of a root and FV, cf. (198). In the Plural

[418] Counter-examples include Louw & Jubase (1963:168-169) and Davey (1973:9-10, 12, 24-25).

form which is directed at more than one addressee, *-ni* is added after FV, cf. (199). Monosyllabic verbs obtain *yi-* in front of the verb root (200), whereas vowel roots are preceded by an initial *y-* (201).

(198) **Hlal-a** phantsi!
sit-FV down
Sit down*!*

(199) **Ngen-a-ni**!
enter-FV-IMP.2PL
Come (pl.) ***in****!*

(200) **Yi-ty-a**!
IMP-eat-FV
Eat*!*
(Bryant 2007:149)

(201) **Y-akh-a**!
IMP-build-FV
Build*!*
(Bryant 2007:149)

As already explained in section 3.9 (cf. 78), when an OM is included in the command or instruction, the Subjunctive mood is used instead of the Imperative mood. The negated, Prohibitive form consists of verb *musa* (IMP.2PL *musani*) ('do not') followed by the Infinitive. Often the Prohibite is contracted to a prefix, *suku-* (NEG.IMP.2PL *sanuku-*), cf. (202-203). No temporal or aspectual distinctions are attested in this mood.

(202) **Musa** u-ku-ngxol-a! = **Suku-ngxol-a**!
PROH AUG-15-make=noise-FV PROH-make=noise-FV
Don't make noise*!*
(Bryant 2007:149)

(203) **Musa-ni** u-ku-mosh-a! = **Sanuku-mosh-a**!
PROH-2PL AUG-15-make=mess-FV PROH.2PL-make=mess-FV
Don't (pl.) ***mess****!*
(Bryant 2007:149)

3.14. The affixes -sa-, sele-, -ka-, -kwa-, -ngá-

The high-toned infix *-sa-*[419] ('still') indicates an event that (**still**) **continues** to hold. In the literature, it is known as the 'Progressive form' (Louw & Jubase 1963:173-174, Riordan et al. 1969:93, Davey 1973:121), 'Progressive aspect' (Athanasopoulos & Bylund 2014:434[420], Canonici 1990:52[421]) or '**persistive aspect**' (Nurse 2008:145-148, 172, Rose et al. 2002:64, Oosthuysen 2016:315). It is inserted directly after SM and it occurs in all Indicative tenses and Participial forms, cf. (204-207). The Present disjoint marker *-ya-* is omitted when *-sa-* ('still') occurs in the verb, cf. (204). In compound verb forms with auxiliaries *-ba* ('be') and *-ya* ('go'), *-sa-* ('still') occurs after the second, Participial verb's SM, cf. (205). In the Recent Past, it obtains a stative interpretation which refers to the resulting state[422], cf. (206). In negative verbs, *-sa-* ('still') denotes *no longer* (207).

(204) **Ndi-sa-m-bon-a**.
SM.1SG-PERS-OM.1-see-FV
I still see her/him.
(Louw & Jubase 1963:173)

(205) **Ndi-za=ku-be** **ndi-sa-dlal-a**.[423]
SM.1SG-FUT-be-ANT SM.1SG-PERS-play-FV
I will still be playing.
(Nyembezi 1970:314)

[419] The high tone of the infix *-sa-* ('still') affects the tonal structure of the verb. Louw & Jubase (1963:174) draw the readers' attention to the fact that vowel verbs in the Present Participial have a lower tone in the last syllable (e.g. *xa ndisákhà* 'when I build', *xa ndisénzà* 'when I do') than their orthographically identical Indicative counterparts with *-sa-* (*xa ndisákhá* 'when I still build', *xa ndisénzá* 'when I still do'). Furthermore, before copulatives, *-sa-* ('still') changes to *-se-* (Pahl et al. (eds.) 1989:149).

[420] Bylund & Athanasopoulos (2014:434) acknowledge the existence of this infix in Swati, Sesotho and Tswana, but not in Xhosa.

[421] In fact, Canonici (1990:51) refers to this infix as the 'progressive-durative aspect'.

[422] McLaren (1936:131-132) reports that *-sa-* occurs in the Present and the Future tenses of the Indicative (as well as in the Present and Future Participial), adding that in the Recent Past (and Past Participles) this infix is restricted to intransitive verbs. However, all examples in the literature in which *-sa-* is found in the Recent Past involve inchoative verbs (cf. McLaren 1936:132, Bryant 2007:175, Oosthuysen 2016:315). The sentence in (206) is a rare (if not the only) example from the literature illustrating *-sa-* in the Recent Past with a non-inchoative verb. It would be logical to assume that the stative interpretation in (206) that Louw & Jubase (1963:173) report only is available with punctual (intransitive) predicates like *-ya* ('go').

[423] The original sentence is in Zulu and it has been translated to Xhosa here.

(206) **Ú-sa-y-ile**.
SM.1-PERS-go-ANT.DISJ
He is still gone.[424]
(Louw & Jubase 1963:173)

(207) **Aba-sa-phendul-i**.
NEG.SM.2-PERS-answer-NEG
They are no longer answering.
(Oosthuysen 2016:315)

The infix *-ka-* ('not yet') occurs only in the negative paradigms of the Indicative mood[425] and in Participials. It is inserted after the negative SM, cf. (208-210).

(208) **Ali-ka-sondel-i** i-xesha lo-ku-lim-a.
NEG.SM.5-EXP-approach-NEG AUG-5.time POSS.5-15-plough-FV
The time to plough ***has not yet come near***.
(Oosthuysen 2016:316)

(209) **Asi-ka-fund-i** si-Xhosa.
NEG.SM.1PL-EXP-learn-NEG 7.Xhosa
We have not yet studied *Xhosa.* / ***We are not yet studying*** *Xhosa.*
(Bryant 2007:177)

(210) **Andi-ka-zu=ku-hamb-a**.
NEG.SM.1SG-EXP-NEG.FUT-walk-FV
I will not walk yet.
(Louw & Jubase 1963:188)

In the Participial, the negation infix *-nga-* precedes *-ka-* ('not yet') and changes to *-nge-*, cf. (211). In compound verb forms, *-ka-* ('not yet') occurs in the second, Participial verb, cf. (212).

(211) We-mk-a **be-nge-ka-fik-i**.
SM.1.REMPST-leave-FV SM.2.PTCP-NEG-EXP-arrive-NEG
He left ***before they arrived***.
(Louw & Jubase 1963:188)

[424] The original translation does not use the adverb *still*, which I have added in accordance with the description of the semantics of this infix in the literature.
[425] Including the relative verbs or relative forms that are described in section 3.15.

(212) **Ube-nge-ka-hamb-i**.
SM.1.be.ANT-NEG-EXP-walk-NEG
He did not walk yet.
(Louw & Jubase 1963:188)

In some studies on other Bantu languages, the semantic equivalents of *-ka-* ('not yet') are classified as markers of a category termed **Expectational** (='(un)expected'[426]), e.g. in Swahili (G40) (Schadeberg 1990) and Nen (A44) (Mous 2002) (Rose et al. 2002:30-31). In Rose et al. (2002:30-31), the Expectational is described as a 'modal' marker intertwined with temporality and aspectuality. Oosthuysen (2016:316) classifies *-ka-* ('not yet') as the 'exclusive aspect'. The translation of *-ka-* ('not yet') in the Present tense includes both the anterior and the progressive perspectives, as shown in (209).

The auxiliary verb *-sele* or *-se* ('already'; both forms will be referred to with *-se* only) includes the meanings of **already** and **now** (Louw & Jubase 1963:186). The auxiliary -se ('already') occurs in compound verbs with Participials (like the Imperfective, Anterior and Prospective verbs), occupying the same position as the auxiliaries *-ba* ('be') and *-ya* ('go'). Similar to the Imperfective, Anterior and Prospective compound verbs, compound verbs with *-se* ('already') have contracted forms in which the auxiliary verb merges with the SMs to create new specialised SMs, cf. (213-215). Equivalents of *-se* ('already') in other Bantu languages have been classified as the category of **Counter-Expectational** ('unexpected'; Schadeberg 1990, Mous 2003, Rose et al. 2002:30-31), i.e. as a grammaticalised expression which indicates that an event occurs sooner than expected. Auxiliary *-se* ('already') also matches Dahl & Wälchli's (2016) gram-type **iamitive**, a high-frequency grammaticalised category which occurs with both stative and dynamic predicates and which expresses the meaning similar to *already*.

(213) ndi-sele ndi-hamb-a > ndi-se ndi-hamb-a > **sendi**-hamb-a
SM.1SG-UNEXP SM.1SG-walk-FV SM.1SG.UNEXP-walk-FV
I walk now/already

(214) u-sele u-hamb-a > u-se u-hamb-a > **sewu**-hamb-a
SM.2SG-UNEXP SM.1SG-walk-FV SM.2SG.UNEXP-walk-FV
you walk now/already

[426] Schadeberg's (1990) original German term is *das Unerwartete* ('the unexpected').

(215) ú-sele e-hamb-a > ú-sel' e-hamb-a > **sele**-hamb-a
SM.1-UNEXP SM.1.PTCP-walk-FV SM.1.UNEXP-walk-FV
she/he walks now/already

According to Louw (1971, mimeographed lecture notes)[427] and Davey (1973:122), the infix -*kwa*- ('as usual') occurs immediately after SM and it has a habitual meaning, i.e. **as usual**[428], cf. (216). It is restricted to affirmative verbs.

(216) **Ba-kwa-lwa**.
SM.2-HAB-fight
They are fighting as usual.
(Davey 1973:122)

The abovementioned infixes -*sa-, -ka*- and the auxiliary verb -*se*, do not seem to represent purely aspectual categories. They are understood here primarily as expressions of **phasal polarity**, i.e. as 'polarity in a sequential perspective' (van Baar 1997:40). Namely, phasal polarity items indicate that one of the two subsequent event phases holds, the other one does not (Kramer 2017; cf. also van Baar 1997:40, Kramer 2021)[429]. The infix -*kwa*- could semantically qualify to represent a marker of Habitual aspect. However, its underrepresentation in the literature suggests that it is not a prominent element in the TAM system of Xhosa.

The last infix to be mentioned in the present section is -*ngá*- (not to be confused with the already introduced low-tone negative morpheme -*ngà*-). It is often mentioned as the '**potential** mood' (Mncube 1957:114, Riordan et al. 1969:289, Ziervogel et al. 1976:89, Doke 1954:197-198), 'potential form' (Louw & Jubase 1963:97, Pahl 1967[430], Davey 1973:9, 110-116), 'potential aspect' (Oosthuysen 2016:316-318). Like -*sa*-, -*ka*-, and -*kwa*-, -*ngá*- is also infixed

[427] Davey (1973:122).
[428] Louw & Jubase (1963:208-209) and Oosthuysen (2016) also account for a different infix/prefix, *(-)kwa*-. According to Louw & Jubase (1963:208), its closest counterpart in English is the adverb *even*. Oosthuysen (2016:318-319) labels it the 'inclusive aspect' which, as an infix has the meaning of adverb *also*, and when prefixed, it conveys the meaning of *including (when)*. It is not clear what the connection is between these two meanings, and even less so between this infix/prefix and the Habitual -*kwa*- ('as usual') described in Davey (1973:122).
[429] One of the parameters of phasal polarity that is linked to information structure in that it indicates whether or not the hearer expects a phase to occur (cf. Kramer 2017).
[430](Davey 1973:9).

after SM and it expresses the possibility of an event's actualisation, cf. (217-218). It occurs with Indicative and Participial verbs. Only the SM.1 of the Indicative mood changes to *a-*, cf. (219). When occurring in negated verbs, it changes to *-nge-*.

(217) **Ndi-ngá-kw-enz-el-a** ntoni?
SM.1SG-POT-15-do-APPL-FV what
*What **may/can I do for you**?*
(Bryant 2007:163)

(218) **Si-ngá-bon-a** i-nto apha.
SM.1PL-POT-see-FV AUG-9.thing here
***We may see** something here.*
(McLaren 1936:131)

(219) **A-ngá-hamb-a** si-za=ku-ty-a.
SM.1.POT-POT-walk-FV SM.1PL-FUT-eat-FV
***Should he go** we will eat.*
(Davey 1973:116)

The infix *-ngá-* covers a range of modal meanings, from permission to ability and possibility (Bennie 1939:126, Bryant 2007:163). It also occurs in conditional clauses (McLaren 1936:129, Davey 1973:110, 116), cf. (219). As such, *-ngá-* is complementary with *-noku-* 'be able/can' (< -na uku- < -nakho uku-), which indicates (not necessarily knowledge-based) ability, and with verb *-kwazi* ('know how to'), which refers to the level of knowledge or proficiency. Related to *-ngá-* is the auxiliary verb *-nga* ('wish, should')[431], the first verb (sometimes without SM) in compound verbs with Participials (McLaren 1936:128-129). It denotes counterfactual events, as illustrated in the consequent of example (161=220), or duty and obligation (221). It can be concluded that *-ngá-* expresses both dynamic and deontic event modality.

(220) Ukuba be-ndi-fumen-e i-dilesi ya-bo,
if SM.1.be.ANT-get-ANT AUG-9.address POSS.9-2
nge-ndi-ba-mem-ile.
COUNTERFACT-SM.1SG-OM.2-invite-ANT.DISJ
*If I had found their address, **I would have invited them**.*
(Bryant 2007:209)

[431] McLaren (1936:128-131), Mini et al. (eds.) (2003:501).

(221) **Ndi-nge** **ndi-hamb-a**.
SM.1SG-POT.ANT SM.1SG-walk-FV
I ought to go now.
(McLaren 1936:129)

3.15. Relative forms

The **relative constructions**, **relative forms** or **relative verbs** are verb forms which express the meaning of relative clauses, and are referred to by some authors as the 'relative mood' (du Plessis & Visser 1992:152, 183ff, Oosthuysen 2016:213-220). Relative verbs occur in all the Indicative tenses, including the (Imperfective, Anterior and Prospective) compound verbs.

Relative verbs have several types of SMs which depend on the antecedent's syntactic role (in the relative verb) and on its augment (pre-prefix on the antecedent noun). When the subject of the relative verb coincides with the antecedent noun which has an augment, the relative verb has a type of SM which I refer to as **relative markers** (**RM**). Most relative RMs probably stem from an underlying ***a***- added to the Indicative SMs: e.g. REL *a*- + SM.4 *i*- > RM.4 *e*-; REL *a*- + SM.2 *ba*- > RM.2 *aba*-; or ***e***- for SM.5, SM.7, SM.9, and SM.10: e.g. REL *e*- + SM.5 *li*- > RM.5 *eli*-. Consider RM of 1st class (RM.1), *o*- in relative verbs with different TAM categories in (222-228).

(222) U-m-ntwana **o-fund-a** kakuhle ú-ya-phumelel-a.
AUG-1-child RM.1-learn-FV well SM.1-DISJ-succeed-FV
*A child **that learns** well achieves success.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:218)

(223) U-m-ntwana **o-za=ku-fund-a** kakuhle.
AUG-1-child RM.1-FUT-learn-FV well
*The child **that will learn** well.*

(224) U-m-ntwana **o-fund-é** kakuhle.
AUG-1-child RM.1-learn-ANT well
*The child **that learnt** well. / The child **that has learnt** well.*

(225) U-m-ntwana **o-fund-ile-yo**.
AUG-1-child RM.1-learn-ANT-DISJ
*The child **that learnt**. / The child **that has learnt**.*

(226) U-m-ntwana **o-be-fund-a** kakuhle.
AUG-1-child RM.1-learn-FV well
*The child **that learnt** well. / The child **that has learnt** well.*

(227) U-m-ntwana **o-wa-fund-a** kakuhle.
AUG-1-child RM.1-SM.1.REMPST-learn-FV well
*The child **that learnt well**.*

(228) U-m-ntwana **o-waye-fund-a** kakuhle.
AUG-1-child **R** RM.1-SM.1.REMPST-learn-FV well
*The child **that was learning** well. / The child **that learnt** well.*

When the subject of the relative verb is not the antecedent noun, instead of RM the relative verb obtains what I will label here as **subject relative marker** (**SBJRM**). SBJRM and RM are identical for most noun classes[432]. An exception is 1st class in which SBJRM is *a-* instead of RM *o-*, cf. (229-230). Also, relative verbs in which the subject is 1st and 2nd person Singular and Plural, have only SBJRM and not RM, cf. (231-232).

(229) Na-nzi ii-keyiki **a-zi-phek-a-yo** u-Nomsa.
PRES-10.PROX AUG.10-cake SBJRM.1-OM.10-cook-DISJ AUG-1a.Nomsa
*Here are the cakes **that** Nomsa **is baking**.*
(Bryant 2007:135)

(230) I-nja **a-dlal-a** na-yo u-m-ntwana.
AUG-9.dog SBJRM.1-play-FV COM-9 AUG-1-child
*The dog **that** the child **plays** with.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:219)

(231) A-manzi **endi-wa-sel-a-yo**.
AUG-6.water RM.1SG-OM.6-drink-FV-DISJ
*The water **that I drink**.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:218)

(232) I-moto **enda-yi-thand-a-yo** yi-Ford.
AUG-9.car SBJRM.1SG.REMPST-OM.9-like-FV-DISJ COP-9.Ford
*The car **which I admired** was Ford.*
(Mncube 1957:134)

[432] In relative clauses in which the subject does not coincide with the antecedent, I will continue to refer to RM instead of SBJRM, as long as the two forms are identical.

Whenever the antecedent of the relative verb does not have the augment, SM is used instead of RM. Consider example (233) in which the augment is replaced by the demonstrative pronoun.

(233) Na-nku lo m-ntu **u-fund-is-a** a-ba-ntwana.
PRES-1.PROX DEM.PROX.1 1-person SM.1-learn-CAUS-FV AUG-2-child
*Here is this person **that teaches** children.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:213)

Relative verbs also exhibit the conjoint/disjoint distinction, whereby the disjoint form is marked (in all tenses but the Future tenses and the compound verb forms) with the suffix *-yo* (Mncube 1957:134). The disjoint Present tense form is not marked with the infixed *-ya-*. In the Recent Past, the suffix *-ile* is thus followed by *-yo*, cf. (225), as opposed to the conjoint *-é* (unless it is in the imbricated form) (Mncube 1957:134). Like the Participial, negation is marked with the infixed *-nga-*, while FV changes to *-i* or *-anga* (depending on the tense). Unlike the Participial, *-s-* or *-si-* is not inserted before vowel verbs or monosyllabic verbs, respectively, but RMs/SBJRMs which consist of a single vowel do obtain an inserted sound: *-w-* after *a-* or *o-*, and *-y-* after *e-*.

RMs are not only attached to verbs. To express a possessive relative clause, a RM which agrees with its antecedent (the possessor) can be prefixed to the noun (the possessed) instead of its augment. Depending on whether the augment in the possessor-antecedent noun is present or not, the possessive relative clause may have SM (234) or RM (235).

(234) **Loo** **m**-ntu **u-sandla** s-om-ile-yo.
DEM.MED.1 1-person SM.1-7.hand SM.7-dry=up-ANT-DISJ
*That person **whose hand** is dried up.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:219)

(235) **U-m**-ntu **o-gama** li-ngu-Andile.
AUG-1-person RM.1-5.name SM.5-COP-1a.Andile
*A person **whose name** is Andile.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:219)

Relative verbs occur in subordinate temporal, causal and concessive clauses, cf. (236-239), where instead of RM, they have *-a* for 1st class (SBJRM.1), and SM for the other classes (du Plessis & Visser 1992:183-222, Oosthuysen 2016:219-220). In the temporal clauses, relative

verbs are often interchangeable with the corresponding Participials[433], without indicating any semantic change, cf. (238-239).

(236) Y-enz-a njengoko u-tata **a-fun-a-yo**.
IMP-do-FV as AUG-1a.father SBJRM.1-want-FV-DISJ
*Do as father **wants**.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:213)

(237) Nangona **a-zam-a-yo** aka-phumelel-i.
although SBJRM.1-try-FV-DISJ NEG.SM.1-succeed-NEG
*Although **he/she tries**, he/she does not succeed.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:219)

(238) Xa **ba-fund-a-yo** = Xa **be-fund-a**
when SM.2-learn-FV-DISJ when SM.2.PTCP-learn-FV
*When **they study**.*
(Oosthuysen 2016:220)

(239) Mini **ndi-fik-a-yo** kwaku-si-n-a =
9.day SM.1SG-arrive-FV-DISJ SM.17.be.REMPST-INFIX-rain-FV
= Mini **ndi-fik-a** kwaku-si-n-a.
9.day SM.1SG-arrive-FV SM.17.be.REMPST-INFIX-rain-FV
*The day **I arrived** it rained.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:184)

An interesting diachronic development (or perhaps dialectal variation) has been captured in the literature since the time of the earliest studies on Xhosa: Bennie (1939:115) insists that temporal clauses introduced by *xa* ('when') must be followed by a relative verb (= 'Indicative') and that the Participials, which are allowed in Zulu, are 'quite wrong' in Xhosa. A little less than a century later, Oosthuysen (2016:220) notes that the Participials in these contexts are especially prominent in the eastern dialects of Xhosa, but that they have generally become 'widespread and [are now] recognised as acceptable in isiXhosa'. With respect to their semantics in these subordinate clauses, neither relative verbs nor Participials have an absolute temporal reference relative to the moment of speech, but they 'borrow' the temporal reference from the main clause, cf. (239-240).

[433] Present relative verb = Present Participial; Recent Past relative verb = Past Participial, etc.

(240) Xa **a-phum-ile-yo**, a-ba-ntwana ba-ya-ngxol-a. =
when SBJRM.1-exit-ANT-DISJ AUG-2-child SM.2-DISJ-make=noise-FV

= Xa **e-phum-ile**, a-ba-ntwana ba-ya-ngxol-a.
when SM.1.PTCP-exit-ANT.DISJ AUG-2-child SM.2-DISJ-make=noise-FV

*When **he is out**, the children make noise.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:185)

As already indicated in section 3.10, in *xa*-clauses neither relative verbs nor Participials can be used in the Remote Past tense, cf. (241)[434]. However, in the same position Imperfective compound verbs[435] which are acceptable, e.g. (242).

(241) *Xa **ndâ-fik-a-yo** nga-loo mini,
when SM.1SG-REMPST-arrive-FV-DISJ INSTR-DEM.MED.9 9.day

nda-fik-a[436] be-mk-ile. =
SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-arrive-FV SM.2.PTCP-leave-ANT.DISJ

= *Xa **ndâ-fik-a** nga-loo mini,
when SM.1.PSTSUBJ-arrive-FV INSTR-DEM.MED.9 9.day

nda-fik-a[437] be-mk-ile.
SM.1SG.PSTSUBJ-arrive-FV SM.2.PTCP-leave-ANT.DISJ

*When **I arrived** on that day, I arrived while they were gone.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:185)

[434] Du Plessis & Visser (1992:185) note however, that temporal clauses with *mini* '(on) the day that' and *mhlenikwezeni* 'the day that' licence the use of the Remote Past Participial. I am, however, sceptical, as to whether it is a Participial or a Past Subjunctive, because the authors mark the tone of the vowel in the SM of the verb form as high.

[435] Plessis & Visser (1992:185-186) note that it is impossible to tell whether Imperfective compound verbs in sentences like (240) are Participial or relative verbs. Note that in the present analysis, compound verbs cannot be only Paritcipial since they combine two verbs, an Indicative and a Participial verb.

[436] Du Plessis & Visser (1992:185) identify the tone of the SM in this verb form as high, i.e. *ndáfíkà*, which implies that it probably not the Indicative Remote Past tense, but a Past Subjunctive form.

[437] Du Plessis & Visser (1992:185) identify the tone of the SM in this verb form as high, i.e. *ndáfíkà*, which implies that it probably not the Indicative Remote Past tense, but a Past Subjunctive form.

(242) Xa **bendi-fik-a** nga-loo mini,
when SM.1SG.be.ANT-arrive-FV INSTR-DEM.MED.9 9.day
ndi-fik-e[438] be-mk-ile.
SM.1SG-arrive-SUBJ SM.2.PTCP-leave-ANT.DISJ
*When **I arrived** on that day, I arrived while they were gone.*
(du Plessis & Visser 1992:185)

By way of summary, the TAM categories expressed in the relative verbs are the same as in the rest of the Indicative paradigm (including the compound verbs). Relative verbs are primarily a syntactic category which does not express a specific modal meaning of its own. Hence, relative verbs cannot be characterised as a separate modal category (i.e. 'relative mood'). In addition, in temporal clauses, like Participials, relative verbs temporally align an event relative to the time of the main clause event.

3.16. Interim conclusion

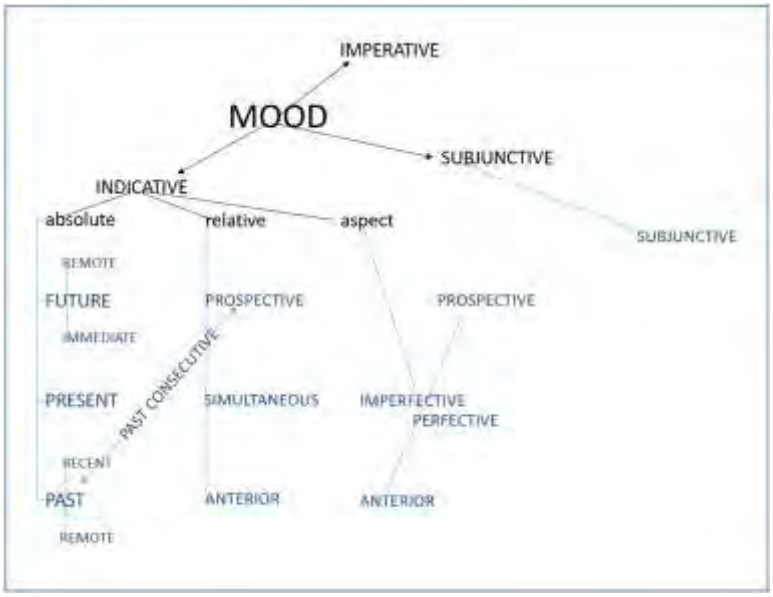
The present chapter provides a review of the literature on the grammatical expressions of TAM in the Nguni languages[439]. This overview enables the TAM markers' preliminary classification into (absolute or relative) **tenses**, **aspects** and **moods** following the definitions from Chapter 2.

At this point, it is evident that Xhosa has three moods: **Indicative**, **Imperative** and **Subjunctive**. As demonstrated in section 3.9, the Subjunctive mood denotes events whose **factuality** is **not asserted** (including their other temporal, modal and aspectual properties).

[438] Du Plessis & Visser (1992:185) identify the tone in FV in this verb form as low, i.e. *ndìfíkè*, which implies that it probably is not the Indicative Recent Past tense, but a Subjunctive form.
[439] Deficient verbs which express TAM have not been included here because they are treated as lexical rather than grammatical expressions.

The Indicative mood has the **Present** tense, as well as the **two Future** and the **two Past** tenses, shown in Figure 3.1. The semantic differences between the Past and the Future tenses could be linked to remoteness, modality, definite temporal reference, or current relevance.

Figure 3.1. *TAM in Xhosa based on the literature review*



So far, three aspects have been identified in Xhosa: The Imperfective, Anterior and the Prospective[440]. However, all verbs are supposed to encode aspectual information, including the non-compound Indicative verbs. As shown in Chapter 1, the Imperfective semantics is analysed in the context of the Perfective/Imperfective opposition. Therefore, we may assume that all verbs in Xhosa which are not Imperfective (or Anterior and Prospective), i.e. all the simplex (non-compound) verb forms of the Past and the Future tenses, encode the **Perfective** aspect.

In section 3.10, it was shown that the (aspectually marked) compound verbs only exist in the Past and the Future paradigms, but not in the Present tense. It is not surprising that the Present tense does not normally exhibit aspectual opposition. In the context of the Perfecitve/Imperfective opposition, the Present tense exhibits evident similarities with the Imperfective aspect since 'what happens at the moment of speech is ongoing rather than

[440] Note that the Anterior and the Prospective are shown twice in Figure 3.1, as they represent both aspects and relative tenses. The reason for this is the fact that the review of the literature does not provide enough evidence to exclude either aspect or relative tense from the Xhosa TAM system. Hence, the distinction between these two categories remains an important open question that is addressed in Part III.

complete' (Dahl 1985:80-81; cf. Comrie1976:72). Thus, I assume that **the Present tense in Xhosa only has the Imperfective aspect**[441]. However, the non-compound verbs in the Past and Future paradigms have the Perfective aspect in contrast with the Imperfective/Anterior/Prospective compound verbs.

Another issue which requires clarification concerns the positions of the Temporal (and the Infinitive with the temporal reference[442]), Participial (and relative verbs[443]), and the Past Consecutive within Xhosa TAM system. What all these forms have in common is that they belong to the Indicative mood and that their temporal reference relies on the Indicative main clause verb. However, they indicate different temporal locations of an event relative to the main clause event. The Past Participial and the Temporal indicate **anteriority** (of the entire event and of the onset of the event, respectively), the Present Participial indicates **simultaneity**, and the Future Participial and the Past Consecutive mark **posteriority**.

The Future Participial and the Past Consecutive differ in several ways. Firstly, being a relative tense (cf. section 2.3.2, Nurse 2008:120-123) the Past Consecutive asserts the event's factuality. This is not the case with the Future Participial. Secondly, since Past Consecutives (in one sentence) denote past event sequences, each of them functions as the new temporal anchoring for the following verb. It is unwarranted to expect that the Future Participial has the same property given its non-factual semantics.

Given the differences between the Past Consecutive, on the one hand, and the Participial and the Temporal, on the other hand, the latter cannot be treated as a relative tense. The only other category that indicates temporal location relative to another interval is aspect. However, because of the currently unresolved formal distinction between **relative tense** and **aspect**, it remains to be seen if Participials and Temporals can in fact be analysed as verb forms which encode aspect, but without their own temporal anchoring found in the compound verbs.

[441] Note that this conclusion only pertains to Xhosa. Languages in which verbs combine the present tense and the perfective aspect are not uncommon.
[442] In the remainder of this section, Temporals are not treated separately from the Infinitive with the temporal reference.
[443] In the remainder of this section, Participials are not treated separately from the relative verbs in temporal clauses.

4. Literature Review: Theoretical Frameworks

4.1. Introduction

This chapter expands on the most prominent views on the semantics of aspect and tense. It does so by providing an outline of the historical development and the current approaches to some recurring central questions regarding aspect, e.g. its distinction from tense, its relation with lexical aspect, its temporal and quantificational semantics. These different approaches will be addressed in the following chapters of the present study.

4.2. Earliest accounts of tense and aspect up until the 20th century

Some of the oldest references to temporal categories can be traced back to Plato's and Aristotle's recognition of the Ancient Greek Present, Past and Future tenses[444] (Herbig 1896:172). Aristotle notes in his text *On Interpretation* that verbs carry the notion of time, which is essential for the meaning of both tense and aspect. Although it was observed as early as in the Antiquity that aspectual differences are not semantically the same as the temporal ones, it took centuries before a systematic, conceptual distinction was between tense and aspect as two completely separate grammatical categories, which should be referred to using two different terms.

The earliest attestation of a term that semantically corresponds to the term *aspect* is the Ancient Greek *eîdos* 'view' used by the Ancient Greek (Alexandrian) grammarian Dionysius Thrax (lived ca. 170-ca. 90 BCE) (Herbig 1896:175, Porter 2003:18). This term was translated to Russian as *vid* '(a) view' by Smotryckij (1619), which in turn gave the French loan translation, *aspect*, first used by Reiff (1828, 1829) (Porter 2003:17). However, the way in which Thrax's *eîdos* and Smotryckij's *vid* were used differs significantly from the modern meaning of *aspect*. They rather referred to the distinction between, on the one hand, etymologically original forms of nouns, pronouns, and verbs and, on the other hand, their derivations, thus only partly referring

[444] However, they did not refer to the aspectually marked temporal forms; in other words, they did not explain why there are more verb forms that just 3.

the notion of aspectuality (Vinogradov 2001:393, Bécares Botas 2002:51-52, 58, 65-66, 74-76, Maslov 2004:521). At the same time, they treated the semantic differences between aspectually different verb forms as different (types of) tenses. In the absence of the term *aspect* in the modern sense, aspectual differences continued to be regarded as part of the temporal (tense) system, a view that lasted well into the 20th century (Maslov 2004:521, Wackernagel 2009:195, Hewson 2012:507-508).

As already mentioned, the recognition of tense and aspect as two different categories in their own right was a long process which consisted of multiple stages. It started with the observation that aspectual meaning somehow differs from the temporal meaning, first made in Antiquity. Thrax shows that he recognises the difference between the temporal and the aspectual meanings by classifying the Ancient Greek verbal paradigm into three tenses (Present, Past, and Future) and by treating the **Aorist**[445], the **Imperfect**[446], the **Perfect**[447], and the **Pluperfect**[448] as different types of one tense, namely the Past tense (Bécares Botas 2002:65, 68, Porter 2003:18-19, Maslov 2004:521). Similarly, the early Roman grammarian Marcus Terentius Varro (lived 116-27 BCE) notes in his treatise *De lingua latina* ('On Latin language'; VIII:20, IX:LIV.96, LIV.99-LVIII.101[449]) that the Latin Indicative paradigm consists of three tenses, the Past, the Present, and the Future, whereby each of these can be either *perfectus* 'Perfective' or *infectus* 'Imperfective' (Młynarczyk 2004:34, Hewson 2012:507). Thus, Varro was the first grammarian to notice the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition in the Future tense (Herbig 1896:177-178). The tripartite division of tenses into the Present, the Past and the Future was taken over by the Stoic grammarians[450] as well as by Apollonius Dyscolus (fl. 2nd century AD). However, they made no explicit reference to either the Perfective or the Imperfective aspects, despite occasional, rather basic remarks which concerned the semantics of aspectually marked verb forms. Dyscolus noted that the Ancient Greek verb forms that express the Imperfective aspect[451] denote an action's duration or its lack of completion, whereas those that mark the Perfective

[445] Verb form in which the Past tense is combined with the Perfective aspect.
[446] Verb form in which the Past tense is combined with the Imperfective aspect.
[447] Verb form in which the Present tense is combined with the Anterior aspect.
[448] Verb form in which the Past tense is combined with the Anterior aspect.
[449] Kent (1938:386-387, 516-521).
[450] Unlike Thrax's understanding of the Ancient Greek Perfect as one of four types of Past tense, the Stoics classified the Ancient Greek Perfect as a combination of the Present tense and Anterior aspect (Porter 2003:19-21).
[451] The example he gives is a Present Optative verb form.

aspect[452] denote a completed action (Camerer 1965:181-183, Householder 1981:66, 191, 204-205, Bécares Botas 1987:270-273, Porter 2003:18-19, Maslov 2004:521, Eco Conti 2009:1-22). Furthermore, the Stoic[453] grammarians divided the verbal paradigm into the verb forms that mark completion, mostly verb forms that encode the Perfective aspect[454], and those that do not (mostly verb forms that mark the Imperfective aspect[455]) (Bekker 1816:891-892, Porter 2003:20-22). It was the Stoic grammarians, e.g. Stephanos (Dickey 2007:101) who were the first to notice that the **Present**[456] and the Imperfect in Ancient Greek share the 'imperfective-durative' character[457].

Despite the awareness of the distinction between tense and aspect shared by Thrax, Dyscolus, the Stoic grammarians, and Varro, the analysis of the difference between the two categories was not further developed by the grammarians in the following centuries, until it eventually stopped being relayed. Thus, instead of verb paradigms as combinations of tense and aspect (2 tenses and 3 aspects in Ancient Greek, 3 tenses and 2 aspects in Latin) the habit of referring to the 'six tenses' in Greek and Latin continued until as late as the 20th century (Hewson 2012:507-510). This tendency was obviously also prevalent in the earliest grammars of the Slavic languages, in which the morphologically marked aspectual opposition between the Perfective and the Imperfective verbs is fully lexicalised, i.e. almost every verb[458] is either Perfective or Imperfective in both its finite and non-finite forms. In the Czech grammars of the 16th century (such as Optát, Gzell & Philomathes 1533, Blahoslav 1571, and Benešovský 1577), in Smotrickij's (1619) and Lomonosov's (1755) Russian grammars, as well as in Križanić's (1666) comparative grammar of the Slavic languages[459], the aspectually marked forms continued to be treated as part of the temporal (tense) system. However, in one of the grammars, Blahoslav (1577), basic awareness of the semantics of the imperfective aspect surfaced in the observation that what he inaccurately referred to as 'frequentative verbs' (in fact, Imperfective verbs) does

[452] The example he gives is an Aorist Optative form.
[453] Pitts (2013:262) points out that there are no authentic Stoic grammatical texts, but some of their work has been preserved in the grammatical and the logical tradition. Most of the Stoic teachings on tense and aspect is found in the commentaries on Thrax's grammar by Stephanos of Alexandria, a philosopher who lived in the 7th century AD (Porter 2003:20, cf. Bekker 1816:891-892).
[454] Such as the Perfect and Pluperfect.
[455] Such as the Imperfect and the Present.
[456] In which the Present tense is combined with the Imperfective aspect.
[457] However, the aspectual opposition between the Aorist and the Imperfect remained unnoticed.
[458] With an exception of a few biaspectual verbs.
[459] Despite the fact that Smotrickij (1619) and Križanić (1666) were the first ones to employ the term *vid*, but as mentioned at the beginning of this section, their use of the notion differs from its meaning in modern linguistics.

not only indicate an action's frequent recurrence or iteration, but it may also indicate a single action's durativity (Maslov 2004:527).

The first recognition of the aspectual opposition in a Slavic language was made in the 17th century Czech grammar by Vavrinec (1603). Using verbal morphological structure, he classified all Czech verb forms into two groups of verb roots, the so-called *prasens thema* and *futurum thema*, which in fact coincide with the Perfective and the Imperfective verbs, respectively[460] (Maslov 2004:528-536). Vavrinec (1603) viewed different forms in the verb paradigm (Past, Pluperfect, Future, etc.) as forms that are derived from the two 'themes' or verb roots. However, he did not use any particular term to refer to aspect and he did not draw a clear line of distinction between aspectual semantics and verbal morphology. Apart from his observation that the *praesens thema* (i.e. Imperfective verbs) denote incomplete actions, while the *futurum thema* (i.e. Perfective verbs) denote completed actions, he did not provide a more elaborate analysis of aspectual semantics. An interesting detail about Vavrinec's (1603) analysis is the fact that his understanding of aspect is based on time, as he named the two aspectual groups after the present and the future tenses.

An important study in which aspectual semantics became separated from verbal morphology is Rosa's (1672) Czech grammar. He noticed that all Czech verbs must be either Perfective or Imperfective (using the terms *Perfectum* or *Imperfectum*, respectively), irrespective of the verb's original or derived forms from the etymological point of view (Maslov 2004:538-546)[461]. Rosa's (1672) analysis of aspectual semantics is by far more detailed than in the previous studies. According to him, the Perfective aspect indicates completed events and events which are represented as existing facts, whereas the Imperfective aspect denotes events in progress, incomplete events, durativity of an event without mentioning its point of completion, or multiple events[462]. However, even though he acknowledged the fact that aspect is different from tense, Rosa (1672) continued the tradition of referring to aspect as part of the temporal system

[460] In Czech, Perfective verbs in the Present tense are by default interpreted as future events, unlike Imperfective verbs which have a present tense interpretation.

[461] Other Czech grammars that to some extent distinguish between tense and aspect include Drachovský (1660; published posthumously by Steyer (Drachovský lived 1577-1644)), Konstanc (1667), Steyer (1668), Jandit (1704), and Tomsa (1804).

[462] The semantic analysis of aspect did not undergo any significant development in the centuries that followed. It remained at a similar level even in some important studies from the beginning of 19th century, such as Vater's (1808) Russian grammar or Kopitar's (1808) grammar of Slavic languages.

(e.g. 'past perfective tense') and he did not employ one distinct term to refer to aspect only. Instead, he used the term 'significatio' which denoted not only grammatical aspect, but also lexical aspect (Aktionsart) and transitivity of any Czech verb. Thus, according to Rosa (1672), every Czech verb must be either telic or atelic, single or frequentative, transitive or intransitive.

A significant step towards the differentiation of tense from aspect was the introduction of a term that would refer to aspect without including tense. In his Russian grammar, Greč (1827a, 1827b, 1834) used the term *vid* to refer only to aspectual (and not temporal) categories marked on the verb. As already mentioned above, this term was translated as *aspect* into French in Reiff's (1828, 1829) translation of Greč's (1827a, 1827b) Russian grammar, thus giving birth to the modern term of the grammatical category. Several decades later came another important study that increased the awareness that tense and aspect are two distinct categories: In his Ancient Greek grammar, Curtius (1852), a German scholar who invented the term *Zeitart* ('kind of time') to refer to aspect, as opposed to *Zeitstufe* ('stage in time') which refers to tense (Herbig 1896:185, Wackernagel 2009:196-197).

However, as long as grammatical aspect continued to be mistaken for lexical aspect, the definition of the former as an independent grammatical category was not yet completed. Thus, well into the 19th century grammars recognised a whole array of 'aspects' in addition to the two main aspects, Perfective and Imperfective. A proper distinction between grammatical aspect and lexical aspect would surface only decades later. For example, Greč (1827a, 1827b) recognised the Perfective and the Imperfective aspects in the prefixed verbs only, and a 'definite' (i.e. telic), an 'indefinite' (i.e. atelic), an 'iterative' and a 'unitary'[463] aspect in non-prefixed verbs (Vinogradov 2001:396)[464]. Greč's (1827a, 1827b, 1834) identification of aspects with the different types of verbal morphological structure shows that the semantics of this category was not yet fully developed. Furthermore, many of Greč's (1827a, 1827b) numerous 'aspects' actually represent lexical aspect (Aktionsart) and not grammatical aspect[465]. This was also

[463] Denoting an event that occurs once.

[464] This is Greč's (1827a, 1827b) classification of what he considered the primary aspectual categories. Since he considered the Perfective and the Imperfective to be very similar in meaning, he reduced the number of primary aspectual categories from six to five; he also recognised five secondary aspectual categories which result from a combination of the primary ones. The secondary aspects include the 'perfective-singular', 'perfective-definite', 'perfective-indefinite', 'imperfective-definite', and 'imperfective-indefinite'.

[465] His 'aspectual categories' of the non-prefixed verbs indicate single occurrence, iteration, telicity or atelicity of an event, which is in fact part of the lexical meaning of the verb phrase, and it is as such encoded in the lexical aspect (Aktionsart). That telicity and iterativity are not equivalent to the perfectivity in the aspectual system is

common practice in the earlier studies, in e.g. the Czech grammars from the 16th and 17th centuries, Vater's (1808) Russian grammar[466], Tappe's (1810) Russian grammar, Boldyrev's (1812a, 1812b) studies of Russian verbs[467], and it continued in the following decades. In Vostokov's (1831) Russian grammar and in Langel'šel'd's (1839) article on Russian verbs, *vid*[468] still refers to the Perfective, Imperfective and 'frequentative' aspects[469]. Three or more Russian aspectual categories are also found in Pavskij (1842), Davydov (1852), Aksakov (1855), Nekrasov (1865), Buslaev (1863), who believe that aspectual categories represent different degrees on the scale of temporal duration (alternatively, event iteration or energy input)[470]. Even though the idea that Slavic in general only has two aspects (Perfective and Imperfective[471]) had been expressed earlier, in e.g. Rosa (1672), Kopitar's (1808) grammar of the Slavic languages, Katkov's (1845) study of Russian, Navratil's (1856) analysis of the Slavic verb, and in Miklošič's (1868-1874) comparative grammar of the Slavic languages, it developed gradually and it started gaining ground in the second half of the 19th century: Budilovič (1883) grouped five different aspectual categories into two primary aspects, a Perfective and an Imperfective,

confirmed by the fact that telic, atelic, and frequentative verbs in the Slavic languages must be either Perfective or Imperfective (i.e. they are also subject to the Perfective/Imperfective opposition).

[466] Vater (1808) is considered one of the most important studies of the Russian aspect because of its groundbreaking treatment of aspectually paired related verbs (verbs derived from the same stem with different aspectual marking) as separate verbs, a view seconded by Tappe (1810). Yet, Vater (1808) and Tappe (1810) were still not aware of the overall aspectual dichotomy of the Russian verb: Vater (1808) recognised three 'aspects' (perfective, imperfective and 'frequentative'), and Tappe (1810) four ('indefinite' (simplex imperfective), 'simple' (single occurrence), 'frequentative', and 'augmented' or 'prefixed' (perfective)) (Vinogradov 2001:393-394).

[467] Boldyrev (1812a, 1812b) believed that Russian has four aspects, the same as Tappe (1810). Nevertheless, note that Boldyrev (1812a, 1812b) contributed greatly to the clarification of the distinction between tense and aspect by recognising only two tenses in Russian: The Present and the Past (instead of 8 or 10 'tenses' as was common in earlier grammars), in addition to treating related verbs derived from the same root as separate (monoaspectual) verbs, and not different as numerous 'tenses' of one verb (Vinogradov 2001:394-395).

[468] Vostokov (1831) expressed the view that aspect refers to different moments of an event: The Perfective denotes the beginning and the end, while the Imperfective denotes the middle of the event (Vostokov 1831:100-101).

[469] The 'frequentative' aspect refers to the frequentative verbs which are marked with a suffix *-iva/yva-*. It is probably due to the semantic transparency of this morpheme that it became a common practice (reinforced by Vostokov (1931)) to (errouneously) treat the frequentative verbs as an aspectual category in its own right on par with the Perfective and Imperfective aspects (Vinogradov 2001:396), instead of treating them as a subgroup of the Imperfective aspect.

[470] Vinogradov (2001:397-400).

[471] With the exception of some Slavic languages, such as Bulgarian and Macedonian, which also have the Anterior (Perfect) aspect.

whereas Potebnja (1941; posthumous publication[472]), in his notes on Russian grammar recognised the dichotomy of Perfective and Imperfective verbs in Russian, but he did not use the term *vid* to refer to them[473].

The idea of the two aspects in Russian became fully established only in the studies that no longer perceived aspectual categories as different degrees on a scale, but which attempted to address (both the invariant and the context-dependent) aspectual semantics, such as Bogorodickij (1918) and Karcevski (1927) (Vinogradov 2001:405, Dickey 2000:16). Thus, Bogorodickij (1918), expanding on Miklošič's view (1868-1874), sees the Perfective verbs as verbs that denote an event's result or point of **completion**, as opposed to the Imperfective aspect which indicates the **duration** of an event in time. Similarly, Karcevski (1927) links perfectivity to the event's **result**. These related views, however, do not explain why inchoative Perfective verbs denote the beginning of an event. Another view on the aspectual semantics is provided by Razmusen (1891), Ul'janov (1895), Fortunatov (1895), and Šahmatov (1927)[474] who link perfectivity to the notion of a **limit** or a **bound** in time (Vinogradov 2001:408-409). Ul'janov (1895) claims the Perfective aspect indicates that the event occurs in a non-durative or a delimited durative period of time. Fortunatov (1895) sees the Perfective aspect as an indication that the event occurs within a delimited period of time, whereas the Imperfective aspect assigns the same event to an unlimited period of time. For Razmusen (1891), perfectivity means the event has reached its limit and that it is represented as a whole. By contrast, he finds that the Imperfective aspect indicates the event's progress towards the limit.

According to a third theory (**punctuality theory**) that recognises only two aspects in Russian, the Perfective aspect merges the beginning and the end of the event together into one **point**, while the Imperfective aspect is thought of as a line, in analogy with the spatial relation between a point and a line. This view is expressed in Curtius (1852)[475], in

[472] Aleksandr Afanas'evič Potebnja lived 1835-1891. His Russian grammar comprises four tomes. The last two tomes were published posthumously: 1st and 2nd tomes were published 1874, 3rd tome was published in 1899, and 4th and last tome was published in 1941.
[473] Potebnja viewed the meaning of perfectivity as a event's limit or as a result of an event (Vinogradov 2001:403). However, Potebnja (1941) considered perfectivity and imperfectivity to be a different category from the degrees on the scale of (countable number of) event repetitions and temporal duration (expressed in different, but aspectually related Russian verbs), a phenomenon to which he restricted the usage of *vid*.
[474] Šahmatov's (1927) allocation to the limit-theory is somewhat questionable, as his idea of aspect in Šahmatov's (1925) is primarily defined through the (non-)completion of the development of an action/state (Vinogradov 2001:405-406).
[475] Curtius (1875:268).

Meillet's (1903) comparative Indo-European grammar, in Brugmann's (1904:493-494) Indo-European comparative grammar, in Delbrück's (1874, 1897) studies on the Vedic verb and the comparative studies of Indo-European grammar (Vinogradov 2001:406), later taken over by De Saussure (1916; posthumous publication)[476], Peškovskij (1914, 1923), and Mazon (1908, 1914), whose conception of perfectivity is that it denotes punctual events[477].

The separation of grammatical aspect from lexical aspect was completed only when a special term was invented to refer to the latter. Although aspectual properties encoded in the verb, i.e. lexical aspect (such as telicity) had been described already in the Antiquity, e.g. by Aristotle (Maslov 2004:521) and later in Meigret's (1550) French grammar, Rosa (1672), and Navratil (1856), it was shown in the previous paragraph that they were regarded as part of the grammatical aspect as late as in 19th century grammars. Although Curtius's (1852, 1863) term *Zeitart*[478] (i.e. grammatical aspect) did not include actionality (aspectual classes which belong to lexical aspect), the two categories continued being confused, also in the Neogrammarians' works (Wackernagel 2009:199). For example, the perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition in Slavic was 'recognised' in the Germanic languages, but those phenomena are in fact part of lexical aspect, cf. Streitberg (1889). It was only in Agrell's (1908) account of Polish verbs that *Aktionsart*, a term originally introduced by Brugmann (1885)[479] as a replacement for Curtius's (1852) *Zeitart* (Herbig 1896:185), came to denote the lexical-aspectual properties of a verb phrase as opposed to grammatical aspect.

4.3. First half of the 20th century

In the previous section, we saw that in the course of the 19th century several theories of the perfective/imperfective aspectual semantics developed which prevailed in the field in much of

[476] Ferdinand de Saussure lived 1857-1913. *Course in General Linguistics* (Cours de linguistique generale) (1916) is compiled from notes on his lectures.
[477] Dickey (2000:16-17) considers the punctuality theory to be related to the **totality theory**, according to which perfectivity signals that an event is viewed as a whole. According to him, De Saussure is a representative of the latter: 'Saussure's and Comrie's definitions of totality lie close to Mazon's punctuality theory; it is easy to understand how the two are conceptually so close, since one of the easiest ways to view something as an indivisible whole is to view it as if it were a point.' (Dickey 2000:17).
[478] Curtius (1852, 1863:171ff, 1875:268ff) divides the Ancient Greek aspect (i.e. *Zeitart*) into three subcategories: perfective, imperfective, and perfect (anterior) aspects. None of them are part of lexical aspect.
[479] Brugmann (1990:469ff).

the 20th century. These include the view that the perfective aspect marks an event's **completion** or **result** (Miklošič 1868-1874, Bogorodickij 1918, Karcevski 1927), a **bound** or a **limit** (Razmusen 1891, Ul'janov 1895, Fortunatov 1895, Šahmatov 1927), a **point** in time (Curtius 1852, Meillet 1903, Brugmann 1904, Delbrück 1874, 1897, De Saussure 1916, Peškovskij 1914, 1923, Mazon 1908, 1914), or the **beginning point** and the **endpoint** (Vostokov 1831).

In the first half of the 20th century three scholars produced definitions which would eventually inspire some of the most prominent modern theories of tense and aspect. The first one was Guillaume (1929:21) who claimed that aspect 'evokes the image of a verb in its progress' (Hirtle 2007:30)[480]. Although too metaphoric in nature and despite potential inaccuracies and issues with verifiability, Guillaume's (1933, 1964:48) distinction between tense and aspect (1) represents one of the first attempts to define tense and aspect as two cross-linguistic categories, i.e. independently from a description of a particular language:

(1) Every differentiation of the time internal to the event involves aspect. […] Every differentiation of the time external to the event involves tense[481]. (Guillaume 1964:48)

Guillaume's (1929) definition was expanded by Holt (1943:6) (Hirtle 2007:30, Hewson 2012:511) who described aspect as 'various ways of conceptualizing the progress of the event'[482], a claim that would serve as a source of inspiration for Comrie's (1976:3) famous definition (cf. section 3.5.1). Around the same time came Otto Jespersen's (1933) characterisation of the progressive aspect ('expanded tense') in terms of the relation between the event ('action', 'state', 'situation') and a 'time frame', an idea which would influence a number of modern time-based accounts of aspect, e.g. interval semantics and relational theories (cf. section 4.6), see (2)[483]:

[480] « L'aspect … éveille … l'image même du verbe dans son déroulement » (Hewson 2012:511).
[481] « Est de la nature de l'aspect toute différentiation qui a pour lieu le temps impliqué. » […] « Est de la nature du temps toute différentiation qui a pour lieu le temps expliqué. » (Hewson 2012:511)
[482] « les manières diverses de concevoir l'écoulement du procès même »
[483] Jespersen (1987:209).

(2) If, then, the action or state denoted by the expanded tense is thought of as a temporal frame encompassing something else which as often as not is to be understood from the whole situation, we may represent the two sentences *he is writing* (now) and *he was writing* (when I entered) in the following diagrams:

He is writing

{he has begun writing} [now] {he has not stopped writing}

He was writing

{he had begun writing} [the moment of my entering] {he had not stopped writing}

4.4. Reichenbach (1947)

Reichenbach's (1947) study represents another significant semantic account of the English temporal system which shaped some of the modern time-based theories. The main premise is that the six English 'tenses' (which according to Reichenbach also include the Present/Past/Future Perfect forms, traditionally referred to as *relative tenses*[484]) cannot be merely defined by the **point of speech** (the 'now', the 'present moment', i.e. the moment at which the utterance is produced, henceforth **speech time** or **S**). S divides the timeline into a past, a present, and a future part and such a division would allow for 'only three tenses' (Reichenbach 1947:71), an observation which is, in fact, truthful if only absolute tenses are taken into account. Inspired by Jespersen (1924), Reichenbach (1947) introduces two other elements, which together in combination with S produce the nine English 'tenses': **point of the event** (henceforth **event time** or **E**) and **point of reference** (henceforth **reference time** or **R**)[485]. Those are the different relations between E and R that produce different verb forms in English (3-5), even though all the three events happened in the past (E precedes S). In (3), the event is in the past, but the time which is referred to in the sentence (and which is given by the context) is placed at another past point located after the event E. In other words, in (3) E is placed before another past point in

[484] Opposing views see these forms as a combination of an aspect (the Perfect or Anterior aspect) with an absolute tense (Past, Present, Future).

[485] Reichenbach (1947) takes over the three points' (R, E, S) as tools for the interpretation of the English temporal system from Jespersen (1924), who uses it only to account for the Past Perfect and the Future Perfect. Reichenbach (1947) extends Jespersen's three elements to all the three tenses.

time, R. In (4), E and R coincide, i.e. both the event and the time referred occur at the same past moment. In (5), R is placed at S, so the past event of eating is viewed from the present moment, the time that the sentence refers to.

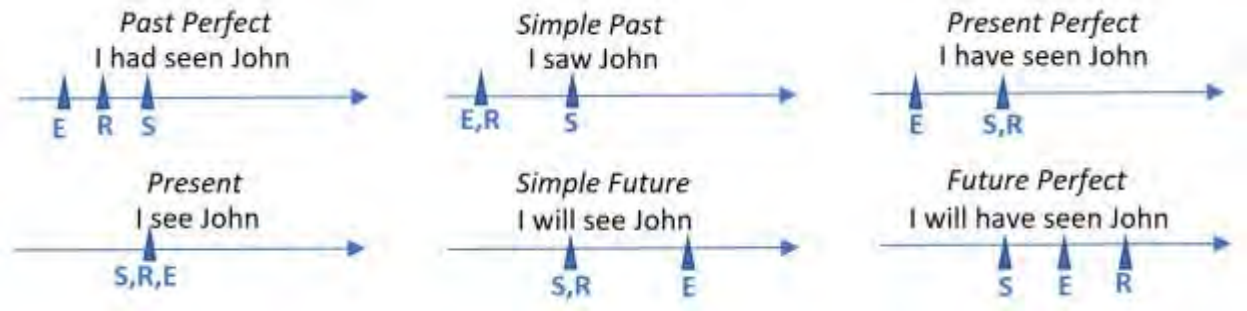
(3) Marry had eaten an apple. (E_R_S)

(4) Marry ate an apple. (E,R_S)

(5) Marry has eaten an apple. (E_R,S)

What Reichenbach (1947) sees as the six English 'tenses' is represented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. *Reichenbach's (1947:72) English six 'tenses' illustrated with the points of R, E, and S projected on the timeline.*



The importance of Reichenbach's (1947) study lies in the fact that he differentiates between the time at which the event occurred, E, and the time which the sentence refers to, R. Furthermore, he notes that time adverbials refer to time of R, and not that of E (Reichenbach 1947:75). Thus, in (6) and (7), the time at which the event occurred, E, is not the same, but the two sentences share the same R (*yesterday*)[486]. In (6), the event occurs within the time of reference R, whereas in (7) the event is located before R, as illustrated in Figure 4.1 with the Past Simple and the Past Perfect sentences (i.e. *I saw John* vs. *I had seen John*).

[486] Reichenbach (1947) does not overtly state, but he rather implies that R is somewhat synonymous with time adverbials. This is evident in his description of the principle of the **positional use of the reference point** (Reichenbach 1947:75): 'When we say, 'I had met him yesterday', what was yesterday is the reference point, and the meeting may have occurred the day before yesterday. We shall speak, therefore, of the positional use of the reference point; the reference point is used here as the carrier of the time position.'

(6) I met him yesterday.
(Reichenbach 1947:75)

(7) I had met him yesterday.
(Reichenbach 1947:75)

Reichenbach (1947) formulates the principle of **permanence of the reference point**, according to which clauses that form a compound sentence share the same R[487]. Thus in (8), the tense in the first clause has to be the Present Perfect so that its R is the same as that of the Future tense in the second clause. The R in the second clause coincides with S in the first clause.

(8) I haven't decided what train I will take.
1st clause: E1_R1,S
2nd clause: R2,S_E2
(Reichenbach 1947:74-75)

(9) *I didn't decide what train I will take.
1st clause: R1,E1_S
2nd clause: R2,S_E2
(Reichenbach 1947:75)

Narrative excerpts like (10) represent compound sentences in which R (located before S) is shared by all the clauses[488].

(10) I had mailed the letter when John came and told me the news.
1st clause: E1_R1_S
2nd clause: R2, E2_S
3rd clause: R3, E3_S)
(Reichenbach 1947:74)

Reichenbach (1947) does not provide a definition of what R represents. Nevertheless, the importance of his differentiation between R and E would enable the future studies to provide

[487] However, Reichenbach (1947) does state that this principle can be overruled by the principle of the positional use of the reference point, which is why in some complex sentences not all the clauses have to share their R, such as 'He was healthier when I saw him than he is now' (Reichenbach 1947:75-76).
[488] Reichenbach (1947) does not discuss the fact that in narrations each event temporally follows the preceding event, which means that R might not be a fixed point.

more accurate definitions of relative tenses and grammatical aspect. Reichenbach (1947) does address relative tenses and grammatical aspect, but unlike some of the above-described earlier studies from the preceding decades, he does not recognise them as grammatical categories in their own right, which is evident in his reference to the six English 'tenses'. He refers to the Progressive aspect in English as the 'extended tense'.

Figure 4.2. *Reichenbach's (1947:73) two out of six 'extended tenses', with R, E and S projected as intervals on the timeline.*

Besides a missing definition of R, another problem with Reichenbach's (1947) analysis is the fact that he views the Progressive aspect as a property of the event, rather than the relation between R, E or S manifests itself in his illustration of the Progressive aspect.Unlike the English six 'tenses', where R, E, and S are represented as points (cf. Figure 4.1), in the 'extended tenses', E is depicted as a prolonged line in Figure 4.2. This would imply that the properties of the events in *I read the book* and *I was reading the book* are somehow different, but in reality they are not. It is the perspective from which they are presented that is different[489]. Despite its shortcomings, Reichenbach's (1947) study remains influential as a number of modern studies of tense and aspect continue to rely on R, E, and S[490].

4.5. Lexical vs. grammatical aspect

In the second half of the 20th century, a new perspective on TAM came with the rise of the formal frameworks, more specifically the **generative grammar** and the **formal semantics**. In a

[489] In addition, Comrie (1976) points out that the three different formulas of the Future Perfect form, (i) E_S_R, (ii) S_E_R, and (iii) S,E_R, suggest that each of which should represent a different 'tense', which is not the case (Stowell 2012:188). However, understanding this as a form of syncretism would weaken Comrie's (1976) argument.

[490] Other important studies of tense from around the middle of the 20th century include Prior (1957, 1967). Prior (1957, 1967) views tenses as propositional operators. However, unlike Reichenbach (1947), Prior's (1957, 1967) work remained influential in logics and philosophy and not that much in theoretical linguistics (Stowell 2012:185).

great number of studies discussed in this section, grammatical aspect is defined partly or entirely via lexical aspect (especially telicity), as the two mechanisms are understood either as indistinguishable or as completemary.

4.5.1. Phasic theories

The understanding of lexical aspect and grammatical aspect as fundamentally the same grammatical category is especially prominent in formal semantics. In a group of studies which Binnick (2006) terms the **phasic theories** and which include Mourelatos (1978), Moens & Steedman (1987, 1988), and de Swart (1998), the notions that underlie their meaning are regarded as the same since both refer to the temporal structure of events (de Swart 1998:85, Binnick 2006:256). Aspectual markers (along with aspectualisers like *finish*, *begin*, etc. and temporal adverbials like *for half an hour*) simply serve to modify a predicate's default actional class[491] (situation type) into another one. Thus, the Perfect aspect transforms an achievement like *break* in (11) into the resulting state of that achievement like in (12), as is evident from the mutual entailment between the two sentences (Moens & Steedman 1987). By contrast, the Progressive aspect transforms the accomplishment *climb a mountain* in (13) into a Vendlerian activity (Moens & Steedman 1987).

(11) The windows **have broken**.
(Binnick 2006:257)

(12) The windows **are broken**.
(Binnick 2006:257)

(13) They **were climbing the mountain**.
(Binnick 2006:257)

Some studies within this approach see the distinction between lexical aspect and grammatical

[491] The phasic theories use various classifications into actional classes or situation types. Mourelatos (1978) classifies predicates into 'states', 'processes' (=Vendler's activities) and 'events' (=Vendler's achievements and accomplishments), whereas Moens & Steedman (1987) recognise only 'states' and 'events' (Vendler's activities, achievements, and accomplishments), whereby 'processes' (=activities) constitute a subclass of 'events'.

aspect as a difference in the syntactic level they operate on. In de Swart's (1998)[492] compositional model of grammatical and lexical **aspect** shown in (14), aspectual information is accommodated at three different levels (Borik 2002:85). The tenseless **eventuality description** at the lowest, predicational level in (15) is a (tenseless) proposition with its inherent actional class (situation type): An atelic[493] 'state', an atelic 'process' (=Vendlerian activity), or a telic (quantised) 'event' (=Vendlerian achievement and accomplishment). At the next (middle) level, these can be modified with an **aspectual operator**, such as the Progressive aspect or the Perfect aspect. Thus, a telic 'event' becomes an atelic 'process' with the Progressive aspect in (15). The process whereby an eventuality description is reinterpreted when its structural properties are in 'conflict' with the aspectual operator, de Swart (1998:349) terms **aspectual coercion**. More than one aspectual operator can be combined in a proposition, as shown in (15), where the Perfect and the Progressive aspects are combined together. The third, highest level contains the '**tense**'[494] **operators** which map the event onto the time axis and which are aspectually sensitive: Thus, the French Passé Simple[495] only takes quantised and the Imparfait[496] takes only homogenous events.

(14) [TENSE [ASPECT [eventuality description]]]

(15) Jane **has been writing a letter**.
[PRESENT[PERFECT[PROGRESSIVE[Jane write a letter]]]]
(de Swart 1998:356)

The idea of 'tenses' as **aspectual selectors** (selectors of an actional class) is also found in de Swart & Verkuyl (1999), and Michaelis (2004, 2006). For example, Michaelis (2004, 2006) sees the present tense as a **state selector**, cf. (16), while generic and habitual readings indicate that the state denotes the rests between the habitual events, cf. (17).

[492] De Swart (1998:348) shows that she distinguishes between lexical and grammatical aspect (at the level of syntax) because she uses different terms to uses to them: 'The model-theoretic notions underlying Aktionsart and aspect are the same and can be captured by introducing states, processes and events as ontological entities into the model'. Her awareness of this distinction is confirmed in (14).
[493] According to Borik (2002:85), de Swart (1998) probably defines telicity in terms of homogeneity (i.e. homogenous/quantised distinction).
[494] i.e. finite verb forms which express both tense and aspect.
[495] In my analysis, the French Passé Simple is a form combining the Past tense and the Perfective aspect.
[496] In my analysis, the French Imparfait is a form combining the Past tense and the Imperfective aspect.

(16) Susan **is tall**.
(Binnick 2006:259)

(17) Susan **swims**.
(Binnick 2006:259)

In the related **selection theories** of aspect, e.g. Johanson (1971, 1996, 2000), Bickel (1996, 1997, 2000), Breu (1984, 1985, 1994), the lexical aspect of predicates can consist of two types of configurations (and their combinations): a boundary [τ] and a phase between the boundaries [φ] (Sasse 2002:222-225). While the perfective aspect is a τ-selector, the imperfective aspect is a φ-selector (Sasse 2002:223, cf. Sonnenhauser 2006).

A revised version of de Swart's (1998) compositional analysis of aspect is provided by Bary (2009) who argues for a replacement of tense operators with aspectual operators[497]. Thus, only aspectual operators participate in the formation of aspectual meaning: They transform all predicates regardless of their initial structure at the sentential level. The Perfective aspect is a **quantiser**, i.e. an operator which transforms any predicate into a quantised one, whereas the Imperfective aspect is a **homogeniser**, which means that it transforms any predicate into a homogenous predicate. Bary (2009) uses examples from Ancient Greek (18-19) to illustrate two quantised predicates which become homogenous through the Imperfect forms, while acquiring a new interpretation[498]. Whereas the verb *ēlaune* ('was marching') in (18) acquires a **progressive** interpretation, *edidou* ('he gave') in (19) obtains a **habitual** reading.

(18) Ancient Greek
Entha kai to hiron harma katalipōn tou
there PRT DEF.ACC sacred.ACC chariot.ACC leave.PTCP.AOR DEF.GEN
Dios hote epi tēn Hellada **ēlaune**, apiōn
Zeus.GEN when to DEF.ACC Greece.ACC march.IMPF go=back.PTCP.AOR
ouk apelabe …
not get=back.AOR
*After he (Xerxes) had left the sacred chariot of Zeus there when he **was marching to Hellas**, on his way back he did not get it back (…)*
(Herodotus, *Histories*, 8.115, cited in Bary 2009:36)

[497] Bary (2009) analyses the French Passé Simple and Imparfait as verb forms which encode the Perfective and Imperfective aspects, respectively.
[498] Bary's (2009) habitual and progressive interpretations have been taken from de Swart's (1998) analysis of French examples.

(19) Ancient Greek

dōra	**hoi**	ana	pan	etos	**edidou**,	kai
presents.ACC	he.DAT	PREP	every.ACC	year.ACC	give.IMPF	and

tēn	Babylōna	hoi	edōke.
DEF.ACC	Babylon.ACC	he.DAT	give.AOR

*Every year he **gave him presents** and (once) he gave him Babylon.*
(Herodotus, *Histories*, 3.160, cited in Bary 2009:36)

Inherently homogenous predicates also acquire a new, bounded interpretation when combined with the Perfective aspect, which makes them quantised predicates at the sentential level. The Aorist form of the homogenous verb *edakruse* ('(he) wept') in (20) indicates the beginning of the eventuality of weeping, which Bary (2009) calls the **ingressive** interpretation. A homogenous predicate combined with the Perfective aspect may also obtain the so-called **complexive** interpretation which refers to the entire eventuality, from its beginning to its end, e.g. the Aorist atelic participle *basileusanta* ('(he) had reigned') in (21).

(20) Ancient Greek

enthauta	ho	Xerxēs	heōuton	emakarise,		meta
then	DEF.NOM	Xerxes.NOM	himself.ACC	declare.happy.AOR		after

de	touto	**edakruse**.	Mathōn	de	min	Artabanos
and	that.ACC	weep.AOR	perceive.PTCP.AOR	PRT	him.ACC	Artabanos.NOM

…	dakrusanta	eireto	tade: (…)
	weep.PTCP.ACC	ask.AOR	this.ACC

*Then Xerxes declared himself happy, and presently he **started to weep**. Perceiving that he had begun to weep, Artabanos questioned him, saying (…).*
(Herodotus, Histories, 7.45-46, cited in Bary 2009:38)

(21) Ancient Greek

Aiguptioi	meta	ton	hirea	tou	Hephaistou
Egyptians.NOM	afer	the.ACC	priest.ACC	the.GEN	Hephaestus.GEN

basileusanta …	estēsanto	duōdeka	basileas
be.king.PTCP.ACC	set=up.AOR	twelve	kings.ACC

*After the priest of Hephaestus **had reigned**, the Egyptians set up twelve kings.*
(Herodotus, *Histories*, 2.147, cited in Bary 2009:39)

The phasic theories provide valid observations about the evident similarities (e.g. regarding quantisedness/homogeneity) between certain actional and certain (grammatical) aspects. However, as already pointed out in section 2.4.2 on lexical aspect, the atelic but Perfective

delimitative[499] verbs in the Slavic languages serve as convincing evidence that **grammatical aspect (perfectivity) cannot be equated with lexical aspect (telicity)**. Consider Borik's (2002:55) homogeneity tests in examples (22) and (23).

(22) Russian

	Petja	**isk-al**	knig-u	polčasa.	→
	Petja.M.SG.NOM	search.IPFV-PST.M.SG	book.F-SG.ACC	half=an=hour	

*Petja **looked** for a book for half an hour.*

→	Petja	**isk-al**	knig-u	pjatnadcat'	minut.	
	Petja.M.SG.NOM	search.IPFV-PST.M.SG	book.F-SG.ACC	fifteen	minute.F.PL.GEN	

*Petja **looked** for a book for fifteen minutes.*
(Borik 2002:55)

(23) Russian

	Petja	**poisk-al**	knig-u	polčasa.	→
	Petja.M.SG.NOM	DEL.search.PFV-PST.M.SG	book.F-SG.ACC	half=an=hour	

*Petja **looked for** a book for half an hour.*

→	Petja	**poisk-al**	knig-u	pjatnadcat'	minut.	→
	Petja.M.SG.NOM	DEL.search.PFV-PST.M.SG	book.F-SG.ACC	fifteen	minute.F.PL.GEN	

*Petja **looked for** a book for fifteen minutes.*
(Borik 2002:55)

As expected, the atelic Imperfective verb **iskal** ('(he) looked for') holds for the given interval ('half an hour') as well as for its subinterval ('fifteen minutes'). The predicate in (22) is homogenous (=atelic) because '[p]arts of the predicate's denotation can be referred to by the same predicate' (Borik 2002:15). However, the same entailment holds for the Perfective delimitative **poiskal** ('(he) looked for') in (23). The Perfective predicate **poiskal** ('(he) looked for') in (23) is true both for the given interval of half an hour and for its subinterval of fifteen minutes. This means that **poiskal** ('(he) looked for') is atelic even though it is Perfective (cf. Borik 2002:53-66 for more tests for distinguishing telicity from perfectivity).

[499] 'By way of reminder, the delimitative *po-* predicates indicate a durative but a temporally restricted event (Isačenko 1962:391-394, cited in Comrie 1976:22f; Dahl 1985:75), unlike the imperfective aspect which is the unmarked aspectual choice for durative events. Being durative and atelic, the former combine with for-adverbials rather than with in-adverbials, but they are nevertheless Perfective.'

4.5.2. Verkuyl's (1972, 1993) compositionality theory

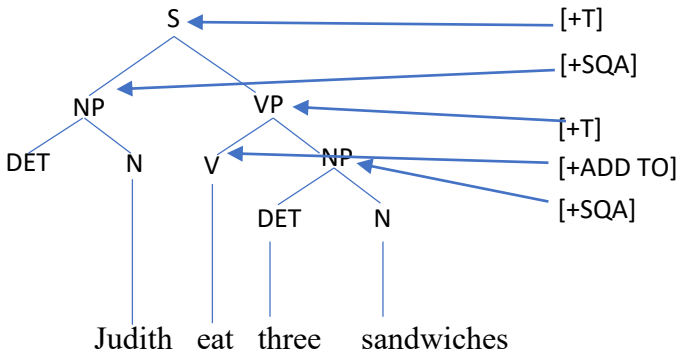
There are compositional studies of aspectual meaning that do not ascribe the same semantics to lexical aspect and grammatical aspect, such as Verkuyl's (1972, 1993) **compositionality theory**[500] which is particularly influential in the domain of lexical aspect. Verkuyl (1972, 1993) is one of the first accounts within the formal framework to acknowledge the fact that lexical aspect is determined not only by the lexical meaning of the verb, but also by other elements in the sentences (Borik 2002:21, Arsenijević 2006:25). In Verkuyl's (1972, 1993) view, tense and grammatical aspect[501] accommodate the (atemporal) actionality class (lexical class) of the tenseless sentence which must be determined first. He suggests that the telicity of a sentence is composed out of three features, [±SQA], [±ADD TO] and [±T], shown in Verkuyl's (1993:22) illustration in (24). **Additivity** [±ADD TO] is a feature pertains to the dynamicity[502] of the verb in the sentence, indicating whether the verb is stative ([-]-value) or dynamic ([+]-value). Feature [±SQA] (which stands for the 'specified quantity of A (argument)') assigns a [+]-value to NPs which are singular (countable) nouns, definite plurals or plurals with a cardinal numeral, whereas mass nouns and indefinite plurals obtain a [-]-value. [±T] represents 'terminativity', a term Verkuyl (1993) uses instead of the term *telicity*. Verkuyl (1993) views telicity (which is treated as lexical aspect) as a phenomenon distinct from grammatical aspect. When a [+ADD TO] verb is combined with a [+SQA] argument, they produce a predicate that is [+T]. All other combinations involve at least one [-]-value, thus producing a [-T] VP. The 'aspectual' (=actional) value of the sentence is a combination of the value of the highest level of VP as well as the subject NP, in the case of (22-23) NP's value [+SQA] and VP's value [+T] which produce a terminative (i.e. telic) sentence [+T].

[500] It is debtable if the earliest studies by Verkuyl could be placed within the generative framework since he points out that 'Chomsky's ban on interpretation as an obvious part of the linguistic toolkit governed and bound generative grammarians from the late sixties practically until the minimalist period began to emerge in the nineties' (Verkuyl 2012:572). Verkuyl (2012:572) adds that 'the study of aspect in those years was only possible outside the generative syntactic mainstream'.

[501] Verkuyl (1972, 1993) refers to both tense and grammatical aspect as *tense*, while he uses the term *aspect* to refer to the lexical aspect.

[502] In Verkuyl (1972) additivity is used instead of non-homogeneity (i.e. heterogeneity) of an action. Additivity is different from heterogeneity as it indicates whether or not every moment of an action is different from the previous moment.

(24)



(Verkuyl 1993:22)

(25) Judith **ate three sandwiches**.
(Verkuyl 1993)

(26) Jan **went home**.

The verb alone with its dynamicity, i.e. [±ADD TO], does not suffice to indicate telicity of a sentence. It is the fusion of the entity-related structure [±SQA], expressed by the NPs, with the event-related [±ADD TO], given by verbs, that form the so-called **path** which can be [-T] or [+T]. The positive value [+ADD TO] indicates that the path contains a scale of the atemporal **indices**, semantic entities which represent temporal intervals of the progress or structure of the denoted event. For example, a sentence like (24-25) has three indices, each indicating the completion of the consumption of one sandwich, irrespective of whether these occurred in a strict chronological order or with temporal overlap. By contrast, the predicate in (26) has one index, i.e. the moment in which the subject reaches the destination referred to as *home*. The number of a predicate's indices is determined by [±SQA] of the NPs.

According to Verkuyl (1993:318-328), tense and grammatical aspect[503] reflect the tenseless sentences position relative to the moment of speech, its actualised portion and quantification. In a later study (Verkuyl 1998), the part of the event path that is **actualised** is

[503] Verkuyl (1993:318-328) uses Government and Binding (GB)-syntax in his analysis. The Past and the Present are subsumed under INFL, head of IP which operates on a tenseless sentence S=(VP'). The Progressive represents a syntactic element PROG which operates on a tenseless structure and whose result is the input of INFL. By contrast, habituality is a result of the unbounded plural of INFL.

represented by the semantic operator ASP, which can have different values: ⊂ (partially actualised), ⊆ (entirely or partially actualised), and = (fully actualised). As demonstrated in the translations of Dutch examples (27-28), the English Progressive has value ⊂, whereas the Non-Progressive has the default aspectual value =, as the event of eating is fully actualised, i.e. completed by the time the event in the second clause begins. By contrast, the Dutch example in (27) gets the value ⊆ evidenced in the fact that the two clauses may temporally overlap. To rule out the reading of simultaneity between the two clauses in Dutch, the particle *op* ('up') has to be added to the first clause, as in (28).

(27) Dutch

Judith	**at**	drie	boterhamm-en	toen	ik	binnenkwam.
Judith	eat.PST	three	sandwich-PL	when	PRON.1.SG	enter.PST

*Judith **was eating** / **ate** three sandwiches when I came in*.
(Verkuyl 1993:9)

(28) Dutch

Judith	**at**	drie	boterhamm-en	**op**	toen	ik	binnenkwam.
Judith	eat.PST	three	sandwich-PL	up	when	PRON.1.SG	enter.PST

*Judith **ate** three sandwiches when I came in*.
(Verkuyl 1993:9)

The Russian and French Imperfective aspects have the value ⊆: As demonstrated by the different readings (a-b) in (29), the Imperfective may require the event be not entirely actualised (a), but it may also indicate that the event is complete (b). In other words, while nothing is asserted about the event's completion in the case of the Imperfective aspect (Comrie 1976:113, Verkuyl 1998:153-154), the Perfective aspect requires completion, indicating value = (Verkuyl 1998:149, Borik 2002:52). Thus, aspectual meaning can be said to be partly derived from **mereological** (part/whole) relations of event path actualisation.

(29) Russian

Julja	el-a	tri	buterbrot-a
Julja-F.SG.NOM	eat.IPFV-PST.F.SG	three.NOM	sandwich-M.SG.GEN

kogda	ja	vošl-a.
when	PRON.1.SG.NOM	enter.PFV-PST.F.SG

*a. Julia **was eating**/**ate** three sandwiches (when I came in).*
*b. Julia **has** (already) **eaten** three sandwiches (and this is why she is not hungry now).*
(Borik 2002:46, 52)

Verkuyl (1972, 1993) shows that lexical aspect operates at the level of the proposition: It does not only depend on the verbal semantics, but also on its nominal arguments (de Swart 1998:350). With respect to grammatical aspect, in addition to relying on **mereological** (relations between parts and wholes) relations, Verkuyl (1993, 2012) also uses **temporal intervals** (comparable to the Reichenbachian E, R and S)[504] to account for aspectual semantics.

4.5.3. Mereological theories

The use of different mereological relations to define aspectual semantics is central to a number of formal studies which are referred to as **part/whole** (**holistic**) **theory** (Borik 2002) or **mereological studies** (Filip 2012) and which include Bach (1981, 1986), Filip (1993) and Krifka (1986, 1992, 1998)[505] (Filip 2012:734, 736, Borik 2002:76, 80-83, 102, 118, Arsenijević 2006:36ff). Based on the analogy between telic/atelic predicates and count/mass nouns, this framework assumes that aspectual properties of verbal predicates (temporal entities) can be explained in the same terms as nominal predicates (spatial entities) (Taylor 1977) (Filip 2012:735-736)[506]. Hence, Filip (1993) boils grammatical aspect (which she distinguishes from lexical aspect) down to two factors: boundedness (=telicity) and part/whole relation, cf. Table 4.1. According to Filip (1993:227), the perfective aspect represents a situation as a single whole,

[504] In a later study, Verkuyl (2012:578-580) claims that in languages with the perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition such as Russian, aspect has a double function: (i) it expresses telicity which is derived compositionally in the Germanic languages, as illustrated in (11); (ii) it expresses the same meaning as the semantic the so-called PERF-operator for telic predicates, an ASP-operator that exists in the Germanic languages. PERF-operator conveys the meaning of the perfect aspect which Verkuyl (2012:579, 570, 579-580, 582) defines in terms comparable to the Reichenbachian E, R, S: Verkyl (2012) defines the perfect with the relation $k < j$, comparable, yet not identical to $E \subset R$; $k < j$ indicates the inclusion of an event index *k* into its own present *j*, whereby *j* is syncronous with *i*, a symbol of current relevance (Verkuyl 2012:70). At the same time, k < j indicates that k precedes j 'in the way in which a set containing 3 members precedes a set containing 4 members' (Verkuyl 2012:582).

[505] Filip (2012:734, 738) considers Bach (1981) and Krifka (1986, 1992, 1998) to be part of the event semantics, whereas Borik (2002:76, 102) considers them to belong to the event semantics theory.

[506] Mourelatos (1981) and Bach (1986) observe the distinction between homogenous and quantised predicates in the verbal domain is analogous with the distinction between mass (=homogenous) and count (=quantised) nouns in the nominal domain (Bary 2009:40). This idea is central for the mereological accounts, as will be shown further down in this section, and it can be traced back to the parallel drawn between telic/atelic predicates and count/mass nouns which was noted in the structuralist tradition, e.g. Leisi (1953), and which takes a central place in some cognitive accounts, e.g. Langacker (1987), Talmy (1988), Jackendoff (1996, 2010) (Filip 2012:736).

thus exhibiting the [PART-] feature. By contrast, the imperfective aspect is not specific about the [PART] feature, as opposed to its sub-category[507], the progressive aspect, which is [PART+].

Table 4.1. *Filip's (1993:17, 264-265) factors which determine grammatical aspect.*

	PART [+]	WHOLE [+]
BOUNDED [+]	[a part of a letter] *I was writing a letter.*	[a whole letter] *I wrote a (whole) letter (up).*
BOUNDED [-]	[be on the floor, run on the beach] *There was sand on the floor.* *I ran on the beach.*	[does not occur]

However, Filip (1993) restricts her definition of the Perfective aspect in Czech to one specific group of perfective predicates, i.e. those with a direct object denoting an event with an incremental development (Borik 2002:81-82). This means that such a definition cannot account for a great number of contexts in which the Perfective aspect is used, especially in other languages than Czech. More importantly, Filip's (1993) prediction that all perfective predicates are telic is challenged in view of the so-called **delimitative** verbs which are perfective but atelic, such as the bolded verb *popahali* ('ploughed') in the Russian example (30) (cf. Borik 2002:54-66, 84).

(30) Russian
Popaxa-li pol-e, no ne **vspaxa-li** ego.
plough.PFV-PST.PL field-N.SG.ACC but NEG plough=up.PFV-PST.PL PRON.N.SG.GEN.
*They **ploughed** the field, but they **did not plough** it up* [finish ploughing it].
(Maslov 1959:189)

Krifka (1998) derives perfectivity from quantificational (mereological) notions (Arsenijević 2006:221) and he attempts to solve the 'problematic' delimitative predicates by operating with three properties: cumulativity, homogeneity and perfectivity (which he refers to as *telicity*). According to Krifka, a perfective predicate must be either cumulative or quantised (Borik 2002:83). Thus, atelic delimitatives are cumulative because they have a specific time duration. However, his definition of perfectivity via homogeneity and a specific time duration is problematic, as it does not hold for predicates with an unspecified number of objects, e.g. the

[507] Filip (1993) follows Comrie's (1976) view of the progressive aspect as a sub-category of the imperfective aspect.

Perfective predicate *poest' jablok* ('eat some apples') in Russian, in which even a part of *e* (a smaller number of apples that initially referred to as *some apples*) can still be referred to as *e* (Borik 2002:83).

In some mereological studies, such as Smith (1986, 1991, 1997), grammatical aspect as an indicator of how much of the eventuality is visible, i.e. which event **bounds** (defined by the predicate's actional class) are included or excluded (Binnick 2006:255-256). Thus, the perfective represents an event in its entirety, including its initial and final bounds. By contrast, the progressive and imperfective aspects represent only the internal portions of the event by excluding the predicate's bounds. However, since the exclusion of bounds applies to both the imperfective and the progressive, it is impossible to capture the difference between the two aspects (Borik 2002:77-79, Binnick 2006:255-256). Smith (1991, 1997) is aware of the fact that her definition does not cover all contextual meanings of aspect (e.g. the cases in which information structure is part of aspectual semantics), explaining that such cases fall under the so-called conventional use (Borik 2002:79). Another problem with this theory is the unclear motivation for including or excluding the bounds in reference to an event.

The understanding of aspectual semantics in the light of the abovementioned analogy between count/mass nouns and telic/atelic (or perfective/imperfective) in the verbal domain (cf. Filip 2012:735-736) will be relevant for the analysis of the present study and it will be addressed further in the following sections. However, as Borik (2002:83) points out, the mereological studies discussed in this section define grammatical aspect and lexical aspect with the same kind of entities. Grammatical aspect seems only to primarily modify the 'visible part' of the existing semantics encoded in the actional classes. As a consequence, the distinction between the two categories (lexical and grammatical aspect) is blurred which may pose an obstacle when accounting for aspectual semantics for reasons provided in this section and in section 4.5.1.

4.5.4. Generative studies

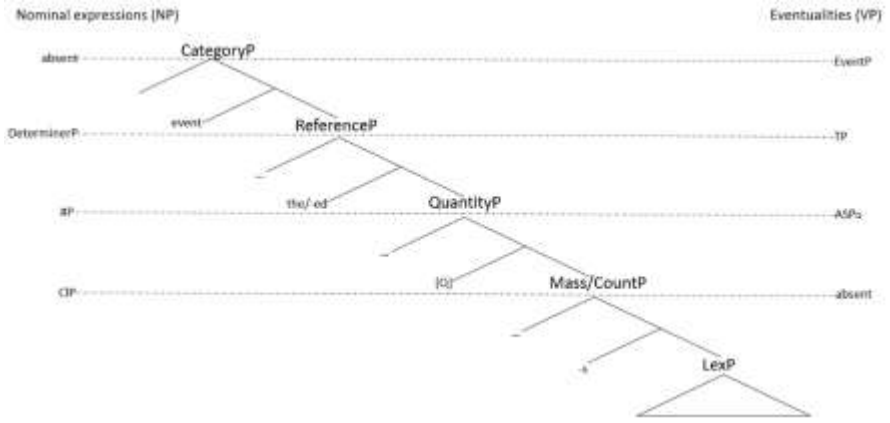
Aspectual semantics was not investigated in the initial versions of mainstream **generative grammar**, as its focus lay primarily on the syntactic issues rather than the semantic ones[508]

[508] Chomsky (1957, 1965), X-bar Theory in Chomsky (1970), Government and Binding Theory in Chomsky (1981), Verb Movement Theory in Pollock (1989), Minimalist Program in Chomsky (1993, 1996).

(Stowell 2012:206). This changed around the time the Minimalist Program emerged in 1990's, and generative studies started addressing semantic issues too (Stowell 2012:206, Verkuyl 2012:572).

Some generative studies continue to refute the distinction between lexical and grammatical aspect, e.g. Ritter & Rosen (1998), Hale & Keyser (1993), Kratzer (1996), Mateu (2002), and Borer (2005) (Ramchand 2008:1691). Borer (2005) sees perfectivity as equal to telicity. According to her, telicity is not part of the lexical properties of a verb. Instead, telicity (like other properties of predicates) is derived from the syntactic structure of the sentence (Arsenijević 2006:221-222)[509] because predicates are derived from a closed 'universal set of functional features together with a number of arguments' (Arsenijević 2006:58) which are demonstrated in (31).

(31)



(Arsenijević's 2006:59 rendition of Borer's 2005 General Structure and the corresponding projections in NP and VP)

According to Borer (2005), atelic events are unmarked. By contrast, telic events are marked and they are derived only 'are derived only when the relevant phrase, the ASP_Q' (the Aspectual Quantity Phrase, i.e. the Quantity Phrase in the verbal domain) contains the relevant feature [α] (marker of presence of quantity predicate) (Arsenijević 2006:62). Languages with the grammatical aspect, such as the Warlpiri, Haisla or the Slavic languages, have morphological

[509] In Borer's (2005) model, predicates are derived from a closed 'universal set of functional features with a number of arguments' (Arsenijević 2006:58-59). According to the model, the functional structures of NP and VP are almost identical.

markers which contain [α] and which are generated in the head of ASP_Q, cf. (32.a) (Arsenijević 2006:62-63). However, there are other ways in which [α] can be generated and in which telicity can be derived. If the specifier of ASP_Q is a quantified nominal expression, it contains the feature #P, the counterpart of [α] in the nominal domain. Because of a mechanism termed *head-specifier agreement*, #P in the specifier means [α] has to appear in the head of ASP_Q, resulting in a telic predicate, cf. (32.b). Yet another way to generate telic predicates is via an adjunct of quantification (e.g. *three times*) which is then c-commanded to ASP_Q (Arsenijević 2006:63).

(32)

a. [α] in the head b. [α] in the specifier

(Arsenijević's 2006:62 rendition of the introduction of the feature [α] according to Borer 2005)

Thus, according to Borer (2005), perfectivity in aspectual languages is just one possible manifestation of telicity which is viewed primarily in light of the structural interdependence between the nominal and verbal domains.

However, starting from 1990's a great number of generative studies have acknowledged the distinction between lexical and grammatical aspect. Thus, Di Sciullo (1997) and Di Sciullo & Slabakova (2005) introduce a classification of aspectual verbal prefixes in Italian, French, Bulgarian and the other Slavic languages into **internal** and **external prefixes**[510] (Di Sciullo & Slabakova 2005:64-65, Gehrke 2008:161-162). Whereas the former signal telicity, the latter convey meanings 'similar to adverbial manner modification' and they affect (im)perfectivity (Gehrke 2008:161-162). Internal prefixes are attached VP-internally, and they affect the argument structure or the lexical aspect of the verb. By contrast, the external ones are located outside of VP. They can modify VP, but they cannot alter the structure of the argument structure

[510] Di Sciullo (1997) divides Italian and French prefixes into the internal oens which signal location and direction, and the external ones that signal iterativity and inversion (Gehrke 2008:161).

of the verb (Gehrke 2008:161). Furthermore, in the verb external prefixes can be stacked on top of the internal prefixes, whereas the reverse order is not possible. Therefore, Di Sciullo & Slabakova (2005) propose the assignment of different syntactic positions to the internal and the external prefixes shown in (33).

(33) [External prefixes [Internal prefixes V]]
Di Sciullo & Slabakova (2005:66)

A similar approach is found in Gehrke (2008:171) who analyses the internal and the external prefixes in Russian and Czech. She claims that the internal prefixes, such as the Russian Perfective *na-* (lit: on) in (34), have a lower aspectual position (i.e. closer to the verb) than the external prefixes, such as *po-* in (35). As demonstrated in (34), internal prefixes which indicate telicity cannot be combined with for-adverbials, whereas external prefixes which induce perfectivity can (but the verb remains atelic) (Gehrke 2008:172). Similarly, in-adverbials are grammatical in (34), where the telic verb represents an accomplishment, but not in (35).

(34) Russian

Ja	**na**[511]**-pis-al**	pis'm-o	*(za) dv-e minut-y.
PRON.1.SG.NOM	PFV-write-PST.M.SG	letter.N-SG.ACC	for two-F.NOM.PL minute-F.GEN.SG

*I **wrote** a letter in/*for two minutes.*
[PAST[in two minutes[PERF[I write a letter]]]]
(Gehrke 2008:171)

(35) Russian

On	**po-sp-al**	(*za)	dv-e	minut-y.
PRON.3.M.SG.NOM	PFV-sleep-PST.M.SG	for	two-F.NOM.PL	minute-F.GEN.SG

*He **slept** *in/for two minutes.*
[past[perf[for two minutes[I write a letter]]]]
(Gehrke 2008:171)

Whereas the internal prefixes indicate the location of the event's culmination point in both languages, external prefixes differ. In Russian, they indicate perfectivity (i.e. temporal

[511] Note that glossing verbal prefixes in the Slavic languages as separate morphemes (indicated by a hyphen) applies only to examples (27-28) (and otherwise if so indicate), because in Ramchand's (2004) and Gehrke's (2008) theory, they bring their own, independent aspectual meaning which is added to the verb root. Otherwise, in this study, the Slavic verbal prefixes will not be glossed this way, as they are lexicalised together with the verb root with which they share a common aspectual meaning.

definiteness, cf. Ramchand 2004, 2008 described later in this section), whereas in Czech they provide (not only temporal) adverbial meaning (e.g. *a little*, *unintentionally*, *by mistake*, *be able to*).

A hierarchical analysis of the aspectual meaning of the Slavic prefixes that follows very similar lines is provided by Babko-Malaya (1999), Svenonius (2004), and Romanova (2004) who introduce a division into **lexical** and **superlexical prefixes** (counterparts of internal and external prefixes, respectively) which are assigned to two different syntactic levels of structure (Arsenijević 2006:210, Ramchand 2008:1691-1692).

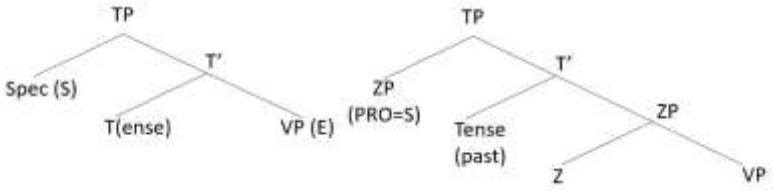
The structural level analysis of internal and external prefixes is taken further by Arsenijević (2006) who breaks both types of Serbo-Croatian prefixes down into the same components. Both internal and external prefixes denote transitions from an event[512] to a state (Arsenijević 2006:215, 224). However, the former functions within VP and it takes nominal expressions as its arguments. By contrast, the latter operates at a higher structural level where it takes events as its arguments and at which events establish specific references[513] (Arsenijević 2006:215, 220, 225). According to Arsenijević (2006:223), telicity marks **countability**, i.e. it denotes **quantifiable** events. In the verbal domain, telicity corresponds to the **grammatical number** in the nominal domain (however, he also distinguishes between internal prefixes and telicity; Internal aspect denotes a quantified predicate and not all quantifiable, i.e. telic events need not be quantified, e.g. non-quantified telic predicates), whereas external aspect assigns **specificity** to a VP just like determiners do to NPs (Arsenijević 2006:223).

However, a number of generative studies take a **temporal** approach to aspectual semantics which incorporates the Reichenbachian notions of E, R and S (or their framework-specific equivalents), e.g. Stowell (1995, 2007), Giorgi & Pianesi (1997), Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000), Ramchand (2004, 2008)[514]. One group of generative studies which take the temporal approach to aspectual semantics stems from Zagona's (1990) theory of the phrase

[512] As a matter of fact, Arsenijević (2006:24) defines the telic template as a concatenation of two states whereby the first one contains the predicate of dynamicity.
[513] In addition, the specifier and the complement of an external prefix must be coreferential (Arsenijević 2006:215).
[514] Other generative studies which cannot be discussed in detail here include: 1) Partee (1973), Ogihara (1996), and Schlenker (1999), and Enç (1981, 1987), who analyse 'tenses as temporal analogues of pronouns' (Stowell 2012:195), based on the fact that both temporal and pronominal references employ anaphors, deixis and quantifiers; 2) Ross (1967) and Abusch (1988, 1991, 1994, 1997) whose sequence-of-tenses approach treats past tense in the complement clause as essentially (relative) present tense in disguise. All these analyses rely on Reichenbachian R, E, and S or temporal interval which resemble these notions.

structure of tenses. According to Zagona (1990), tense directly does not refer to times, but she views it as a binding relation between two arguments: A 'subject' and an 'object' argument of a functional category TP[515] which refer to the Reichenbachian S and E, respectively, cf. (36.a) (Stowell 2012:206-207). The present tense indicates that VP (E) is an anaphor bound by the Specifier (Spec=S), whereas the past tense indicates that VP is a definite referential expression which 'must not be bound by the Specifier of TP' (Stowell 2012:207).

(36)



a. Zagona (1990) (adapted) b. Stowell (1995)

Stowell (1995, 2007)[516] adapts Zagona's idea of temporal anaphora by introducing another position, ZP (Zeit-Phrase) as the object of TP, which represents E, the time of the occurrence of VP (ZP in TP Specifier refers to S[517]), cf. (36.b). Stowell (1995, 2007) creates a temporal analogue of a Determiner Phrase (DP): Just like a determiner (D) delimits the reference of the noun (N) in a determiner phrase (DP), Z and VP are in a binding relation to restrict the reference of ZP which functions as E (Stowell 2012:207).

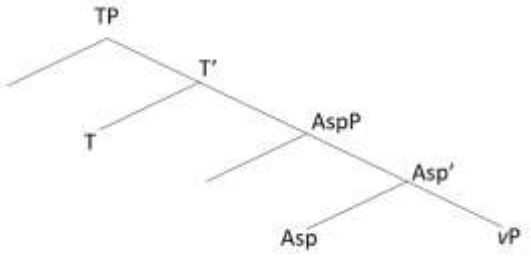
Although Stowell (1995) is not directly 'concerned with the different aspectual interpretations' (Ramchand 2004:333), his contribution is relevant for the present investigation of aspectual semantics, because he distinguishes between the temporal and lexical information about an event. In Chapter 1, this property was stressed as an essential advantage of Klein's (1994) version of the relational theory because aspect interacts with information structure. Furthermore, the parallel Stowell (1995) (among others) draws between the nominal and verbal

[515] Here, I follow Stowell (2012:206) who replaces her original category label F with the more familiar T.
[516] Unlike Stowell (1995, 2007), Zagona (1990) does not believe that it is not tense but its arguments that is a direct representation of the relation between an event an its moment of speech (e.g. 'before', 'after' or 'simultaneous with'), but the arguments of tenses refer (Stowell 2012:207). Like Comrie (1976), Stowell (1995, 2007) believes that tenses do reflect such relations, but unlike Comrie (1976), he also emphasises importance to the order in which the Reichenbachian points are located, i.e. S must be located relative to E and not the other way around.
[517] Stowell (2012:208) adds that '[i]n more complex sentences containing a modal or aspectual auxiliary verb, or a Habitual operator, ZP corresponds more closely to Klein's (1994) notion of Topic Time.'

domains proves to be relevant for other temporal studies of aspect, such as Ramchand (2004, 2008).

Ramchand (2004:331, 2008:1699) acknowledges that there is both a time variable and an event variable in the ontology of tense and aspect. In Ramchand's (2004, 2008) view, grammatical aspect is expressed in the Specifier of AspP in (37), a correspondence of Stowell's (1995) ZP (argument of tense head), cf. (37). Asp introduces the time variable (t) and links it to the event e (=Reichenbachain E) via the event's temporal trace τ(e) which 'maps an event to the 'time line' it occupies' (Ramchand 2004:333). The perfective aspect indicates **definite reference time** (=Reichenbachian R) and the imperfective aspect indicates indefinite reference time in Asp (cf. specific reference of external prefixes in Arsenijević 2006): Whereas the imperfective aspect implies that t is an arbitrary moment in τ(e), in the case of the perfective aspect a presupposed moment in τ(e) restricts the quantification over times and links t to one point in time (Ramchand 2004:345). The idea of aspect referring to a definite R and functioning as a (partial) counterpart of (nominal) definiteness in the verbal domain will be salient for the present analysis.

(37)

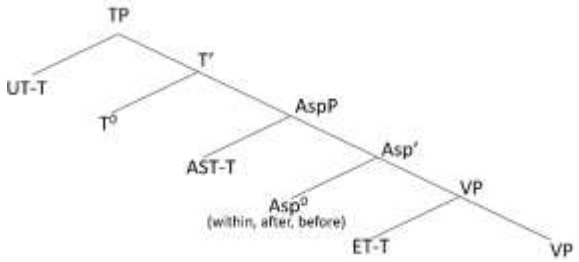


In Ramchand's (2004:331, 2008:1699) system, *e* is an event variable which corresponds to Reichenbachian E and it is linked to a temporal variable t (=Reichenbachian R) introduced in Asp. However, there are other generative temporal approaches in which all the three Reichenbachian notions, E, R and S are temporal variables. Thus, Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) and Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000) view temporality and aspectuality as expressing two different relations between the temporal variables R-S and E-R, respectively (cf. Klein 1994)[518].

[518] R-S and E-R as the two relations that encode temporal and aspectual semantics, respectively, have a clear parallel in Klein's (1994) theory. Demirdache & Uribe-Etzebarria (2000) replace labels for S, R, E with UT-T, AS-T, and EV-T, respectively.

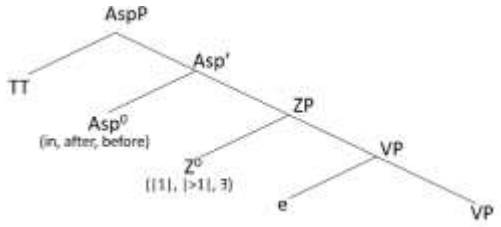
In Giorgi & Pianesi's (1997) system, R-E and R-E are syntactically projected in two 'tense' heads, T1 and T2, respectively. T1 and T2 are only realised when the temporal relation between the two notions (R and S or R and E) is not one of coincidence (but anteriority and posteriority): T1 is realised in the past (R_S) and the future tenses (S_R), whereas T2 is realised in the perfect (E_R) and the prospective (R_E) forms. Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000) propose a similar system in which the relation between E (i.e. ET-T) and R (i.e. AST-T) is one of ordering ('before' or 'after') or inclusion ('within') and it is established in the spatiotemporal head Asp^0, cf. (38) (Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000:163, Arche 2006:156-157).

(38)



In addition to the ordering/inclusion component described in Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000), as part of aspectual semantics Arche (2006) identifies a **quantificational** component which indicates the number of occurrences of an event. The quantifier of occurrences can have one of the three values, |1| for a single occurrence, |>1| for more than one occurrence, or the existential value ∃. Thus, the quantified set of event occasions is ordered ('after', 'before' or 'in') with respect to R (i.e. TT) by the Asp head, cf. (39) (Arche 2006:171, 178). The progressive aspect indicates that a single occurrence's (|1|) R is placed within E, whereas the perfective aspect denotes that for the same quantification value R is located after E. The habitual (i.e. 'imperfect habitual') aspect suggests that R is within E for an event that occurs on a number of occasions greater than 1. In the non-habitual and non-progressive readings of the imperfective ('imperfect continuous') denote an event whose number of occurrences is not countable and which only has the existential value ∃, while its R is placed within E.

(39)



There exist a number of alternative accounts of aspectual semantics in the generative tradition, e.g. Wiltschko's (2014) analysis of aspect as temporally based language-specific instantiations of a universal category responsible for introducing the point of view[519].

The generative studies revolve around two views of aspectual semantics: (i) the temporal view (in line with Klein 1994) according to which grammatical aspect reflects the relation between the Reichenbachian **E and R** (or comparable concepts), and (ii) the idea that grammatical aspect represents an event as a **quantified**, **specific** or **definite** occurrence. Another recurrent observation in this tradition concerns the structural position of grammatical aspect (or individual aspectual categories) between tense and lexical aspect, thus yielding the following order of TAM projections: MODALITY>TENSE>ASPECT>lexical aspect (cf. Radford 1997, Cinque 1999:106, Breul 2004:29, Haumann 2007, Wolfe 2007, Stowell 2012:205, van Gelderen 2013:204, Harwood 2014:298).

4.6. Aspect and discourse in formal studies

Aspectual semantics has also been described in the context of structuring discourse. This topic has been covered in both formal semantics and in the functional tradition. I will first consider the former framework.

The main line of division of the formal studies regards the question which entity has the primitive status in accounting for the semantics of tense and aspect: **times** or **events** (Borik 2002:118ff). This division has given rise to two different frameworks known as **interval semantics** and **event semantics**, respectively (Borik 2002:118). Borik (2002) illustrates the main

[519] According to Wiltschko (2014:249), aspect does not behave like a natural universal class. Other language-specific instantiations of point-of-view include the participant-based Blackfoot direct/inverse marking (suffix marking) and Squamish control marking.

difference between the two frameworks in the ways they conceive of the concept of change. Change implies that there is a transition from state A (before the change) into state B (after the change). While interval semantics relies on the concept of vagueness to refer to the transition between A and B as a time interval at which neither state holds, event semantics treats this transition as a minimal event, a notional primitive itself (Borik 2002:119).

In **event semantics**, predicates which denote a change of state are the ontological primitives necessary to describe tense and aspect, an approach first established by Davidson (1967). According to Borik (2002:76, 118), to the Neo-Davidsonian tradition belong such studies as Kamp (1979, 1981), Bach (1981), and Krifka (1989, 1992, 1998)[520], as well as the so-called **discourse representation theory** (DRT) which includes Kamp & Reyle (1983, 1993), Partee (1984), Parsons (1990), Hinrichs (1981, 1985, 1986). An especially important study for DRT is Partee's (1973) analysis of past tenses as temporal anaphors, which accounts for TAM in discourse by introducing notions similar to the Reichenbachian intervals (cf. relational theories in section 3.5.4) into event semantics. Namely, the truth-conditionality of past tenses is evaluated against a previously indicated time interval (similar to an unspecified R) and not against the entire past prior to the moment of speech S. In the later studies by Partee (1984) and Hinrichs (1986)[521] this time interval is explicitly reanalysed as the Reichenbachian R. Thus, Reichenbach's (1947) analysis of tenses is applied to the narrative discourse in order to explain the so-called **Reference time movement**[522], a phenomenon whereby each new clause in a narrative sequence introduces an event with its own, new R which is located after the previous event's R, as demonstrated in (40).

(40) Jameson entered the room (e_1), shut the door carefully (e_2), and switched off the light (e_3). It was pitch dark around him (s_1), because the Venetian blinds were closed (s_2).
(Partee 1984:254-255)

[520] While Borik (2002:76, 102) implies that Bach (1981) and Krifka (1989, 1992, 1998) are part of the event semantics, Filip (2012:734, 738) sees these contributions as part of a related framework, namely the mereological studies theories.
[521] This view is also found in Reinhart (1984), who Borik (2002) does not classify as part of the event-based, but the time-based group of studies.
[522] This phenomenon had already been described in other framework, e.g. Hopper (1979).

Partee (1984), Hinrichs (1986) and Kamp & Reyle (1993) notice that the effect of Reference time movement is tightly linked to the telicity of predicates. Whereas Partee (1984) and Hinrichs (1984) consider that telic events (which they refer to as 'events') introduce their own R, they find that atelic events (which they refer to as 'states') reuse the previously introduced R, as is shown in (41), a discourse representation of (40). The relation between *e* and *s*, on the one hand, and their R, on the other hand, lead to the generalisation formulated in (42), according to which states contain their R, whereas events are contained in their R.

(41) $e_1 \subseteq r_0; e_1 < r_1 < r_s$
$e_2 \subseteq r_1; e_2 < r_2 < r_s$
$e_3 \subseteq r_2; e_3 < r_3 < r_s$
$r_3 \subseteq s_1$
$r_3 \subseteq s_2$

(42) a. $e \subseteq R$ for events
b. $R \subseteq s$ for states

Partee's (1984) and Hinrichs's (1986) accounts of the telic and atelic predicates and their relation to R is extended to interpret the entire temporal system in English. Instead of Reichenbach's (1947) three-way relation between R, E, and S, Partee (1984) and Hinrichs (1986) envisage two relations: one between R and the telic/atelic predicate, and the other one between R and S. Example (43) shows these relations for the English Past tense.

(43) a. $e \subseteq R$ & R<S past tense or $S \subseteq R$ present tense or $S < R$ future tense, for events
b. $R \subseteq s$ & R<S past tense or $S \subseteq R$ present tense or $S < R$ future tense, for states

The clear distinction between 'events' (telic events) and 'states' (atelic events) is also made in Kamp & Reyle (1993). Like Partee (1984) and Hinrichs (1986), 'events' are included in, and 'states' overlap with the 'temporal location' **t**, a notion that partly corresponds to R. Kamp & Reyle (1993) break R up into three different notions: Besides *t*, there is also the so-called 'reference point' **Rpt** which accounts for the narrative progression, and the 'temporal progressive point' **Tpt** necessary for the analysis of the Past Perfect.

As opposed to event semantics, the studies that belong to the **interval semantics**, such as Bennett & Partee (1972) and Dowty (1979), take time intervals as the notional primitives

necessary to describe temporality and aspectuality. Both Bennett & Partee (1972) and Dowty (1979) focus primarily on the study of lexical aspect (Dowty (1979) even refers to the Progressive 'tense' instead of aspect). Bennett & Partee (1972) introduce the distinction between homogenous ('subinterval') and quantised predicates, which will later be important for the mereological studies. Dowty (1979) introduces a so-called aspect calculus that links lexical aspect to the lexical material encoded in the predicate. Namely, he employs his abstract predicates BECOME, DO and CAUSE, to account for the structure of any predicate. BECOME represents change, minimal event and the core of telicity, and it is the only abstract predicate that is relevant to aspectuality.

However, in spite of its focus on the lexical aspect, it was in the interval semantics that an important shift in defining grammatical aspect occurred: the progressive was seen as a relation between the event's time and another time interval (reference time), rather than a particular property of the event itself[523]. Bennett & Partee (1972) adapted Montague's (1968)[524] understanding of the progressive and they define it with a time interval (**I**) encompassed by an event (**φ** and its time **I'**): '[PROG φ] is true at I iff there exists an interval I' such that I⊂I', I is not a final subinterval of I', an φ is true at I'' (Dowty 1979:145). According to Dowty (1979:146), Bennett & Partee's (1972) definition does not account for the imperfective paradox, i.e. the cases in which a telic event (e.g. drawing a circle) is asserted as ongoing but without committing to the assertion of its completion (the circle may never come to exist if the event is interrupted). Therefore, Dowty (1979) completes the definition with two more notions, **w** and **w'** (44):

(44) [PROG φ] is true at <I,w> iff there exists an interval I' such that I⊂I', and I is not a final subinterval for I' and there is a world w' for which φ is true at <I',w'> , and w is exactly like w', at all times preceding and including I. (Dowty 1979:146)

More recent studies within the interval semantics framework investigate tense and grammatical aspect in English (Reinhart 1986, 2000) and Russian (Borik 2002, 2006) and replace the

[523] Dowty (1979) ascribes the origins of this innovative idea to the Danish linguist from Otto Jespersen (1987:209).
[524] Montague (1968) defines the progressive in the following way: „Prog ϕ [is] true at t just in case there exists an open interval I around t such that ϕ is true at all times t' within I" Dowty (1979:146). According to Dowty (1979:146) this definition is suitable only for activities, but not for accomplishments.

numerous symbols in Bennett & Partee (1972) and Dowty (1979) (e.g. φ, I, I', t, t', w, etc.) with the Reichenbachian notions E, R, and S[525]. Unlike the DRT studies, Reinhart (1986, 2000) and Borik (2002, 20006) consider the relation between E and R to be fixed and unaffected by the predicate's telicity. E is by default a subset of R: E⊆R; the exception is the Progressive aspect where the opposite holds: R⊆E. This implies that (part of) the aspectual meaning is encoded in the relation between E-R. The **temporal interpretation** of the sentence (which is distinct from morphological tense) is expressed with the relation between S and E. If S and E overlap (S∩E≠Ø), the present interpretation arises, whereas an ordered relation between S and E (S_E, E_S) gives a future or a past interpretation. As opposed to the temporal interpretation, the morphological tense, i.e. the tense of the finite verb form, is encoded in the relation between S and R, which Reinhart (1986) labels as the **perspective**. In English, a past event (E_S) can be interpreted in two ways: either with the Present Perfect in which R extends to include S, thus resulting in the 'present relevance' of the event, or with the Past simple tense where R encompasses only E but not S. According to Borik (2002), in Russian, the default relation between E and R is the same as in English: E⊆R. The major difference between English and Russian lies in the relation between S-E which does not only determine the temporal interpretation but also the choice of the morphological tense, that is encoded in S-R in English. In Russian, S-R in combination with E-R determines the grammatical aspect. The Perfective aspect indicates that S and R do not overlap and it entails the default relation between R-E: S∩R=Ø & R⊆E. The lack of overlap between R and S found in the Perfective aspect, Borik (2002) calls the speaker's **external perspective**. She explains the fact that the perfective aspect never co-occurs with the present interpretation with the impossibility for R to include E and to be disjoint from S, while at the same time E and S overlap[526]. Borik (2002) defines the Imperfective as the opposite of the Perfective aspect: S∩R≠Ø & R⊈E. In the Imperfective aspect the overlap between R and S shows the speaker's **internal perspective**. Borik (2002) adopts Verkuyl's (2001) division of a predicate information into an **atemporal level**, which includes information

[525] Reinhart's (1986, 2000) and Borik's (2002, 2006) use of the Reichenbachian E, R, and S is a point in common with the relational theories, which will be discussed in the following sections. However, Reinhart (1986, 2000) and Borik (2002, 2006) predominantly build on the DRT framework and they will therefore not be regarded as part of the relational theories.

[526] Borik's (2002) observation pertains to Russian. Note, however, that verbs which combine the present tense and the perfective aspect (without resulting in a non-present reading) are common in a number of languages including Serbo-Croatian or Slovenian, to name a few.

about the predicate's telicity, and a **temporal level**, which contains information about tense and grammatical aspect. Thus, Borik's (2002) internal and external perspectives as well as the temporal interpretation, encoded in the relations R-E, R-S and E-S, are all part of Verkuyl's (2001) temporal level.

The importance of aspect in the interpretation of eventuality sequences is also emphasised by Borik (2002:182-184). She uses the notion **R-movement** to denote that in Russian each eventuality represented by a Perfective verb phrase has an R which occurs later than R of the previously introduced eventuality. Borik (2002:182-183) illustrates the Perfective verb phrases' ability to refer to successive eventualities (e1, e2, and e3) using the following excerpt from Daniil Xarms's story *Historical incident*:

(45) Russian

Ivan	Ivanovič			Susanin […]		zaš-el (e1)	
Ivan.M.SG.NOM	Ivanovič.M.SG.NOM			Susanin.M.SG.NOM		go.PFV-PST.M.SG	
odnaždy	v	russk-uju		xarčevnj-u		i,	
once	in	Russian-F.SG.ACC		tavern.F-SG.ACC		and	
se-v (e2)		za	stol,	potrebova-l (e3)			
sit=down.PST.PTCP		behind	table.M.SG.ACC	request.PFV-PST.M.SG			
seb-e	antrekot.						
REFL-DAT	steak.M.SG.ACC						

Ivan Ivanovich Susanin […] once came (e1) into a Russian tavern and, having sat down (e2) at a table, demanded (e3) a steak.
(Borik 2002:182-183)

Unlike the Perfective verb phrases, the Imperfective aspect indicates that the event does not introduce a new R, a phenomenon that I henceforth refer to as **R-stagnation**. The following excerpt in (46) from Maxim Gor'kij's *Old Izergil* shows that the Russian Imperfective verb phrases (e3) and (e4) do not occur after the perfective eventualities (e1) and (e2).

(46) Russian

Starux-a		vzdoxnu-la (e1)		i	zamolča-la (e2).		
old=lady.F.SG.NOM		sigh=in.PFV-PST.F.SG		and	fall=silent.PFV-PST.F.SG		
Ee	skripučij	golos	zvuč-al (e3)		tak,		
PRON.F.SG.GEN	creak.PFV.PRS.PTCP	voice.M.SG.NOM	sound.IPFV-PST.M.SG		so		
kak	budto	to	ropta-li (e4)				
how	as=if	then	murmur.IPFV=PST.PL				
vse	razbit-ye	vek-a [...]					

all.PL.NOM crash.PASS-PL.NOM century.M-PL.NOM

The old woman sighed (e1) and fell silent (e2). Her cracked voice sounded (e3) as if she were voicing (e4) all the forgotten ages [...]
(Borik 2002:182-183)

In accordance with Klein's (1994:40, 45-47) observations, Partee (1973, 1984), Hinrichs (1986), Reinhart (1984), Borik (2002) formalise narrative progression as the movement of R along the timeline (Borik 2002:101, Arche 2014:795). Furthermore, Borik's (2002:182) recognition of R-movement as part of Perfective semantics contributes to the definition of aspectual semantics in Reichenbachian R, E and S. However, in the preceding paragraph it was shown that her view of tense and aspect significantly departs from the other temporal approaches which use the Reichenbachian S, R and E (or their theory-specific equivalents; cf. relational theory in section 1.1, or the generative studies in the previous section). This also pertains to other formal semantic studies which investigate the pragmatic interpretation of aspect, i.e. aspectual semantics in discourse, such as Grønn (2003), Sonnenhauser (2006) and Altshuler (2012): Both Grønn (2003) and Sonnenhauser (2006) interpret the underlying meaning of the Russian Imperfective aspect as overlap between E and R. By contrast, Altshuler (2012) argues that the Imperfective aspect requires that some development phase of E ('VP-event stage') is contained within R ('location time') and that the consequent state of that phase introduces a topic state.

4.7. Aspect and R in the functional approaches

Whether tense is represented by S-R or S-E has direct impact on the definition of R and thus also on the definition of aspect. In section 1.1, it was pointed out that the choice of tense does not reflect the temporal properties of the reported event, E. This was illustrated in example (11), repeated here as (47).

(47) The protesters were chanting liberation songs (when I went out to buy bread = They may be still chanting).

The occurrence of the event of singing at the protests is asserted for the interval R during which the speaker witnessed it as ongoing. Whether or not the event of singing at the protests E has

ended before S or not is irrelevant: Past tense is used to refer to the event because the interval R is located before S. Therefore, it seems more adequate to define tense as the relation R-S instead of S-E.

This view is expressed in Johnson's (1981) investigation of Kikuyu (E.51) tense and aspect: According to her, tense represents the relation S-R and aspect the relation R-E, the fundamental idea in the relational theory (Binnick 2006:256, 2012:22). Although the relational theory of aspect (Johnson 1981, Klein 1994) uses the (equivalents of the) Reichenbachian E, R, and S[527] (Binnick 2006:256), it departs from some of Reichenbach's (1947) views of these three notions by regarding them as intervals and not as points in time. As pointed out in section 1.1, Klein (1994) defines E as the real-world event talked about, whereas R is the subjective time chosen by the speaker and for which she or he asserts the occurrence of the event.

Since R is a subjectively determined interval, the definition of aspect in terms of the relation R-E implies that this category is not an objective property of the event, but the speaker's own choice. In section 1.1, it was pointed out that according to Klein (1994:108) the imperfective aspect indicates that R is a subset of E (R⊆E), whereas the perfective aspect represents partial overlap between E and R (R∩E) (whereby R includes both E and non-E part of the timeline). The perfect/anterior aspect denotes precedence of entire E relative to R (E_R), while the prospective aspect denotes anteriority of E relative to R (R_E).

As the most important tool of the relational theory which allows it to describe aspectual semantics, R which represents assertion or topic time is also useful in the description of aspectual behaviour in narrative discourse. In line with Borik's (2002) link between perfectivity and R-movement (cf. previous section), Hopper's (1979) observes that in narrations the perfective verbs indicate **foreground** events, i.e. events that occur after the events from the preceding clause, whereas imperfective verbs represent **background** events that are not part of the main plot (cf. similar ideas in the studies on Slavic aspect, e.g. Forsyth 1970, Hopper 1979, 1982, Galton 1976, etc.; for more recent adjustments of Hopper's 1979, 1982 account, cf. Bogdan & Sullivan 2009,

[527] As pointed out in section 1.1, Klein (1994) replaces Reichenbach's notions with his own terms: S is the **utterance time** (**UT**), E is the **situation time** (**TSit**) and R is the **topic time** (**TT**).

Payne & Shirtz 2015)[528,529]. The fact that Klein (1994:40, 45-47) identifies the narrative progression as a shift of R enables us to interpret the perfective/imperfective opposition as one which regards the introduction of a new R: While the perfective verbs have the ability to introduce their own, discourse-new R, the imperfective verbs do not; they 'reuse' the discourse-old R.

However, as pointed out in section 1.1, in a great number of non-narrative contexts, the identification of R is not unambiguous and is prone to subjective interpretation, which indicates that this notion is still somewhat underdefined. This issue is evident in the fact that within the same framework there are studies which interpret the relation between E and R representing the members of the aspectual opposition differently. For example, Gvozdanović (2012:789) sees the perfective/imperfective opposition as a relation of inclusion between E and R: In the imperfective aspect, E includes R (R⊂E), while in the perfective aspect E is included in R (R⊃E)[530] (replacing Klein's (1994) definition of the latter as the overlap between R and E). The question imposes itself is how the different authors define the time interval represented by R in the various contexts and how they determine the relation of inclusion between E and R.

Another unresolved issue is how the traditional 'relative tenses' [531] (e.g. past perfect or future perfect) are defined and whether they are to be treated as distinct from aspect. Klein (1994:131) does not consider them to be a separate grammatical category but a 'combination of tense and aspect'. Thus, the verb forms that have traditionally been regarded as 'relative tenses', such as the English Present Perfect, Past Perfect and Future Perfect, Klein (1994) in fact considers to be combinations of the Perfect aspect with the Present, Past and Future tenses, respectively.

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[528] Forsyth (1970:65) observes: 'The expression of a sequence of actions is one of the most characteristic functions of perfective verbs in an extended context', adding that 'each completed single action follows the previous one the order in which they are narrated' (ibid.).

[529] However, Bogdan & Sullivan (2009) also find that the anterior events, although traditionally considered part of the background information, are expressed with the Past Perfective both in the past and in the historical present narratives. They also find that the Imperfective aspect is used for background events simultaneous with the plot, with the Past tense in the past narratives and with the Present tense in the historical present narratives.

[530] As a matter of fact, Gvozdanović (2012) provides a more specific relation between E and R for individual languages like Czech and Russian based on the aspectual differences they exhibit in certain contexts. For example, according to Gvozdanović (2012) the historical present represents the relation E=R which is.

[531] Here, the term 'relative tense' is used as in Comrie (19976, 1985), Klein (1994) and Bohnemeyer (2014). This meaning of 'relative tense' is indicated by the quotation marks to distinguish it from Rose et al.'s (2002) and Nurse's (2008) use of the term which I otherwise follow in this study.

An alternative solution to the issue of distinguishing relative tenses and grammatical aspect is provided by Bohnemeyer (2014)[532] who splits R into two different notions, topic time (TT) and **perspective time** (henceforth: **PT**[533]). The relation TT-E[534] gives grammatical aspect, whereas PT-E signals relative tenses. Bohnemeyer's (2014) main test for whether a verb form is a grammatical aspect or a 'relative tense' is its compatibility with a time adverbial indicating the event's occurrence. For example, he considers the English Present Perfect in (48) a grammatical aspect, as time adverbials indicating the event occurrence such as *at 6 o'clock* render the clause ungrammatical (Bohnemeyer 2014:936). Accordingly, Bohenemeyer (2014) treats the adverbial *at 6 o'clock* as a TT. Similarly, in a language like Yucatec Maya, the Perfect aspect marker *ts'ok'* cannot be combined with a time adverbial which denotes the event's occurrence such as *ho'lheak* ('yesterday'), also a TT, in (49) (Bohnemeyer 2014:940):

(48) *Bill **has arrived** at 6 o'clock.
(Bohnemeyer 2014:936)

(49) Yucatec Maya

***Ts'o'k**	**aw=il–ik**	in=suku'n	ho'lheak?
TERM	A.2PRS=see–CMP(B3SG)	A.1SG=elder.brother	yesterday

***Have** you **met** my brother yesterday?*
(Bohnemeyer 2014:940)

Bohnemeyer (2014) distinguishes the perfect aspect from the anterior tense which is a relative tense. In some languages both can occur. Such is the case with the Bantu language Kituba (H10A,B) spoken in the Republic of Congo and the Democratic Republic of Congo, where both the suffix *-áka* and *méne* mark anteriority independently from UT, i.e. in the past, present or future. Consider examples (50-51) from Mufwene (1990:101). *Méne* indicates an event's anteriority with respect to TT specified by the time adverbials, e.g. *today* or *yesterday* in (50),

[532] Bohnemeyer (2014) uses UT and TT, but instead of Klein's (1994) TSit, he uses **event time** (**ET**).
[533] PT is not an abbreviation used by Bohnemeyer (2014). The present author has introduced it to refer only to the phenomenon in said study.
[534] Bohnemeyer (2014) refers to E as *ET* (i.e. event time).

and not the time when the event occurred. By contrast, the suffix *-áka* does not signal that the event's occurrence precedes but that it is included in TT, cf. (51)[535].

(50) Kituba
Béto mé(ne) dia / búbu yáyi / mazóno.
we PERF eat day this yesterday
(i) As for today/yesterday, we are/were in the state of having eaten.
*(ii) *We ate today/yesterday.*
(Mufwene 1990: 101)

(51) Kituba
Béto di-á(k)a / búbu yáyi / mazóno.
we eat-ANT day this yesterday
(i) We ate today/yesterday.
*(ii) *As for today/yesterday, we are/were in the state of having eaten.)*
(Mufwene 1990:101)

Thus, Bohnemeyer (2014:946) analyses *-áka* as an 'anterior relative tense' and as a category distinct from the perfect (=anterior) aspect marker *-méne*. He also distinguishes a third, mixed type of anteriority markers, e.g. the English Past Perfect with which time adverbials can be interpreted both as a TT, e.g. *at six o'clock* in (52) and as a PT, e.g. *at six o'clock* in (53) (examples from Comrie (1976:56)).

(52) Bill **had arrived** at six o'clock. I **arrived** at six sharp, and he **was** already half done with his meal, so he **must have gotten** there a lot earlier.
(Comrie 1976:56)

(53) Bill **had arrived** at six o'clock and **had left** again at seven. The inspector **did** not **get** there until eight.
(Comrie 1976:56)

Bohnemeyer (2014) implies that grammatical aspect indicates the position of E relative to TT, information incompatible with **event time adverbials** (=time adverbials indicating the event's occurrence). By contrast, 'relative tense' indicates the location of TT relative to PT (as opposed to the absolute tenses' alignment with S) and it can be combined with event time adverbials

[535] In (51), *-áka* marks anteriority relative to a PT, although Bohnemeyer (2014) does not explain what represents the latter in the example.

which further specify the event's temporal location. It is a valid observation that TAM markers differ with respect to compatibility with event time adverbials. However, Bohnemeyer (2014) divides most languages either into the aspect group or to the 'relative tense' group (with the exception of the mixed type) and introducing two temporal notions (TT and PT) and two distinct grammatical categories (aspect and 'relative tense') in individual language analyses seems to add theoretical and terminological redundancy. This could be avoided if we stick with Klein's (1994) one temporal notion (R) and one grammatical category (aspect) instead, while further classifying languages according to the compatibility of their R with the specification of the event time location with event time adverbials.

The unresolved questions regarding the identification of R and its properties will be addressed in the following chapter, the first chapter in which data on TAM in Xhosa is analysed. With respect to the distinction between relative tenses and aspects, I pointed out in the previous chapter that I would follow Nurse's (2008:120-123) definition of the relative tense which rather refers to consecutive tenses, thus significantly differing from Bohnemeyer's (2014) use of the term. I also clarified that I treat the Past Consecutive in Xhosa as a relative tense, while leaving the question of demarcation between relative tense and aspect open. For now, I follow Klein (1994) in regarding the anterior and the prospective as **aspectual categories** while leaving the status of the Participials and the Temporals temporarily unresolved. The distinction between grammatical aspect and relative tense will be addressed in Chapter 7 in which the Anterior, the Prospective, the Temporal and the Participial are analysed.

4.8. Totality and boundedness

The relational theory forms a significant part of the functional tradition. Two other predominant approaches in the functional tradition have evolved directly from the ideas of aspectual meaning prevalent in 19th and early 20th centuries: the so-called **totality** and the **boundedness** theories (unified under the common name **synoptic theories**[536]).

[536] The term *synoptic theories* has been introduced by Dickey (2000:17) who sees significant similarities between the totality and the boundary theories despite the obvious differences. Both theories can be said to be based on the idea of perfectivity as a bound or a limit of some kind. Furthermore, with the exception of Lindstedt (1985), in all accounts of the Slavic aspect within these frameworks, the imperfective is not considered incompatible, but 'unmarked for the meaning signaled by the p[erfective] aspect' (Dickey 2000:17).

The **totality** approach lies conceptually close to Mazon's (1914) punctuality theory and it stems from de Saussure's (1967:161-162) idea that the perfective aspect 'represents the action in its totality, as a point, without reference to its development' (Dickey 2000:16-17). Representatives of the totality approach include Bulanin & Bondarko (1967), Maslov (1959, 1965), Forsyth (1970), Bondarko (1971), Durst-Andersen (1992) for Russian, Dostál (1954), Kopečný (1962) for Czech, and Comrie (1976) in the cross-linguistic perspective (Glovinskaja 1982:12, Dahl 1985:74, Stunová 1993:8, Dickey 2000:16-17, Borik 2002:75, Janda 2004:477)[537]. According to Comrie (1976:3), the perfective aspect represents an event:

> (54) […] without reference to its internal temporal constituency: the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one; no attempt is made to divide this situation up into the various individual phases that make up the action of entry. (Comrie 1976:3)

He further defines the perfective/imperfective opposition in the following way (Comrie 1976:16):

> (55) perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pay essential attention to the internal structure of the situation. (Comrie 1976:16)

Comrie (1976) has produced one of the most cited definitions of grammatical aspect and tense which have made a major impact on reaffirming the distinction between the two categories in modern research. Inspired by Holt (1943:6), Comrie (1976:3) describes aspect as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation'. By contrast, tense 'relates the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking' (Comrie 1976:1-2). In a later study, Comrie (1985:123) employs and reinterprets the Reichenbachian notions R, E and S to formalise his definition of tense and aspect (differently than in the relational theory): He defines E-S as the relation reflecting the absolute tense, e.g. past: E_S, present: E,S, future: S_E,

[537] According to Gehrke (2008:149) the totality approach has been prominent in the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) tradition (e.g. Bondarko & Bulanin 1967) and in the Czech tradition (e.g. Kopečný 1962).

while including R only to explain the meaning of the 'relative tenses'[538], as in the English Past Perfect: E-R-S. For Comrie (1976, 1985) 'relative tenses' and grammatical aspect are two distinct phenomena, although he does not define the latter category in terms of the relations between E, R, and S (cf. the previous section regarding the discussion on the difference between relative tenses and grammatical aspect).

Besides his contribution to the distinction between (absolute) tense and aspect, as well as between absolute and relative tense, Comrie's (1976) work is important in the domain of aspectology because of his subdivision (or decomposition) of the imperfective aspect into a progressive and a habitual aspect (cf. section 2.4.1). Besides showing that the aspectual categories such as the perfective, imperfective, progressive and habitual are quite common cross-linguistically, this systematisation has helped establish terminology linked to a clearer idea about the semantic relations between e.g. the Russian Imperfective and the English Progressive (alternative analyses which argue against the treatment of the progressive aspect as a subcategory of the imperfective aspect, cf. Arche 2014).

The totality view is related to the analogy between perfective/imperfective opposition and **count/mass nouns** which has already been discussed within the formal frameworks but which has also been observed in the functional tradition (cf. Dahl 1985:76). Dickey (2000:288) believes that the perfective/imperfective opposition in the Western Slavic languages (and Slovenian) is organised 'around the concept of totality, and is thus directly comparable to count/mass distinction in nouns', while Janda (2004) uses this analogy to account for the Russian Perfective and Imperfective aspects based on a set of properties, such as the presence/absence of temporal boundaries and the punctual/durative temporal structure.

The **boundedness** view is related to the **completion** approach and it is based on the view that the perfective aspect indicates the existence of an event's (initial or final) bound, whereas the imperfective aspect signals the absence thereof. Studies which analyse the perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition within this approach include Vinogradov (1947), Jakobson (1957), Avilova (1976), and Padučeva (1996) for Russian, Wierzbicka (1967) for Polish, Lindstedt (1985) and Fielder (1993) for Bulgarian, and the cross-linguistic studies by

[538] Comrie's (19976, 1985), Klein's (1994) and Bohnemeyer's (2014) use of the term 'relative tense' does not correspond to the one used by the present author, which is taken from Rose et al. (2002) and Nurse (2008). Unlike Bohnemeyer (2014), I do not consider a TAM form's ability to specify the distance between an event and R a feature that distinguishes relative tenses from aspects.

Chung & Timberlake (1985), Dahl (1985)[539] and Talmy (2000) (Dahl 1985:76, Dickey 2000:17, Janda 2004:477)[540]. The concept of boundaries as part of aspectual meaning has been prominent especially in the recent studies in aspectology, e.g. in Bertinetto & Delfitto (2000), Breu (2000:38), and Tatevosov (2002) (Sasse 2002:201, Janda 2007:615, Guéntcheva 2016:4).

A related view is provided by Hewson & Bubenik (1997:14) according to whom aspect reflects the position or point along the timeline from which an event is observed[541] (cf. external vs. internal perspective in Isačenko 1960:132-133). They single out five cardinal points which give the cross-linguistically most common (yet not the only) aspectual representations[542] depicted in the diagram in (56): A is the point along the timeline before the onset of the event (the initial and the final bounds of the event are indicated by the brackets) and it results in the prospective aspect; B marks the beginning of the event, resulting in the inceptive aspect; C is a position between the beginning and the end of the event which represents the event as incomplete and which yields the imperfective and the progressive aspects[543] (Hewson & Bubenik 1997:14, Hewson 2012:511, 514); D is the position at the endpoint of the event from which it is viewed as 'completed'[544] (complete whole) and it marks the perfective aspect; finally, E is the position after the end of the event in the result phase (outside the bracket) and it represents anterior (retrospective, perfect) aspect.

(56) A [B----------C----------D] E

[539] Dahl (1985) does not employ the totality approach throughout his analysis. However, his comparison of the totality and the boundedness approaches ends with a remark that the former is not sufficiently adequate to account for aspectual semantics.

[540] According to Gehrke (2008:149) this approach was in predominant in the aspectological studies of the Moscow tradition, e.g. Vinogradov (1947).

[541] Hewson & Bubenik (1997) have adapted Guillaume's representation of 'event time' which contains a line running from bar A to bar B (Hewson 2012:511).

[542] Languages are not 'required to have them all' (Hewson 2012:511).

[543] The timeline in the diagram represents the concept of 'event time' which serves as the basis for aspectual forms; when a language has tense too, the event time is combined with the so-called 'universe time'. Languages are divided according to the type of cognitive processing of events along the timeline: The timeline either flows from the infinite future to the infinite past, in which case the language operates with 'descending time', or it view the timeline as flowing from the infinite past forward to the infinite future, in which case it has 'ascending time' (Hewson 2012:512-513). Both the imperfective and the progressive denote incomplete events. However, the difference is that the imperfective is the unmarked form in languages with the 'descending time', whereas the progressive is the marked form in languages with the 'ascending time' (Hewson & Bubenik 1997, Hewson 2012).

[544] I assume that Hewson & Bubenik's (1997) and Hewson's (2012) use of the term *complete* refers to the concept of the *complete whole* rather than to the (point of) *completion of an event* which I link to telic events only.

(Hewson & Bubenik 1997:14)

Thus, Hewson & Bubenik (1997) regard the perfective/imperfective opposition as a difference in perspective from which the event is viewed.

A number of synoptic studies of Slavic aspect do not differentiate between the concepts of boundedness and totality, or they do not focus on identifying one of the two as primary, but they rather describe aspect by means of its particular context-bound meanings, e.g. Švedova (1980), Bondarko (1990, 1993)[545] (Dahl 1985:76, Dickey 2000:95-96, 103, Janda 2004:477-480, Gehrke 2008:149-150; cf. for issues regarding singling out individual features as representative of aspectual categories Glovinskaja 1989:7-25 and Zaliznjak & Šmelev 2000:32).

4.9. Typological and diachronic variation and other accounts of aspectual semantics

As Dickey (2000:17) notes, totality theory is based on the subjective parameter, namely the speaker's choice to view a situation as an indivisible whole or not. Indeed, in section 4.7 it was pointed out that the choice of aspect is the speaker's own choice. However, these choices are governed by language-specific principles (i.e. semantics) and this fact is confirmed in typological studies (cf. Dostál 1954, Isačenko 1960:132). Some cases in which the perfective/imperfective opposition does not follow the same semantic lines in two different languages were addressed in section 1.2. Another example is found in Dahl's (1985:74) influential questionnaire-based typological study of tense and aspect, in which the capitalised verb in (57) was translated with an imperfective verb to all the investigated Slavic languages (cf. the Russian translation) except Bulgarian[546], whereas in a majority of other languages (with the perfective/imperfective opposition) the perfective aspect was used.

[545] Bondarko (1990, 1993) considers the meaning of the perfective aspect to be totality and limitation (Dickey 2000:24).

(57) Context: What did your brother do after dinner yesterday?
Sentence: He WRITE letters.

Russian:	On	**pisa-l**	pis'm-a.
	PRON.3.SG.M.NOM	write.IPFV-PST.M.SG	letter.N-PL.ACC

(Dahl 1985:74-75)

Janda & Fábregas (2019) and Fábregas & Janda (2019) arrive at similar results in their parallel corpus studies of the Perfective/Imperfective opposition in Russian and Spanish. Janda & Fábregas (2019) find a number of contexts in which the same events that extend over an interval of time are denoted by the Imperfective in Russian and by the Perfective aspect in Spanish, which they interpret with a difference in perspective: While Russian focuses on the duration, Spanish concentrates on the bound of the event. The opposite cases in which the Russian Perfective corresponds to the Spanish Imperfective, Fábregas & Janda (2019) explain with the focus Russian places on the initial bound in Russian, which is not taken into account in Spanish. Thus, Janda & Fábregas (2019) and Fábregas & Janda (2019) argue that Russian takes the internal perspective which allows it to concentrate on duration and initial bounds, while Spanish takes the external perspective since it focuses on specificity of the final bound of an event.

Aspectual semantics exhibits significant variation even within one branch of a language family. For example, the habitual events can be Perfective in Czech, but not in Russian which requires them to be Imperfective, cf. (58-59). By contrast, the use of the Imperfective aspect to indicate reference to the general past experience (without a specific temporal location), also known as the **general factual** reading, occurs with all actional classes in Russian, but not with achievement verbs in Czech, cf. (60-61).

(58) Czech

Vypij-e	dvě	sklenic-e	piv-a	denně.
drink=up.PFV-PRS.3.SG	two.PL.F.ACC	glass.F-PL.ACC	beer.N-SG.GEN	daily

*Every day he **drinks** two mugs of beer.*
(Dickey 2000:3)

(59) Russian

Každ-yj	den’	on	***vypje-t /**
every-M.SG.NOM	day.M-SG.NOM	PRON.3.M.SG.NOM	drink=up.PFV-PRS.3.SG

/ vypiva-et	dve	kružk-i	piv-a.
drink=up.IPFV-PRS.3.SG	two.PL.F.ACC	mug.F-PL.ACC	beer.N-SG.GEN

*Every day he **drinks** two mugs of beer.*
(Dickey 2000:3)

(60) Czech

Jednou už	***dostával /**	**dostal**
once already	get.IPFV-PST.M.SG	get.PFV-PST.M.SG

napomenut-í	za	spožden-í.
admonition.N-SG.ACC	for	delay.N-SG.ACC

*He **has** already once **received** a reprimand for being late.*
(Dickey 2003:3)

(61) Russian

Odnaždy	on	uže	**polučal**
once	PRON.3.SG.M.NOM	already	receive.IPFV-PST.M.SG

vygovor	za	opozdani-e.
Reprimand.M.SG.ACC	for	delay.N-SG.ACC

*He **has** already once **received** a reprimand for being late.*
(Dickey 2003:3)

Unlike in Czech, repetition of an event (habituality) or non-specificity of its temporal location on the timeline (general-factual reading; irrespective of the actional class) prompts the Imperfective aspect in Russian. Hence, the meaning of the Perfective aspect is identified as **definiteness of temporal reference** in Leinonen’s (1982)[547] study of Russian aspect and in Dickey’s (2000) cognitive study of aspect in the Slavic languages, an idea directly linked to the accounts (cf. section 4.7) which observe that the perfective aspect expresses temporal sequentiality and/or having a specific temporal location, e.g. Forsyth (1970, 1972), Gurevič (1971), Galton (1976),

[547] Leinonen (1982) introduces the notions of ‘inner aspect’ and ‘outer aspect’ to characterises the Russian Perfective/Imperfective opposition. ‘Outer aspect’ refers to the temporal relation of an event to the other surrounding events (sequencing, simultaneity, backgrounding). In other words, ‘outer aspect’ denotes the aspectual category’s **temporal (in)definiteness**, i.e. the (im)possibility to assign an event to a unique location in time, relative to other states and events. By contrast, ‘inner aspect’ refers to viewing an event in time as total, or durative, repetitive, through its inceptive phases, final phases, etc. The quality indicated by ‘inner aspect’ corresponds to the notion of totality. Thelin (1978, 1990a) proposes a similar theory (Dickey 2000:19).

Hopper (1979, 1982), Barentsen (1983, 1985, 1998) and Stunová (1991, 1993)[548,549] (Stunová 1993:12, Dickey 2000:19, 22, 24, Dickey & Kresin 2009, Janda 2004:480).

Dickey (2000) organises the aspectual systems of the Slavic languages[550] into two groups: a Western type (West Slavic and Slovenian) and an Eastern type (East Slavic and Bulgarian, Macedonian), whereby Serbo-Croatian and Polish represent transitional zones which exhibit features of both systems[551]. Dickey (2000:259) concludes that the Western type perfective marks totality which is 'accounted for by the synoptic theories'. By contrast, the Eastern type perfective indicates that an event is seen as a uniquely identifiable occurrence which is 'qualitatively different from the preceding and subsequent states' (Dickey & Kresin 2009). Dickey (2000:266-272) links definiteness to the concept of uniqueness[552]. Since the Eastern type perfective denotes events which denote unique occurrences along the timeline, he characterises its meaning as **temporal definiteness**.

With respect to the imperfective aspect, Dickey (2000:259) defines the Eastern type of this aspectual category as the **inability** to **assign** an event to **more than one point** in time, a property he terms **qualitative temporal indefiniteness**. By contrast, the Western type imperfective denotes the **assignability** of an event to **more than one point** in time, **quantitative temporal indefiniteness**. Dickey (2000:288) identifies the nominal counterparts of the aspectual opposition in the verbal domain: While the Western type of the perfective/imperfective

[548] Forsyth (1970:65) describes grammatical aspect in Russian in the following way: '[t]he expression of a sequence of actions is one of the most characteristic functions of perfective verbs in an extended context'. Similarly, Hopper (1979, 1982) shows that, across languages the perfective aspect provides foreground and the imperfective aspect provides background information. Similar definitions of the perfective aspect appear in other studies: temporal succession in Galton's (1976) study of Slavic aspect, sequentiality in Gurevič's (1971) and 'connectedness with external situations' ('svjazannost' s vnešnimi situacijami', Dickey 2000:19) in Barentsen's (1983) analysis of Russian. Newer accounts include Sullivan & Bogdan's (2001) and Bogdan & Sullivan's (2009) analysis of Polish narratives, in which they replace the traditional binary division between foreground and background information with a tripartite one: a 'plot' (foreground events), 'temporal background' (background events anterior to the plot) and 'pragmatic description' (background events simultaneous with the plot). As expected, most events belonging to the 'plot' are Past Perfective in the past narratives and Present Imperfective in the historical present narratives.
[549] In her comparative study of the Russian and Czech aspectual systems, Stunová (1991) defines the Czech Perfective as a marker of totality, whereas the Russian Perfective marks both totality and temporal sequence.
[550] East Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian), West Slavic (Czech, Slovak, Polish), and South Slavic (Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Bulgarian).
[551] Serbo-Croatian shares more similarities with the Western type and Polish is more similar to the Eastern type.
[552] Dickey (2000) concept of definiteness is developed from the cognitive accounts by Langacker (1991) and Epstein (1994, 1996, 1998).

opposition corresponds to the **count/mass** distinction in nouns, he compares the Eastern type to the **definite/indefinite** distinction (cf. Israeli 1996)[553].

The variation in the complexity of aspectual semantics is more thoroughly understood if the diachronic perspective is taken into consideration. Observations by Maslov (1955), Isačenko (1960), Ivančev (1971), Galton (1976), Křížková (1960), Auerbach (1973), and Conev (1984) indicate that the Eastern type perfectivity developed the meaning of temporal definiteness only in later stages that it initially was more similar to contemporary meaning of the Western type perfectivity (Dickey 2000:282-283)[554]. This confirms Thelin's (1990b) claim that there is a 'universal tendency for languages to develop temporal definiteness/indefiniteness distinction from the total/non-total distinction' (Dickey 2000:283).

Commonly cited alternative sources of the perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition include the generalisation of iterative (=lexical aspect)>habitual and/or progressive semantics, or a fusion of the two in one form (Maslov 1961[555], Bybee et al. 1994, Wiemer 2008[556]). Being one of the most important diachronic studies of TAM semantics, Bybee et al. (1994) propose the possible diachronic semantic development of other TAM categories which will be relevant for the analysis of the present study. For example, it is currently unresolved if the Recent Past in Xhosa denotes the (Present) Perfect/Anterior or the Recent Past (cf. section 3.4), an issue which confirms the common diachronic origin of perfective and past markers proposed by Bybee et al. (1994) propose, cf. (62):

(62) completive aspect > anterior aspect > perfective aspect > past tense
(Bybee et al. 1994)

(63) lexical aspect > grammatical aspect > tense

The diachronic development patterns proposed above place aspectual markers in an intermediate position between a marker of an actional class (lexical aspect) and a tense marker. This

[553] This view is in line with Israeli's (1996) observations regarding examples (13-14) in Chapter 1 in which the Perfective verb, unlike its Imperfective counterpart, indicates shared knowledge (i.e. expectation that the event has occurred) between discourse participants.
[554] Dickey (2000:283) emphasises these are merely impressionistic data.
[555] Dickey (2000:283-284).
[556] Wiemer (2008) includes also modality, i.e. constructions with modals, as one of the intermediate stages in the development of Slavic aspect.

grammaticalisation path parallels the stages of primary language acquisition described in Hewson (2012:520-521), according to whom aspectual meaning is acquired before the temporal one. Although the present study works with synchronic data, the path of grammaticalisation in (63) needs to be considered when determining the semantics of a specific TAM marker, because it may develop semantics of one adjacent development stages. Interestingly, the order in the grammaticalisation path (63) parallels the order of projections suggested in most of the generative studies: (modality>)tense>grammatical aspect>VP/lexical aspect.

Numerous other studies of tense and aspect have been conducted which consider the underlying semantics of these two categories to be linked to such domains as modality or deixis. Thus, Arregui et al. (2014) argue for a modal analysis of the imperfective aspect follow Bonomi's (1997), Cipria & Roberts's (2000), and Deo's (2009) view of this aspectual category as an operator quantifying situations which it is viewed as an operator which quantifies events.

One group of cognitive studies, tense and aspect are primarily analysed using cognitively defined deictic concepts, e.g. Cutrer (1994) with her Mental Spaces Theory, Janssen (1987, 2002), Langacker (1991), Harder (1996), Boogaart (1999), Brisard (1999, 2002), Boogaart & Janssen (2007), Desclés (2016). Some, such as Cutrer (1994) and Boogaart (1999), include notions similar to temporal reference in their analyses of aspect. However, even though I acknowledge that aspectual semantics may exhibit deictic and modal properties, I do not assume these are its underlying meaning.

4.10. Conclusion

The literature overview in the present chapter shows that aspectual semantics has often been linked to either **temporal reference**, **quantification/specificity/definiteness** (in the verbal domain) or both.

The two assumed components of aspectual semantics have an analogue in Klein's (1994:2-3, 36ff) division of event information into temporal information FIN and lexical information INF. However, in this study I reinterpret FIN and INF by equating them with R and E, respectively. In section 1.1, it was pointed out that the relational theory defines R as the time for which an event's occurrence is asserted whereas E represents the time interval occupied by the real-world event. At the same time, Klein (1994:180ff) sees R as an element of FIN which is

attached to INF to produce a sentence with temporal anchoring. However, as suggested above, I propose equating FIN and R: They represent specific intervals on the timeline to which the asserted event is confined. At the same time, instead of Klein's (1994:3) definition of E as 'the time which corresponds to INF' (a concept that encodes information about the real event's occurrence on the timeline) I propose to redefine it as an **atemporal entity**. It encodes only the predicate's lexical value, including its actional class, specificity-related and quantificational issues, but it contains no temporal elements. For E to obtain any temporal anchoring (i.e. to refer to a specific interval on the timeline), it needs to link to its R which functions as a 'assertion window' onto the timeline. Using aspect, i.e. the relation between E and R, we can look through that 'window' to learn which part of E has occurred.

When I characterise E as atemporal, this concerns only the fact that it lacks temporal anchoring on the timeline. As we have seen, different predicates have different inherent structures determined by their lexical aspect. In other words, different predicates consist of different 'moments' (similar to Verkuyl's 1993 indices) even if those moments are not temporally anchored. Therefore, it makes sense to refer to the endpoint or the starting point of E, even when it is not linked to a specific position on the timeline.

The concept of E and its integral parts will also be used to refer to real-life events. Even though I have defined E as separate from the temporally anchored real-life event it denotes, E is the concept we use to linguistically recognise, identify and conceptualise a real-life event and its structural elements. Therefore, in the following sections I will discuss E's endpoint which occurred before 12am on Tuesday or E's onset which started before R, even though it is not E per se that occurred in real-life occupying a specific interval on the timeline. The real-life event is merely recognised as a combination of: (i) a representation of a specific predicate E with (ii) a specific temporal location on the timeline R. This fact will play an important role in the analysis of aspectual markers in Xhosa (cf. Part III).

PART III

5. The Perfective and Imperfective Aspects

5.1. Introduction

Capturing the semantics of the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition in Xhosa is inseparable from the identification of R in the different types of discourse such as narrations and dialogues. In the present chapter, these issues are addressed using verb forms in the Past and the Future tenses, since the Present tense only has the Imperfective aspect.

I have already pointed out in the previous chapter that in my analysis, I adopt Klein's (1994) and Borik's (2002) views that narrative progression should be defined as a case of R-movement. This means that the Perfective aspect should introduce a discourse-new R, whereas the Imperfective should not, reusing the discourse-old R instead. This view is largely confirmed in the first part of the analysis: The Imperfective aspect relies on the previously introduced R, whereas the Perfective forms introduce a new, later R if the clause semantically 'clashes' with the preceding clause (cf. sections 5.3 and 5.3.1). This part of the analysis also reveals that some temporal adverbials can function as R for the Imperfective aspect instead of the anaphorically transferred R from the preceding clause.

In the second part of the analysis (cf. section 5.4), I address the semantic relation between temporal adverbials and R. Although Klein (1994) claims that time adverbials in some cases may function as R, the two cannot be equated. Although I agree with the view that time adverbials may (but often do not) function as R, I depart from Klein's (1994) approach to identifying R. Instead, I examine how the Perfective and Imperfective aspects differently modify the semantic relation between a predicate and the accompanying time adverbial. I will show that the Perfective aspect combines both the lexical information about the event E and its temporal location R, the latter being its unique point on the timeline. At the same time, the Imperfective

aspect only encodes E, while the information about R is not encoded in the verb but elsewhere, for example (but not exclusively) in time adverbials.

In the third part of the analysis (cf. section 5.5), I analyse events with unspecified temporal location which is indicated by the Imperfective aspect, confirming that Perfectivity in Xhosa automatically entails a specific temporal location known to both the speaker and the hearer.

In section 5.6, I examine the cases in which accessibility (in van der Wal's 2009 terms), i.e. knownness or givenness of information about the event correlates with the aspect used to denote the event. I arrive at the conclusion that a time interval known to both the speaker and the hearer can serve as R, in which case the event is denoted by the Imperfective aspect. By contrast, the when the type of the event is known to all discourse participants (but not the fact whether it has occurred or the exact time when it happened), the event is denoted by the Perfective aspect.

Section 5.7 deals with examples in which R is not overtly specified or known from the previous discourse or experience, yet it is successfully identified for events denoted by the Imperfective aspect. The analysis shows that, in such cases, R can be inferred from our world knowledge in that it as a rule may represent any substantial part of a person's lifetime or a temporal entity's duration.

In section 5.8, I discuss aspectual alternation (in durative N predicates) in cases which cannot be accounted for with anaphoric relations from the previous discourse, accessibility of information about the event, or with world knowledge. The analysis shows that in predicates with a durative N, the type of information about the event which is salient (in van der Wal's 2009 terms) in the further discourse correlates with the aspect that denotes the event. The link between salience and aspectual semantics is further examined in section 5.9: The Perfective aspect tends to indicate a **causal relation**[557] to the upcoming discourse, by introducing information about the event's results or consequences. At the same time, the Imperfective aspect negates the causal link to the following discourse. Instead, it may retain R as the topic in the following utterance (by providing information about other integral elements of the event, about another simultaneous event, or about a temporally adjacent ensuing event), indicate that an entity

[557] i.e. the inference of causality is an implicature that can be canceled.

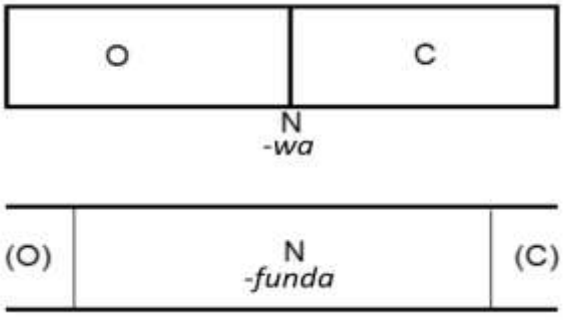
(i.e. the subject) involved in the event is focused by representing the event as one of the properties of that entity, or signal that no information about the event follows in further discourse.

Prior to examining the issue of R identification within the analysis of the semantics of the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition, I will briefly address the classification of predicates in Xhosa into actional classes (cf. section 5.2).

5.2. Lexical aspect in Xhosa

In section 2.4.2, I pointed out that the actional class classification proposed by Botne & Kershner (2000:165-166) (based on Freed 1979 and Botne 1983) has been influential in the descriptions of lexical aspect in the Bantu languages. It divides all predicates into three phases: an onset phase (**O**), a nucleus (**N**), and a coda (**C**). Whereas N is the characteristic part of the event, O and C represent the events initial (preparatory) and final (consequent) phases, respectively. As an example, if the verb *-wa* ('fall') refers to the subject falling on the ground, O is the phase during which the subject is still standing upright, N is the phase or moment of falling, and C is the ensuing state during which the subject is lying on the ground. Botne & Kershner (2000:165-166) use the (temporal) structure of N to establish the primary line of division of predicates into two types: **durative** and **punctual**[558]. Unlike durative verbs, punctual verbs reach their point of completion from the moment they begin, cf. Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1. *Verbs with a punctual nucleus, e.g.* -wa *('fall'), and verbs with a durative nucleus, e.g.* -funda *('learn, study') (adapted from Savić 2017:48, based on Botne & Kershner 2000:165-166).*



[558] As already pointed out in section 2.4.2, Botne & Kershner (2000:165) use the notion *inchoative* for punctual and non-*inchoative* for durative verbs.

Punctual verbs (i.e. predicates[559]) have a punctual N and they correspond to Vendlerian achievements, whereas durative verbs have a durative N and they correspond to Vendlerian states, activities, and accomplishments (Botne & Kershner 2000:165-166)[560]. Following Beuchat (1966), Botne (1983), Botne & Kershner (2000) and others, I take durativity/punctuality of N to be the primary feature and (actionality) classification criterion of the Xhosa predicate, leaving aside such properties as telicity (cf. Chapter 6) and dynamicity in durative verbs (cf. Crane & Persohn 2019 for a more detailed view of telic readings in Xhosa).

There is one more property that seems to be relevant for the subdivision of the punctual verbs. In the description of the Recent Past tense in section 3.4, it was pointed out that in Xhosa and the other Nguni languages there is a group of verbs (with a punctual N) which I refer to as **inchoative verbs** and which denote events whose results must hold at the moment of speech (S) when in the Recent Past tense (Perfective), cf. (29) from Chapter 3, repeated here as (1).

(1) **Si-lamb-ile**.
SM.1PL-get=hungry-ANT.DISJ
We are hungry.

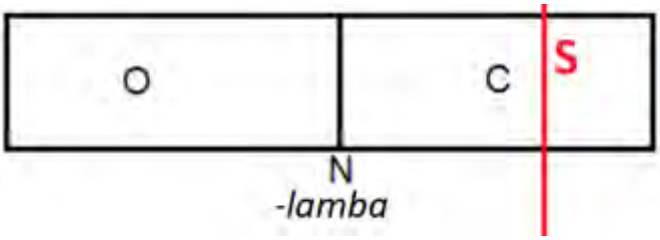
Since in Botne & Kershner's (2000) framework the result of the event is formalised as C phase, this means that in the Recent Past, inchoative verbs denote an event's C at S as illustrated in Figure 5.2. Since Botne & Kershner's (2000) framework is integrated into the relational theory in this study, it is important to note that E, which I have redefined as an atemporal concept (cf. section 4.10), encompasses all the three phases O, N and C, i.e. E=O+N+C[561].

[559] In section 2.4.2 it was asserted that a predicate's lexical aspect is not only determined by the verb, but by other constituents too. However, for the sake of simplicity, in this section I will refer to the distinction as one between punctual and durative verbs.

[560] Botne & Kershner's (2000) view of lexical aspect is also concordant with Klein's (1994) division into actional classes. Klein (1994) divides predicates into 0-state, 1-state and 2-state predicates. 0-state predicates are similar to the Vendlerian notion of states. They denote predicates which cannot cease to hold true, e.g. <pen be red> or <The Nile be in Africa>. 1-state predicates are similar to Vendlerian activities in that they denote predicates which have a starting point and an endpoint, although these bounds are not encoded, e.g. <Lindiwe be asleep> or <Lindiwe be in Cape Town>. 2-state indicate a change-of-state, i.e. predicates which automatically denote two different states, e.g. <Themba enter the room> or <the vase fall over>.

[561] Note that I assume that every predicate in Xhosa may consist of an O, N and C-phase. However, this does not mean that in every predicate there is an explicit mention of O, N and C. In some predicates, O and C are more easily identifiable (and thus more often referred to) than in others. For example, punctual predicates like *-wa* ('fall') have a clearly defined O (the state before the subject falls) and C (the subject lying on the ground) so that

Figure 5.2. *In the Recent Past tense, the C phase of inchoative verbs, such as* -lamba *('get hungry') intersects by S.*



To determine durativity/punctuality of a verb's N, I use the test in (A) which is based on Dowty (1979). (A) yields grammatical sentences only with durative predicates. In order to verify if a verb belongs to the inchoative subcategory, the test in (B) is used. (B) is incorrect with inchoative verbs.

(A)	I (have) [V]-ed, Ndi-[V]-ile, SM.1SG-/-ANT.DISJ	but kodwa but	I did not finish / succeed. andi-gqib-anga / NEG.SM.1SG-finish-NEG.ANT	 andi-phumelel-anga. NEG.SM.1SG-succeed-NEG.ANT
(B)	I [V]-ed. Ndi-[V]-ile SM.1SG-/-ANT.DISJ	> >	V-result does not hold any more	

Different actional classes may often result in different semantics with the same TAM marker. Accordingly, in section 1.4.2.1 (cf. paragraph on diverse predicate properties) it was claimed that the common denominator to all the contextual semantics of a TAM marker is better identified if the analysis includes predicates with different actional classes. Therefore, the data extracted from the corpus, which is primarily used in the following sections, comprises excerpts that are each organised around one **target verb** (cf. section 1.4.2.1). The target verbs form a closed group. They are high-frequency verbs and they include the durative *-bhala* ('write'), *-sebenza* ('work'), *-funa* ('want'), as well as the punctual *-fumana* ('find'), *-hamba* ('walk'), *-bamba* ('catch', 'hold'), *-thatha* ('take'), *-fika* ('arrive'), *-wa* ('fall'), *-gqiba* ('finish'), and *-phila* ('be well, live'). Of these, two verbs, *-bamba* and *-phila* are inchoative. Even though lexical aspect is also

the mere mention of N automatically implies the occurrence of the two surrounding phases. Even some durative predicates with a clearly identifiable endpoint like *-funda incwadi* ('read a/the book') have a clearly defined C, e.g. the state when the subject has finished reading the book and is familiar with its entire content. However, O and C are hardly ever referred to in predicates like *-mthanda* ('love her/him').

determined by constituents other than the main verb (as pointed out in section 2.4.2), a limited number of main verbs build predicates with a more predictable set of actional classes.

Note that not all the twelve verbs are tested for each TAM marker. Furthermore, some less frequent TAM markers may not have enough instances of co-occurrence with those twelve verbs in the corpus, in which case other verbs are used in the analysis. In addition, in some cases several target verbs occur in one and the same excerpt.

5.3. R-movement and Perfective/Imperfective opposition in the Recent Past tense in Xhosa

In a corpus study by Savić et al. (forthcoming), the different effects the Recent Past Perfective and Imperfective (target) verbs[562] have on the phenomenon of R-movement are analysed. As temporal progression is the object of the study, only those Recent Past Perfective and Imperfective forms are included which are preceded by (Remote or Recent) Past tense clauses (within one speaker's uninterrupted turn-constructional unit, cf. Sacks et al. 1974), which for the sake of simplicity I refer to as **narrations**. The hypothesis predicted that the Perfective target verb forms would introduce R-movement, whereas their Imperfective counterparts would indicate **R-stagnation**, i.e. refer to a time interval which **does not start after** (i.e. which overlaps or, in some cases even precedes) the time interval referred to by the verb from the preceding clause. Thus, determining whether a target verb exhibits R-movement or R-stagnation depends on whether the time of the reported event starts at a later point than that of the (last) preceding

[562] A total of ten different verbs has been used in the study. These include both typically punctual and durative verbs. Naturally, in every analysed example the lexical aspect of the entire verb phrase (and not solely of the isolated target verb) has been taken into account.

Indicative Perfective verb[563]. In addition, the R-movement/R-stagnation of the (Perfective or Imperfective) Indicative verb forms that followed the target verbs was also analysed[564].

The results of the study largely confirm the hypothesis, although they also reveal some other properties of the mechanism of R-movement in Xhosa. Almost all of the Imperfective verb forms[565] retain the reference to a time interval that has been introduced in one of the preceding clauses[566]. The Imperfective verbs' effect of R-stagnation is demonstrated in the bolded verbs in (2-4) with the temporal progression/stagnation indicated in the subscript parentheses: Event $_{(1)}$ occurs before $_{(2)}$, which in turn takes place before $_{(3)}$[567]. The examples show that with the Imperfective aspect, neither punctual (2-4) nor durative (3) predicates introduce a new (later) R-time into the narrative sequence. All the typically imperfective readings are attested: The bolded form in (2) has a progressive[568] reading, its counterparts in (3) and (4) demonstrate (arguably) durative[569] readings, whereas (5) has the habitual reading.

[563] Wherever possible, when the last verb form preceding the target verb was not a main Indicative Perfective verb (i.e. an Imperfective main verb, a relative verb, or a non-Indicative verb), an additional assessment of the R-movement/R-stagnation relative to the last preceding Indicative Perfective verb was conducted, besides the 'regular' assessment relative to the first preceding (non-Indicative or subordinate) verb: (i) When the preceding verb was an Imperfective verb (this also included any Past tense forms of *-ba* ('be') because they have a durative or habitual reading and because they do not have a possibility to express the aspectual contrast) it was most often impossible to conclude when its assertion time interval started and ended (an overt temporal reference was rarely present); (ii) Perfective and Imperfective relative verb forms, not being the main verb had a temporal reference that could be completely unrelated to the plot (i.e. refer to one entity only); (iii) Non-Indicative preceding verb forms, such as the Subjunctives, Past Consecutives (which are treated as Perfective), and Participials (which are treated as the Imperfective) have a temporal reference that depends on the main verb.

[564] It was tested whether the Indicative verbs in the clauses that followed the target verb introduced a new R or maintained the discourse-old R relative to the target verb.

[565] This includes the Imperfective target forms and the Imperfective Indicative verb forms that follow target forms.

[566] With the exception of one whose R is given by an accompanying time adverbial.

[567] R reflects the temporal structure of the main plot and is indicated by subscript numbers $_{(1)}$ and higher. R-movement represents the transition from a lower to a higher number, e.g. the first event $_{(2)}$ after an event(s) $_{(1)}$.

[568] It could be argued that *besifika* ('we were arriving') does not quite illustrate the mechanism of R-stagnation, because the verb belongs to the subordinated clause introduced by *xa* ('when'), which functions as a time adverbial, i.e. a temporal frame that helps locate the verb *úbé* ('she was'). However, this is the closest I have found to an example of the progressive reading of a Recent Past Imperfective form exhibiting R-stagnation in the analysed corpus data.

[569] One could argue that example (2) has a habitual reading instead. If the event of working is viewed as a single, biographic event of being employed, the reading is durative. If the event is viewed a series of individual instances of Gushingozi going to and back from work every day, the reading is habitual.

(2) Ku-dliwano=ndlebe olu-l-odwa lwe-Bona no-Jumaima=Khumalo
SM.17-11.interview RM.11-SM.11-only POSS.11-9.Bona COM-1a.Jumaima=Khumalo

no-Linah=Sosana=Dunn, o-ngu-ninakhulu ka-Peggy=Sue,
COM-1a.Linah=Sosana=Dunn RM.1-COP.1-1a.grandmother POSS.1a-Peggy=Sue

ku-vel-é(1) i-zi-nto ezi-ninzi ezi-phikisan-a-yo. U-Linah=Sosana=Dunn
SM.17-appear-ANT AUG-10-thing RM.10-many RM.10-dispute-FV-DISJ AUG-1a.Linah=Sosana=Dunn

ú-b-é(0) lu-gcwabevu ngu-m-sindo
SM.1-be-ANT COP.11-infuriated=person COP.3-3-rage

xa **besi-fik-a**(0) si-z-e ku-dl-an'(>0)[570] i-ndlebe na-ye.
when SM.1.PL.be.PST-arrive-FV SM.1PL-come-SUBJ 15-consume-RECIP.FV AUG-9.ear COM-9

'Ndi-yek-e-ni! [...]'
OM.1SG-leave-SUBJ-IMP.2PL

*In Bona's exclusive interview with Jumaima Khumalo, and with Linah Sosana Dunn, Peggy-Sue's grandmother, a number of conflicting elements emerged(1). Granny Linah Sosana Dunn was furious(0) when **we were coming**(0) to interview(0>) her.*
'Leave me alone! [...]'
(Roux et al. 2001)

Example (2) is an article from Bona magazine about Peggy-Sue Khumalo, Miss South Africa 1996, in which her mother and grandmother were interviewed. The time interval referred to by the Recent Past Perfective form *kuvelé* ('(there) appeared') summarises the journalists' experience from the interviews, a statement that could be made only after the interviews had been conducted. The verbs in the following sentence, the Imperfective verbs *úbé* ('she was') and *besifika* ('we were arriving') do not introduce a discourse-new, later R because they refer to an earlier time interval, the time of conducting one of the interviews.

In (3), an excerpt from a novel, the bolded Imperfective verb *ubesebenza* ('he worked') refers to the imprisoned Gushingozi working at the Magistrate's house. Said event of Gushingozi's labour in prison started around the time of R from the previous sentence denoted by the serial verb *úthé akuba sel'ezigqibile* ('he (then) when (they=months) finished'), about six months into his sentence, when he could prove his trustworthiness. The verb *ubesebenza* ('he worked') does include moments posterior to the point in time denoted by *úthé akuba*

[570] The symbol > in the subscript parentheses indicates that said event occurred after the time indicated by the number indicated in the parentheses. Since the event's occurrence is not asserted, it cannot be allocated a subscript number.

sel'ezigqibile (‘he (then) when (they=months) finished’), but nevertheless, it does not introduce a new R. The starting point of *ubesebenza* (‘he worked’) overlaps with R from the preceding sentence, which means that it rather ‘reuses’ the discourse-old R.

(3) Wâ-gwety-w-a(1) u-m-nyaka o-ne-si-qingatha ku-mnyama=ndawo.
SM.1.REMPST-sentence-PASS-FV AUG-3-year RM.3-COM-7-portion SM.17-9.dark=place

Ú-th-é aku-b-a sel’e-zi-gqib-ile(2) ii-nyanga
SM.1-say-ANT SM.1.TEMP-be-FV UNEXP.SM.1.PTCP-REFL-finish-ANT.DISJ AUG-10.month

ezin-tandathu e-lapho e-ntolongw-eni wa-bonakalis-a(2)
ADJ.10-six SM.1.PTCP-there.MED LOC-9.gaol-LOC SM.1.PSTCONS-show-FV

i-nkuthalo ne-ntembeko. **Ube-sebenz-a**(2) kwa-mantyi e-ndlw-ini
AUG-9.diligence COM-9.trustworthyness SM.1.be.PST-work-FV at-1a.Magistrate LOC-9.house-LOC

lo=gama ama-nye a-ma-banjwa aye-sebenz-a(2) e-m-yezw-eni. ¶
while ADJ.6-other AUG-6-inmate SM.6.go.REMPST-work-FV LOC-3-orchard-LOC

Apho kwa-mantyi u-Gushingozi waye-sul-a(2)
there.MED at-1a.Magistrate AUG-1a.Gushingozi SM.1.go.REMPST-wipe-FV

u-m-gangatho nga-ma-futha a-wu-hlikihl-e(2) nge-zi-ziba
AUG-3-floor INSTR-6-oil SM.1.SUBJ-OM.3-rub-SUBJ INSTR-8-cloth

a-wu-tsh-o u-bengezel-é(2) ngokungathi u-za=ku-zi-buk-a(2).
SM.1.SUBJ-OM.3-say=so-FV SM.3-be=shiny-ANT as=if SM.2SG-FUT-REFL-watch-FV

He (Gushingozi) was sentenced(1) to a year and a few months in the ‘Dark Place’ (prison). After 6 months(2) in gaol, he proved(2) to be diligent and trustworthy. He worked(2) in the Magistrate's house, while the other inmates worked(2) in the orchard. ¶
There, in the Magistrate's House, Gushingozi would wipe(2) the floor with the cleaning oil and polish(2) until it was so shiny(2) that one could see(2) one’s own reflection in it.
(Roux et al. 2001)

Similarly, example (4) from a Bona magazine article describes an event at Zoo Lake which was attended by the three celebrities, Winnie Mashaba, Ntokozo Mbambo, and Mam’Deborah Fraser. The bolded Imperfective verb *ubehamba* (‘she was walking’) refers to Ntokozo’s attendance of the event together with her husband, which is simultaneous with Winnie wearing a jacket, skirt, hat and All Star takkies, represented by the Recent Past Anterior *ubenxibé* (‘she wore’) in the preceding sentence. However, the identification of R that the two sentences share is located even earlier: Both events start and thus overlap with the celebrities’ arrival at Zoo Lake, denoted by the (last) preceding Indicative Recent Past Perfective verb, *afiké* (‘they arrived’).

(4) Noxa e-xakek-ile-yo oma-thathu la ma-nenekazi,
although SM.6.PTCP-be=busy-ANT-DISJ SM6.INCL.ADJ-three DEM.6.PROX 6-lady

kodwa a-fik-é(1) nge-xesha e-Zoo=Lake. U-Winnie ube-nxib-é(1)
but SM.6-arrive-ANT INSTR-5.time LOC-9.Zoo=Lake AUG-1a.Winnie SM.1.be.PST-put=on-ANT

ii-teki ze-All=Star, i-skeyiti esi-rhuq-a-yo
AUG-10.takkies POSS.10-9.All=Star AUG-7.skirt RM.7-drag-FV-DISJ

ne-jakhethi e-fudumel-e-yo no-m-nqwazi. U-Ntokozo **ube-hamb-a**(1)
COM-9.jacket RM.9-become=warm-ANT-DISJ COM-3-hat AUG-1a.Ntokozo SM.1.be.PST-walk-FV

no-m-yeni wa-khe, u-Nqubeko=Mbatha e-coth-a(1)
COM-1-husband POSS.1-1 AUG-1a.Nqubeko=Mbatha SM.1.PTCP-be=slow-FV

ngo-ku-nga-qhelek-anga e-nxib-é(1) i-zliphazi. U-Mam'
INSTR-15-NEG-be=usual-ANT.NEG SM.1.PTCP-put=on-ANT AUG-8.slippers AUG-1a.mother

u-Deborah ube-nxib-é(1) ndilisek-ile-yo,
AUG-1a.Deborah SM.1.be.PST-put=on-ANT be=dignified-ANT-DISJ

e-homb-ile(1) njenge-si-qhelo, ube-se-ngu-laa(1) m-ntu
SM.1.PTCP-dress=smartly-ANT.DISJ as-7-habit SM.1.be.PST-UNEXP-COP.1-DEM.1.DIST 1-person

ú-no-bubele si-m-az-i-yo noxa ebe-leq-ile(1).
SM.1-COM-14.kindness SM.1PL-OM.1-know-FV-DISJ although SM.1.be.PST-chase-ANT.DISJ

*Even though these three ladies were busy, they arrived(1) at Zoo Lake in time. Winnie was wearing(1) All Star takkies and a long skirt touching the ground, a warm jacket and a hat. Ntokozo **was**(1) (lit: **was walking**) with her husband, Nqubeko Mbatha, walking slowly(1) as unusual and wearing(1) slippers. Mam' Deborah was wearing(1) decent beautiful clothes as usual, and she was(1) kind as we know her, even though she was in a hurry(1).*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

Example (5) has been taken from the beginning of a reader's letter sent to Bona magazine, in which the author describes the decay of her marriage. The Imperfective verb *bendimbamba* ('I used to catch him') represents the iterated event of witnessing the husband's infidelity. The repeated sequence of events refers to a time interval that led to (i.e. preceded) the couple's separation, denoted by the Recent Past Perfective *ndohlukené* ('I separated from') in the preceding sentence.

(5) Ndi-ngu-mama$_{(S)}$[571] wa-ba-ntwana aba-bini o-na-ma-27 e-mi-nyaka.
SM.1SG-COP.1-mother POSS.1-2-child ADJ.2-two RM.1-COM-6-twenty=seven POSS.6-4-year

Nd-ohluken-é$_{(1)}$ no-m-yeni wa-m kwaye ndi-fun-a$_{(S)}$
SM.1SG-separate=from-ANT COM-1-husband POSS.1-1SG and SM.1SG-want-FV

si-wu-qhawul-e$_{(>S)}$ u-m-tshato. Si-th-é$_{(0)}$ ngoku
SM.1PL-OM.3-divorce-SUBJ AUG-3-marriage SM.1PL-say-ANT now

si-tshat-ile-yo wa-thand-an-a$_{(0)}$ n-ama-ny'
SM.1PL-marry-ANT-DISJ SM.1.PSTCONS-love-RECIP-FV COM-ADJ.6-other

a-ma-doda kwaye **bendi-m-bamb-a**$_{(0)}$ qho xa e-lel-é$_{(0)}$
AUG-6-man and SM.1SG.be.PST-OM.1-catch-FV repeatedly when SM.1.PTCP-sleep-ANT

na-wo a-z-e$_{(0)}$ a-xolis-e$_{(0)}$ na-m ndi-m-xolel-e$_{(0)}$
COM-6 SM.1.SUBJ-come-SUBJ SM.1.SUBJ-apologise-SUBJ COM-1SG SM.1SG-OM.1-forgive-SUBJ

kuba ndi-m-thand-a$_{(0)}$ kwaye ndi-cing-a$_{(0)}$
because SM.1SG-OM.1-love-FV and SM.1SG-think-FV

ukuba ú-za=ku-wu-yek-a$_{(>0)}$ lo m-khuba wa-khe.
that SM.1-FUT-OM.3-leave-FV DEM.3.PROX 3-vice POSS.3-1

I am$_{(S)}$ *27 years old and I am a mother*$_{(S)}$ *of two. I have split*$_{(1)}$ *from my husband and I want*$_{(S)}$ *a divorce. When we got married*$_{(0)}$*, he had affairs*$_{(0)}$ *with other men;* ***I used to catch him***$_{(0)}$ *sleeping*$_{(0)}$ *with them repeatedly, he would apologise*$_{(0)}$ *and I would forgive him*$_{(0)}$ *thinking*$_{(0)}$ *he would stop*$_{(>0)}$ *his vice.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

Although a majority of the Perfective verb forms[572] do conform with the prediction of the hypothesis, as many as about one third of them contradict it. Let us first consider those Perfective verbs which confirm the prediction: The Perfective verbs introduce a new R-time into the discourse both with punctual (6) and with durative (7) predicates.

(6) 'Khomo=o=o=ni!' wâ-khwaz-a$_{(1)}$ wa-tsh-o$_{(1)}$ u-bawo
1a.Khomoni SM.1.REMPST-shout-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-say=so-FV AUG-1a.father

u-Morocco xa kumpondozankomo. Ú-sabel-é$_{(2)}$
AUG-1a.Morocco when early=in=the=morning SM.1-respond-ANT

lowo waye-biz-w-a. 'Nced-a$_{(I)}$, m-ntwan'-a-m,
DEM.1.MED SM.1.go.REMPST-call-PASS-FV help-FV 1-child-POSS.1-1SG

u-ndi-boph-el-e$_{(1)}$ u-Rhalevimba, ndi-no-m-cimbi$_{(S)}$
SM.2SG-OM.1SG-tie-APPL-SUBJ AUG-1a.Rhalevimba SM.1SG-COM-3-matter

endi-wu-sukel-a e-Ngqamakhwe.' **Ú-hamb-é**$_{(3)}$
SBJRM.1SG-OM.3-chase=after-FV LOC-9.Ngqamakhwe SM.1-go-ANT

wa-y-a ku-sithel-a$_{(>3)}$ u-Khomoni li-m-tshel-é$_{(3)}$ ukuba
SM.1.PSTCONS-go-FV 15-disappear-FV AUG-1a.Khomoni SM.5-OM.1-adhere-ANT that

[571] *S* in the subscript parentheses indicates that said event occurs at the moment of speech.
[572] Perfective target forms, and Perfective verb forms that follow target forms.

ú-z-a ku-th-i(>3) li-phi(3) na i-hashe la-kowabo ku-yise,
SM.1-come-FV 15-say-FV SM.5-where Q AUG-5.horse POSS.5-at=home SM.17-1a.father

waye-l-az-i(3) nje yena Khomoni apho li-kh-o-yo(3).
SM.1.go.REMPST-OM.5-know-FV just PRON.1 1a.Khomoni there.MED SM.5-exist-FV-DISJ

Wê-mk-a(4) wa-y-a ku-tshon-a(4) e-si-xhoty-eni.
SM.1.REMPST-leave-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-go-FV 15-disappear-FV LOC-7-bush-LOC

'Khomooooni!' father Morocco shouted(1) early in the morning. The one who was being called answered(2). 'Help(I), my son. Please tie(I) Rhalevimba for me, I have(S) a matter I have to attend to in Ngqamakhwe.' Khomoni ***went***(3) *to hide(>3), thinking(3) about what to tell(>3) his father about where the horse was(3), while knowing(3) where it was(3). He left(4) and disappeared(4) in the bushes.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Example (6) comes from a novel and it shows that the Recent Past Perfective moves the timeline forward relative to the time from the preceding sentences. The event of Khomoni walking (and looking for a place to hide) is denoted by *úhambé* ('he walked') and it started only after (without overlap) Morocco, his father, finished producing the utterance given in the direct speech.

Similarly, the Perfective form of the durative verb *-funa* ('want') in (7) moves the narration time forward relative to the time of the event from the preceding clause: The witness hesitated to give a clear answer only after the lawyer asked him the question, an event denoted by *libuzile* ('he asked').

(7) Ú-phakam-ile(1) u-m-fo ka-Spilkin wa-m-ngcambazis-a(2)
SM.1-stand=up-ANT.DISJ AUG-1-man POSS.1a-1a.Spilkin SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.1-question-FV

lo m-fo ú-fik-a-yo e-m-khokel-a(2)
DEM.1.PROX 1-man SM.1-arrive-FV-DISJ SM.1.PTCP-OM.1-lead-FV

u-ku-m-land-is-a(>2) ukuba ú-ngu-bani(=2)[573] ka-bani o-hlal-a kwi-lali
AUG-15-OM.1-fetch-CAUS-FV that SM.1-COP.1-who POSS.1a-who RM.1-stay-FV SM.17-9.village

ya-kwa-Qongqotha, wa-vum-a(3) om-nye. Li-buz-ile(4)
POSS.9-at-9.Qongqotha SM.1.PSTCONS-respond-FV ADJ.1-one SM.5-ask-ANT.DISJ

kananjalo i-gqwetha ukuba ú-ya-m-az-i(=4) kusini na u-m-mangal-elwa.
as=well AUG-5.lawyer that SM.1-DISJ-OM.1-know-FV whether Q AUG-1-accused

Ú-fun-é(5) u-ku-xing-a obe-buz-w-a ngo-ku-th-i ú-m-az-i(=5)
SM.1-want-FV AUG-15-halt-FV RM.1.be.PST-ask-PASS-FV INSTR-15-say-FV SM.1-OM.1-know-FV

u-ku-th-i-ni na. 'Phendul-a(S) u-m-buzo,' i-tsh-ilo(6) i-jaji.
AUG-17-say-FV-what Q answer-FV AUG-3-question SM.9-say=so-ANT AUG-9.judge

[573] The symbol = in the subscript parentheses indicates that the event (which is part of a quotation or direct speech) is simultaneous or overlaps with the *verbum dicendi* which introduces the quotation or the direct speech.

Spilkin (lawyer) stood up(1) *and interrogated*(2) *the man asking him*(2) *to say*(>2) *who he is*(=2)*, who his parents are, that he stays in the village of kwaQongqotha, and the man replied*(3)*. The lawyer also asked*(4) *whether this young man knows*(=4) *the accused. He* ***hesitated to answer***(5) *(lit:* ***wanted to halt****) by asking for a clarification of the question*(=5) *(lit: what knowing the accused means). 'Answer*(S) *the question,' said*(6) *the judge.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Savić et al. (forthcoming) systematise all the instances in which the Perfective verb does not introduce a new R, into one of the three following groups (or a combination thereof): (i) **change of subject**, i.e. when the subject changes relative to the preceding sentence (8); (ii) **conjunctions**, i.e. when used after a conjunction (9); (iii) **verb repetition**, i.e. when the verb from the preceding clause repeats (10).

(8) A-ma-rhamente a-nga-ma-20,000
AUG-6-member=of=congregation RM.6-be=as=much=as-6-twenty=thousand

beku-th-iw-a(2) **a-fikelel-é**(1) e-nkcochoyi-ni ya-se-Nhlangakazi
SM.17.be.PST-say-PASS-FV SM.6-reach-ANT LOC-9.top-LOC POSS.9-LOC-9.Nhlangakazi

ngo-m-hla we-si-2 ku-Januwari wa-lo nyaka - kodwa
INSTR-3-day POSS.3-7-two SM.17-1a.January POSS.3-DEM.3.PROX 3.year but

aba-nye **ba-hamb-é**(1) nje xa u-hambo belu-sa-qal-a(0)
RM.2-other SM.2-walk-ANT just when AUG-11.journey SM.11.be.PST-PERS-start-FV

ba-z-a ba-jik-a(2) e-ndlel-eni ba-phind-a(3)
SM.2.PSTCONS-come-FV SM.2.PSTCONS-turn-FV LOC-9.road-LOC SM.2.PSTCONS-do=again-FV

emva kwii-bhasi ebezi-fik-a(<3)
after POSS.17-10.bus RM.10.be.PST-arrive-FV

zi-ba-thath-e(>3) zi-ba-godu-s-e(>3).
SM.10-OM.2-take-SUBJ SM.10-OM.2-go=home-CAUS-SUBJ

More than 20,000 members of the congregation ***were estimated***(2) *to* ***have reached***(1) *the top of Nhlangakazi on January 2 this year - but others* ***made the effort to walk*** *(lit: walked just when the journey was still starting)* ***the beginning stretches***(1) *before they had to be ferried back home*(3) *by waiting buses*(<3)*.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Example (8)[574] comes from a magazine article about the Nazareth Baptist Church. The sentence describes the followers' pilgrimage to the top of the Nhlangakazi mountain. The event denoted

[574] Due to spatial constraints, the preceding and the following sentences which are thematically unrelated to the sentence about pilgrimage, have been omitted from the example. The preceding sentence discusses that although the church is not funded by the state, its followers do no pay tithes. The sentence that follows the one used in the example contains direct speech by the church's media spokesperson.

by the Recent Past Perfective verb *bahambé* (‘they walked’) does not start after the event represented by the Perfective verb *(bekuthiwa) afikelelé* (‘(it is said that) from the preceding clause ended. The verb *bahambé* (‘they walked’) refers to a large number of the congregation members walking only the beginning of the journey to the mountain top, an event which started (and probably ended) before other followers reached the summit. The lack of the sequentiality is explained by the fact that the subjects in the two verbs are different. Two same-tensed clauses with the same subject are less likely to hold true at the same time, but two different subjects are more probable to engage in two different activities at the same time.

Example (9) comes from a novel by Douglas Peggy Sidayiya, *Iyawa nguMayedwa*, about a boy whose name is Mayedwa. The excerpt describes Mayedwa’s encounter with Vayedwa, a character towards whom he feels a great amount of mutual animosity. Because he is afraid of Vayedwa beating him up, Mayedwa pretends that he wants to cheer Vayedwa up by giving him a present, which is in fact a parcel with a frog inside. The Perfective *úzibambile* (‘he caught himself’) does not occur after *úphelile* (‘he was finished’) from the preceding clause: At the same time as Mayedwa wanted to laugh, which is denoted by *úphelile* (‘he was finished’), he had to restrain himself from doing it, an event represented by *úzibambile* (‘he caught himself’). The effect of R-stagnation is probably enabled by the conjunction *koko* (‘but’) which introduces information that is in contrast with the preceding clause: The two clauses contain information about one event.

(9) Ngenxa=yo-m-nqweno wo-ku-fun-a u-ku-yi-bon-a nga-me-hlo
because=of-3-wish POSS.3-15-want-FV AUG-15-OM.9-see-FV INSTR-6-eye

ukuba yi-ntoni na, ú-yi-vul-ile(1) u-Vayedwa loo pasile
that COP.9-what Q SM.1-OM.9-open-ANT.DISJ AUG-1a.Vayedwa DEM.9.MED 9.parcel

abe-ceng-w-a(0) nga-yo ngu-Mayedwa ukuba a-nga-m-beth-i(>0).
SBJRM.1.be.PST-plead-PASS-FV INSTR-9 COP.1-Mayedwa that SM.1.SUBJ-NEG-OM.1-beat-NEG

Ng-elo xesha a-yi-vul-a-yo u-Mayedwa yena ú-jong-é(1)
INSTR-DEM.5.MED 5.time SBJRM.1-OM.9-open-FV-DISJ AUG-1a.Mayedwa PRON.1 SM.1-look-ANT

e-cal-eni. U-m-ntu owaye-no-ku-m-ondel-a(1) u-ku-m-jong-a(1)
LOC-5.side-LOC AUG-1-person RM.1.go.REMPST-COM-15-OM.1-observe-FV AUG-15-OM.1-look-FV

nge-waye-m-bon-ile ukuba **ú-phel-ile**(1)
COUNTERFACT-SM.1.go.REMPST-OM.1-see-ANT.DISJ that SM.1-be=finished-ANT.DISJ

yi-ntsini, **koko** **ú-zi-bamb-ile**(1). Aku-zange ku-b-e
COP.9-laughter but SM.1-REFL-catch-ANT.DISJ NEG.SM.17-never=do SM.17-be-SUBJ

ku-hle(2) apho aku-yi-bon-a(2) i-nto
COPADJ.17-beautiful there.MED SM.1.TEMP-OM.9-see-FV AUG-9.thing

e-phakathi ku-loo pasile u-Vayedwa.
RM.9-inside SM.17-DEM.9.MED 9.parcel AUG-1a.Vayedwa

Because of his great desire to see with his own eyes what was inside, Vayedwa opened$_{(1)}$ *the parcel which Mayedwa gave him as a plea*$_{(0)}$ *not to be beaten up*$_{(>0)}$*. Mayedwa looked*$_{(1)}$ *to the side. A careful observer would see that he really* ***wanted***$_{(1)}$ *to laugh, but he* ***restrained himself***$_{(1)}$ *(lit:* ***he caught himself****). It did not go well*$_{(2)}$ *when Vayedwa saw*$_{(2)}$ *what was inside the parcel.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Example (10) comes from an interview with a sex worker. In the excerpt, the journalists summarise their impression of the interviewee: At first, the journalists had the impression that the interviewee was an impervious person who did not let her everyday hardships affect her greatly. Yet, after some time they realised she is a sensitive person who also felt fear and who was anxious about her own existence. The Perfective verb *sifumené* ('we found') refers to the same event as the Past Consecutive verb *safumana* ('(and) we found') from the previous clause. The verb *-fumana* ('find') is repeated in the two neighbouring clauses, signalling that they do not describe two subsequent events but one and the same event. In fact, the verb needs not repeat in two same-tensed neighbouring clauses for the second clause with a Perfective verb to exhibit R-stagnation: It suffices that the second verb's semantics clearly refers to the same event as the one from the preceding clause, thus making the Imperfective aspect superfluous.

(10) Besi-cing-a$_{(1)}$ ukuba ú-nako$_{(x)}$ u-ku-melan-a$_{(x)}$ na-bo b-onke
SM.1PL.be.PST-think-FV that SM.1-be=able AUG-15-confront-FV COM-2 SM.2-all

u-bu-nzima a-phil-a$_{(x)}$ na-bo. Kodwa **si-th-é** saku-theth-a$_{(2)}$
AUG-14-difficulty SBJRM.1-live-FV COM-2 but SM.1PL-say-ANT SM.1PL.TEMP-speak-FV

na-ye, **sa-fuman-a**$_{(2)}$ ukuba ú-no-velwano.
COM-1 SM.1.PSTCONS-get-FV that SM.1-COM-11.empathy

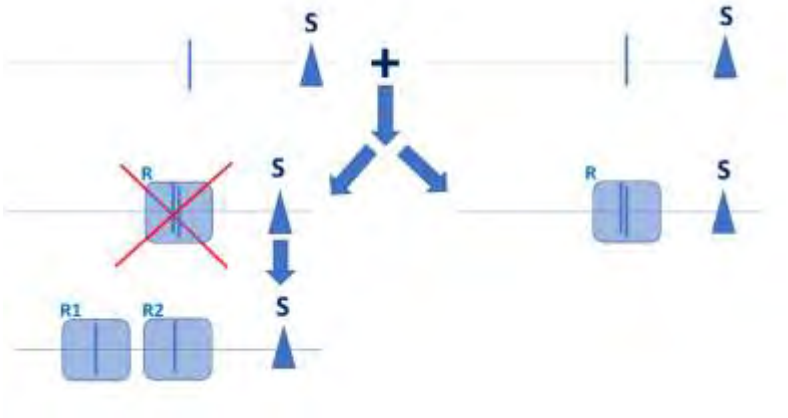
Si-fumen-é$_{(2)}$ ukuba ú-ye-nye$_{(x)}$ i-ntombazana e-yoyik-a-yo
SM.1PL-get-ANT that SM.1-COPADJ.9-one AUG-9.girl RM.9-be=afraid-FV-DISJ
kodwa ú-zam-a$_{(x)}$ u-ku-zi-phil-is-a. S-onke
but SM.1-try-FV AUG-15-REFL-live-CAUS-FV SM.1PL-all

si-ya-ba-gxibh-a$_{(S)}$ a-ba-ntu aba-thengis-a nge-mi-zimba.
SM.1PL-DISJ-OM.2-ridicule-FV AUG-2-person RM.2-sell-FV INSTR-4-body

> *We thought*$_{(1)}$ *that she could face*$_{(x)}$ *all the hardship that she lives*$_{(x)}$ *with. But when we spoke to her*$_{(2)}$*, we* ***realised***$_{(2)}$ *(lit:* ***found****) that she has compassion. We* ***realised***$_{(2)}$ *(lit:* ***found****) that she is a girl*$_{(x)}$ *who is scared, but that she is trying*$_{(x)}$ *to survive. All of us (tend to) ridicule*[575]$_{(S)}$ *sex workers.*
> (Roux et al. 2001)

The conclusion drawn by Savić et al. (forthcoming) is that all the three cases of Perfective R-stagnation can be accounted for by the lack of **contradiction** or **semantic clash** between the Perfective verb and the verb from the preceding clause. In other words, when two same-tensed verbs occur in two neighbouring clauses, if they cannot hold true at the same time, they will naturally be interpreted as representing two subsequent events, cf. Figure 5.3[576]. Furthermore, in narrative contexts, the Imperfective can be understood as a mechanism for removing the semantic clash and 'fitting' the Imperfective verb into any same-tensed preceding clause.

Figure 5.3. *Two same-tensed neighbouring clauses (Perfective verbs) in a narration creating the effect of R-movement (left) or R-stagnation (right).*



[575] Disclaimer: The present sentence does not reflect my opinion. With this sentence, the author of the magazine article intends to criticise the vast portion of the population for its lack of empathy and the negative attitude towards sex workers.

[576] The uppermost part of the illustration represents the merge of two same-tensed clauses. The lower levels represent the two clauses' possible interpretations. The left half illustrates the case when the two clauses cannot hold true at the same time, thus creating the effect of R-movement. The right half illustrates the case when the two same-tensed neighbouring clauses may (or are likely to) hold true at the same time, thus creating the effect of R-stagnation.

Consider (11), where the subject Sipho is unlikely to be engaged in both activities, coming home and taking a shower at the same time. In the given order, the event of Sipho coming home will be understood as preceding that of taking a shower. It should be noted that the semantic clash needs not be based on a complete logical impossibility for two events to hold true at the same time. Example (12) shows that, although Sipho could be engaged in eating an apple while coming home (e.g. while approaching or entering the front door), this interpretation is unlikely: Both predicates in (12) are semantically dissimilar and dynamic, which is why each introduces its own R-time[577]. The semantic clash is thus most often avoided when two events obviously refer to the same time, be it that it denotes one event or two different, but simultaneous events.

(11) Sipho came home$_{(1)}$. Sipho took a shower$_{(2)}$.

(12) Sipho came home$_{(1)}$. Sipho ate an apple$_{(2)}$.

Thus, the phenomenon of **R-movement** (not only in Xhosa) is understood here as a natural **consequence of the semantic clash** that occurs between neighbouring same-tensed clauses. R-stagnation, by contrast, needs either one of the abovementioned ways of excluding the semantic clash (subject change, conjunction, verb repetition), or aspectual marking (Imperfective aspect in the case of Xhosa).

The fact that the Perfective aspect allows both R-movement and R-stagnation, whereas the Imperfective aspect only marks the latter (unless time adverbials imply otherwise) should be interpreted in terms of markedness. Thus, the Perfective is **less specific** about R-movement/R-stagnation: It **may, but needs not** introduce a '**new**' **R**, whereas the **Imperfective aspect is marked as an R-stagnating form**, which means that it reuses the '**old**' **R**, i.e. R that has already been introduced in the preceding clause.

5.3.1. R-movement and the Perfective/Imperfective opposition in other tenses

The conclusion drawn by Savić et al. (forthcoming) applies also to the Remote Past Perfective and Imperfective forms in the corpus. As is evident in (13-15), irrespective of the nature of N

[577] For the semeantic clash to be avoided in (11), the second predicate would have to have the Progressive aspect, i.e. *was eating*.

(durative or punctual), the Imperfective forms 'reuse' the previously introduced R, whereas the Perfective forms in (16-18) introduce their own R which starts after the event from the previous clause ends.

(13) I-si-ganeko so-ku-bhukuq-w-a ko-rhulumente wa-se-Ciskei
AUG-7-event POSS.7-15-overturn-PASS-FV POSS.15-1a.government POSS.1-LOC-9.Ciskei

sâ-b-a si-si-ganeko$_{(1)}$ esa-b-a si-khulu n-esa-b-a-
SM.7.REMPST-be-FV COP.7-7-event RM.7.REMPST-be-FV COPADJ.7-big COM-RM.7.REMPST-be-FV

-no-ku-nga-libal-ek-i e-zi-mbali-ni za-la ma-zwana.
COM-15-NEG-forget-NEUTR-NEG LOC-10-history-LOC POSS.10-DEM.6.PROX 6-small=country

Le nto y-ênzek-a$_{(1)}$ ngo-Matshi k-o-we-1990
DEM.9.PROX 9.thing SM.9-happen-FV INSTR-1a.March POSS.1a-3-9.nineteen=ninety

xeshikweni u-Mongameli=Sebe waye-thabath-e u-hambo
while AUG-1a.President=Sebe SM.1.go.REMPST-take-ANT AUG-11.journey

olu-y-a e-Japhani. Nangona **waye-hamb-a**$_{(0)}$
RM.11-go-FV LOC-9.Japan although SM.1.go.REMPST-go-FV

kwâ-se-ku-cac-ile$_{(0)}$ ukuba i-kh-o$_{(0)}$
SM.17.REMPST-UNEXP-SM.17-become=clear-ANT.DISJ that SM.9-exist-FV

i-ntshukumo e-kh-o-yo kw-elo zwe la-se-Ciskei. ¶
AUG-9.action RM.9-exist-FV-DISJ SM.17-DEM.5.MED 5.country POSS.5-LOC-9.Ciskei

Nge-ntlazane yo-m-hla we-si-ne ku-Matshi=1990, i-Radio=Ciskei
INSTR-9.early=morning POSS.9-3-day POSS.3-7-four SM.17-1a.March=1990 AUG-9.Radio=Ciskei

yâ-hlokomis-a$_{(2)}$ ii-ndaba zo-kuba u-rhulumente ka-Sebe
SM.9-proclaim-FV AUG-10.news POSS.10-that AUG-1a.government POSS.1a-Sebe

u-bhukuq-iw-é$_{(1)}$ nga-ma-joni a-khe awaye-khokel-w-e
SM.1-overturn-PASS-ANT COP.6-6-soldier POSS.6-1 RM.6.go.REMPST-lead-PASS-ANT

ngu-Brigadiya=Oupa=Gqozo ngentseni=ye-cawa yo-m-hla we-si-ne.
COP.1-1a.Brigadier=Oupa=Gqozo in=the=early=morning-9.Sunday POSS.9-3-day POSS.3-7-four

That event of overturning the government of Ciskei came to be$_{(1)}$ *an important event that could not be forgotten in the history of the region. This happened*$_{(1)}$ *in March 1990, when he went to Japan. Even though* ***he was leaving***$_{(0)}$*, it was clear*$_{(0)}$ *that something was going*$_{(0)}$ *to happen.* ¶
In the morning of 4 March 1990, Radio Ciskei announced$_{(2)}$ *the news that Sebe's government was overthrown*$_{(1)}$ *by the soldiers led by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo on Sunday morning.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The excerpt in (13) comes from a novel by Dr Knobel Sakhiwo Bongela, *Iimbali zikaMpahleni*, whose main character is Mpahleni. In it, one of the characters describes an important moment in the history of Ciskei. The Remote Past Imperfective *wayehamba* ('he was going') has a progressive reading and it denotes a forthcoming event. The verb 'regresses the timeline'

because the preceding clause describes an event that occurred later, namely the overturn of the government which is referred to by the Remote Past Perfective *yênzeka* ('it happened').

In (14), an example from the novel about Mayedwa, a scene is described in which he eats scones he is supposed to deliver to a shop. Unaware of the shop owner's ability to detect how many scones are missing based on what is written on a piece of paper, Mayedwa believes the paper visually 'records' his mischiefs, which is why he hides it when he plans to eat more scones on the way to the shop. The Remote Past Imperfective verb *wayehamba* ('he was walking') has a progressive reading. It refers to the event of Mayedwa walking simultaneously with his saying the quoted material. Unlike the previously discussed Imperfective verb in (13), the bolded Imperfective verb in (14) exceptionally progresses the timeline because of the time adverbial *ukubuya kwakhe* ('on his way back'). This is because time adverbials have a 'priority' over aspectual marking in progressing the narrative sequence of events. Thus, in (14) the Imperfective verb 'uses' the time adverbial's reference instead of R from the preceding clause. This observation also suggests that time **adverbials** can fulfil the **same function as R** from the preceding clause, a fact that will be especially important in the next section.

(14) Apho ú-fik-é(1) wa-thabath-a(2) i-li-tye eli-si-xwexwe,
there.MED SM.1-arrive-ANT SM.1.PSTCONS-take-FV AUG-5-stone RM.5-7-thick=slab

wa-li-bek-a(3) phantsi i-phepha elo,
SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-put=down-FV down AUG-5.paper DEM.5.MED

wa-z-a wa-li-gqum-a(4)
SM.1.PSTCONS-come-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-cover-FV

wa-li-shicilel-a(5) ng-elo li-tye.
SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-press-FV INSTR-DEM.5.MED 5-stone

Wâ-shiy-a(6) ku-njalo ke apho u-m-fo om-khulu
SM.1.REMPST-leave-FV SM.17-be=like=that then there.MED AUG-1-man ADJ.1-big

wa-buyel-a(7) e-gigi-ni. U-ku-buy-a(8) kwa-khe
SM.1.PSTCONS-return=to-FV LOC-9.cart-LOC AUG-15-return-FV POSS.15-1

waye-hamb-a(8) e-theth-a(8) ye-dwa e-si-th-i: 'Nd-aku-khe(>S)
SM.1.go.REMPST-go-FV SM1.PTCP-speak-FV 1-alone SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-sau-FV SM.1SG-FUT-ever=do

ndi-bon-e(>S) u-ku-th-i(>S) laku-xel-a(>S) ntoni na namhlanje eli phepha. [...]'
SM.1SG-see-SUBJ AUG-15-say-FV SM.5.TEMP-tell-FV what Q today DEM.5.PROX 5.paper

There(1) *(behind the bush) he took*(2) *a stone slab, put*(3) *the piece of paper on the ground, covered*(4) *it with the stone and pressed it*(5)*. He left it*(6) *like that, and went*(7) *to his cart. On his way back*(8)*, he was talking*(8) *to himself saying*(8)*: 'I'm going to see*(>S) *what this piece of paper will say*(>S) *today. […]'*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Example (15) has been taken from an autobiographical text published in a magazine. As expected, the Remote Imperfective verb, *wayesebenza* ('he worked'), has the durative reading and it retains R from the previous sentence (which it shares with the Remote Past Imperfective verb *sasingamboni* 'we did not see him') denoted by the time adverbial *ngelo xesha* ('during that time').

(15) Ng-elo xesha sasi-nga-sa-m-bon-i$_{(1)}$ u-tata.
INSTR-DEM.5.MED 5.time SM.1PL.go.REMPST-NEG-PERS-OM.1-see-NEG AUG-1a.father

Waye-sebenz-a$_{(1)}$ e-dolophini (e-Thekw-ini) yaye
SM.1.go.REMPST-work-FV LOC-9.city LOC-9.Durban and

e-hlal-a$_{(1)}$ e-Glebelands=Hostel e-Mlazi. Waye-tyelel-w-a$_{(1)}$
SM.1.PTCP-stay-FV LOC-9.Glebelands=Hostel LOC-9.Mlazi SM.1.go.REMPST-visit-PASS-FV

ngu-mama kuphela.
INSTR-1a.mother only

At this time (during the 1983 fights) we did not see$_{(1)}$ *dad any more.* ***He worked***$_{(1)}$ *in Durban and he stayed*$_{(1)}$ *at Glebelands Hostel in Mlazi. Only mom visited*$_{(1)}$ *him.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

As expected, the Remote Past Perfective verbs tend to progress the timeline of a narration, as long as the semantic clash with the preceding clause is present. Thus, in (16), an excerpt from the novel about Mpahleni, the history of Lovedale is told in the direct speech. The Remote Past Perfective verb *wâbhala* ('he wrote') refers to a time after the formation of the station (also owing to the time adverbial *emva koko* 'after that'), which is the time of assertion in the preceding clause.

(16) Ng-o-we-1824 u-Ross no-Bennie ba-fim-a$_{(1)}$
INSTR-3-POSS.3-9.eighteen=twenty=four AUG-1a.Ross COM-1a.Bennie SM.2.REMPST-start-FV

i-si-tishi esi-tsha es-azi-w-a ngo-kuba yi-Lovedale$_{(x)}$
AUG-7-station ADJ.7-new RM.7-know-PASS-FV INSTR-that COP.9-9.Lovedale

eya-thiy-w-a ngo-m-nye u-m-fundisi u-Gqirha=John=Love.
RM.9.REMPST-name-PASS-FV INSTR-ADJ.1-one AUG-1-referent AUG-1a.Doctor=John=Love

Emva k-oko u-Bennie **wâ-bhal-a**$_{(2)}$
after POSS.17-DEM.17.MED AUG-1a.Bennie SM.1.REMPST-write-FV

ezi-nye ii-ncwadi. I-Lovedale yâ-qal-a u-ku-sebenz-a$_{(3)}$
ADJ.10-other AUG-10.book AUG-9.Lovedale SM.9.REMPST-start-FV AUG-15-work-FV

njenge-ndawo yo-ku-shicilel-a kuphela ii-ncwadi ze-grama.
as-9.place POSS.9-15-print-FV only AUG-10.book POSS.10-9.grammar

In 1824 Ross and Bennie started$_{(1)}$ *a new station which was known as Lovedale*$_{(x)}$ *named after a referent, Dr John Love. After that, Bennie* ***wrote***$_{(2)}$ *other books. Lovedale started to work*$_{(3)}$ *as a printing place for grammar books only.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

In example (17) from a text about the life of Eskia Mphahlele, both bolded Remote Past Perfective verbs, *wâgqiba* ('he decided') with *wâsebenza* ('he worked') (with a punctual and a durative N, respectively), move the timeline forward relative to the preceding clauses. *Wâgqiba* ('he decided') refers to Eskia Mphahlele's decision to move abroad, some time after he had taken the journalist job with Drum magazine, which is the event described in the preceding sentence. Similarly, *wâsebenza* ('he worked') in the following clause denotes a series of events that occurred after he left South Africa.

(17) U-Mphahlele wâ-y-a ku-sebenz-a$_{(1)}$ kwi-magazini i-Drum
AUG-1a.Mphahlele SM.1.REMPST-go-FV 15-work-FV SM.17-9.magazine AUG-9.Drum

ukususela ngo-1955 ukuya ku-1957.
from INSTR-9.nineteen=fifty=five to SM.17-nineteen=fifty=seven

Waye-nga-ku-thand-i$_{(1)}$ u-ku-b-a$_{(1)}$ yi-ntatheli ngoko
SM.1.go.REMPST-NEG-15-like-NEG AUG-15-be-FV COP.9-9.journalist as

aka-zange onwab-e$_{(1)}$. **Wâ-gqib-a**$_{(2)}$ ekubeni
NEG.SM.1-never=do SM.1.SUBJ.be=happy-SUBJ SM.1.REMPST-finish-FV that

a-bhac-e$_{(>2)}$ kw-eli li-zwe
SM.1.SUBJ-desert=home-SUBJ SM.17-DEM.5.PROX 5-country

ukuze kwi-li-zwe a-bhac-el-e$_{(>2)}$ ku-lo a-fundis-e$_{(>2)}$
so=that SM.17-5-country SBJRM.1-desert=home-APPL-SUBJ SM.17-5 SM.1.SUBJ-teach-SUBJ

yaye a-bhal-e$_{(>2)}$ kwakhona. U-Eskia **wâ-sebenz-a**$_{(3)}$ e-Nigeria,
and SM.1.SUBJ-write-SUBJ again AUG-1a.Eskia SM.1.REMPST-work-FV LOC-9.Nigeria

e-France, e-Kenya, e-Melika na-se-Zambia.
LOC-9.France LOC-9.Kenya LOC-9.USA COM-LOC-9.Zambia

Kodwa waye-ku-khumbul-a$_{(3)}$ e-Mzantsi=Afrika
but SM.1.go.REMPST-OM.17-miss-FV LOC-9.South=Africa

wâ-z-a wa-buy-a$_{(4)}$ ngo-1977.
SM.1.REMPST-come-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-return-FV INSTR-9.nineteen=seventy=seven

(Eskia) Mphahlele went to work$_{(1)}$ *for Drum magazine starting 1955 to 1957. He did not like*$_{(1)}$ *being a journalist*$_{(1)}$ *as he did not enjoy it*$_{(1)}$. ***He decided***$_{(2)}$ *to move abroad*$_{(>2)}$ *(lit: and to move to*$_{(>2)}$*) to a country where* ***he could teach***$_{(>2)}$ *and* ***write***$_{(>2)}$ *again. Eskia worked*$_{(3)}$ *in Nigeria, France, Kenya, America and Zambia. But he missed*$_{(3)}$ *South Africa and he came back*$_{(4)}$ *in 1977.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Another biographical text is found in (18). John Dipali's school attendance in Vaalbank, denoted by the Remote Past Perfective *wâhamba* ('he went'), naturally occurs after the Remote Past Perfective *wâzalelwa* ('he was born') from the preceding sentence.

(18) U-John wâ-zalelw-a(1) kwi-fama i-Vaalbank kwi-ngingqi
AUG-1a.John SM.1.REMPST-be=born-FV SM.17-9.farm AUG-9.Vaalbank SM.17-9.area

ya-se-Senekal. **Wâ-hamb-a**(2) i-si-kolo se-Vaalbank
POSS.9-LOC-9.Senekal SM.1.REMPST-go-FV AUG-7-school POSS.7-9.Vaalbank

sa-se-fama wa-d-a wa-phumelel-a(3)
POSS.7-LOC-9.farm SM.1.PSTCONS-eventually=do-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-pass-FV

u-grade=6. Emva ko-ku-b-a-se-fama(4) i-mi-nyaka emi-ne ú-ngen-é(5)
AUG-1a.grade=six after POSS.17-15-be-FV-LOC-9.farm AUG-4-year ADJ.4-four SM.1-enter-ANT

kwi-Sebe l-e-zee-Ndlela ng-o-we-1970
SM.17-5.department POSS.5-RM.9-POSS.10-10.road INSTR-3-POSS.4-9.ninety=seventy

wa-b-a(6) ngu-m-qhubi ka-ganda=ganda.
SM.1.PSTCONS-be-FV COP.1-1-driver POSS.1a-9.bulldozer

John was born(1) *on a farm called Vaalbank in the area of Senekal. He* ***attended***(2) *(lit: went to) Vaalbank school on the farm until he passed*(3) *grade 6. After being on the farm for four years*(4)*, he joined*(5) *the Roads Department and in 1970 he became*(6) *a bulldozer driver.*
(Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014)

Just like their Recent Past counterparts, Remote Past Perfective verb forms may exhibit R-stagnation if no semantic clash exists with respect to the preceding clause. This is demonstrated in (19), an example taken from a magazine article which describes Bheki Shezi's life achievements. The Perfective *wâsebenza* ('he worked') refers to Bheki's employment with the construction company. This verb does provide information about when his employment ended (which is not present in the preceding clause), but it does not introduce a new R. The onset of said event of working is already introduced by the Past Consecutive Future/Itive *wayosebenza* ('went to work') in the previous sentence, in which his transfer from his preceding employment is described.

(19) Ú-sebenz-é u-m-sebenzi o-si-si-ngxungxo de
SM.1-work-ANT AUG-3-employment RM.3-COP.7-7-temporary=job until

kwa-ngo-1984. Kwâ-th-i ngo-1985
SM.17.PSTCONS-INSTR-1a.nineteen=eighty=four SM.17.REMPST-say-FV INSTR-1a.ninety=eighty=five

wa-yek-a u-ku-sebenz-a apho wa-yo-sebenz-a
SM.1.PSTCONS-leave-FV AUG-15-work-FV there.MED SM.1.PSTCONS- go.FV.15(ya+ku)-work-FV

kwi-nkampani yo-kw-akha. Kodwa u-Bheki **wâ-sebenz-a** u-nyaka
SM.17-9.company POSS.17-15-build but AUG-1a.Bheki SM.1.REMPST-work-FV AUG-3.year

om-nye apho. U-Bheki wâ-wu-shiy-a loo m-sebenzi
ADJ.3-one there.MED AUG.1a.Bheki SM.1.REMPST-OM.3-leave-FV DEM.3.MED 3-employment

wa-sebenz-a e-University=of=Zululand: kwi-Candelo
SM.1.PSTCONS-work-FV LOC-0.Univeristy=of=Zululand SM.17-5.section

la-yo eli-se-Mlazi, ku-ma-zantsi e-Theku,
POSS.5-9 RM.5-LOC-1a.Mlazi SM.17-6-southern=region POSS.6-9.Durban

njengo-nogada. Ú-s-enz-a loo m-sebenzi nangoku.
as-1a.ecurity=guard SM.1-work-FV DEM.3.MED 3-employment even=now

*He worked at a temporary job until (the end of) 1984 (inclusive). (At the beginning of) In 1985 he quit his job there and he went to work for a construction company. But **he worked** there only for a year. Bheki left the job and went to work at the University of Zululand, at the campus in Mlazi in the south of Durban as a security guard. He is still working there.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Examples (13-19) confirm that the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition in the Remote Past tense displays same properties with respect to R-movement/stagnation in narrations as it does in the Recent Past tense. Imperfective verbs signal R-stagnation, whereas the Remote Past Perfective verbs are less specific in that they may mark both R-movement and R-stagnation, depending on whether there is a semantic clash with the preceding clause. When it comes to the Perfective/Imperfective dichotomy in the Future tenses, it should be noted that Future narrations with temporal sequentiality are quite uncommon, which is why no examples have been found in the analysed set of data from the corpus.

This and the preceding section reveal that the Perfective and the Imperfective aspects behave differently with respect to introducing R in narrations. In addition, it has been suggested that the possible source of both R-movement is a semantic clash between two adjacent clauses. However, aspectual opposition covers many more contexts outside of narrations in which the verb in question is not preceded by a same-tensed clause, e.g. in dialogues, openings of narrations or single mentions of (digressions about) events in one tense. To account for aspect in general, we need to identify other elements that constitute aspectual semantics in non-narrative

environments, which I refer to as **isolated verbs**. In the context of such an investigation, special attention must be paid to the observation (made in this section) that some time adverbials have the same function as R.

5.4. Time adverbials

In section 3.10.2, it was shown based on examples from Savić (2017) that Xhosa compound verbs with the Present Participial fulfil the criteria for being recognised as forms marked for the Imperfective aspect. This was demonstrated using different time adverbials with which the progressive, durative and habitual readings of the verb form were obtained. However, as pointed out in sections 1.1 and 1.2, the Perfective/Imperfective opposition still exhibits significant semantic differences between two different languages. With this in mind, we need to document more precisely which semantic domains (i.e. relations between E and R) are covered by the Perfective and by the Imperfective aspect in Xhosa. The easiest way to test this is to use time adverbials which give rise to the various contextual (i.e. progressive, durative, habitual) readings. Therefore, in this section I will use examples from a corpus (cf. section 1.4.3.1) which contain the Perfective or the Imperfective aspect in combination with the time adverbials (in the same clause) that give rise to the target contextual readings.

Using temporal adverbials to test aspectual semantics raises another important issue which regards the relationship and the interaction between temporal adverbials and R. Together with the observation (from the previous section) that time adverbials can replace the anaphorically transferred R from the preceding clause, this suggests that some time adverbials do function as R. However, as Klein (1994:161ff) observes, this cannot be generalised to all time adverbials. Therefore, the question which time adverbials function as R also needs to be addressed in this section.

It is necessary to address the different types of time adverbials in order to discuss (i) how they give rise to the different contextual readings, as well as (ii) their interaction with R. Mainly on the basis of Klein's (1994:149ff) classification, I recognise the following: a) **positional** time

adverbials are identified through single time spans or temporal units[578] (e.g. *last week*, *two years ago*, *on Monday*, *tonight*, *then*, *before dinner*, *when they arrived*, etc.), b) **durational** time adverbials which are identified through several temporal units (or parts thereof[579]) (e.g. *from Monday to Friday*, *for two years*, *the whole night*, *up until now*, *while they were sleeping*, etc.), as well as c) **frequency** time adverbials which are identified through recurring time units but whose distance from S is not specified (*every Monday*, *sometimes*, *every time they arrived*, etc.). Using English examples to illustrate the point, the difference between the positional and the durational time adverbials regards their compatibility with telic predicates. Positional adverbials can be combined with telic punctual predicates (i.e. achievements) which refer to one specific point in time, e.g. *break one's leg* in (20) and (21), durative adverbials cannot because they do enable us to single out any moment within the referred time interval. Furthermore, telic durative predicates (accomplishments) obtain a completive reading in punctual adverbials, but not with their durative counterparts, c.f. *read an interesting book* in (22) and (23). However, what positional and durational time adverbials have in common is that they refer to specific, unique time intervals on the timeline. This does not apply to frequency time adverbials. They simply specify the pattern of the regular repetition of an event (non-restricted to a particular type of predicate), but the time span to within which this regular recurrence holds can always be further specified with another positional or durational time adverbial, cf. (24).

(20) I broke my leg last night.
(21) *I broke my leg the whole night.
(22) I read an interesting book last night. [completion]
(23) I read an interesting book the whole night. [no completion]
(24) I broke a plate/swam in the ocean every single day.

As pointed out in section 2.4.1, the **progressive** reading (i.e. aspect) is typically with a **punctual** (as opposed to a durative) temporal reference (cf. Dahl 1985:91). However, a closer look shows that punctual temporal references represent intervals on the timeline just like their durative

[578] In the case of relative clauses that function as time adverbials, these single units would be single, telic events.
[579] In the case of relative clauses that function as time adverbials, these would be atelic events.

counterparts. The punctual temporal references rather correspond to Klein's (1994) concept of **positional** time adverbials with the exception of those with one or both underdetermined bounds, e.g. *before the war*, *in the past*, etc.

Thus, the progressive reading of the Imperfective aspect in Xhosa is obtained by means of a positional time adverbial, cf. (25). The Recent Past Imperfective form *ubegqiba* ('he was turning') is part of a predicate with a punctual N and it refers to the event of the interviewee's son turning 39. The verb form co-occurs with the time adverbial *kuLwesithathu ebesidlanindlebe ngalo naye* ('on Wednesday when we interviewed him'). The interval denoted by the time adverbial started when the journalists arrived and finished when the interview ended and the otherwise punctual N of turning 39[580] is 'zoomed in' to such an extent that its duration appears longer than the durtion of the interview. Namely, the event of turning 39 started before the interview and it continued to last until the end of that particular day. The point of completion of N was not reached by the time the journalists witnessed it in person, and this non-completion of N is indicated by the Imperfective aspect.

(25) I-zibulo la-khe u-Makhosazana,
AUG-5.first=born POSS.5-1 AUG-1a.Makhosazana

ube-gqib-a i-mi-nyaka e-ng-a-ma-39 u-bu-dala
SM.1.be.PST-finish-FV AUG-4-year REL.4-COP.6-AUG-6-39 AUG-14-age

ku –Lwesithathu e-be-si-dlan=indlebe nga-lo na-ye.
SM.17-11.Wednesday REL.CL-be.PRF-1PL-interview INSTR-DEM.11 COM-1

*His first-born, Makhosazana, **was turning** 39 on Wednesday when we interviewed him.*
(Roux et al. 2001, also cited in Savić 2017:62)

The progressive reading of the Imperfective aspect is not restricted to refer to events which have not reached the point of completion by the beginning of a positional time adverbial. In (26), the Recent Past Imperfective *besibhala* ('we were writing') is itself part of the time adverbial (dependent clause that opens with *xa* 'when')[581] and it represents an incomplete event of writing

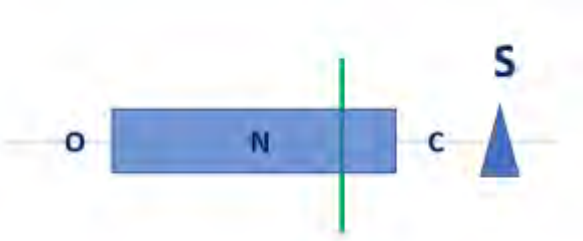
[580] Turning 39 is otherwise a punctual N. However, in the example the largest portions of the time adverbial and N overlap, making N appear 'zoomed into' to such an extent that it is viewed as durative.
[581] Note that the two clauses could swap their syntactic positions (in the main clause vs. in the dependent temporal clause) within the sentence. Whether the event of writing the article is part of dependent temporal clause or of

the article. The asserted portion of the durative N lasted by the moment (or the group of moments) at which the economists predicted the change of the petrol price. However, the endpoint of N (despite the obvious existence of the article) is not asserted.

(26) Xa **besi-bhal-a** eli nqaku, ii-ngcali zo-qoqosho
when SM.1PL.be.PST-write-FV DEM.5 5.article AUG-10.specialist POSS.10-11.economy
bezi-si-th-i kungekudala si-z-a ku-hlawul-a
SM.10.be.PST-INFIX-say-FV soon SM.1PL-come-FV 15-pay-FV
i-R10 nge-litha ye-petroli.
AUG-9.R10 INSTR-9.liter POSS.9-9.petrol
*When **we were writing** this article, the economists said that we would soon pay R10 for a liter of petrol.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

As is evident from examples (25) and (26)[582], the progressive reading of the Imperfective aspect entails **only partial occurrence of N** (occurrence of one part of N), cf. Figure 5.4. The attainment of the endpoint is not asserted, because it is not reached by the beginning of the time span represented by the time adverbial (the assertion interval)[583].

Figure 5.4. *The representation of the progressive reading of an event (in the past) with its integral phases, O, N, and C together with the time adverbial (vertical line).*



the main clause does not seem to have any impact on the fact the progressive reading is used to indicate that it did not reach the moment of completion by the time of the other event (or group of events). Compare *I entered the room when you were reading* vs *You were reading when I entered the room*.

[582] Semantically, the two events in (26) function as mutual 'assertion times'. Although the event of writing the article in (26) functions as the time adverbial, its non-completion is asserted by the temporal position of the journalists' predictions, which is the same role it has as a time adverbial of the main clause.

[583] Only one part of N is asserted as having occurred by the point ('short' interval) in time from which it is viewed. However, the endpoint of N is beyond the vertical line and is thus not asserted.

The **durative reading** of the Imperfective aspect is demonstrated in examples (27) and (28) with the Remote Past and the Immediate Future tenses, respectively. As suggested earlier, the durative is obtained with durative time adverbials which refer to the portion or duration of a temporal unit or to multiple temporal units (e.g. *for half an hour*, *the whole day*, *the rest of your life*, *while we were abroad*, *for three years*). In the examples below, the time adverbials represent multiple temporal units, e.g. *ngoo-1870* ('in the 1870's) in (27) and one entire temporal unit, e.g. *ubomi bakho bonke*[584] ('your whole life') in (28). In both durative readings, the N of the predicate, *wayephila* ('he lived') and *uza kube ucinga*[585] ('you will think'), 'fills' the entire duration of the time interval represented by the time adverbial.

(27) U-Jesse=Pomeroy **waye-phil-a** ngoo-1870 –
AUG=1a.Jesse=Pomeroy SM.1.go.REMPST-live-FV INSTR-2a.eighteen=seventy

zazi-nge-kh-o ii-nkqubo ze-TV nee-filim
SM.10.go.REMPST-NEG-exist-FV AUG-10.programme POSS.10-9.TV COM-10.film

ezi-no-bu-ndlobongela ngoko.
RM.10-COM-14-violence then

*Jesse Pomeroy **lived** in 1870's, when there were no programmes or films that showed violence.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

(28) Yi-ngxaki le ú-ku-yo yaye ku-funek-a w-enz-e i-si-gqibo
COP.9-9.problem DEM.9 SM.2SG-SM.17-9 and SM.15-should-FV SM.2SG-do-SUBJ AUG-7-decision

so-kuba u-z-a ku-kw-az-i na u-ku-melan-a
POSS.7-that SM.2SG-come-FV 15-OM.15-know-FV Q AUG-15-deal.with-FV

na-yo u-b-omi ba-kho b-onke
COM-9 AUG-14-life POSS.14-2SG SM.14-whole

okanye **u-z-a** **ku-b-e** **u-cing-a** ukuba
or SM.2SG-come-FV SM.15-be-SUBJ SM.2SG-think-FV that

njengo-kuba u-tshat-é na-le ndoda nje
as=that SM.2SG-marry-ANT COM-DEM.9 9.man just

u-phos-w-a yi-nto-ni phandl' apha.
SM.2SG-throw-PASS-FV COP.9-9.thing-what outside here

[584] It should be noted that *ubomi bakho bonke* ('your whole life') refers to the predicate in the preceding clause, and not directly to *uza kube ucinga* ('you will think'). However, it is clear from the context that the event of thinking is represented as an alternative (way of spending the rest of the addressee's life) to the event of being able to live with the man in question, and that the two share one temporal reference.
[585] *Uza kube ucinga* ('you wil think') can also be interpreted as a habitual event, if we assume that the addressee is not expected to actively think about the topic in question for the rest of her life, but rather recurringly.

*That is indeed a problem (lit: It is a problem you are in); You should make a decision whether you will be able to live with this situation <u>your whole life</u> or whether **you will think** about what you are missing out on out there once you are married to this man.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

It should be noted that the durative reading does not preclude N from extending outside the interval denoted by the time adverbial only, as in (27), where the subject lived longer than 10 years: He lived both before and after 1870's. Figure 5.5 depicts the relation between N and the time adverbial in the durative reading, implying that **N holds true for every moment** of the time adverbial[586].

Figure 5.5. *The representation of the durative reading of an event (in the past) with its integral phases, O, N, and C together with the time adverbial.*

As expected, the **habitual reading** of the Imperfective aspect co-occurs with frequency time adverbials. Consider example (29) from a magazine contest in which the Recent Past Imperfective verb *besifumana* ('we received') is accompanied by the adverbial *kwinyanga nganye* ('every month').

(29)

U-khuphiswano		lwe-Ellerines=Furniture=Fiesta			lu-thabath-é
AUG-11.contest		POSS.11-9.Ellerines=Furniture=Fiesta			SM.11-take-ANT
ii-nyanga	ezin-tandathu	ku-lo		nyaka.	
AUG-10.month	ADJ.10-six	SM.17-DEM.3.PROX		3.year	
Nina	ba-fundi	ni-th-é	nyanga		z-onke
PRON.2PL	2-student	SM.2PL-say-ANT	9.month		SM.10-every

na-lu-ngen-el-a	na-zi-zuzel-a	a-ma-bhaso
SM.2PL.PSTCONS-OM.11-enter-APPL-FV	SM.2PL.PSTCONS-REFL-earn-FV	AUG-6-prize

[586] N holds true for the entire duration of the time adverbial (with the possibility of extending beyond it).

ahluken-e-yo.	Kwi-nyanga	nganye,	**besi-fuman-a**
RM.6.separate-ANT-DISJ	SM.17-9.month	every.9	SM.1PL.be.PST-get-FV

a-ma-ngenelo	a-kwi-si-thuba	sa-ma-12,000	na-ma-15,000
AUG-6-entry	REL.6-SM.17-7-space	POSS.7-6-12,000	COM-6-15,000

*The Ellerines Furniture Fiesta contest lasted for six months this year. You, dear students, entered the contest each month and you earned various prizes. Every month, **we received** between 12,000 and 15,000 entries.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The habitual reading of the Imperfective aspect can also arise in combination with durational time adverbials. As demonstrated in (30), the Imperfective Remote Future verb *uya kube uhamba-hamba* ('(it) will be travelling') refers to a repeated event that will recur in the course of the time interval indicated by the time adverbial *ngezi nyanga zintathu zilandelayo* ('in the next three months').

(30)

U-m-boniso	wo-ncwadi	o-hamba=hamb-a-yo
AUG-3-show	POSS.3-11.literature	RM.3-travel-FV-DISJ

u-ya=ku-b-e	**u-hamba=hamb-a**	ezi ndawo	zi-landel-a-yo
SM.3-REMFUT-be-SUBJ	.3-travel-FV	DEM.10.PROX 10.place	SM.10-follow-FV-DISJ

ng-ezi	nyanga	zin-tathu	zi-landel-a-yo: [...]
INSTR-DEM.10.PROX	10.month	COPADJ.10-three	SM.10-follow-FV-DISJ

*The travelling book fair (literary show) **will be travelling** to the following places in the next three months: [...]*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

Being a recurring event, N starts and ends several times within the specified interval. In other words, N can, but needs not hold true at any moment of the time interval indicated by the time adverbial. As shown in Figure 5.6, the habitual reading indicates the **N's possible** (but not guaranteed) **occurrence for any moment** of the time adverbial[587].

[587] N of the event may, but needs not hold true any moment of the time adverbial.

Figure 5.6. *The representation of the habitual reading of a (past) recurring event (darker rectangles) within the time adverbial (lighter rectangle).*

The habitual reading is thus at the same time the common denominator for the three readings covered by the Imperfective aspect in Xhosa, since N may, but needs not hold true for every moment of the time adverbial.

The relation between Perfective verbs and time adverbials in Xhosa is somewhat different. Consider example (31) which comes from a magazine article about a hockey player, Daniel Matumo Senoamadi.

(31) Emva ko-ku-hlal-a ndi-nga-dlal-i u-nyaka w-onke
after POSS.17-15-stay-FV SM.1SG-NEG.PTCP-play-NEG AUG-3.year SM.3-whole

ndi-diben-e no-Crossby=Tladiyane e-yoku-qhelis-el-a i-hockey,
SM.1SG-meet-ANT COM-1a.Crossby=Tladiyane SM.1.PTCP-FUT-train-APPL-FV AUG-9.hockey

u-khumbul-a oko u-Daniel o-na-ma-23 e-mi-nyaka.
SM.1-remember-FV DEM.15.MED AUG-1a.Daniel RM.1-COM-6-twenty=three POSS.6-4-year

Si-qal-e sa-nga-ba-hlobo si-theth-a nga-lo
SM.1PL-start-ANT SM.1PL-PSTCONS-COP.2-2-friend SM.1PL-speak-FV INSTR-DEM.3.PROX

m-dlalo kwa-no-celo=mngeni olu-lo. Emva kw-ee-ntsuku ezin-tathu
3-game too-COM-11.challenge RM.11.PROX-11 after POSS.17-10-day ADJ.9-three

ndi-hamb-é no-Crossby sa-y-a ku-prekthiz-a kwi-bala
SM.1SG-go-ANT COM-1a.Crossby SM.1PL.PSTCONS-go-FV 15-practise-FV SM.17-5.field

la-se-Temong=Section kufutshane ne-Royal=Beechnut=Stadium.
POSS.5-LOC-9.Temong=Section close=to COM-9.Royal=Beechnut=Stadium

After staying there not playing for a whole year, I met Crossby Tladiyane who played hockey, remembers Daniel who is 23 years old. We started being friends when we talked about this sport and its challenges. After three days ***I went*** *with Crossby to practise at the field of Temong Section near Royal Beechnut Stadium.* (Roux et al. 2001)

The bolded Recent Past Perfective verb *ndihambé* ('I left (went)') refers to the single occasion of Daniel going to practise with his friend, Crossby Tladiyane. The time adverbial merely identifies

the day in which N (Daniel and Crossby going to practise) is located. Unlike the Imperfective aspect, the Perfective aspect implies that N cannot occur at whichever moment of the time adverbial. Its position is located only at one point within the interval denoted by the time adverbial. The positional time adverbial only helps narrow down the part of the timeline where N is to be found.

The Perfective aspect in Xhosa also occurs with durational time adverbials. As demonstrated in (32) from an article about a dangerous cliff near the village of Molweni, whose many inhabitants have gone missing, the Recent Past verb form *simfuné* ('we looked for her', lit: 'we wanted her') represents the event of searching.

(32) Wâ-th-i xa e-buy-a nga-se-liw-eni u-m-fana
SM.1.REMPST-say-FV when SM.1.PTCP-return-FV location-LOC-5.cliff-LOC AUG-1.young=man

owaye-ncum-a ne-n-tombi ya-m wa-si-xelel-a ukuba
RM.1.go.REMPST-smile-FV COM-9.girl POSS.9-1SG SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.1PL-tell-FV that

u-yi-bulel-e i-nja ye-thu. Lwâ-phum-a l-onke
SM.1-OM.9-kill-ANT AUG-9.dog POSS.9-1PL SM.11.REMPST-exit-FV SM.11-all

u-sapho lwa-y-a ku-fun-a u-Nontombi.
AUG-11.family SM.11.PSTCONS-go-FV 15-want-FV AUG-1a.Nontombi

Si-m-fun-é ii-yure ezin-tathu sa-z-a
SM.1PL-OM.1-want-ANT AUG-10.hour ADJ.10-three SM.1PL.PSTCONS-come-FV

sa-m-fuman-a ezantsi e-li-w-eni e-ne-nxeba
SM.1PL.PSTCONS-OM.1-find-FV below LOC-5-cliff-LOC SM.1.PTCP-COM-5.wound

e-ntloko. Sâ- m biz-a a-ma-polisa a-wu-land-a
LOC-9.head SM.1PL.REMPST-call-FV AUG-6-police SM.6.PSTCONS-OM.3-fetch-FV

u-m-zimba wa-khe ezantsi nge-zi-tretsha nee-ntambo.
AUG-3-body POSS.3-1 below INSTR-10-stretches COM-10.rope

When the man who was dating my daughter came back from the cliff, he said that he had killed our dog. The whole family went out to look for Nontombi. ***We looked for her*** *for three hours and then we found her deep under the cliff with a wound on her head. So, we called the cops to fetch her body from down there with stretchers and ropes.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Even though the event of searching has a durative N which extended over the interval indicated by the time adverbial, it is denoted by the Perfective aspect. The Perfective aspect in this particular example moves the temporal position of R of said predicate's (*simfuné* 'we looked for

her') N forward along the timeline, thus indicating it occurred after the events from the preceding sentence in which the family left to start looking for Nontombi. This observation implies that the relation between N and the durational time adverbial in (32) is quite different from that between durational time adverbials and an Imperfective verb's N, e.g. in (27-28). Namely, in (32) the specification of the event's duration (i.e. three hours) is asserted only for the endpoint of N. Thus, in (32) N's position on the timeline is not dependent on the durational time adverbial. The time adverbial merely provides additional information about the approximate temporal position of N (about three hours after the family left to search for Nontombi). Due to its unrestricted combinability with durational time adverbials, I draw the conclusion that the semantics of the Perfective aspect in Xhosa exhibits more similarity to the Perfective aspect in Spanish than to its counterparts in the Slavic languages (cf. examples 4-5 from Chapter 1)[588].

The Perfective aspect in Xhosa can also refer to iterated events. Although in the analysed part of the corpus data almost all frequency time adverbials co-occur with the Imperfective verbs[589], one example has been found in which this type of time adverbials is combined with a Perfective verb: In example (33) from an information booklet on the workplace injury reimbursement fund, the Remote Future Perfective *uya kufumana* ('you will get') refers to the repeated event of receiving a monthly pension, as indicated by the adverbial *nyanga zonke* ('every month').

(33) | U-fuman-a i-mbuyekezo e-ngakanani? |
SM.2SG-get-FV AUG-9.reimbursement RM.9-how=much

Ukuba u-ku-khubazek-a oko ku-ngaphaya ko-ku-khubazek-a
if AUG-15-be=disabled-FV DEM.15.MED SM.15-be=more=than POSS.15-15-be=disabled

oku-yi-30%, **u-ya=ku-fuman-a** u-m-hlala=phantsi nyanga z-onke.
RM.15-COP.9-9.30% SM.2SG-REMFUT-get-FV AUG-3-pension 9.month SM.10-every

| *What is the amount you get reimbursed?* |
If the extent of your disability exceeds 30%, ***you will get*** *a pension every month.*
(Eiselen & Putkammer 2014)

[588] It was pointed out in the Introduction to Chapter 1 and in section 2.4.2 that the Slavic languages allow the combination of the Perfective aspect with durational time adverbials in the so-called delimitative and perdurative readings. However, these are not the default readings as they put an additional emphasis on the duration of the event.

[589] Note that this is an impressionistic observation rather than an accurate analysis.

It is possible that the Perfective aspect of *uya kufumana* ('you will get') asserts each instance of N (=receiving the monthly pension) individually: It does not represent one cohesive event that recurs regularly during a concrete period of time in the future (=habitual reading), but its each subevent is hypothetical and is conditioned by each month separately (in the hypothetical reader's future)[590]. Therefore, I suggest that when the Perfective aspect represents iterated events, it asserts each instance of N individually. In other words, unlike the habitual readings of the Imperfective aspect which refers to all recurrences of N as inseparable instances that hold within a specific period of time, the Perfective aspect allows the recurrences of iterated events to be **quantised** (cf. section 2.4.1).

Consider the iterated events denoted by the Perfective aspect in combination with a durational[591] time adverbial in example (34) from a magazine article about a band called *Platinum*. The bolded Recent Past Perfective verb *sifumené* is accompanied by the time adverbial *ukusukela oko lasekwayo eli qela ngo-1991* ('since the formation of this group in 1991') which expands over a time interval of several years, i.e. from 1991 to 2000, when the interview was conducted.

(34) U-ku-vumel-an-a nge-gama s-e-sona si-gqibo
AUG-15-allow-RECIP-FV INSTR-5.name COP.7-SUPERL-PRON.7 7-decision
si-khawulez-ile-yo lâ-kh-a la-s-enz-a eli qela
SM.7-hurry-ANT-DISJ SM.5.REMPST-ever=do-FV SM.5.PSTCONS-OM.7-do-FV DEM. 7.PROX
la-ma-lungu a-li-12. U-ku-sukel-a oko
POSS.7-6-member SM.6-COP.5-5.twelve as=from DEM.15.MED
la-sek-w-a-yo eli qela ngo-1991,
SM.5.REMPST-found-PASS-FV-DISJ DEM.5.PROX 5.group INSTR-1a.nineteen=ninety=one
si-fumen-é ii-platinum ezi-ne
SM.1PL-get-ANT AUG.10-platinum ADJ.10-four

[590] Example (33) suggests that in Xhosa iterated events can also be denoted by the Perfective aspect (in addition to the Imperfective aspect). This property of the Perfective/Imperfective opposition Xhosa shares with its counterpart in the West Slavic and the Western South Slavic languages, e.g. Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, rather than with the East Slavic and the Eastern South Slavic languages, e.g. Russian, Ukrainian, Belarussian, or Bulgarian (cf. section 4.9 and Dickey 2000).

[591] Using the criteria outlined at the beginning of this section, I treat *from-to* time adverbials, as well as unbounded time adverbials, e.g. *since*, *from*, *until*, etc. as durational.

ku-ma-cwecwe a-si-xhenxe. Ngoko beku-fanelek-ile ukuba
SM.17-6-CD RM.6-7-six therefore SM.17.be.PST-be=appropriate-ANT.DISJ that

si-zi-biz-e ngokuba si-yi-Platinum.
SM.1PL-REFL-call-SUBJ as SM.1PL-COP.9-9.platinum

*Agreeing about the name was the quickest decision that this group of 12 members has ever made. Since the formation of this group in 1991, **we have received** four platinums for six CD's, therefore we found it suitable (lit: it was suitable for us) to call ourselves 'Platinum'.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The event referred to by the punctual N of the Perfective verb *sifumené (ii-platinum ezine)* ('we have received (four platinums)') consists of four repeated subevents (the reception of a platinum award), each with its specific position on the timeline within the time adverbial (cf. Verkuyl's 19993 indices). However, the Perfective verb's N in (34) is asserted at only one point on the timeline, and not four. All the reader learns from the sentence is the total number of awarded platinums, and the position of each subevent on the timeline is neither specified nor relevant. N is asserted only at the reception of the last, fourth awarded platinum, thus simply summarising the total number of subevents. N denotes a **change-of-state** on the timeline: The state-of-affairs, i.e. the number of awarded platinums, is not the same before and after N (the last subevent).

Assuming that every Perfective verb's N represents a change-of-state, I infer that it is also assigned an individual temporal location that is independent from the accompanying time adverbial. This is evident from the fact that a sequence of Perfective verbs may create a narrative progression, i.e. R-movement, even if all of them refer to the same positional time adverbial. Consider the bolded Perfective verbs in example (35) from the novel about Mpahleni in which one of the characters describes his visit to Lovedale School which he once attended.

(35) 'Nge-nye i-mini **ndi-th-é**$_{(1)}$ ndi-vel-a$_{(1)}$ kw-eliya
INSTR-ADJ.one AUG-9.day SM.1SG-say-ANT SM.1SG-come=from SM.17-DEM.5.DIST

la-se-Bhofolo, nda-kha$_{(1)}$ nda-th-i$_{(1)}$
POSS.5-LOC-Fort=Beaufort SM.1SG.PSTCONS-once=do-FV SM.1SG.PSTCONS-say-FV

mandi-dlul-e$_{(>1)}$ phaya e-Lovedale ndi-khe$_{(>1)}$ ndi-bon-e$_{(>1)}$
SM.1SG.HORT-pass-SUBJ there LOC-9.Lovedale SM.1SG-once=do-SUBJ SM.1SG-see-SUBJ

i-meko ye-si-kolo sa-m endandi-fund-a$_{(0)}$ ku-so
AUG-9.situation POSS.9-7-school POSS.7-1SG RM.1SG.go.REMPST-study-FV SM.17-7

ngee-mini	za-m.	**Ndâ-zi-sol-a**(3)
INSTR-10.day	POSS.10-1SG	SM.1SG.REMPST-REFL-blame-FV

sendi-y-enz-ile(2)		le	nto	ndaku-fik-a(2)
UNEXP.SM.1SG-do-OM.9-do-ANT.DISJ		DEM.9.PROX	9.thing	SM.1SG.TEMP-arrive-FV
kwi-ndawo	eyayi-ngu-m-fanekiso(0)			we-Lovedale. [...]'
SM.17-9.place	RM.1SG.go.REMPST-COP.3-3.picture			POSS.3-9.Lovedale

*'<u>One day</u> **when I departed**(1) (lit: **came**) from Fort Beaufort **I said**(1) to myself 'Let me just pass**(>1)** by Lovedale so I can see**(>1)** the situation of the school that I used to study**(0)** at back in my day (lit: during my time)'. **I regretted**(3) when I arrived(2) at a place which was(0) once Lovedale. [...]'*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Recent Past Perfective *ndithé* ('I then did') refers to an event that occurred on a day denoted by the time adverbial *ngenye imini* ('one day'). The Remote Past Perfective *ndâzisola* ('I regretted') in the next sentence refers to an event that occurred on the same day but at a later point in time (cf. the subscript parentheses). Since the two Perfective verbs establish a narrative progression that is independent from the time adverbial, it follows that both introduce their own R (which is independent from the time adverbial).

Already in the R-movement study, we established that Perfective verbs tend to introduce their own R. This observation can be explained by the fact that each Perfective verb's N is a **point** that represents a **change-of-state**: In line with Klein's (1994) view of the perfective aspect as partial overlap between R and E (R∩E; cf. Section 1.1)[592], I conclude that the Perfective verb asserts (i.e. selects R that encompasses) the **transition from N to non-N** (in any order). It may assert the transition into the onset of N (ingressive reading, cf. section 4.5.1 and Bary 2009), the transition from the endpoint of N into the ensuing state (completed durative event), or the entire N that is encompassed by non-N (event with a punctual N or the complexive reading of a durative N event, cf. section 4.5.1 and Bary 2009). The Perfective verb gives N a **unique** position on the timeline, as illustrated in Figure 5.7: The transition (from/into non-N) into/out of N cannot hold true at any other point on the timeline seconds, minutes or hours before or afterwards. Since the role of R is to specify the temporal position of N, the **unique, quantised point** denoted by the **Perfective verb's N functions as its R**.

[592] By way of reminder, Klein's (1994) view of the perfective aspect as the partial overlap between E and R (**R∩E**) entails that R includes both (the entire or only a part of) E and the transition into or out of (one or both of) the adjacent (preceding and ensuing) states, cf. section 1.1

Figure 5.7. *The Perfective aspect entails that N (vertical line) has its unique location on the timeline (=R) whereas the time adverbial (rectangle) serves merely to narrow down the part of the timeline which contains N's exact location.*

Since I claim that in a Perfective verb, N represents a **unique point** (henceforth also occasionally referred to as the **N-point**) in time which functions as its R, I need to define more precisely the distinction between points in time and time intervals. I do not assume an ontological difference between points and intervals, because any point may become an interval if 'zoomed in' sufficiently. However, I take the **concept of a point in time** in the realm of human cognition to be a temporal position, an interval that is recognised as a transition from one state into another[593]. Another property exhibited by conceptual points which pertains to the Perfective N-point is that it functions as a 'landmark' (on the timeline) for all other events. It divides the timeline (and even the accompanying time adverbial) into a preceding (pre-event) and an ensuing (post-event) part: N-point 'forces' all other quantised temporal entities on the timeline to be located either to its left or to its right. Another important property of Perfective N-point is the tendency of its integral parts (stages or subevents) not to be discussed in the surrounding (preceding and following) discourse, which rather contains information about the pre-event state and the post-event state.

Unlike the Imperfective aspect, the Perfective N-point is not determined by the size of the time adverbial. The time adverbial only serves to help locate the exact position of N-point on the timeline. Hence, the Perfective and the Imperfective aspects represent different relations between the positional/durational time adverbial and N. In an Imperfective verb, N does not pertain to one unique point, but can hold true at **more than one point in time**, because it (N) extends over an

[593] In one of its prototypical meanings (e.g. in the context of a person who is standing suddenly falling on the ground) a punctual N of a predicate like *-wa* ('fall') does represent an event which may have a certain duration (e.g. half a second). However, N is conceptualised as a **point** because the predicate simultaneously also contains information about the pre-state (the person standing) and the post-state (the person lying on the ground). The event of falling thus represents a conceptual point of a transition between the two states.

entire interval (merger of many adjacent points in time) or because it (N) is a point whose position repeats or is left underspecified. For example, if an Imperfective verb's N was true at 5 p.m. on a particular day, it may also be true half an hour later, at 5.30 p.m. The fact the Imperfective verb's N is not a unique point suggests it is temporally non-alignable with respect to other events, which is why its position on the timeline cannot be specified. Therefore, the Imperfective verb relies on a time adverbial to provide information about the specific portion of the timeline to which its N pertains. Because assertion of N's position is the function of R, I conclude that **positional** and **durational time adverbials function as explicit (overt) R to the Imperfective verb**. At this point of the present analysis, I depart from Klein's (1994:162ff) understanding of explicit expression of R: Namely, he interprets only topicalised positional time adverbials as overt expression of R. However, I also concur with Klein (1994) dismissal of frequency time adverbials as overt expressions R, because these do not say anything about the specific position of the predicate on the timeline.

In a Perfective verb, N's unique position on the timeline is asserted irrespective of whether it is accompanied by a positional/durational time adverbial or not[594]. N divides the timeline into a pre-event and a post-event portion, also from within positional/durational time adverbials which merely serve to indicate where N is located. Hence, **positional and durational time adverbials do not function as R for the Perfective verb**.

Let us briefly return to some of the conclusions from the last two sections about the different behaviour patterns of the Perfective and the Imperfective aspects in narrations. The Imperfective aspect denotes events with an anaphorically 'borrowed' temporal location R[595] that has already been introduced into the discourse. It was also noted that positional and durational time adverbials can, alternatively, provide R for the Imperfective verb. This suggests that the Imperfective verb does not encode its own R, i.e. the temporal location of the event. Building on Klein's (1994:2-3, 36ff) division of information about events into a lexical part ('INF'=E) and a temporal part ('FIN'=R) (cf. section 1.1), I draw the conclusion that the **Imperfective aspect encodes only the lexical information** about the type of event denoted by the particular predicate

[594] The distribution of N along the timeline is unaffected by the presence or absence of a positional or durational time adverbial.

[595] The 'borrowed' R does not necessarily correspond with the time interval pertaining to the event; It simply indicates that a new, more recent R is not introduced with the mention of the new event.

(e.g. <*sleep*> as opposed to <*eat a mango*> or <*sleep on the couch*>). In section 4.10, I formalised the lexical information as the atemporal concept **E**(=O+**N**+C).

In this section, it was pointed out that the Imperfective aspect links **N to more than one point** in time. In order to denote an event with a specific temporal location (=R), N's occurrence needs to be confined to its unique position on the timeline by means of an 'externally' introduced interval in time (i.e. outside the verb). In other words, the interval that provides the Imperfective verb's N with its **temporal location**, **R**, is encoded in elements **external to the verb**, e.g. in the preceding clause(s) and/or in the accompanying positional or durational time adverbials, cf. Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. *Information encoded by the Perfective and Imperfective aspects in Xhosa in narrations and with positional/durational time adverbials.*

	Perfective	Imperfective
N's occurrence is asserted at	1 point (=unique position)	>1 point (non-unique position)
Information encoded	E(N)+R	E(N)
Where R is encoded	verb	preceding clauses (narrations), time adverbials

By contrast, in narrations Perfective verbs introduce new, ever more recent points on the timeline into the discourse (on condition that they 'clash' semantically with the preceding discourse, cf. sections 5.3 and 5.3.1): If a Perfective N-point cannot hold true simultaneously with the preceding clause, it pertains to a new, later point in time. Each Perfective verb informs us that there is a countable instance of a particular type of event and, at the same time, that it has its own, specific temporal location separate and independent from all other (either preceding or following) Perfective events. In other words, **Perfective verbs encode both the lexical information and the temporal information** about the event, cf. Table 5.1.

So far, we have seen that R is indicated anaphorically from the preceding discourse in narrations (henceforth referred to as **anaphoric R**), as well as via positional and durational time adverbials (henceforth referred to as **time adverbial R**). Nevertheless, at this point it remains unclear how temporal information about an event is indicated outside narrative contexts (when

no same-tensed verb precedes the clause in question) and when no positional or durational time adverbials are provided. This question is dealt with starting from section 5.6. but prior to addressing it, in the next section I need to examine the cases in which the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition gives rise to other readings (than the progressive, durative or habitual ones), which are linked to factuality or givenness of the event's temporal location.

5.5. Specificity of N's position

The Imperfective aspect can also be used outside the progressive, durative, or the habitual readings. Such a case is found in (36), an excerpt from a text on preventing polio. The verb *ebekufumana* ('it has received (it)') refers to an event whose factuality is not confirmed, i.e. whose occurrence is not asserted by the speaker (2015.corpus.fumana.recp3.f18-25A). The verb can refer to no instance of vaccination (in case the reader's child has not yet been vaccinated) as well as to recurring vaccinations (in case the reader has already had her or his child vaccinated) at the same time.

(36) Ewe - ku-balulek-ile u-ku-s-a a-ba-ntwana ku-m-jikelo
yes SM.17-be=important-ANT.DISJ AUG-15-take-FV AUG-2-child SM.17-3-round

wo-ku-qal-a kwa-na-lowo we-si-bini w-eli
POSS.3-15-start-FV also-COM-DEM.3.MED POSS.3-7-two POSS.3-DEM.5.PROX

phulo lo-ku-gony-el-a i-poliyo,
5.campaign POSS.5-15-vaccinate-APPL-FV AUG-9.polio

nokuba u-m-ntwana lowo **ebe-ku-fuman-a**
even=if AUG-1-child 1.DEM.MED SM.1.be.PST-OM.15-get-FV

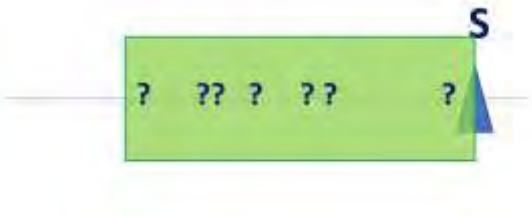
kakuhle u-ku-gony-el-w-a i-poliyo ngaphambili.
well AUG-15-vaccinate-APPL-PASS-FV 9AUG-9.polio before

Yes, it is important to take children to the first round and also to the second round of this campaign of vaccinations against polio, even if the child ***had been vaccinated*** *(lit:* ***had received vaccination****) properly before.*
(Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014)

The event's uncertain location on the timeline is indicated by the Imperfective aspect, as illustrated in Figure 5.8. In other words, the Imperfective aspect marks here N's assignability to

any point[596] within the time adverbial *ngaphambili* ('before'), which functions as R and which covers the entire past up until S[597].

Figure 5.8. *The Imperfective aspect denotes non-factual events, i.e. events which may have occurred multiple times and events which might have not occurred at all.*



As Savić (2017:61-65) observes, the Imperfective aspect may also denote events which consist of a factual, single occurrence of a predicate with a punctual N, e.g. (37-39). In (37), from an article about long-lived people, the verb *ubegqiba* ('she was turning') represents the event of Mannakoe Makobane turning 106 in July, a few months before the article was published (September the same year).

(37) Lo ngu-makhulu u-Mannakoe=Makobane, o-hlal-a e-Tambo=Section,
DEM.1.PROX COP.1-grandmother AUG-1a.Mannakoe=Makobane RM.1-stay-FV LOC-9.Tambo=Section

ku-de kufuphi na-se-Senekal e-Freyistata.
SM.17-far close COM-LOC-9.Senekal LOC-9.Free=State

Ú-ng-om-nye wa-bona ba-ntu aba-dala e-hlabathi-ni,
SM.1-COP-ADJ.1-one POSS.1-PRO.2 2-person ADJ.2-old LOC-5.world-LOC

ube-gqib-a i-mi-nyaka e-li-106 ngo-Julayi.
SM.1.be.PST-finish-FV AUG-4-year RM.4-COP.5-one=hundred=and=six INSTR-1a.July

*This is Grandma Mannakoe Makobane who stays in Tambo Section close to Senekal in the Free State. She is one of the oldest people on earth, she **turned** 106 in July.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

Despite having a punctual N, its factuality and one single occurrence on the timeline, the predicate with the verb *-gqiba* ('finish') has the Imperfective aspect. As a result, N is not assigned to one particular point in the month of July, denoted by the time adverbial which

[596] In the illustration, the assignability of N to any point within R is represented by the question marks.
[597] This also includes the possibility of N's absence from R.

represents R; Instead, the hearer/reader is informed that N could have occurred anywhere within that month. A possible explanation for the use of the Imperfective aspect is that deliberately choosing (i) an unspecified position of the punctual N within the month of July, and (ii) a month as the temporal unit to 'measure' the distance between the event and S (with only one month in between) creates the effect of emphasising **the recency of the event** which is illustrated in Figure 5.9. Hence, the Imperfective aspect indicates that the exact location of the punctual N (represented by the question marks) within R (month of July) is unknown.

Figure 5.9. *The representation of the Imperfective Recent Past form ubegqiba ('she was finishing') in (33).*

The validity of the 'recency effect', as I term the use of the Imperfective aspect exemplified in Figure 5.9, is evidenced in the consultants' translations of the Recent Past Imperfective forms of *-gqiba* ('finish) in (38) and (39). However, at this point I leave the issue of R identification in (38-39) aside and I postpone it to the next section. In (38), a dialogue from the novel about Mpahleni at a point at which it is about to turn into a conflict of opinions, the Recent Past Imperfective *ubugqiba* (*kundixelela)* ('you were just (telling me)', lit: 'you were finishing (telling me)') does not denote finalisation per se, but, as suggested by the consultant's translation with the adverb *just*, merely the recency (relative to S) of the following Infinitive verb (2016.corpus.gqiba. recp1.f18-25D).

(38) 'Mpahleni, u-m-mo lo wa-m ndi-ku-thath-a njenge-ndoda
1a.Mpahleni AUG-3-tendency DEM.3.PROX POSS.3-1.SG SM.1SG-OM.2SG-take-FV as-9.man

e-no-bu-chopho n-e-fundis-iw-e-yo.
RM.9-COM-14-brain COM-RM.9-teach-PASS-ANT-DISJ

Ubu-gqib-a ku-ndi-xelel-a ukuba u-hamb-a
SM.2SG.be.PST-finish-FV 15-OM.1SG-tell-FV that SM.2SG-go-FV

u-fun-a u-lw-azi lwe-thisisi ya-kho ye-Masters. […]'
2SG-want-FV AUG-11-knowledge POSS.11-9.thesis POSS.9-2SG POSS.9-9.Masters

*'Mpahleni, I take you for a clever and educated man. You **have just told me** (lit: You **were finishing to tell me**) that you travel because you want information for your Master's thesis. […]'*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The same adverb, *just*, is added by another consultant (2016.corpus.gqiba.recp3.f18-25H) to the original lexical meaning of the verb *-gqiba* ('finish'), in the translation of the Recent Past Imperfective *ubegqiba* (kufunda) ('he had just finished (reading)' (lit: he was finishing (reading)') in (39), a magazine article about Peter Mathebula, a boxer.

(39) Si-ncokol-é no-Terror e-m-zi-ni wa-khe – owawu-fudul-a
SM.1PL-converse-ANT COM-1a.Terror LOC-3-body-LOC POSS.3-1 RM.3.go.REMPST-be=used=to-FV

u-yi-4=room ya-z-a ya-phucul-w-a
SM.3-COP.9-9.four=room SM.9.PSTCONS-come-FV SM.9.PSTCONS-improve-PASS-FV
y-andis-w-a nge-mali a-yi-fuman-a ku-m-lo
SM.9.PSTCONS-extend-PASS-FV INSTR-9.money SBJRM.1-OM.9-get-FV SM.17-3-fight

wa-khe no-Tae=Shik – o-kwi-lokishi ya-se-Mohlakeng e-Randfontein.
POSS.3-1 COM-1a.Tae=Shik RM.3-SM.17-9.location POSS.9-LOC-Mohlakeng LOC-9.Randfontein

Ube-bonakal-a ukuba ú-ne-si-thukuthezi –
SM.1.be.PST-be=visible-FV that SM.1-COM-7-boredom

ube-gqib-a ku-fund-a i-magazini ebi-phezu - kodwa
SM.1.be.PST-finish-FV SM.15-read-FV AUG-9.magazine RM.9.be.PST-9-above but

e-khangelek-a e-phil-ile ku-ne-nto
SM.1.PTCP-look=like-FV SM.1.PTCP-be=well-ANT.DISJ SM.17- COM-9.thing

ebesi-yi-lindel-é e-ndod-eni e-soloko i-se-si-rhox-weni.
RM.1PL.be.PST-OM.9-expect-ANT LOC-9.man-LOC RM.9-always.do SM.9-LOC-7-hidden=place-LOC

E-m-zimb-eni ú-khangelek-a e-phil-é qete u-Mathebula.
LOC-3-body-LOC SM.1-look=like-FV SM.1.PTCP-be=well-ANT perfectly AUG-1a.Mathebula

We had a chat with Terror (Peter Mathebula) in his home - his home once had (lit: used to have) four rooms but it was upgraded with the money he got in his fight with Tae Shik. The house is in Mohlakeng location in Randfontein. ¶
*He looked as if he was bored - **he had (just) finished** reading (lit: He was finishing to read) the magazine which was on the table – but he looked much better than what we were expecting from a man who always spends time in a hidden place.*
Physically (lit: in his body) he looks healthy.
(Roux et al. 2001)

The events in (36) and (37) are countable recurrences of punctual N's. Nevertheless, the Imperfective aspect is used. This is because in (36), the number of N's is determined by the indefinite number of hypothetical hearers (readers) and their children. The non-factuality of the event confirms that the speaker and the hearer do not share the knowledge about the exact number of N's occurrences. By contrast, factual events like in (37), have an exact position within R. It is deliberately 'concealed' by the speaker either because she or he does not know its exact position within the month of June, or because she or he finds it irrelevant information to share with the hearer (thus shortening the distances between N and S). Examples (36) amd (37) show that the semantics of the semantics of the Imperfective aspect may be tightly linked to **information structure**: It signals that **the specific position of N within R is not part of the information shared by the speaker and the hearer(s)**. As a result, in both examples **N remains assignable to any point within R**. In other words, this confirms the assumption from the previous section that the Perfective aspect indicates that N has a specific position on the timeline, which is part of the speaker's and the hearer's shared knowledge.

5.6. Familiarity with R and E

The previous section touched on the interaction between aspectual semantics and information structure. This interaction is further examined in the present section, where I address the Perfective and Imperfective semantics in contexts in which the speaker and the hearer must share familiarity with different types of information about the event before the production of the utterance (pre-utterance) for the sentence to be successfully comprehended.

As pointed out in section 4.10, I primarily distinguish between the temporal information, which corresponds to my definition of R, and the lexical information, which corresponds to my understanding of the concept of E (N). If aspect encodes different interrelations between E (N) and R, then an event should be referred to with different aspectual markers depending on which of the two types of information the speaker and the hearer are familiar with pre-utterance. In other words, if only an event's R is known to the speaker and the hearer, then the only information the speaker needs to provide to complete the reference to that particular event is the lexical content. By contrast, if the speaker and the hearer share their knowledge of the event (i.e.

lexical information) but not the exact time during which it occurred, then the utterance needs to provide the event's R.

The comparison of examples which only differ with respect to the particular piece of information that is accessible to the discourse participants (pre-utterance) is much easier and more comprehensible using elicited data which rely on native speaker intuition than searching through a corpus. In fact, any assessment of acceptability and referential capacity of a verb form in a particular context is infeasible without acceptability judgments which rely on native speaker intuition. Therefore, in this section I use primarily elicited data and data from substitution tests (cf. section 1.4.2.2).

According to Klein (1994:4ff, 37ff), in dialogues interlocutors can 'borrow' R from each other: One interlocutor indicates it, and the other interlocutor uses a verb form that refers to the same R (without having to use any overt means like time adverbials). Thus, in example (40), *an hour ago* in the question is the specification of R by person A. In her or his reply, person B uses the verb form *was* which automatically refers to R from the question, i.e. *an hour ago*.

(40) A: Where **were** you an hour ago? [context: I was looking for you]
B: I **was** in the supermarket.

Example (40) suggests that **anaphoric R**[598] is transferrable not only within the same turn-constructional unit (cf. Sacks et al. 1974), e.g. in narrations, but also between speakers, in dialogues (i.e. across turn-constructional units). This observation is confirmed in the corpus example (41) which comes from L.K. Siwisa's short story *Sisonka sethu* from a collection entitled *Izimanga zaloMhlaba*. The example contains a fragment from a dialogue between the father and his son who has just arrived home. The father asks his son about the mode of transport he used to travel all the way from Rhini/Makhanda.

(41) Ngoku **u-z-a** nga-ntoni u-ku-vel-a e-Rhini?
now SM.2SG-come-FV INSTR-what AUG-15-come=from-FV LOC-9.Makhanda

Bendi-hamb-a ngee-nyawo ezi za-m.
SM.1SG.be.PST-walk-FV INSTR-10.foot DEM.10.PROX POSS.10-1SG

[598] I consider R in B's answer in (40) a type of the anaphoric R.

*So, how **did you get** here from Rhini? (lit: How **are you coming** from Rhini?)*
***I walked** on foot (lit: **I walked** with these feet of mine).*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Setting aside the fact that the time adverbial *ngoku* ('now') and the Present tense of the verb *uza* ('you are coming') refer to S (a point close to the endpoint of R), we may notice that the father's question provides R, which is the time frame from the moment his son left Makhanda until several minutes or seconds (?) before S, when he arrived. His son is, thus, requested to 'fill up' R with a suitable event-related lexical content (predicate), i.e. N. R is an interval that entirely lies in the past, and in his answer, the son links N of the predicate to its every point by using the Recent Past Imperfective verb, *bendihamba* ('I walked / have been walking').

Consider the corpus example in (42), which comes from another short story by L.K. Siwisa, *Ukuqina enyaleni,* from the same collection as (41). The excerpt in (42) contains a fragment of a dialogue between a character called Nojaji and her husband, who has just returned from a visit to his parents', the aim of which was to discuss inheritance issues. In the excerpt, she asks her husband to describe his overall experience of the journey, including the outcome of the meeting with his parents (2017.corpus.hamba.recp1.m18-25E).

(42) '[…] **U-hamb-é** njani kodwa?'
SM.2SG-go-ANT how but

'Hayi **ndi-hamb-ile** nje akwabikho nto. Ndi-sa-buy-a ndi-phil-a.'
no SM.1SG-go-ANT.DISJ just NEG.EX 9.thing SM.1SG-PERS-return-FV SM.1SG-live-FV

*' […] **How did you travel / How did it go** (lit: **How did you go**?)?'*
*'Nothing special (lit: **I** just **went** and there was nothing). I am back now (lit: I am still coming back alive)'.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The isolated bolded Recent Past Perfective verb *uhambé* ('you went') in the Nojaji's question indicates that the information she requests is a summarised characterisation (including the outcome) of the journey and of the visit, e.g. as successful, failed, difficult, etc. Accordingly, the husband responds with the Perfective *ndihambile* ('I went') to indicate that no information about his visit is newsworthy. The fact that the two Perfective verbs focus on summarising the event

and its results suggests that their R encompasses the endpoint of N[599] (which denotes the event of travelling) together with the ensuing resulting (non-N) state, C (which represents any arrangements made during the visit). This inference is in line with the conclusion from section 5.4 that Perfective verbs by default introduce their own R which denotes a change-of-state.

If the Perfective verb from the question in (42) was replaced with its Imperfective counterpart, the question would remain grammatical but the scope of R would change, cf. (43). According to the consultant (2017.corpus.hamba.recp1.m18-25E), the Imperfective verb in (43) indicates that the requested information concerns the details of the journey (i.e. the trip or the walk), i.e. the way he took, the transport he used, etc.

(43) **Ubu-hamb-a** njani?
SM.2SG.be.PST-go-FV how
*How **did you** **travel (go there)**?*
(2017.elic.hamba.recp.pfv-ipfv.m18-25E)

The Imperfective aspect in (43) refers to every moment of N which the journey consists of from the moment of its onset to its endpoint, e.g. the mode of transport or the chosen route. As pointed out in section 5.4, the Imperfective aspect indicates that N and R hold true simultaneously at more than one point in time. This fact suggests that the time interval selected to serve as R encompasses all integral points of N. However, the question in (43) does not provide an explicit temporal reference that the hearer can 'borrow' in his answer. Instead, the reference is implicit already in the question, but it is understood by both the speaker and the hearer.

How the hearer is implicitly provided with R in (43) is better illustrated in the difference between the elicited examples (44) and (45).

(44) **W-enz-é** ntoni?
SM.2SG-do-ANT what
*What (result) **did you do** / What **have you done**?*
(2017.elic.enza.recp.pfv-ipfv.f<25G)

[599] It should be noted that the Perfective verb may encompass the entire N, not just its endpoint and result. Furthermore, in section 4.10. I characterised N as an atemporal structure. Wherever I refer to temporal points that N consists of, as is the case at this point, I actually refer to the predicate's already allocated temporal location on the timeline whose one part or entire structure is asserted by R.

(45) **Ubu-s-enz-a** ntoni ngaphakathi?
SM.2SG.be.PST-INFIX-do-FV what inside
*What **were you doing** inside (in there) / What **have you been doing** inside (in there)?*
(2017.elic.enza.recp.pfv-ipfv.f<25G)

The Recent Past Perfective *wenzé* ('you did') in (44) is appropriate in a question about the result of the action, for example when asking a fellow student about her or his performance at the exam. By contrast, the Imperfective *ubusebenza* ('you were doing') in (45) requests the hearer to name the type of event she or he was engaged in **during a definite period of time**, i.e. time interval spent in the room. For the hearer to understand the question in (45), she or he must know which time interval the speaker is referring to (before the utterance is produced). Both interlocutors know that the hearer spent an interval of time in the room and both are aware of each other's familiarity with this fact. Thus, in (45) R consists of the adjacent moments which are part of the hearer's and the speaker's **shared experience**: The Imperfective verb requires (besides N being assignable to every point of R) that the speaker and the hearer **share their knowledge of R**[600]. In such cases, R can be said to be a temporal analogue of **definite** nouns: It represents a definite piece of (temporal) information known to both discourse participants before the production of the utterance (henceforth referred to as **definite R**).

The fact that a time interval that is part of the interlocutors' shared experience may function as R is confirmed by another corpus example in (46), a continuation of the dialogue from example (42) (from L.K. Siwisa's story *Ukuqina enyaleni*). In the excerpt, Nojaji confronts her husband by asking him if the reason for his aloof behaviour towards her and their baby girl was that he wa hoping for a son. R of the Recent Past Imperfective verb *ubufuna* ('you wanted') refers to the entire time of her pregnancy, an interval that ended when the baby was born while he was away.

[600] This observation does not imply that the Perfective verb in (41) does not require the speaker and the hearer to share any information about the event before the utterance is produced. This is discussed later.

(46) Yayi-m-xel-el-a u-Nojaji i-ngqondo ya-khe
SM.9.go.REMPST-OM.1-tell-APPL-FV AUG-1a.Nojaji AUG-9.mind POSS.9-1

ukuba aku-ku-hle, kodwa wa-zi-misel-a
that NEG.ADJ.17-COP.ADJ.15-nice but SM.1.PSTCONS-REFL-command-FV

u-ku-zi-ceng-a.
AUG-15-REFL-plead-FV

'**Ubu-fun-a** i-nkwenkwe na we-thu le
SM.2SG.be.PST-want-FV AUG-9.boy Q POSS.1-1PL DEM.9.PROX

nto u-suk-é wa-phelel-w-a bu-bu-bele?'
9.thing SM.2SG-exit-ANT SM.2SG-PSTCONS-run=out-PASS-FV COP.14-14-friendliness

'W-enz-iw-a ku-ku-nga-qond-i wena
SM.2SG-do-PASS-FV COP.15-15-NEG-understand-NEG PRON.2SG

ukuba ndi-za=ku-lahlek-el-w-a nga-ma-lungelo am
that SM.1SG-FUT-get=lost-APPL-PASS-FV COP.6-6-right POSS.6-1SG

u-sa-libel-é ku-ku-landel-is-a
SM.2SG-PERS-waste=time=doing-ANT COP.15-15-follow-CAUS-FV

i-ntombi emva kwe-nye nje.'
AUG-9.girl after POSS.17.ADJ.9-one just

Nojaji's sensed (lit: Nojaji's mind told her) that something was wrong, but she was determined to stay calm.
*'**You wanted** a baby boy, is that why you are so aloof (lit: you ran out of friendliness)?'*
'You do not understand that I will loose my rights because you keep giving birth to girls.'
(Roux et al. 2001)

However, the definiteness of R does not automatically entail that the event is denoted by the Imperfective aspect. In addition, N must also be able to hold true for every moment of R. Consider the elicited[601] questions in (47) and (48), both referring to the same, completed event of cooking dinner. The primary difference between the two examples is that the Imperfective verb in (47) refers to the process of cooking, whereas the Perfective one in (48) refers to the result of cooking.

[601] I offered (47) and (48) as partly translations to Xhosa (with the Perfective and then Imperfective forms included, respectively) of the English sentences. The consultants were asked to express whether they found the suggested choice of the Perfective/Imperfective form acceptable in the give sentence, as well as to complete the translation of the remainder of the sentences.

(47) **Ubu-yi-phek-a** na-bani i-dinala?
SM.2SG.be.PST-cook-FV COM-who AUG-9.dinner
*Who **did you cook** the dinner with?*
(2016.elic.pheka.recp.pfv-ipfv.f18-25F, 2017.elic.pheka.recp.pfv-ipfv.f<25G)

(48) **U-phek-é** ntoni?
SM.2SG-cook-ANT how
*What **did you cook** / What **have you cooked**?*
(2016.elic.pheka.recp.pfv-ipfv.f18-25F, 2017.elic.pheka.recp.pfv-ipfv.f<25G)

Like in (45) and (46), the Imperfective aspect in (47) indicates that the time interval during which the event occurred is definite, i.e. known to both the speaker and the hearer (for example, because the event was witnessed while it was ongoing or because its occurrence is inferred based on its result, the dinner). In addition, the predicate <*cook dinner with someone*> denotes the entire process of cooking, which is evident from the fact that the focus is laid on the person(s) involved in the event (as suggested by the question word[602]). N holds true at many adjacent moments[603]: The fact that those individuals were involved in cooking is true for more than one moment. To refer to the event, R encompasses all the moments occupied by the durative (multiple-point) N, resulting in the Imperfective aspect, whereas any reference to the change-of-state at its end, i.e. the endpoint of N and its transition to C, is irrelevant.

By contrast, the focused part of the predicate in (48) <*cook dinner*> is the change-of-state, i.e. the transition from the endpoint of event (cooking) to the emergence of its result (dinner). This transition has its unique position on the timeline: It does not hold true five minutes before or after that point. The Perfective aspect in the question in (48) places the focus on the endpoint of N and the ensuing resulting C, irrespective of whether the entire process of cooking is a definite time interval known to both the speaker and the hearer. What functions as R in (48) is the transition of N to C, and not the definite time interval during which the event of cooking occurred.

So far, the examples in this section have shown that in some instances, a definite time interval accessible to both the speaker and the hearer may function as (an implicitly provided) R

[602] Wh-question words and their answers are generally regarded as focus indicators (van der Wal 2016). In my understanding of the accessibility and salience scales, wh-question words and their answers correspond to the concept of salience.
[603] Presumably, the Imperfective aspect would be used in reference to the event of cooking when those elements of the durative event are focused which concern its location, methods used, instruments or company involved.

for an Imperfective verb. The role that definiteness of a particular piece of information about the event plays in aspectual semantics is even more evident in durative predicates like *-sebenza* ('work') which do not have an obvious state resulting from its endpoint[604]. Consider the elicited examples (49) and (50).

(49) **Ubu-sebenz-a**?
SM.2SG.be.PST-work-FV
Did you work / Have you been working*?*
(2019.elic.sebenza.recp.pfv-ipfv.f<25G)

(50) **U-sebenz-ile**[605]?
M.2SG.be.PST-go-FV how
Did you work / Have you worked*?*
(2019.elic. sebenza.recp.pfv-ipfv.f<25G)

As expected, the Imperfective verb (49) is deemed acceptable in contexts where R known to both the speaker and the hearer (e.g. *Did you work / Were you at work this morning when I woke up because you were not home?* or *Have you been working the whole day because you have come home only now?*). Being a durative N with no obviously recognisable endpoint, it occupies all points within R.

By contrast, the Perfective verb in (50) is more acceptable when the speaker and the hearer share the expectation that the hearer would go to work (definite E/N) at some point since their last interaction. The event's exact temporal location or its actualisation are not part of their shared knowledge. As an example, a suitable context for the Perfective aspect in (50) would be a conversation between two flatmates who both know that the addressee has flexible working hours. The addressee comes home in the evening and the speaker asks whether she or he also worked since the time they last saw each other, e.g. the previous day.

[604] I deliberately do not refer to the property of durative N predicates with a recognisable resulting state as telic. As will be explained in the next chapter, I do not consider telicity to be a property encoded in the lexical aspect of Xhosa.

[605] The consultant accepted *usebenzile* ('you (have) worked') as a correct translation of the sentence (uttered in the described context in which the speaker asks her or his flat mate with flexible working hours whether she or he has also been to work earlier that day). However, she found the following, alternative translation with the deficient verb -khe ('ever do') followed by a Past Consecutive form even more appropriate:

Ubu-khe	wa-sebenz-a	namhlanje?
SM.2SG.be.PST-ever=do	SM.2SG.PSTCONS-work-FV	today

In section 5.4, I defined the Perfective aspect as encoding both E and R. Applying this view onto example (50) shows that definiteness of the lexical information about a single, concrete event E(N) suffices to function as an independent R of a Perfective verb. Hence, the uncertain location of N along the timeline is not an obstacle for the verb to be denoted by the Perfective aspect. The definiteness of N as a single event suffices to provide it with a **specific temporal location** which functions as **R**.

In this section, it was shown that along with anaphorically transferred intervals in narrations and dialogues, and along with time adverbials, **definite intervals** (i.e. intervals known, accessible to the discourse participants) may also function as R for an Imperfective verb. Furthermore, although definiteness and accessibility of a piece of information about an event does not determine which aspect is used to denote that event, when the speaker relies on **definiteness/accessibility of temporal information** to create a reference to a particular event (with a durative N), the **Imperfective** aspect is used. By contrast, when the speaker relies on **definiteness/accessibility of the type of predicate** to identify a particular event, the **Perfective** aspect is used. In the next section, I address the issues that regard the identification of R in contexts in which no information about the event is accessible to the hearer pre-utterance.

5.7. The inferable R

In the previous section, it was shown that R is often indicated implicitly. In this section, I discuss the cases in which the hearer can comprehend the utterance and understand what interval of time R represents despite not being previously provided with any information about the event. Before addressing this type of indication of R in the Past and the Future Imperfective verbs, I will briefly comment on the identification of R in the Present tense. In Chapter 4, I pointed out that I treat all Present tense forms as Imperfective, a view congruent with the idea that their R is always any time interval that includes S. In other words, every Present tense verb can be interpreted without an overt indication of R and without any information that needs to be known pre-utterance: The Present tense indicates that S functions as its R.

Let us now turn to the contextually given R in Non-Present verbs. Consider example (51) which comes from a text about Grain SA's educational school programme. The direct speech is

part of one of the schoolchildren's impressions about Grain SA's visit. Although no time adverbial is overtly expressed (and the preceding past tense forms refer to thematically unrelated events), it is **inferred from the context** which time interval the Recent Past Imperfective *bebehamba* ('they went (walked)') refers to.

(51) '[…] Ku-ndi-nced-é kakhulu. Ndi-nqwenel-a ukuba i-Grain=SA
SM.17-OM.1SG-help-ANT much SM.1SG-want-FV that AUG-9.Grain=SA

i-ngá-phind-a i-buy-e. Bendi-ng-az-i ukuba i-rayisi
SM.9-POT-do=again-FV SM.9-return-SUBJ SM.1.be.PST-NEG-know-FV that AUG-9.rice

i-vel-a e-m-hlab-eni o-na-ma-nzi. Oku-nye
SM.9-come=from-FV LOC-3-soil-LOC RM.3-COM-6-water ADJ.17-another

endi-ku-fund-ile-yo ku-kuba
SBJRM.1SG-OM.17-learn-ANT-DISJ COP.17-that

oo-tatomkhulu be-thu **bebe-hamb-a** ba-y-e ku-zingel-a
AUG-2a.grandfather POSS.2-1PL SM.2.be.PST-walk-FV SM.2-go-SUBJ 15-hunt-FV

ukuze ba-kw-az-i u-ku-nxib-a, lo=gama thina
so=that SM.2-OM.15-know-FV AUG-15-put=on-FV while PRON.1PL

si-theng-a e-zi-venkile-ni. Ndi-fund-é oku-ninzi
SM.1PL-buy-FV LOC-10-shop-LOC SM.1SG-learn-ANT ADJ.17-much

ngaphezu ko-kuba bendi-lindel-é. [...]'
more=than POSS.17-that SM.1.be.PST-expect-ANT

*' […] It has helped me a lot. I wish Gran SA could come back again. I did not know that rice comes from soil with water. Another thing that I learnt is that our grandfathers **went** to hunt so that they could have clothes to wear, while we buy them in shops. I learnt more than I had expected. […]'*
(Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014)

The iterated event of walking was integral part of the ancestors' (productive) lifetime. Hence, the predicate *-hamba* ('walk') is applied to the numerous centuries that the ancestors lived that way, a time interval that functions as R for the bolded verb in (51).

Example (51) shows that where no other overt means of expressing R are available, we apply our world knowledge and assume that R of an Imperfective verb equals (the relevant part of) the subject's **lifetime**. This kind of R specification I will henceforth refer to as the **inferable R**. Consider sentences (52) and (53). Even though the hearer may know nothing about the speaker in (52) or the speaker's grandmother in (53), she or he will (most likely) interpret the sentences successfully.

(52) I **used to be** a singer [context: uttered by a 95-year-old].

(53) My grandmother **worked** as a university lecturer.

In (52), the hearer will deduce that the speaker, who is 95 years old refers to the presumable duration of several productive decades that her or his career lasted (=R). Similarly, in (53) the hearer will understand that the speaker's grandmother was a university lecturer when she was younger, i.e. when she was alive (=R; the exact interpretation may be influenced by the speaker's age, too).

The inferable R can also refer to periods of time much shorter than a person's lifetime. Consider the corpus example (54) from a magazine article about Bonang Matheba's successful presenting career. Using the subject's lifetime as the starting point, the addressee understands that in the period of time that the Recent Past Imperfective verb *bendifuna* ('I wanted') refers to is the part of Bonang's lifetime when she was still looking for opportunities to build her presenting career, i.e. the time before she started working with her co-presenter, Andile Ncube.

(54) U-Andile wa-m-kheth-a ngokwa-khe u-Bonang
AUG-1a.Andile SM.1.REMPST-OM.1-choose-FV oneself-1 AUG-1a.Bonang

xa waye-fun' u-m-ntu a-z-a ku-yi-sasaz-a
when SM.1.go.REMPST-want.FV AUG-1-person SBJRM.1-come-FV 15-OM.9-broadcast-FV

na-ye le nkqubo kwaye okoko a-fik-a li-ya-khul-a
COM-1 DEM.9.PROX 9.programme and ever=since SBJRM.1-arrive-FV SM.5-DISJ-grow-FV

i-nani la-ma-doda a-yi-bukel-a-yo le nkqubo.
AUG-5.number POSS.5-6-man RM.6-OM.9-watch-FV-DISJ DEM.9.PROX 9.programme

'**Bendi-fun-a** u-ku-khul-a e-ku-sasaz-eni
SM.1SG.be.PST-want-FV AUG-15-grow-FV LOC-15-broadcast-LOC

wa-z-a u-Andile wa-ndi-vul-el-a
SM.1.PSTCONS-come-FV AUG-1a.Andile SM.1.PSTCONS-open-APPL-FV

ii-ngcango,' ú-tsh-ilo u-Bonang.
AUG-10.door SM.1-say=so-ANT AUG-1a.Bonang

Andile chose Bonang himself when he was looking for a partner to present with him in his show. Ever since Bonang joined, the number of men among the viewers has been growing.
*'**I wanted** to grow in my presenting and then Andile came to me and opened the doors for me,' said Bonang.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The inferable R is not restricted to a person's lifetime or to significant parts thereof. It can also include the duration of an event or a temporal unit. For example, it is clear that the predicate in (55) refers to the duration of the party (=R), whereas in (56) the predicate refers to the entire duration of the day (=R).

(55) The party **was** loud.

(56) The day **was** warm.

It is precisely sentences like (55-56) that introduce narrations where no information is provided beforehand. Nevertheless, the hearer is able to interpret R. In languages with the Perfective/Imperfective opposition, in sentences like (55-56) Imperfective verbs occur which apply N to all moments of R (=duration of a substantial part of the day), cf. Serbian example (57).

(57) Serbian

Bio	**je**	topao	dan.
be.IPFV-PST.M.SG	AUX.PRS.3SG	warm-M.SG.NOM	day.M-SG.NOM

Ptice	**su**	**pevale**.
bird.F-PL.NOM	AUX.PRS.3PL	sing.IPFV-PST.F.PL

*The day **was** warm. Birds **were chirping**.*

Whether or not an event is denoted by the Imperfective aspect with an inferable R also depends on the predicate's lexical aspect. Unlike the punctual predicates like *-wa* ('fall') whose N denotes a change-of-state, predicates with a durative N like *-sebenza esikolweni* ('work at a school') do not refer to a unique point. Such predicates need an externally introduced R to confine their temporal reference to a specific interval on the timeline. However, if no information is provided to confine the predicate's temporal reference (i.e. if R is not provided overtly[606] as a definite time interval), we have the **option** to use our world knowledge and apply the predicate to (the relevant

[606] i.e. anaphorically, in narrations or dialogues, or with positional/durational time adverbials.

part of) the lifetime/duration of the entity or person, which functions as R. As expected, N being linked to multiple points in R results in the verb being Imperfective.

This observation suggests that the choice of R may also depend on the lexical aspect of the predicate itself. Unless the speaker purposefully chooses R to refer to a different interval or point, predicates consisting of **a single unique point N** which represents a change-of-state, have the affinity to be **Perfective**. In the case of predicates with a durative N which consist of more than one adjacent points, the choice of aspect depends on whether or not the predicate denotes a recognisable endpoint and a resulting state, as was demonstrated in sentences translated from English to Xhosa in (47-48). Those predicates that focus a change-of-state with a clearly defined consequent state, such as *-pheka idinala* ('cook dinner'), typically take the Perfective aspect due to the change-of-state their reference contains. By contrast, predicates with a durative N in which an element of the process is focused (e.g. instruments or company involved, methods used or location of the event), e.g. *-pheka idinala nabahlobo* ('cook dinner with friends'), are more likely to be Imperfective.

A relevant part of a temporal entity's duration or a person's lifetime **may operate as R** (for predicates with a durative N a no recognisable resulting state) in contexts which no other R is available (i.e. anaphoric R, time adverbial R, definite R), **but it does not have to**. If it did, in such contexts, which I henceforth refer to as **out-of-the-blue contexts,** any predicate with a durative N (and without a recognisable resulting state) would require the Imperfective aspect. As will be shown in the next section, that is not the case.

5.8. Durative N and aspectual opposition

In this section, I examine the implications of the fact that predicates with a durative N can be both Perfective and Imperfective in out-of-the-blue contexts.

Consider example (58) which has been taken from a magazine article in which Peter Koutrolis, a coach, describes his collaboration with a famous footballer, Daniel Mambush Mudau. The Perfective verb of the durative N predicate *-sebenza noMambush* ('work with

Mambush') co-occurs with a durational time adverbial, *iminyaka esibhozo ngoku* ('for 8 years now') at the very beginning of the interviewee's turn-constitutional unit.

(58) U-th-é lo=gama e-sa-zi-qeqesh-a sa-theth-a
SM.1-sa-ANT while SM.1.PTCP-PERS-REFL-train-FV SM.1PL.PSTCONS-speak-FV

no-m-phathi we-Sundowns u-Peter=Koutrolis.
COM-1-trainer POSS.1-9.Sundowns AUG-1a.Peter-Koutrolis

Ndi-sebenz-é no-Mambush i-mi-nyaka e-si-8 ngoku,
SM.1SG-work-ANT COM-1a.Mambush AUG-4-year POSS.4-7-eight now

ukuba be-ku-kh-o nje aba-hlanu aba-fan-a na-ye
that SM.2.PTCP-15-exist-FV just ADJ.2-five RM.2-be=similar-FV COM-1

kw-eli qela la-m aku-kh-o klabhu
SM.17-DEM.5.PROX 5.team POSS.5-1SG NEG.SM.17-exist-FV 9.club

ibi-nga-s-oyis-a e-hlabathi-ni.
SM.9.be.PST-NEG-INFIX-defeat-FV LOC-5.world-LOC

U-Daniel u-qeqesh-iw-é, e-hloniph-a
AUG-1a.Daniel SM1-train-PASS-ANT SM.1.PTCP

kwaye e-zimisel-é e-m-sebenzi-ni wa-khe.
and SM.1.PTCP-be=determined-ANT LOC-3-work-LOC POSS.3-1

Njenge-kapteni u-ya-kw-az-i u-ku-khokel-a ne-ndlela
as-9.captain SM.1-DISJ-OM.15-know-FV AUG-15-lead-FV COM-9.way

enz-a nga-yo i-nik-a i-futhe kw-aba-nye
SBJRM.1.do-FV INSTR-9 SM.9-give-FV AUG-5.influence SM.17-ADJ.2-other

a-ba-dlali, u-tsh-ilo u-Koutrolis.
AUG-2-player SM.1-say=so-ANT.DISJ AUG-1a.Koutrolis

*While he (Mambush) was busy training, we talked with the coach Peter Koutrolis:'**I have worked** with Mambush for 8 years; if there were 5 people like him in my team no club in the world would beat us. Daniel is well-trained, he is respected and he is serious about his work. As a captain he knows how to lead people and how to encourage other players', Koutrolis said.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

In the same type of context, i.e. at the beginning of a turn-constitutional unit (without the interlocutors sharing any previous information about the event), a durative N predicate can occur with the Imperfective aspect as demonstrated in the elicited (translated) example (59) in a constructed dialogue between two friends who discuss life in Johannesburg, a city neither of them lives in. When, at one point, one of the two interlocutors is enquired about her source of

knowledge about the way of life in Johannesburg, she replies[607] by saying that she has worked there before[608]. As a verb form that denotes the event of working in Johannesburg, the (Recent Past) Imperfective verb form *bendisebenza* ('I worked/was working') was deemed acceptable by the consultant (2017.elic.sebenza-funda.recp-remp.pfv-ipfv.f18-25F; along with several possible options).

(59) **Bendi-sebenz-a** e-Goli.
SM.1SG.be.PST-work-FV LOC-9.Johannesburg
I worked (used to work) *in Johannesburg.*
(2017.elic.sebenza-funda.recp-remp.pfv-ipfv.f18-25F)

Interestingly, in similar contexts predicates with a durative N were not deemed outright unacceptable with the Perfective aspect either[609]. Consider the elicited (translated) examples (60-61) from a constructed dialogue between two friends who compare the quality of education at various universities. When one of the interlocutors is asked to provide evidence for her diachronic assessment of education at the University of the Witswatersrand, she responds by saying that she used to study engineering there in 1990s. As expected, the Imperfective (cf. 60) aspect (with the Remote Past tense) was accepted by the consultant (2017.elic.sebenza-funda.recp-remp.pfv-ipfv.f18-25F) in the verb form that denotes the event of studying engineering. However, its Perfective counterpart was also accepted in this context, cf. (61)'.

(60) **Ndandi-fund-a** u-bu-njinala e-Wits nge-mi-nyaka yoo-1990.
SM.1SG.go.REMPST-study-FV AUG-14-engineering LOC-9.Wits INSTR-4-year POSS.4-2a.1990
I studied (used to study) *engineering at Wits in the 1990s.*
(2017.elic.sebenza-funda.recp-remp.pfv-ipfv.f18-25F)

(61) **Ndâ-fund-a** u-bu-njinala e-Wits nge-mi-nyaka yoo-1990.
SM.1SG.REMPST-study-FV AUG-14-engineering LOC-9.Wits INSTR-4-year POSS.4-2a.1990
I studied (used to study) *engineering at Wits in the 1990s.*
(2017.elic.sebenza-funda.recp-remp.pfv-ipfv.f18-25F)

[607] Thus, example (59) represents the beginning of the speaker's turn-constructional unit.
[608] Which the hearer presumably knows nothing about.
[609] According to the consultant, the Perfective *ndisebenzé* ('I worked') is not outright unacceptable in (59), but its acceptability is rather questionable.

Examples (58-61) illustrate two important points. The first one concerns the role of **information structure**, more precisely **accessibility and salience** (cf. van der Wal 2009) in aspectual semantics. The Perfective aspect is acceptable with a predicate with a durative N in (58) and (61), but its semantics does not reflect R-movement since the verb opens the turn-constructional unit. Furthermore, the Perfective aspect in these examples is not motivated by the event's completion or a change-of-state of any kind, as said predicates do not entail a transition into a clearly recognisable resulting state. Hence, we can conclude that aspectual semantics in these cases does not reflect the (event-related) information that is **accessible** (cf. van der Wal 2009, i.e. indicated, known, inferable information) to the discourse participants (within the utterance or before the production of utterance), but that it interacts with the nature of the **upcoming information**. In section 1.2, it was suggested that whether an event is denoted by the Perfective or the Imperfective aspect also depends on the piece of information about the event that is **salient** (cf. van der Wal 2009) in the further, upcoming discourse. This means that R may be used by the speaker to draw the hearer's attention to a particular piece of information that will be relevant in the utterances that follow. This interrelation between aspect and the upcoming discourse is further examined in the next section.

Before proceeding to the relation between aspectual semantics and salience, I need to address the second point that is raised by examples (58-61) and that concerns the nature of the **semantic divide** between the Perfective and Imperfective. Although it has been pointed out that the difference between the semantics of the Perfective and the Imperfective aspects does not reflect objective properties of the event, but the relation between R and E(N), the progressive, durative, and habitual readings have been mentioned exclusively as readings covered by the Imperfective aspect. This can easily be misunderstood as saying that events that are (asserted as) unambiguously ongoing/non-completed, extending over time intervals, or occurring repetitively, are automatically denoted by the Imperfective aspect, but this is not the case.

Examples (31-32, 58, 61) show that the Perfective aspect can also denote events whose occurrence extends over time intervals, a property typical of the **durative** reading. As demonstrated in (33), the Perfective aspect can also refer to **habitual** events. Furthermore, the Perfective aspect can denote **incomplete** events (which are compatible with the progressive reading). In (62-63), test (A) (cf. section 5.2) is applied to the durative predicates *-funda incwadi* ('read a/the book') and *-funda le ncwadi* ('read the/this book') and it demonstrates that the

(Recent Past) Perfective in Xhosa does not entail the events have reached the point of completion. The interpretation that the event of reading the book is finished is only an implicature that can be cancelled[610].

(62) **Ndi-fund-é** le ncwadi kodwa andi-gqib-anga.
SM.1SG-read-ANT DEM.9.PROX 9.book but NEG.SM.1SG-finish-NEG.ANT
I read [PST] the book but I did not finish it.
(Savić 2017:66)

(63) **Ndi-yi-fund-ile** le ncwadi
SM.1SG-OM.9-read-ANT.DISJ DEM.9.PROX 9.book
kodwa andi-yi-gqib-anga.
but NEG.SM.1SG-OM.9-finish-NEG.ANT
I read [PST] the book but I did not finish it.

Given that the Perfective aspect has the capacity to denote habitual and non-completed events, as well as events with a specified duration, this aspectual marker may refer to any event (in the Past and the Future tenses) irrespective of its properties, including those with such properties that are typically associated with the Imperfective aspect. In comparison to the referentially more generalised Perfective aspect, the Imperfective aspect seems to exhibit a rather specialised meaning. Namely, it **does not assert** that the event is a single occurrence which has reached its point of completion. In other words, the Imperfective aspect excludes the information that the event represents a change-of-state, an effect achieved by not making any assertions about the event's unique, specific temporal location. The omission of this information is much more compatible with the progressive, durative and habitual readings, which is why they are more likely to be represented by this aspectual marker.

The abovementioned observations suggest that the Perfective and the Imperfective aspects do not cover two strictly divided sets of event properties or perspective on those events. Being a marker with the generalised meaning, the Perfective aspect reports about an event's occurrence by binding the lexical information on the kind of event E with an automatically allocated specific temporal location R (thus creating the interpretation that the event is one

[610] As will be shown in the next chapter, in this respect, the Perfective aspect in Xhosa differs significantly from English or the Slavic languages. In the Present Perfect and Past Simple in English as well as the Perfective aspect in the Slavic languages, the reading of completion cannot be cancelled in telic predicates. This is the main reason why I do not regard **telicity** an important feature in the lexical aspect in Xhosa.

instance of said kind of event). By contrast, the Imperfective aspect dissociates the lexical information encoded in the verb from the event's temporal location R, whereby ruling out the common (change-of-state-related) implicatures which may emerge with the Perfective aspect. The greater specificity of the Imperfective aspect is evident from R-movement in narrations. Whereas almost all Imperfective verbs denote R-stagnation, only around two thirds of their Perfective counterparts mark R-movement. This finding suggests that the Imperfective verb automatically rules out R-movement (a frequent, yet less 'obligatory' semantic component of the Perfective aspect). The Imperfective aspect also has the capacity to remove the implicature that the event is completed. Furthermore, unlike the Perfective aspect, the Imperfective aspect can convey that the event is not a single but a repeated occurrence or an occurrence without a specific temporal location.

Hence, I treat the Perfective as the **unmarked**, **default** aspect in the Past and the Future (i.e. Non-Present) tenses. At the same time, the Imperfective is the **marked member** of the aspectual opposition in the same tenses, but not in the Present tense where it is the only available aspectual marker. This conclusion is in line with Nurse's (2008:14, 24, 94, 136, 314) view of markedness of aspectual markers in the Bantu verb, and it reflects the morpho-syntactic structure of the Xhosa verb. The Imperfective verb has a complex structure relative to its Perfective counterpart due to the addition of the auxiliary verb.

5.9. Salience

This section examines the role of the Perfective/Imperfective semantics in signalling the type of information that is introduced in further discourse.

It was pointed out that predicates with a durative N (without a recognisable resulting state) such as *-sebenza* ('work') are often denoted by the Imperfective verb. A case in point is example (64) from the article about Bonang Matheba (same article as example 54), in which she describes her own professional experience. The durative N of the predicate *-sebenza nzima* ('work hard') is accompanied by a durational time adverbial *iminyaka emihlanu* ('for five years') which functions as R, resulting in a (Recent Past) Imperfective verb *bendisebenza* ('I have been working').

(64) ‘Ndi-zi-v-a ndi-ngathi ndi-ya-fikelel-a e-nkcotsh-eni[611] ye-hlabathi
SM.1SG-REFL-hear-FV SM.1SG-as=if SM.1SG-DISJ-reach-FV LOC-9.peak-LOC POSS-5.world because

kuba a-ma-phupha a-m a-ya-qal-a u-ku-zalis-ek-a. Kaloku
AUG-6-dream POSS.6-1SG SM.6-DISJ-begin-FV AUG-15-fill=up-NEUTR-FV however

bendi-sebenz-a nzima ku-le mi-nyaka mi-hlanu i-dlul-ile-yo.
SM.1.be.PST-work-FV hard SM.17-DEM.4.PROX 4-year COPADJ.4-five SM.4-pass-ANT-DISJ

Ndi-khe nda-b-a ngu-m-phathi=theko,
SM.1SG-ever=do SM.1SG.PSTCONS-be-FV COP.1-master=of=ceremonies

nda-shicil-el-a ii-ntengiso, nda-b-a ngu-m-gwebi
SM.1.PSTCONS-publish-APPL-FV AUG-10.advertisement SM.1.PSTCONS-be-FV COP.1-1-judge

ku-khuphiswano loo-nobuhle, nd-enz-a ne-ziny’ i-zi-nto
SM.17-11.competition POSS.11-2a.beauty SM.1.PSTCONS-do-FV COM-ADJ.10-other AUG-10-thing

ezi-ninzi, ngoku ndi-qal-é u-ku-vun-a i-zi-qhamo za-loo
ADJ.10-many now SM.1SG-start-ANT AUG-15-reap-FV AUG-8-fruit POSS.8-DEM.4.MED

mi-sebenzi. Ndi-zi-bon-a ndi-sikelel-ek-ile.’
4-job SM.1SG-REFL-see-FV SM.1SG-bless-NEUTR-ANT.DISJ

‘I feel like I am reaching the top of the world because my dreams are beginning to come true. ***I have been working*** *hard in the past five years. I have been an event manager, I have published adverts, I have been a judge at a beauty contest, and I have done many other things; Now I have started to harvest the fruits of those jobs. I see myself as blessed.’*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

However, a durative N accompanied by a durational time adverbial needs not always result in the Imperfective aspect. Consider example (65) from a letter written by a magazine reader who describes her or his professional experience, as well as her or his ambitions for the future. Referring to her or his past working experience, she or he combines the Recent Past Perfective verb *ndisebenzé* (‘I (have) worked’) with a durational time adverbial, *iminyaka emininzi* (‘for many years’).

(65) M-cebisi Wa-kwa-Bona,
1-advisor POSS.1-at-9.Bona

Ndi-sebenz-é kwi-fama yee-nkuku i-mi-nyaka emi-ninzi
SM.1SG-work-ANT SM.17-9.farm POSS.9-10.chicken AUG-4-year ADJ.4-many

nda-zuz-a u-lw-azi olw-anel-e-yo kangangokuba
SM.1SG.PSTCONS-earn-FV AUG-11-knowledge RM.11-suffice-ANT-DISJ as=a=result

[611] The form *enkcopheni* that was originally found in the corpus has been corrected as it was regarded as possibly wrong form of the same lexeme *incopho* ‘peak’.

ndi-ngá-de ndi-zi-qal-el-e e-ya-m
SM.1SG-POT-finally=do-SUBJ SM.1SG-REFL-start-APPL-SUBJ RM.9-POSS.9-1SG

i-fama e-ncinane yee-nkuku. Kodwa andi-na-yo i-mali
AUG-9.farm ADJ.9-small POSS.9-10.chicken but NEG.SM.1SG-COM-9 AUG-9.money

yo-ku-yi-qal-is-a. Ndi-no-ku-lu-fuman-a phi u-ncedo?
POSS.9-15-start-CAUS-FV SM.1SG-COM-15-OM.11-get-FV where AUG-11.help

I (have) worked *at a chicken farm for many years and I got enough knowledge to start my own chicken farm. But I do not have enough money to start it. Where can I get help?*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Following our definitions of the Perfective and the Imperfective aspect, the durational time adverbial in (64) functions as R, but this does not apply to the durational time adverbial in (65). The choice of R in (64) and (65) could be linked to the van der Wal's (2009) concept of salience, i.e. a mechanism that prepares the hearer for the information that follows.

In (64), R of the Imperfective *bendisebenza* ('I have worked') is the interval of the past five years denoted by the time adverbial. The reference to the same interval is maintained in the following clauses, in which the non-chronologically ordered events all refer to that period of time. In (65), however, the Perfective verb *ndisebenzé* ('I have worked') signals that the next clause will contain information about the 'result'[612] or consequence of the event. Thus, in the following clause the author of the letter points out that (as a consequence of her working experience) she or he has gathered enough knowledge about chicken farms to be able to run one herself or himself.

The semantics of the Perfective bolded verb in (58), repeated here as (66), can be accounted for in a similar way. As pointed out in the previous section, the durative N predicate -*sebenza noMambush* ('work with Mambush') co-occurs with a durational time adverbial, *iminyaka esibhozo ngoku* ('for 8 years now').

(66) U-th-é lo=gama e-sa-zi-qeqesh-a sa-theth-a
SM.1-sa-ANT while SM.1.PTCP-PERS-REFL-train-FV SM.1PL.PSTCONS-speak-FV

no-m-phathi we-Sundowns u-Peter=Koutrolis.
COM-1-trainer POSS.1-9.Sundowns AUG-1a.Peter-Koutrolis

[612] The quotation marks indicate my view that the predicate -*sebenza kwifama yenkuku* ('work at a chicken farm') does not have a 'natural' or obvious result.

Ndi-sebenz-é	no-Mambush		i-mi-nyaka	e-si-8 ngoku,	
SM.1SG-work-ANT	COM-1a.Mambush		AUG-4-year	POSS.4-7-eight now	
ukuba	be-ku-kh-o	nje	aba-hlanu	aba-fan-a na-ye	
that	SM.2.PTCP-15-exist-FV	just	ADJ.2-five	RM.2-be=similar-FV COM-1	
kw-eli	qela	la-m	aku-kh-o	klabhu	
SM.17-DEM.5.PROX	5.team	POSS.5-1SG	NEG.SM.17-exist-FV	9.club	
ibi-nga-s-oyis-a	e-hlabathi-ni.				
SM.9.be.PST-NEG-INFIX-defeat-FV	LOC-5.world-LOC				
U-Daniel	u-qeqesh-iw-é,	e-hloniph-a			
AUG-1a.Daniel	SM1-train-PASS-ANT	SM.1.PTCP			
kwaye	e-zimisel-é	e-m-sebenzi-ni	wa-khe.		
and	SM.1.PTCP-be=determined-ANT	LOC-3-work-LOC	POSS.3-1		
Njenge-kapteni	u-ya-kw-az-i	u-ku-khokel-a ne-ndlela			
as-9.captain	SM.1-DISJ-OM.15-know-FV	AUG-15-lead-FV COM-9.way			
enz-a	nga-yo i-nik-a	i-futhe	kw-aba-nye		
SBJRM.1.do-FV	INSTR-9 SM.9-give-FV	AUG-5.influence	SM.17-ADJ.2-other		
a-ba-dlali,	u-tsh-ilo	u-Koutrolis.			
AUG-2-player	SM.1-say=so-ANT.DISJ	AUG-1a.Koutrolis			

*While he (Mambush) was busy training, we talked with the coach Peter Koutrolis:'**I have worked** with Mambush for 8 years; if there were 5 people like him in my team no club in the world would beat us. Daniel is well-trained, he is respected and he is serious about his work. As a captain he knows how to lead people and how to encourage other players', Koutrolis said.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Even though the denoted event of working is still ongoing at S, the Recent Past form is used to summarise the entire past experience (cf. next section for a discussion on tense in this example). Furthermore, combined with the Perfective verb, the durational time adverbial *iminyaka esibhozo ngoku* ('for eight years now') conveys quite different information than it would with an Imperfective verb. Namely, the adverbial makes the assertion about the duration of the event measured at specifically that specific point in time. The same claim would not have been true months several months earlier or later because the specified duration would no longer be that of eight years.

Furthermore, the past interval covered by Koutrolis's collaboration with Mudau is not relevant in the following sentences in which the interviewee focuses on the latter's skills and importance for the club at the present moment, i.e. at S. Thus, Koutrolis simply uses the Recent Past Perfective verb *ndisebenzé* ('I have worked') and the durational time adverbial to emphasise the event's duration, justify his own credibility as a source of information and support his claim

about the present moment. We may speculate that if the Recent Past Perfective *ndisebenzé* ('I have worked') was replaced by its Imperfective counterpart, the content that would ensue in the following clauses would be descriptions of past events which occurred during the eight years of collaboration between Koutrolis and Mambush[613].

Let us consider the Perfective aspect with a durative N predicate which has a recognisable result in example (32), repeated here for the sake of convenience as (67). The bolded verb *-funa* ('want') in its basic meaning does not have an obvious result. However, together with the Object Marker it denotes the event of searching for someone: The aim and result of this event is finding the missing person. Despite the durative adverbial *iiyure ezintathu* ('for three hours'), the verb *simfuné* ('we looked for her') is Perfective (in the Recent Past). Besides the obvious R-movement effect, the meaning of the Perfective aspect in this case might be to prepare the hearer for the outcome of the search in the following clause[614].

(67)

Wâ-th-i	xa	e-buy-a	nga-se-liw-eni	u-m-fana	
SM.1.REMPST-say-FV	when	SM.1.PTCP-return-FV	location-LOC-5.cliff-LOC	AUG-1.young=man	
owaye-ncum-a	ne-n-tombi	ya-m	wa-si-xelel-a	ukuba	
RM.1.go.REMPST-smile-FV	COM-9.girl	POSS.9-1SG	SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.1PL-tell-FV	that	
u-yi-bulel-e	i-nja	ye-thu.	Lwâ-phum-a	l-onke	
SM.1-OM.9-kill-ANT	AUG-9.dog	POSS.9-1PL	SM.11.REMPST-exit-FV	SM.11-all	
u-sapho	lwa-y-a	ku-fun-a	u-Nontombi.		
AUG-11.family	SM.11.PSTCONS-go-FV	15-want-FV	AUG-1a.Nontombi		
Si-m-fun-é	ii-yure	ezin-tathu	sa-z-a		
SM.1PL-OM.1-want-ANT	AUG-10.hour	ADJ.10-three	SM.1PL.PSTCONS-come-FV		
sa-m-fuman-a	ezantsi	e-li-w-eni	e-ne-nxeba		
SM.1PL.PSTCONS-OM.1-find-FV	below	LOC-5-cliff-LOC	SM.1.PTCP-COM-5.wound		
e-ntloko.	Sâ- m biz-a	a-ma-polisa	a-wu-land-a		
LOC-9.head	SM.1PL.REMPST-call-FV	AUG-6-police	SM.6.PSTCONS-OM.3-fetch-FV		
u-m-zimba	wa-khe	ezantsi	nge-zi-tretsha	nee-ntambo.	
AUG-3-body	POSS.3-1	below	INSTR-10-stretches	COM-10.rope	

[613] This conclusion is has been drawn by me and not by the consultants.

[614] The consultant's (2016.corpus.funa.recp13.f18-25H) interpreted the Recent Past Perfective *simfuné* ('we looked for her') as automatically indicating that Nontombi was found. This interpretation was obtained within a substitution test in which the bolded verb form was replaced by its Imperfective counterpart *besimfuna* ('we looked/were looking for her'). A more thorough analysis of the possible interpretations of *simfuné* ('we looked for her') would have revealed whether every instance of the form must indicate a successful outcome of the search, or whether the Perfective aspect of this predicate (as opposed to its Imperfective counterpart) simply tends to topicalise the result (but does not do so obligatorily).

When the man who was dating my daughter came back from the cliff, he said that he had killed our dog. The whole family went out to look for Nontombi. ***We looked for her*** *for three hours and then we found her deep under the cliff with a wound on her head. So, we called the cops to fetch her body from down there with stretches and ropes.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Imperfective aspect signals a different kind of information in the upcoming discourse. In the last section, it was mentioned briefly that the Imperfective aspect is common in narration openings[615]. In example (68) from the magazine article about Miss South Africa 1996, Peggy-Sue (Nonhlanhla) Khumalo (same as example 2), the Remote Past Imperfective verb *ndandisebenza* ('I used to work') sets the background for the event sequence in the following sentences.

(68) Eli-ka-Jumaima=Khumalo i-bali li-th-i:
RM.5-POSS.1a-1a.Jumaima=Khumalo AUG-5.story SM.5-say-FV

Ndandi-sebenz-a e-fama ndi-m-belek-é e-m-qolo
SM.1SG.go.REMPST-work-FV LOC-9.farm SM.1SG-OM.1-carry-ANT LOC-3-back

u-Nonhlanhla. Ú-th-é xa e-ne-mi-nyaka emi-hlanu
AUG-1a.Nonhlanhla SM.1-say-ANT when SM.1.PTCP-COM-4-year ADJ.4-five

u-bu-dala sa-vumelan-a no-ninakhulu
AUG-14-age SM.1PL.PSTCONS-agree-FV COM-1a.grandmother

wa-khe ukuba a-m-thabath-el-e ku-ye.
POSS.1-1 that SM.1.SUBJ-OM.1-take-APPL-SUBJ SM.17-1

Jumaima Khumalo takes up the story (lit: Jumaima Khumalo's story says):
*'**I used to work** on a farm and carry Nonhlanhla on my back while working. When she was five, her grandmother and I made an agreement that she would take custody of her (Nonhlanhla).'*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Perfective *úthé* ('she then') in the second sentence introduces its own R, so the question is why the first verb that describes Jumaima Khumalo working at the farm (in the first sentence) is not Perfective as well. The likely answer is that the time interval referred to by the Imperfective form *ndandisebenza* ('I used to work') overlaps with the events from the following sentence. In

[615] It is irrelevant that the Imperfective verbs in (61) and (62) do not represent durative readings followed by durative time adverbials, as the comparison in question focuses on the type of information that follows a particular aspectual marker.

other words, Jumaima Khumalo probably continued to work on the farm after her daughter was taken over by her grandmother. This observation suggests that R of the Imperfective verb *ndandisebenza* ('I used to work') remains relevant in further discourse.

A similar observation pertains to the Imperfective bolded verb in example (69) from a novel entitled *Lo Mhlaba Uyajikeleza* by D.M. Lupuwana, in which a character called Nokere describes how he spotted Mdekhwele whom he rescued from the river. Nokere opens his story with the background events that led to him spotting Mdekhwele in the river. The time interval referred to by the Recent Past Imperfective *bendihamba* ('I was walking') held true until it was interrupted by the Temporal *ndakubona* ('I (then) saw you').

(69) 'M-fo-ndini, u-ndi-bon-e njani kw-eli dike
1-man-EXCL SM.2SG-OM.1SG-see-ANT how SM.17-DEM.5.PROX 5.vlei

la-ma-nzi e-Tsomo ku-de kangaka ne-mi-zi?' ku-buz-a
POSS.5-6-water POSS.6-9.Tsomo SM.17-long like=this COM-4-house SM.17-ask-FV

u-Mdekhwele ku-lo m-fo a-nga-m-az-i-yo
AUG-1a.Mdekhwele SM.17-DEM.1.PROX 1-man SBJRM.1-NEG-know-FV-DISJ

waye-m-vonya=vony-a i-si-su. 'Kambe ke z-azis-e'
SM.1.go.REMPST-OM.1-press-FV AUG-7-stomach indeed then REFL-introduce-SUBJ

zi-buy-ile ii-ngqondo noko ku-Mdekhwele.
SM.10-return-ANT.DISJ AUG-10.mind still SM.17-1a.Mdekhwele

U-phendul-é u-Nokere wa-th-i,
SM.1-answer-ANT AUG-1a.Nokere SM.1.PSTCONS-say-FV

'Ndi-th-é **bendi-hamb-a** apha e-lu-dini-ni lo-m-lambo,
SM.1SG-say-ANT SM.1SG.be.PST-walk-FV here LOC-11-brink-LOC POSS.11-3-river

ndi-khangel-a i-mfuyo e-ngaba i-mk-é na-ma-nzi,
SM.1SG-look=for-FV AUG-9.lifestock RM.9-Q SM.9-leave-ANT COM-6-water

ndaku-bon-a okuya ubu-se-s-azulw-ini so-m-lambo;
SM.1.TEMP-see-FV DEM.17.DIST SM.2SG.be.PST-LOC-7-centre-LOC POSS.7-3-river

ndi-si-bon-ile ne-saa si-qobo ubu-zam-a
SM.1SG-OM.7-see-ANT.DISJ COM-DEM.7.DIST 7-block SM.2SG.be.PST-try-FV

u-ku-si-pheph-a; ukuba besi-ku-ntlith-ile
AUG-15-OM.7-evade-FV if SM.7.be.PST-OM.2SG-toss=about-ANT.DISJ

sa-ku-ntlal-a sa-ku-ntlabal-a
SM.7.PSTCONS-OM.2SG-thrust=against-FV SM.7.PSTCONS-OM.2SG-kill-FV

nge-si-ku-tsh-o wa-yi-ntlaka=ntlaka
COUNTERFACT-SM.7-OM.2SG-direct=action=against-FV SM.2SG.PSTCONS-COP.9-9.coarse=matter

ye-ntlekentlek-e ye-ntlama.'
POSS.9-badly=injured=person POSS.9-weak=person

> *'Man, how did you see me in this vlei of Tsomo so far away from the houses?' Mdekhwele asked the man who did not know him, and who was pressing his stomach. 'Please introduce yourself', Mdekhwele's mind has recovered. Nokere answered: 'I said,* ***I was walking*** *here along the river searching for the livestock which had got swept away by the water and I saw you deep inside the water; I also saw the obstacle you were trying to avoid. If you had hit it, you would have died and your head would be in pieces now. […]'*
> (Roux et al. 2001)

Examples (68-69) suggest that Imperfective verbs tend to announce the **relevance of their R in the following sentence**: Also, when R progresses in the next clause, it overlaps with or adjoins the previous R. This includes those cases in which the event denoted by the Imperfective aspect continues until it is interrupted by another: Even if the beginning of the latter means the end of the former, the two events from the adjacent clauses are still **temporally linked**. This observation suggests that the Imperfective aspect indicates the **salience of R** (of the event it denotes) in the further discourse.

By contrast, Perfective verbs seem to make C of the event relevant in further discourse. In other words, the Perfective aspect of the verb 'announces' a **causal link** with the event from the next clause which often occurs as its consequence or result, an assumption that suggests that this aspectual marker indicates the **salience of C** (of the event it denotes). In addition, there is often a temporal gap between the two events' (non-adjacent) R-times. Thus, the semantic link to the following event can be classified as **non-temporal**, i.e. R is not salient.

However, the Imperfective does not have to indicate salience of R. Consider example (70), an excerpt from an interview with a TV presenter, Dosto Noge. The excerpt opens with the journalist's question which is then followed by the presenter's full answer.

(70) O-yena m-ntu ú-balulek-ile-yo e-b-omi-ni ba-kho...
SUPERL-PRON.1 1-person SM.1-be=important-ANT-DISJ LOC-14-life-LOC POSS.14-2SG

U-sapho lwa-m – si-noo-nyana aba-bini, om-nye ú-na-ma-20
AUG-11.familu POSS.11-1SG SM.1PL-COM-2a.son ADJ.2-two ADJ.1-one SM.1-COM-6-twenty

om-nye ú-ne-10 le-mi-nyaka, ne-ntombi e-ne-12.
ADJ.1-one SM.1-COM-ten POSS.5-4-year COM-9.daughter RM.9-COM-twelve

Ngo-Okthobha mna nowakwam
INSTR-1a.October PRON.1SG and=my=wife

si-za=ku-b-e **si-gqib-a** i-mi-nyaka e-li-15 si-tshat-ile.
SM.1PL-FUT-be-SUBJ SM.1PL-finish-FV AUG-4-year RM.4-COP.5-fifteen SM.1PL-marry-ANT.DISJ

> *The most important person in your life…*
> *My family - I have two sons, one is 20, the other one is10, and a daughter who is 12. In October my wife and I* ***will celebrate*** *our 15th wedding anniversary (lit:* ***we will be finishing*** *15 years of our marriage).*
> (Snyman et al. 2012)

While the Immediate Future Imperfective verb *siza kube sigqiba* ('we will be finishing') obviously has its overtly marked R, the time adverbial *ngo-Okthobha* ('in October'), its replacement with its Perfective counterpart, *siza kugqiba* ('we will finish') results in a sentence that was deemed incomplete by a consultant (2016.corpus.gqiba.immf1.m18-25E). More specifically, the consultant expressed the view that, unlike the Imperfective aspect, the Perfective verb would indicate that more information would follow, and since the verb in question is the last clause in the answer, the utterance would be perceived as incomplete.

What the indication that no information about the event follows has in common with the salience of R is the **absence of salience of C**, which implies that the salience of the Imperfective aspect is negatively defined by that of the Perfective aspect, i.e. salience of C. This observation is in line with the fact pointed out in the last section that the Perfective aspect is the default, unmarked member of the aspectual opposition (in the Past and the Future tenses). Thus, I assume that the Perfective aspect's default implicature is salience of C, which can be ruled out by the Imperfective aspect. Salience of R is merely one of the possible manifestations of the **ruled out salience of C** (= **defocusing of C**).

The assumption that aspectual semantics in Xhosa exhibits salience effects is in line with the focus-related remarks about the Spanish examples (15-16) from Chapter 1, which describe Borges's death in Geneva. By way of reminder, the Perfective aspect indicates a 'neutral' focus (=default salience of C) and the Imperfective aspect emphasises the very event of Borges's dying, leaving the results and the causes of the event out of focus. In other words, in this example too, the Imperfective aspect can be said to indicate salience of R and N (and not C) in further discourse.

The salience-related meaning of aspect may also apply to some predicates with a punctual N in Xhosa, e.g. in the examples from section 5.5 in which N-point has no unique position on the timeline: The speaker's decision to conceal the position results in her or his defocusing of C in further discourse. For instance, in example (37), the event of Mannakoe

Makobane turning the age of 106 several months before S is denoted by the Imperfective verb *ubegqiba* ('she was finishing'). This event serves to provide information about a particular property of the subject whereby the event's result has no effect on further discourse[616]. She was considered one of the oldest people in the world even before the event, i.e. before her birthday: What is written about her in the text applies to her both before and after her birthday. This is another example of the Imperfective aspect's ability to defocus C from the discourse, and to emphasise that the provided information concerns one of the qualities of the subject.

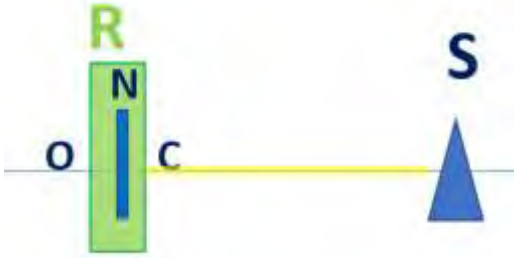
By way of conclusion, I conclude that the Perfective aspect indicates the **salience of C**. By contrast, the Imperfective aspect rules out **salience of C**: Either any information on C is omitted from the speaker's turn-constructional unit altogether, or it is changed into R salience.

5.10. Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrate that the Perfective aspect in Xhosa is the default form that denotes an event in the Non-Present (i.e. Past and Future) tenses. To create reference to an instance of an event, the Perfective verb links the information about the type of event, i.e. the predicate E (N), to its specific position on the timeline R. The temporal position of the event denoted by the Perfective verb is a unique change-of-state: The Perfective verb's N pertains to **one** unique, quantised **point** on the timeline R, cf. Figure 5.10. In the Perfective verb, R does not hold true at any other points in time. The Perfective aspect often signals that the event's consequences and results are further discussed in the upcoming discourse, a phenomenon I recognise as salience of the event's C-phase.

[616] Admittedly, due to lack of space here I do not provide or analyse the content that follows the sentence from the example.

Figure 5.10. *The Perfective aspect asserts the predicate's (N's) truth-conditionality at one point on the timeline which functions as R, while indicating the salience of C in further discourse (indicated by the horizontal line).*



By contrast, the Imperfective aspect merely signals that the type of event E (information about the predicate) pertains to **more than one temporal point**: It does not denote a single change-of-state and its position on the timeline is not specified. As E's (N's) temporal reference needs to be confined to a particular part of the timeline, it uses information which is not encoded in the verb to function as its R, e.g. the anaphoric R, time adverbial R, definite R, inferable R or S (=R; in the Present tense). For every moment within R, the Imperfective aspect's N **can, but needs not hold true**, cf. Figure 5.11.

In Xhosa, in the Non-Present tenses the default temporal reference for an event is a **unique point** denoted by the Perfective aspect. To alter the properties of the temporal reference, the semantically more specific Imperfective aspect is used. Unlike the Perfective aspect, the Imperfective aspect marks R-stagnation in narrations. Furthermore, it rules out salience of C[617] *making N and R around it salient (indicated by the horizontal line)*. Instead, it indicates that no information on consequences and results follows in the speaker's turn-constructional unit. Alternatively, it may signal that the focus is laid on an entity involved in the event (i.e. the subject) representing the event as one of the properties of the entity, or it may indicate salience of R which allows the temporal (not causal) link to the next events.

[617] Thus making N and R around it salient, as indicated by the horizontal line in Figure 5.11.

Figure 5.11. *The Imperfective aspect indicates that the predicate, N (vertical lines/rectangles) may, but need not hold true at every point within a time interval that functions as R, while defocusing C.*

The underlying distinction between the Perfective and the Imperfective aspects in Xhosa concerns whether or not the event's **temporal reference R** is a **unique point in time**. The idea that the divide between the two aspects by whether or not the temporal reference is a **point** in time is partially in concordance with Arche's (2014) view. Given that any point in time is a **quantised** temporal expression, my definition of the Perfective/Imperfective opposition in Xhosa has common elements with the views of aspectual semantics in the works by Borer (2005) and Arsenijević (2006). Furthermore, my choice of **uniqueness** of the point in time as the main quality of the temporal reference is closely related to the understanding of the perfective aspect as a **definite temporal reference** (or similar concepts) expressed in Barentsen (1998), Boogaart (1999), Dickey (2000), Ramchand (2004) and Arsenijević (2006). Note, however, that my understanding of definiteness (which entails shared information between the speaker and the hearer) differs from the concept of uniqueness. The former requires the denotee to be known to the speaker and the hearer before the production of the utterance, whereas the latter entails that the denoted entity can be singled out from other entities that belong to the same category.

Although this analysis has been conducted within the relational theory, I do not treat the relation between E and R as the driving factor behind the Perfective/Imperfective opposition, but as a relation that reflects the quality of the event's temporal reference as a unique point (or not). In the context of the interval-based and the event-based approaches to aspect (cf. Chapter 4), the findings in this study seem to support the latter.

6. The Tenses: Present, Past, Future

6.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the semantics of the Present, Past and Future tenses in Xhosa. Included in this analysis is what has often been referred to as a distinction in remoteness in the literature, i.e. the difference between the Recent Past and the Remote Past, as well as the difference between the Immediate Future and the Remote Future tenses.

The first part of the analysis (cf. section 6.2) addresses the semantics of the Present tense primarily in the light of its contrast with the Past and the Future tenses based on corpus examples. Thus, the overlap between R and S which represents the Present tense, manifests itself as a coincidence between N (or an intermediate pause between two recurrences of N) and S; In some predicates, it may also manifest itself as a coincidence between O or C with S.

In the second part of the analysis in section 6.3, I provide arguments against considering the Recent Past a Present Anterior/Perfect marker. In the third part (cf. section 6.4), I test the hypothesis that the two Past and the two Future tenses differ with respect to the degree of remoteness based on the distance between S and accompanying time adverbials which indicate (approximate) location of R. One correlation found between the remoteness degrees and the distinction between the two Past or the two Future tenses concerns the fact that the Remote Past/Future tenses cannot denote events whose N (unlike R) overlaps with S, whereas the Recent Past and the Immediate Future can. Furthermore, I have found that the Remote Past's N cannot occur in the hodiernal and hesternal past (or approximately 2-3 days before S). At the same time, I observe that a great number of the Remote Future tense forms represent events without a temporal anchoring as they represent hypothetical situations.

Subsequently, in the fourth part of the analysis in section 6.5, I focus on the accessibility and salience-related differences between the two Past and the two Future tenses. The conclusion I draw is that the Remote Past verb's R belongs to a different state of affairs (relations between entities) than the one found at S (thus qualifying to be defined as a **discontinuous past** marker) or at any other event in the surrounding discourse (i.e. preceding or following events). The

Remote Future represents the future counterpart of the discontinuous past, i.e. the **discontinuous future**: The conditions for R of the denoted event to actualise itself are not present at S, which also suggests a difference in the state of affairs at R and at S.

6.2. Present Tense

As pointed out in section 1.1, the relational theory defines the present tense as the overlap between S and R, a view I follow in this study. In this section, I examine whether this definition applies to the Xhosa Present tense forms using primarily corpus examples.

This analysis revolves primarily around two issues. The first one regards the temporal relation between the overlapping S and R. In particular, it is important to address what exactly constitutes the interval R that overlaps with S. We should expect R to be considerably longer than and to encompass the moment of speech S, because Present tense forms are not confined to situations occurring at the moment of speech only.

The second issue concerns the assertion of N within that R. In section 3.16, I concluded that the Present tense in Xhosa by default has the Imperfective aspect[618], a relation that entails that N may but needs not hold true at every moment of R. Given that the Present tense indicates that R overlaps with S, and that N can but needs not occur at every moment of R, the question that remains open about this tense is what possible relations **between N and S** it represents. In cases in which N overlaps with S(=R), we may expect the **progressive reading** to emerge. However, we can also expect N to occur before and after S (and not necessarily at S), while still being denoted by the Present tense, which is an example of the **habitual reading**.

In the corpus, the progressive reading of the Present tense is exemplified by the conjoint verb *úsebenza* ('she is working') in (1). Example (1) is the text under a caption in a magazine article showing Zola Kananda-Makai who is in the process of working in her office. The predicate containing the verb *-sebenza* ('work') has a durative N and it holds true at the moment at which

[618] Note that this conclusion only pertains to Xhosa. As already mentioned in sections 3.16 and 4.6, languages in which verbs can combine the present tense and the perfective aspect are not uncommon.

the picture is taken (=S), a relation which represents the progressive reading. As confirmed in the elicited example (2), disjoint forms of the Present tense may also have the progressive reading.

(1) U-Zola **ú-sebenz-a** njenge-Business=lntelligence=Analyst
AUG-1a.Zola SM.1-work-FV as-9.business=intelligence=analyst
kwi-ofisi ya-khe.
SM.17-9.office POSS.9-1
*Zola **is working** as a Business Intelligence Analyst in her office.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

(2) **Ú-ya-balek-a**.
SM.1-DISJ-run-FV
He is running / He runs.
(2014.elic.baleka.prs.f18-25A)

As for the habitual reading, it is exemplified by the Present tense conjoint verb forms *ndisebenza* ('I work') and *bahamba* ('they walk') in the corpus example (3) and (4), respectively. Example (3) has been taken from a magazine article about learning difficulties. In the excerpt, one person affected by this problem describes her challenges contains an interviewee's report about the challenges she encounters.

(3) 'Nd-enz-a u-nyaka wa-m we-si-bini ku-qeqesho
SM.1SG-do-FV AUG-3.year POSS.3-1SG POSS.3-7-two SM.17-11.training
lo-bongikazi. **Ndi-sebenz-a** nzima, kodwa i-kho
POSS.11-11.nursing=profession SM.1SG-work-FV hard but SM.9-exist
i-nto endi-tsal-el-a u-m-va.'
AUG-9.thing RM.1SG-pull-APPL-FV AUG-3-back
*'I am doing my second year in my medical training as a nurse. **I work** hard, but there is something that is holding me back.'*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The event of studying denoted by the predicate with a durative N -*sebenza* ('work') is obviously not occurring while she is talking to the journalists. The event is true of her general experience indicating the verb has the habitual reading: It is denoted by the Present tense because N has occurred before S and will continue to occur after S.

The habitual reading of a verb with a punctual N in its primary meaning, such as *-hamba* ('leave, walk'), is exemplified in (4). Before discussing the relation between N and S in (4), I need to address the lexical aspect of *-hamba* ('leave, walk'). My classification of *-hamba* ('leave, walk') as a punctual verb is based on test (A) (cf. section 5.2), which shows that in the Recent Past Perfective it denotes an irreversible change-of-state. However, in the Present tense, just like in the Imperfective aspect of the Past and Future tenses (cf. Chapter 5), it often denotes the event of walking or travelling. Thus, the core meaning of *-hamba* ('leave') is a punctual N that denotes a single act of displacement of the subject, yet as the Imperfective aspect indicates that N is not unique point in time (cf. Chapter 5), *-hamba* ('leave') has the possibility to not only denote the subject's initial moment of movement (=change-of-state), but also the ensuing interval during which she or he continues to move through space[619]. Thus, the punctual verb *-hamba* ('leave, walk') can optionally refer to several adjacent N-points which are merged together to create a new kind of predicate that denotes a continuous displacement of the subject, i.e. walking or travelling. For ease of reference, I will henceforth refer to the subtype of punctual verbs like *-hamba* ('leave') as **extendable punctual verbs**.

Let us return to example (4) which comes from a letter submitted to a magazine by a reader concerned about children's safety in the streets. The verb *bahamba* ('they walk') denotes the event of children walking in the streets at night. The merged adjacent N-points may, but need not necessarily hold true at S (which is the time during which the reader is writing the letter), a precondition for the habitual reading.

(4)

Se-ku-si-si-qhelo		u-ku-bon-a	a-ba-ntwana	aba-ncinci
already-COP.15-COP.7-7-habit		AUG-15-see-FV	AUG-2-child	ADJ.2-small
aba-ne-mi-nyaka	emi-hlanu			
RM.2-COM-4-year	ADJ.4-five			
be-zula=zula	e-zi-tratw-eni		e-bu-suku.	
SM.2.PTCP-roam=around	LOC-10-street-LOC		LOC-14-night	
Aba-nye	**ba-hamb-a**	phandle	kuba	be-thuny-w-e
RM.2-other	SM.2-walk-FV	outside	because	SM.2.PTCP-send-PASS-ANT
nga-ba-zali	ba-bo	e-zi-venkile-ni.		
COP-2-parent	POSS.2-2	LOC-10-shop-LOC		

[619] This is only one possible interpretation of *-hamba* ('leave, walk') in the Imperfective aspect. Another interpretation is the habitual reading of the event of leaving.

*It is already common to see small five year olds (lit: children that are five years old) roam around the streets at night. Others **walk** outside because they are sent by their parents to the shop.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The habitual reading is also possible with the disjoint forms of the Present tense, e.g. in (5-6). In example (5) which comes from a text about breastfeeding, the event of children needing their mothers is denoted by the verb *-funa* ('want') which has a durative N. The statement is truthful irrespective of whether N overlaps with S, i.e. whether there is a baby who needs its mother at the moment of writing the article, because the predicate pertains to the nature of the relationship between any baby and its mother. Hence, the disjoint form of the Present tense verb *ziyabafuna* ('they need them') has the habitual reading.

(5)

Kodwa	ezi-nye	i-zi-nto	azi-tshintsh-i.	Ii-ntsana
but	ADJ.10-other	AUG-10-thing	NEG.SM.10-change-NEG	AUG-10.baby

zi-ya-ba-fun-a	oo-mama	ba-zo	njengokuba
SM.10-OM.2-DISJ-want-FV	AUG-2a.mother	POSS.2-10	as

zazi-njalo	ku-ma-90	e-mi-nyaka	e-dlul-ile-yo.
SM.10.go.REMPST-be=like=that	SM.17-6-ninety	POSS.6-4-year	RM.4-pass-ANT-DISJ

*But some things don't change. Children **need** (lit: **want**) their mothers as was the case 90 years ago.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

In (6), we see the habitual reading of a disjoint verb with a punctual N. Example (6) has been taken from another magazine reader's letter in which the author expresses concern about adolescents' employment prospects. The predicate of the bolded verb *-gqiba* ('finish') refers to pupils finishing school every year. N needs not hold true at S, indicating the verb exhibits the habitual reading: The utterance is truthful at any moment of the year, and not just around the time when school finishes.

(6)

La	nga-ma-xesha	a-nzima.	Mi-nyaka le		i-qela
DEM.6.PROX	COP-6-time	RM.6-difficult	4-year	DEM.4.PROX	AUG-5.group

eli-tsha	lo-lu-tsha	**li-ya-gqib-a**	e-si-kolw-eni
ADJ.5-new	POSS.5-11-youth	SM.5-DISJ-finish-FV	LOC-7-school-LOC

laku-gqib-a li-nga-fuman-i mi-sebenzi.
TEMP.5-finish-FV SM.5-NEG.SUBJ-get-NEG 4-work

*These are difficult times. Every year, a new group of young people **finish** school and once they finish, they don't get (lit: find) jobs.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

However, for a number of predicates, it is difficult to provide an unambiguous answer whether their N holds at S or not, pointing to the fact that this property is not relevant. Consider the punctual verb *-fumana* ('get') in (7), an excerpt from a magazine article about music piracy business.

(7) '**Si-fuman-a** u-bu-nzima ngenxa=yee-odolo
SM.1PL-get-FV AUG-14-difficulty because=of.10-order

ezi-ninzi. Si-thath-a i-xesha eli-de ngoku
ADJ.10-many SM.1PL-take-FV AUG-5.time ADJ.5-long now

u-ku-hamb-is-a ii-odolo e-bantw-ini,
AUG-15-go-CAUS-FV AUG-10.order LOC-2-person-LOC

i-b-a l-u-suku ukuya kw-ezi-mbini', ú-tsh-ilo
SM.9-be-FV COP.11-AUG-11.day until SM.17-ADJ.10-two SM.1-say=so-ANT

u-m-nini=venkile.
AUG-1-show=owner

*'**We experience** difficulty because of too many orders. We take a long time to take people's orders, from one to two days', said the shop owner.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

In (7), an owner of a music piracy business reports that they are struggling to meet the high demand. Whether the predicate *-fumana ubunzima* ('experience difficulty') holds at S depends on how we define its N. One possibility is to understand it as a punctual N that denotes all the individual instances in which the workload was perceived as challenging, in which case example (7) would have the habitual reading (since N needs not occur at S). Alternatively, N may also represent the continuous process of experiencing difficulty which holds true at S. However, in that case the predicate undergoes a semantic change (relative to the verb in its original meaning). According to the latter option, (7) would have the progressive reading. The predicate's N would still be punctual but the verb would not only refer to the concrete change-of-state (the moment at

which the first problem is identified as the difficulty), but also to the ensuing moments during which the difficulty (the new state) lasts.

Example (7) shows that the distinction between the distinction between the habitual and the progressive readings is irrelevant for determining the semantics of the Present tense in Xhosa in terms of the relation between N, R and S. The preliminary conclusion drawn from the observations about examples (1-7) is that **N represents more points** (i.e. more than **one point**) in time which occur in the past, **before S**, and (are likely to recur) in the future, **after S**; Whether N occurs at S or not is irrelevant. At the same time, R is a time interval that extends on both sides of S. Its duration and bounds are irrelevant: They extend as far into the past and into the future as the entities involved co-exist. As pointed out at the beginning of the section, in the Present tense like in any other Imperfective verb form, N may occur at any point of R.

Let us now consider the cases in which a Present tense verb's N does not occur on both sides of S. Like the English Present Progressive, the Present tense verb forms in Xhosa can refer to events that are about to occur in the future. Consider example (4) from an interview in Bona with stylist Ephraim Malingoana. In the excerpt in (4), he answers a question about his purchase of a clothing item which turned out to be a mistake.

(8) 'Y-e-ny' i-bhulukhwe e-ngu-m-siko o-m-hle
COP.9-ADJ.9-one AUG-9.pants RM.9-COP.3-3-cut ADJ.3-COP.3-beautiful
enda-yi-bon-a e-Paris, ndâ-ngen-a ku-loo
RM.1SG.REMPST-OM.9-see-FV LOC-9.Paris SM.1SG.REMPST-enter-FV SM.17-DEM.9.MED
venkile ye-mpahla nda-th-i,
9.shop POSS.9-clothes SM.1SG.PSTCONS-say-FV
'**Ndi-hamb-a** na-yo le!' […]'
SM.1SG-go-FV COM-9 DEM.9.PROX
*'It was a pair of pants with a nice cut that I saw in Paris; I got into that clothing shop and said '**I'm** (definitely) **taking** (lit: **leaving** with) this one'. […]'*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The predicate of the Present tense verb *ndihamba* (I am leaving') has a punctual N and it represents the prospective event of Malingoana leaving the shop with said trousers. The occurrence of N is only predicted for the future part of the timeline: It has not occurred before S. Nevertheless, with the Present tense the speaker indicates his volition and certainty about the

prospective event's actualisation. The subject's volition and the speaker's certainty can be formalised as O, i.e. the onset phase of the event recognised at S. Thus, the Present tense can also denote events whose O holds true at S.

It is demonstrated in example (8) that, apart from asserting the position of an event's N, R can also assert the position of the event's O. The assertion of O at S indicates that R is also located at S, a relation which results in the Present tense.

The fact that the Present tense in Xhosa can refer to future events has already been observed by du Plessis (1978:125) and Nxopo (1993:21-22, 119) who link this phenomenon to the conjoint forms of a group of intransitive verbs of movement, as demonstrated in examples (12) and (13) from section 3.3, repeated here as (9) and (10), respectively.

(9) **Ndi-hamb-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-walk-FV now
I am going *now.* [the event has not yet occurred][620]
(Nxopo 1993:21)

(10) **Ndi-ngen-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-enter-FV now
I am going in *now.* [the event has not yet occurred][621]
(Nxopo 1993:21)

However, the caption of a photo from a magazine article about a football match in (11) suggests that the Present tense is not restricted to intransitive verbs of movement. The punctual, transitive verb *-bamba* ('catch') is not a motion verb. Nevertheless, its Present tense form *úbamba* ('he catches') signals that N is about to occur. At the moment at which the photo was taken, the goalkeeper Okpara had not yet caught the ball, but he was still preparing to do that. Therefore, I assume that the Present tense can assert the O-phase of a future event for punctual verbs in general.

[620] I replaced the following original translation provided in Nxopo (1993:21): *I am going just now/I am on the point of going, i.e. I have not yet gone at the moment, but the going will take place now – i.e. in the immediate future).*
[621] I replaced the following original translation provided in Nxopo (1993:21): *I am going in just now/I am on the point of going in.*

(11) U-m-gcini=zipali we-Pirates, u-William=Okpara,
AUG-1-goal=keeper POSS.1-9.Pirates AUG-1a.William=Okpara

ú-bamb-a i-bhola e-nzima lo=gama
SM.1-catch-FV AUG-9.ball RM.9-hard while

u-Brandon=Silent e-bhek-el-a.
AUG-1.Brandon=Silent SM.1.PTCP-head=toward-APPL-FV

Pirates goalkeeper, William Okpara, ***catches*** *(=****is about to catch****) the ball while Brandon Silent is heading toward it.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Du Plessis (1978:125) and Nxopo (1993:21-22, 119) also notice that the Present tense can refer to events from the immediate past, cf. examples (16) and (17) in section 3.3, repeated here as (12) and (13), respectively. They confine this property of the Present tense to the conjoint forms of a (different) group of intransitive verbs.

(12) **Ndi-vuk-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-wake=up-FV now
I have *just* ***woken up*** *now.*
(Nxopo 1993:21)

(13) **Ndi-fik-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-arrive-FV now
I have just arrived *now*.
(Nxopo 1993:22)

What du Plessis (1978) and Nxopo (1993:21-22) identify as immediate past in (12-13), I assume can be reinterpreted as resultative past, i.e. events whose results hold true at S. Since I formalise the states which result from an event as that event's C-phase (cf. Chapter 5), the claims made in (12) and (13) indicate that the events' C coincides with S. Furthermore, because examples (12) and (13) indicate that the position of the events' C[622] is at S, their assertion time R contains information about C (and not N or O) while itself being located at S: It is the overlap between R and S that yields the Present tense in (12-13).

Du Plessis's (1978) and Nxopo's (1993) observation that the Present tense can denote the overlap between an event's C and S is confirmed by the corpus example (14). However, contrary

[622] This fact was also stressed in Chapter 5. I arrived at the conclusion that the Perfective aspect asserts the transition from non-N (i.e. O or C) to N, cf. section 5.4.

to their view, this use of the Present tense does not seem to be confined to intransitive verbs. Consider example (14), an excerpt from Sidayiya's novel *Iyawa nguMayedwa*, in which the shop owner that Mayedwa delivers bakery goods to, notices that some of the ordered bread loaves and buns are missing upon delivery. In (14), the punctual verb *-fumana* ('find') denotes the event of realising a fact. Because it takes a direct object (relative clause) it is a transitive verb.

(14)

U-velis-é	ela	phetshana		u-Mayedwa
SM.1-show-ANT	DEM.5.DIST	5.small=piece=of=paper		AUG-1a.Mayedwa
a-beli-nik-w-é		e-bhaki-ni,	wa-th-i:	
SBJRM.1-SM.5.be.PST-give-PASS-ANT		LOC-9.bakery-LOC	SM.1.PSTCONS-say-FV	
"Ezi	z-onke	na-la	ma-qebengwana	nga-wo
DEM.10.PROX	SM.10-all	COM-DEM.6.PROX	6-biscuit	INSTR-6
la	a-bhal-w-é	apha kw-eli	phepha.	
DEM.6.PROX	SM.6-write-PASS-ANT	here SM.17-DEM.5	5.paper	
Ndi-zi-bal-ile	z-onke	ezi	zi-nto.	
SM.1SG-OM.10-count-ANT.DISJ	SM.10-all	DEM.10.PROX	10-thing	
Ndi-fuman-a	ukuba	i-z-onka	zi-ya-ngqinelan-a	
SM.1SG-get-FV	that	AUG-8-bread	SM.8-DISJ-correspond-FV	
n-eli	nani	eli-bhal-w-é	apha.	Kodwa
COM-DEM.5-.PROX	5.number	RM.5-write-ANT	here	but
a-ma-qebengwana	aka-ngqinelan-i,	ma-bini	a-nge-kho-yo.	[...]'
AUG-6-biscuit	NEG.SM.6-correspond-NEG	COP.6-two	RM.6-NEG-exist-DISJ	

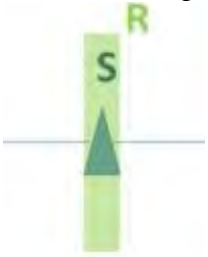
*He showed him the little paper that Mayedwa was given at the bakery, and said 'These loaves of bread and these buns are recorded (lit: written) on this piece of paper. I have counted all of them. And **I have found** (lit: **I find**) that the number of the loaves of bread corresponds with the number written here, but the buns are not corresponding; Two pieces are missing. […]'*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The punctual N of the verb *-fumana* ('find') precedes the moment of speech. Yet, the Present tense is used to indicate that the state resulting from the event of the shop owner's realisation N directly concerns the speech act: The shop owner's insight into the missing goods, the event's C-phase, concerns the baked goods that are still present at S, i.e. that have not yet been sold or eaten in the meantime. In other words, C overlaps with the situation which the speech act is embedded in. Based on example (14), I suggest that the use of the Present tense to refer to past events is not restricted to a subclass of intransitive verbs (as per du Plessis 1978 and Nxopo

1993), but to verbs with a punctual N, the same actional class that can also denote future events with the Present tense.

What examples (8-14) show is that R can refer to (parts of) any of the three phases of an event: O, N, and C. Furthermore, these examples demonstrate that in the Present tense, R needs not extend onto the past, pre-S (cf. 8-11) or the future, post-S (cf. 12-14) portions of the timeline. This entails that the main condition for R's position on the timeline to produce the Present tense is that **R encompasses S**, as demonstrated in Figure 6.1: When an event (any of its integral phases) does not occur at S, but 'around' it, i.e. in the past and in the future parts of the timeline, R must cover both sides of S, thus also including S itself. In the Present tense, it is irrelevant which phase of the event (O, N or C) is included in R. It is also irrelevant how far into the past or into the future R of the event extends: The duration of the interval covered by R (on either 'side' of S) varies from utterance to utterance (primarily depending on the lifetime and duration of the entities involved). Yet, as long as R covers S, the verb is in the Present tense.

Figure 6.1. *The Present tense in Xhosa only signals that R overlaps with S.*



As is visible from Figure 6.1, which phase of the event (O, N, or C) is included in R is not always crucial for the Present tense semantics. Accordingly, if an event's O, N or C is located at S, it does not automatically follow that it has to be represented by a Present tense verb. As will be demonstrated in sections 6.4-6.6, events whose N occurs at S can still be denoted by a Past or a Future tense verb form. At the same time, future events can be expressed not only by the two Future tenses, but also by the Present tense, as exemplified in (8-11), in which the speaker wishes to emphasise that the event's O-phase occurs at S, thus suggesting that N's actualisation is inevitable.

A future event may be represented by two different tenses depending on whether or not the speaker recognises its O-phase as true at S. Consider the elicited examples (15-18). Examples (15) and (16) denote a future event of jumping off a height (e.g. a springboard). In (15), the Present tense suggests the event of jumping N will definitely actualise itself: The speaker is determined to jump, and the actualisation of N is not conditioned by another event. Thus, it can be argued that the speaker's determination (i.e. preparation phase, e.g. standing on the springboard) is recognised as the forthcoming event's O-phase already at S. This is, however, not the case in the Immediate Future verb form in (16), where the event of jumping N is conditioned: It might not occur at all if the addressee does not approach the speaker too close.

(15) **Ndi-ya-xhum-a**.
SM.1SG-DISJ-jump-FV
I'm jumping (=about to jump). [the speaker cannot engage in the conversation with the addressee because she or he is on a springboard ready to jump into the swimming pool]
(2019.elic.ya.prs-fut.O)

(16) **Ndi-zoku-xhum-a**.
SM.1SG-FUT-jump-FV
I'll jump. [the speaker warns she or he will jump if the addressee approaches closer]
(2019.elic.ya.prs-fut.O)

Examples (17) and (18) denote the event of flying to Paris. The Present tense in (17) indicates that the event of flying to Paris will definitely actualise itself. The speaker being at the airport is recognised as O-phase (the preparatory phase) of the event of flying, N. Even in the context of a flight that will take place only in two days, the speaker is expected to engage in preparations (e.g. pack or collect any necessary documents), which she or he at the moment of speech S recognises as O-phase of the event. However, when the flight is planned for the next year like in (18), the speaker is less likely to recognise the moment of speech as part of the preparatory phase. Accordingly, the Immediate Future indicates many factors can affect or prevent the event's actualisation.

(17) **Ndi-y-a** e-Paris.
SM.1SG-go-FV LOC-9.Paris
I'm flying *(lit:* ***going****) to Paris.* [context 1: at the airport, the speaker is about to get on board her or his flight to Paris at the airport; optional in context 2: the speaker cannot attend tonight's party because she or he has not packed for her or his journey which is in two days]
(2019.elic.ya.prs-fut.O)

(18) **Ndi-zoku-y-a** e-Paris (ku-lo nyaka u-z-a-yo).
SM.1SG-FUT-go-FV LOC-9.Paris SM1.7-DEM.3.PROX 3.year SM.3-come-FV-RM.DISJ
I'm flying *(lit:* ***going****) to Paris (next year).* [optional in context 1: the speaker cannot attend tonight's party because she or he has not packed for her or his journey which is in two days; context 2: the speaker is going to Paris for a conference next year]
(2019.elic.ya.prs-fut.O)

Just like the Present tense can signal that the speaker recognises the moment of speech as part of a future event's O, it can also signal that the speaker view the speech act as part of a past event's result or consequent state, C. However, note that this use of the Present tense is limited to (non-inchoative) punctual verbs[623]: As du Plessis (1978:125) and Nxopo (1993:21) point out (cf. section 3.3) the Present tense form of such verbs as *-sebenza* ('work') or *-lila* ('cry'), which I recognise as durative verbs, cannot refer to events whose N precedes or follows S, cf. examples (14) and (15) from section 3.3, repeated here as (19) and (20), respectively. The reason for this difference between durative and (non-inchoative) punctual verbs could be linked to the fact that the latter have a clearly definable, and thus automatically recognisable O-phase and C-phase, whereas such verbs as *-sebenza* ('work') or *-lila* ('cry') do not.

(19) !!!**Ndi-sebenz-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-work-FV now
I am working *now.* [Present interpretation only; Immediate future interpretation excluded: **I am about to work now*]
(Nxopo 1993:21)

[623] I assume that the Present tense does not denote overlap between C and S with inchoative verbs, since their Recent Past Perfective forms denote this relation.

(20) !!!**Ndi-lil-a** ngoku.
SM.1SG-cry-FV now
I am crying *now.* [Present interpretation only; Immediate future interpretation excluded: **I am about to cry now*]
(Nxopo 1993:21)

Another common use of the Present tense to denote events which do not coincide with S is its use as an **embedded tense** (i.e. tense of a verb in an embedded, subordinate clause). Consider the embedded Present verb form *úyahamba* ('he is leaving') in (21) from a magazine article about child maintenance rights. The excerpt describes the case of Thandi who was left by her partner.

(21) U-Thandi waye-nga-phangel-i yena u-Brian
AUG-1a.Thandi SM.1.go.REMPST-NEG-work-NEG PRON.1 AUG-1a.Bryan
e-phangel-a kwaye e-l-ondl-a u-sapho lwa-khe.
SM.1.PTCP-work-FV and SM.1.PTCP-OM.11-support-FV AUG-11.family POSS.11-1
Ng-e-ny' i-mini wâ-xelel' u-Thandi ukuba
INSTR-ADJ.9-one AUG-9.day SM.1.REMPST-tell AUG-1a.Thandi that
ú-ya-hamb-a ú-yo-hlal-a ne-ntombi a-thand-an-a na-yo.
SM.1-DISJ-go-FV SM.1-FUT.SUBJ-stay-FV COM-9.girl SBJRM.1-love-RECIP-FV COM-9
*Thandi did not work, Bryan worked and he supported the family. One day he told Thandi that **he was leaving** and that he was going to stay with his girlfriend.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The Present verb form *úyahamba* ('he is leaving') denotes the event of Bryan leaving Thandi. Its imminence (i.e. O-phase) is simultaneous with R of the main clause Remote Past Perfective reporting verb, *wâmxelela* ('he told (her)') and not with S. Thus, instead of indicating that the event's R overlaps with S, the embedded Present tense indicates its R, henceforth $\mathbf{R_{ec}}$, overlaps with R of the main clause reporting verb, henceforth $\mathbf{R_{mc}}$.

By way of conclusion, the Present tense signals that S (R_{mc}) functions as R of the verb. The Present tense has only the Imperfective aspect, which suggests N is not asserted by R as a unique, punctual change-of-state. Instead, N 'fills' S(R_{mc})=R, either as an ongoing event or an intermediate state between habitual recurrences. Alternatively, for non-inchoative punctual verbs (whose N does represent a unique point in time), the Present tense may assert that the event's non-unique points of O or C (instead of N) occur at S (R_{mc}).

6.3. Recent Past vs. Present Perfect

This section addresses the frequent identification of the Recent Past (Perfective) as a completive or a perfect marker[624] of the Present tense in the literature, cf. section 3.4.

Bybee et al. (1994:54, 57, 318) and Rose et al. (2002:15-16) define the completive aspect as denoting an action that is done 'thoroughly and to completion' (Nurse 2008:154), such as <*eat up*> or <*shoot someone dead*>. Bybee et al. (1994:54) stress that the completive does not denote a complete event, a meaning they associate with perfectivity. For lack of a more precise definition, I paraphrase Bybee et al.'s (1994:57) description of the completive as entailing that an entity (e.g. object, subject) involved in the event undergoes a change (resulting from the event). Be it that it gets consumed, eaten up, created, removed, read, destroyed or if it disappears, the entity in question exhibits different properties (or different relations to the other entities[625]) before and after the event[626]. For example, the Russian Perfective predicate *pročitat knigu* ('read a/the book') with the Perfective aspect is only true if the event has reached completion, i.e. the book is 'fully consumed'. However, as already pointed out, Bybee et al. (1994:54) do not equate perfectivity with the completive aspect. Consider Maslov's (1959:189) example (30) from section 4.5.3, repeated here as (22).

(22) Russian
Popaxa-li pol-e, no ne **vspaxa-li** ego.
plough.PFV-PST.PL field-N.SG.ACC but NEG plough=up.PFV-PST.PL PRON.N.SG.GEN.
*They **ploughed** the field, but they **did not plough** it up* [finish ploughing it].
(Maslov 1959:189)

The atelic Perfective verb *popaxali* ('they ploughed (for a while)') denotes a complete event, but not an event that reached the point of completion. The completive meaning, which refers to the

[624] In the present study, the Completive and the Perfect are considered aspectual categories. This view is supported by the fact that they can be combined with other tenses. Therefore, they will further be referred to as *aspect*.
[625] This is the case with a predicate like *<X read the book>*. By the end of the event, the book has not changed its properties; It is its relation to subject X that is not the same.
[626] During the event, the entity's properties are in the process of a gradual change.

field undergoing the transition into being ploughed up, is encoded in the other, telic Perfective verb, *vspaxali* ('they ploughed up'). As *vspaxali* ('they ploughed up') is negated, the event of ploughing the field in (22) is complete (=Perfective), but not completed[627]. The fact that the two Perfective verbs differ with respect to telicity does not suggest that this category can be equalized with completive.

If applied to Botne & Kershner's (2000) model with O, N and C phases, the completive aspect asserts that an event's N has finished and C has started, as depicted in Figure 6.2. The change the entity undergoes from the beginning to the end of the event entails its properties (or relations to other entities) are different at O and at C, with N being a gradual transition (although this is not explicitly illustrated in Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2. *Illustration of the completive aspect as applied to Botne & Kershner's (2000) model.*

A corpus example of the Recent Past Perfective covering the semantics of a completive marker is found in (23), an example from a magazine article about a television presenter, Oprah Winfrey. The predicate containing the verb *úbhalé* ('she has written') has a durative N, whose point of completion is reached. The event of writing is completed. The book that emerges as its result could not exist before the endpoint of N.

(23) Emva kw-e-mi-nyaka e-li-10 u-Oprah
after POSS.17-4-year RM.4-COP.5-5.ten AUG-1a.Oprah
ú-s-omelel-é yaye ú-ya-phil-a. **Ú-bhal-é** i-ncwadi
SM.1-PERS-become=strong-ANT and SM.1-DISJ-be=fine-FV SM.1-write-ANT AUG-9.book
e-chaz-a i-ndlela a-y-e w-onwab-a nga-yo,
RM.9-explain-FV AUG-9.way SUBJ.RM.1-go-ANT SM.1-become=happy-FV INSTR-9

[627] The fact that the two Perfective verbs in (22) differ with respect to telicity does not suggest that the completive aspect can be boiled down to this category. As a matter of fact, the way I define telicity in this study is that it includes punctual verbs too, which does not apply to the completive marker.

i-biz-w-a ngokuba yi-Make=the=Connection:=
SM.9-call-PASS-FV as COP.9-9.Make=the=Connection:=

=Ten=Steps=to=a Better=Body=-=and=a=Better=Life.
=Ten-Steps=to=a=Better=Body=-=and=a=Better=Life

*Ten years later she is still strong and well. She **has written** a book about how she has become happy, and it is called 'Make the Connection: Ten Steps to a Better Body - and a Better Life.'*
(Roux et al. 2001)

However, there are two major issues in the assumption that the Recent Past Perfective in Xhosa represents the completive category. The first one concerns the compatibility of this TAM marker with the cancellation of the implicature that the event has reached the point of completion. As shown in the elicited examples (24) and (25) which are based on test (A) (cf. section 5.2), both the conjoint and the disjoint forms of the Recent Past Perfective, *-é* and *-ile*, respectively, can denote events which are **not completed**. This fact alone suggests that the Recent Past Perfective is not a completive marker.

(A) I (have) [V]-ed, but I did not finish / succeed.

Ndi-[V]-ile, kodwa andi-gqib-anga / andi-phumelel-anga.
SM.1SG-/-ANT.DISJ but NEG.SM.1SG-finish-NEG.ANT NEG.SM.1SG-succeed-NEG.ANT

(24) **Ndi-yi-fund-ile** le ncwadi,
SM.1SG-OM.9-read-ANT.DISJ DEM.9.PROX 9.book

kodwa andi-yi-gqib-anga.
but NEG.SM.1SG-OM.9-finish-ANT.NEG

I (have) started reading** that book* [intended: ???I (have) read** that book*]*, but I have not finished / did not finish it.*
(2019.elic.funda.recp.pfv.f<25G)

(25) **Ndi-fund-é** le ncwadi,
SM.1SG-OM.9-read-ANT.DISJ DEM.9.PROX 9.book

kodwa andi-gqib-anga.
but NEG.SM.1SG-finish-ANT.NEG

I (have) started reading** that book* [intended: ???I (have) read** that book*]*, but I have not finished / did not finish it.*
(2019.elic.funda.recp.pfv.f<25G, Savić 2017:66)

The second issue is linked to the compatibility of the completive with certain predicate types. Its definition is not compatible with predicates which have a punctual N (a rather substantial constraint for an aspectual marker). However, the Recent Past Perfective in Xhosa does not exhibit such limitations: It occurs commonly with any predicate including those with a punctual N. Consider example (26) from an article about domestic violence.

(26) Olu l-o-lona hlobo lu-xhaphak-ile-yo
DEM.11.PROX COP.11-SUPERL-PRON.11 11.way SM.11-be=common-ANT-DISJ

lo-ku-phath-w-a kakubi e-m-zimb-eni. Ba-ninzi a-ba-ntwana aba-fa-yo
POSS.11-15-treat-PASS-FV badly LOC-3-body-LOC SM.2-many AUG-2-child RM.2-die-DISJ

ngenxa=yo-ku be-se-ne-mi-nyaka e-nga-phantsi
because-DEM.15.PROX SM.2.PTCP-PERS-COM-4-year RM.4-be=as=much=as-under

kwe-mi-nyaka emi-bini. Phofu ke a-ma-xesha ama-ninzi a-ba-zali
SM.17-4-year ADJ.4-two anyhow then AUG-6-time ADJ.6-many AUG-2-parent

ba-dla=ngo-ku-th-i u-m-ntwana **ú-w-ile** okanye ú-z-enzakal-is-é
SM.2-usually=do-15-say-FV AUG-1-child SM.1-fall-ANT.DISJ or SM.1-REFL-hurt-CAUS-ANT

yena. Ku-nzima u-ku-fuman-a i-nyaniso xa u-m-ntwana
PRON.1 SM.17-be=difficult AUG-15-get-FV AUG-9.truth when AUG-1-child

e-s-oyik-a u-ku-theth-a.
SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-be=afraid-FV AUG-15-speak-FV

*This is the most common kind of physical abuse. There are many children under the age of two who die because of this. Often the parents say that the child **fell down** or that it hurt itself (by its own fault). It is difficult to get the truth when the child is afraid to speak.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Recent Past Perfective verb *úwile* ('it has fallen down') refers to the act of falling down. It cannot be treated as a completive marker since the event it represents is not a gradual process that can stop halfway through[628]: The moment it starts occurring is the moment it finishes.

Another part of the second issue concerns the fact that a completive marker should not be combined with durative predicates which do not have an inherent endpoint that marks the process completion. However, *ndisebenzé noMambush* ('I have worked with Mambush') from

[628] For a process to be able to be completed, it must also be able to be the opposite, i.e. not completed, otherwise indicating completion is unjustified.

example (66) from section 5.9, repeated here as (27), shows that the Recent Past Perfective can denote events which cannot be interpreted as completed processes.

(27) U-th-é lo=gama e-sa-zi-qeqesh-a sa-theth-a
SM.1-sa-ANT while SM.1.PTCP-PERS-REFL-train-FV SM.1PL.PSTCONS-speak-FV

no-m-phathi we-Sundowns u-Peter=Koutrolis.
COM-1-trainer POSS.1-9.Sundowns AUG-1a.Peter-Koutrolis

Ndi-sebenz-é no-Mambush i-mi-nyaka e-si-8 ngoku,
SM.1SG-work-ANT COM-1a.Mambush AUG-4-year POSS.4-7-eight now

ukuba be-ku-kh-o nje aba-hlanu aba-fan-a na-ye
that SM.2.PTCP-15-exist-FV just ADJ.2-five RM.2-be=similar-FV COM-1

kw-eli qela la-m aku-kh-o klabhu
SM.17-DEM.5.PROX 5.team POSS.5-1SG NEG.SM.17-exist-FV 9.club

ibi-nga-s-oyis-a e-hlabathi-ni.
SM.9.be.PST-NEG-INFIX-defeat-FV LOC-5.world-LOC

U-Daniel u-qeqesh-iw-é, e-hloniph-a
AUG-1a.Daniel SM1-train-PASS-ANT SM.1.PTCP

kwaye e-zimisel-é e-m-sebenzi-ni wa-khe.
and SM.1.PTCP-be=determined-ANT LOC-3-work-LOC POSS.3-1

Njenge-kapteni u-ya-kw-az-i u-ku-khokel-a ne-ndlela
as-9.captain SM.1-DISJ-OM.15-know-FV AUG-15-lead-FV COM-9.way

enz-a nga-yo i-nik-a i-futhe kw-aba-nye
SBJRM.1.do-FV INSTR-9 SM.9-give-FV AUG-5.influence SM.17-ADJ.2-other

a-ba-dlali, u-tsh-ilo u-Koutrolis.
AUG-2-player SM.1-say=so-ANT.DISJ AUG-1a.Koutrolis

*While he (Mambush) was busy training, we talked with the coach Peter Koutrolis: '**I have worked** with Mambush for 8 years; if there were 5 people like him in my team no club in the world would beat us. Daniel is well-trained, he is respected and he is serious about his work. As a captain he knows how to lead people and how to encourage other players', Koutrolis said.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Thus, examples (24-27) show that the Recent Past Perfective in Xhosa cannot be considered a completive marker. Therefore, we need to consider the other frequent assumption made in the literature that this TAM in Xhosa represents a **perfect** (i.e. anterior) marker (in the Present tense). In section 2.4.1, it was mentioned that in the literature, the semantics of the perfect aspect (in the present tense) is often captured as an amalgamation of four separate readings: (i) the perfect of result, (ii) the perfect of a persisting situation, (iii) the experiential or existential

perfect, and (iv) the recent past perfect. In the absence of a consensus on the common denominator that constitutes the semantic core of this category, we may employ the four limitations of its use, cf. PP.1-PP.4 (cf. 64 in section 2.4.1) repeated here as (28), to establish whether one out of two or more possible markers that refer to past events qualify as the perfect. Consider the application of the restrictions in examples (65-69) from section 2.4.1, repeated here as (29-32).

(28) PP.2 No cancellation of result state, cf. (29);
PP.3 No narrative progression, cf. (30);
PP.4 No definite time adverbials, cf. (31);
PP.1 No 'dead' subjects (lifetime effects), cf. (32).

(29) ***I've lost my keys**, but I have found them.
(Bertrand et al. 2017:12)

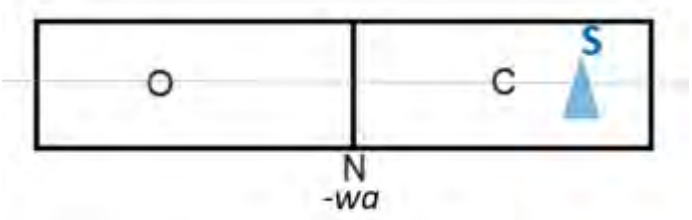
(30) *This morning, Pat **has woken up** and then he **has gotten dressed**.
(Bertrand et al. 2017:12)

(31) *Pat **has climbed Mount Everest** last year.
(Bertrand et al. 2017:12)

(32) *David Bowie **has lived in London**.
(Bertrand et al. 2017:12)

The semantics of the perfect of result is, in fact, often treated as an aspectual marker in its own right, i.e. the **resultative aspect** (cf. Bybee et al. 1994:52, 54, 63, 318, Rose et al 2002:75-76, Nurse 2008:154). The resultative refers to a situation that results from an event. In the present tense, the resultative requires that the state still persist at the moment of speech (in other tenses this applies to other points of reference): In Botne & Kershner's (2000) terms, this means that C of an event E overlaps with S, as shown in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3. *The resultative in the present tense (="perfect of result') entails that an event's C overlaps with S.*



The Recent Past Perfective in Xhosa exhibits the resultative reading with inchoative verbs, a property used to define this subclass of punctual verbs (cf. test B from section 5.2). Consider example (33) from a magazine reader's letter. Even though *ndiphilile* ('I am well') is a Recent Past Perfective form of the inchoative verb *-phila* ('be well, live'), it refers to a state of feeling well that holds true at the moment of speech, a fact confirmed by the temporal adverbial *ngoku* ('now').

(33)

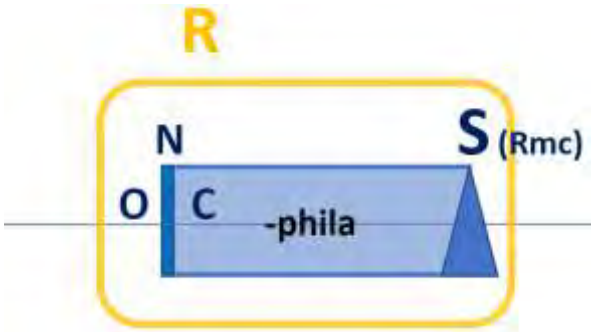
M-cebisi	Wa-kwa-Bona,			
1-advisor	POSS.1-at-9.Bona			
Ndâ-nyanzelek-a	ukuba			
SM.1SG-be=forced-FV	that			
ndi-kh-e	ndi-si-yek-e	i-si-kolo	ngenxa=yo-ku-gul-a	
SM.1SG-ever=do-ANT	SM.1SG-OM.7-leave-SUBJ	AUG-7-school	because=of-15-be=ill-FV	
nge-ngqondo.	**Ndi-phil-ile**	ngoku,	ndi-qhubek-a	
INSTR-9.mind	SM.1SG-be=well-ANT.DISJ	now	SM.1SG-continue-FV	
no-bomi	b-am	njenga-ngaphambili.		
COM-14.life	POSS.14-1SG	as-before		

Dear BONA Advisor,
I was forced to leave school because of my mental illness. ***I am well*** *now, and I am going on with my life just like before.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The inchoative verb *-phila* ('be well, live') has a punctual N that encodes the onset of the resulting state C. In the Recent Past Perfective form of this verb, R asserts both that its N precedes S and that its C occurs at S, as illustrated in Figure 6.4. By way of reminder, it is precisely the overlap between C and S in the Recent Past Perfective that characterises the inchoative class of verbs. This peculiar property of the inchoative verbs allows us to define them

as having an **extended C**, i.e. a C-phase that is (i) automatically asserted (by R) together with N, and that (ii) extends to S in the Recent Past (Perfective).

Figure 6.4. *Inchoative verbs like -phila ('be well, live') have an extended C which entails that in the Recent Past Perfective, C must hold true at S and R (rounded rectangle) asserts the inchoative verb's N precedes S, while its C encompasses S.*



The resultative reading of the Recent Past Perfective verb form is not confined to inchoative verbs. Consider example (34) from Bongela's *Iimbali zikaMpahleni*, in which a traditional healer proclaims that he and the family members who sought his advice have found the ancestor's tomb they were looking for.

(34) "Ukuba wena u-sa-fun-a eli-nye,
If PRON.2SG SM.2SG-PERS-want-FV ADJ.5-another
u-ngá-li-fun-a, nanga a-ma-ngcwaba. A-ma-khosi
SM.2SG-POT-OM.5-want-FV PRES.6 AUG-6-tomb AUG-6-power
am a-th-i **si-fik-ile** kwaye asi-gqith-i. [...]'
POSS.6.1SG SM.6-say-FV SM.1PL-arrive-ANT.DISJ and NEG.SM.1PL-pass=by-NEG
*"If you want to look for another one (tomb), you can do that, here are the tombs. But my (ancestral) spirits say that **we have arrived** and we are not going any further. […]'*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The verb *-fika* ('arrive') is punctual, but it is not considered inchoative in this study. Yet, the Recent Past Perfective *sifikile* ('we have arrived') denotes the event of the group arriving at the tombstone they were looking for. As the utterance is produced while they are still at the

tombstone, the result, i.e. the C-phase of the event of arriving is still true at S. Examples (33-34) are in line with Mă's (2013:61-62, 99) view that the Recent Past (Perfective) indicates an event with an effect at present, i.e. an event whose C must hold true at S, irrespective of how far in the past N is located relative to S.

However, numerous corpus examples of the Recent Past Perfective violate limitations PP.1-PP.4 from (28), thus suggesting that this TAM marker is neither a resultative, nor a perfect marker. The Recent Past Perfective can denote events whose C ceased before S, as evidenced in example (31) about a hockey player, Daniel Matumo Senoamadi, from section 5.4, repeated here as (35).

(35) Emva ko-ku-hlal-a ndi-nga-dlal-i u-nyaka w-onke
after POSS.17-15-stay-FV SM.1SG-NEG.PTCP-play-NEG AUG-3.year SM.3-whole

ndi-diben-e no-Crossby=Tladiyane e-yoku-qhelis-el-a i-hockey,
SM.1SG-meet-ANT COM-1a.Crossby=Tladiyane SM.1.PTCP-FUT-train-APPL-FV AUG-9.hockey

u-khumbul-a oko u-Daniel o-na-ma-23 e-mi-nyaka.
SM.1-remember-FV DEM.15.MED AUG-1a.Daniel RM.1-COM-6-twenty=three POSS.6-4-year

Si-qal-e sa-nga-ba-hlobo si-theth-a nga-lo
SM.1PL-start-ANT SM.1PL-PSTCONS-COP.2-2-friend SM.1PL-speak-FV INSTR-DEM.3.PROX

m-dlalo kwa-no-celo=mngeni olu-lo. Emva kw-ee-ntsuku ezin-tathu
3-game too-COM-11.challenge RM.11.PROX-11 after POSS.17-10-day ADJ.9-three

ndi-hamb-é no-Crossby sa-y-a ku-prekthiz-a kwi-bala
SM.1SG-go-ANT COM-1a.Crossby SM.1PL.PSTCONS-go-FV 15-practise-FV SM.17-5.field

la-se-Temong=Section kufutshane ne-Royal=Beechnut=Stadium.
POSS.5-LOC-9.Temong=Section close=to COM-9.Royal=Beechnut=Stadium

After staying there not playing for a whole year, I met Crossby Tladiyane who played hockey, remembers Daniel who is 23 years old. We started being friends when we talked about this sport and its challenges. After three days ***I went*** *with Crossby to practise at the field of Temong Section near Royal Beechnut Stadium.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Recent Past Perfective form *ndihambé* ('I went') refers to the interviewee, Daniel, going to the field (Temong Section) with Crossby. The result (C-phase) of the event denotes the two friends practising together at the field on that particular day, a situation that ceased long before the interview (S) took place. Thus, the Recent Past Perfective in Xhosa violates limitation PP.1 from (28).

Furthermore, this TAM marker violates PP.2 from (28) as it can refer to past events in narrations. Consider example (36) from Sidayiya's *Iyawa nguMayedwa*, in which Mayedwa finishes eating the buns he is supposed to distribute and fetches the transcript of bakery goods he had previously hidden under a stone. The Recent Past Perfective verb form *úfiké* ('he arrived') refers to one past event in a narrative sequence.

(36) Wâ-th-i aku-v-a ukuba u-hluth-i
SM.1.REMPST-say-FV SM.1.TEMP-feel-FV that SM.1-get=full-ANT

we-hlik-a e-gigi-ni, wa-hamb-a kancinci
SM.1.PSTCONS-dismount-FV LOC-9.cart-LOC SM.1.PSTCONS-walk-FV little

u-ku-y-a ku-jikel-a emva kw-ela tyholo i-phepha
AUG-15-go-FV 15-go=around-FV after POSS.17-DEM.5.DIST S 5.bush AUG-5.paper

a-li-gqum-é emva kwa-lo, e-hamb-a e-man-a
SUBJRM.1-OM.5-conceal-ANT after POSS.17-5 SM.1.PTCP-walk-FV SM.1.PTCP-always=do-FV

e-phulul-a i-si-su. **Ú-fik-é** wa-li-nqik-a
SM.1.PTCP-stroke-FV AUG-7-stomach SM.1-arrive-ANT SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-uncover-FV

i-li-tye, wa-li-thath-a i-phepha wa-li-vuthulul-a u-m-hlaba,
AUG-5-stone SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-take-FV AUG-5.paper PSTCONS-OM.5-shake=off-FV AUG-3-soil

wa-li-fak-a e-ngxow-eni ye-bhatyi. Ú-buy-el-é
SM.1.POSTCONS-OM.5-put=in-FV LOC-9.bag-LOC POSS.9-9.coat SM.1-return-APPL-ANT

e-gigi-ni, wa-khwel-a wa-qhub-a wa-hamb-a.
LOC-9.cart-LOC SM.1.PSTCONS-get=in-FV SM.1.PSCONS-drive-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-leave-FV

When he felt full, he got off the cart and walked slowly to get around the bush where he concealed the piece of paper. While walking, he kept stroking his stomach. ***He arrived****, turned over the stone, took out the piece of paper, shook the soil off it and put the piece of paper into the pocket of the coat. He went back to the cart, got in and drove off.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Recent Past in Xhosa violates other limitations from (28), too. Whereas the temporal location of an event denoted by the English Present Perfect (Perfect of result) cannot be specified by a punctual time adverbial (cf. 32)[629], this is not the case with events that are represented by the Recent Past Perfective in Xhosa. Consider example (37) from a magazine article about burglary, in which the punctual time adverbial *ngentsimbi yesi-8 kusasa* ('at 8 o'clock in the

[629] Note, however, that some languages allow the combination of the Present Perfect with definite time adverbials in specific contexts, e.g. Swedish and Danish (Dahl 1985:137-138).

morning') specifies the location of N of the non-specific event of house owners' leaving for work denoted by the Recent Past Perfective *bahambé* ('they left').

(37) Ú-th-é ne-posi e-shiy-w-a e-bhokisi-ni ya-yo
SM.1-say-ANT COM-9.post RM.9-leave-PASS-FV LOC-9.letter=box-LOC POSS.9-9

a-ya-yi-sebenzis-a a-ma-sela. Eli-ny' i-qhinga ku-ku-bek-a
SM.6-DISJ-OM.9-use-FV AUG-6-thief ADJ.5-another AUG-5.trick COP.15-15-put=down-FV

ii-bhotile ezi-nge-na-nto e-ndlel-eni e-ngen-a e-ndlw-ini
AUG-10.bottle RM.10-NEG-COM-9.thing LOC-9.way-LOC RM.9-enter-FV LOC-9.house-LOC

u-z-e u-bek-e i-bhotile e-luhlaza e-xel-a ukuba
SM.2SG-come-SUBJ SM.2SG-put=down-SUBJ AUG-9.bottle RM.9-green RM.9-tell-FV that

a-ba-nini=mzi **ba-hamb-é** nge-ntsimbi ye-si-8 kusasa
AUG-2-house=owner SM.2-leave-ANT INSTR-9.o'clock POSS.9-7-eight in=the=morning

be-si-y-a e-m-sebenzi-ni.
SM.2.PTCP-INFIX-go-FV LOC-3-work-LOC

*He said that thieves even use the post left in the letter box. Another trick is to put an empty green bottle on the pathway (in front of the house) which indicates that the owners **went** to work at 8 o'clock in the morning (lit: **left** at 8 o'clock going to work).*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

Similarly, in (38), an excerpt from a magazine article about Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela's 78th birthday, the punctual adverbial *ngomhla we-18 kuJulayi* ('on 18 July') specifies the location of N of the event denoted by Recent Past Perfective verb form *úgqibé* ('he finished').

(38) **Ú-gqib-é** i-mi-nyaka e-nga-ma-78 ng-o-mhla
SM.1-finish-ANT AUG-4-year RM.4-be=as=much=as-6-seventy=eight INSTR-AUG-3.day

we-18 ku-Julayi, kodwa ú-xakek-é ngaphezu
POSS.3-9.eighteen SM.17-1a.July but SM.1-become=busy-ANT more

kw-a-ma-doda ama-ninzi a-ne-mi-nyaka e-si-si-qingatha s-e-ya-khe.
POSS.17-AUG-6-man ADJ.6-many RM.6-COM-4-year RM.4-COP.7-7-half POSS.7-4-POSS.4-1

***He turned** 78 (lit: **He finished** 78 years) on 18 July, but he was busier than many men half his age.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Examples (37) and (38) show that the Recent Past Perfective in Xhosa also violates limitation PP.3 from (28). In addition, the Recent Past Perfective in Xhosa may also refer to events whose

agents (i.e. subjects) are no longer alive, thus not complying with limitation PP.4 in (28). Consider example (39) from the explanatory comments at the end of Bongela's *Iimbali zikaMpahleni*, containing the biographical data of one of the personalities mentioned in the novel, C.M. Mchitheka.

(39) C.=M.=Mchitheka – i-sekela=nobhala – wâ-phum-a
1a.C=M=Mchitheka AUG-5.deputy=secretary SM.1.REMPST-exit-FV

e-bu-titshal-eni w-enz-a u-m-thetho. **Ú-sebenz-é** e-Lusuthu
LOC-14-teaching-LOC SM.1.PSTCONS-do-FV AUG-3-law SM.1-work-ANT LOC-9.Lesotho

wa-buy-a wa-y-a e-Butswana
SM.1.PSTCONS-return-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-go-FV LOC-9.Botswana

apho a-swelek-é kwi-ngozi ye-moto.
there.MED SBJRM.1-die-ANT SM.17-9.accident POSS.9-9.car

C.M. Mchitheka, the deputy secretary, he left teaching and took up law. ***He worked*** *in Lesotho and then he went to Botswana where he died in a car accident.* (Roux et al. 2001)

As evident from the excerpt, the subject of the event denoted by the Recent Past Perfective verb form *úsebenzé* ('he worked') was deceased by S, i.e. the time at which the book was being written.

By way of summary, the corpus examples in (24-27) provide evidence against qualifying the Recent Past Perfective as a completive marker. Furthermore, examples (35-39) violate all the four limitations of the present perfect PP.1-PP.4 outlined in (28), thus showing that this gram cannot be regarded as a (Present) perfect/anterior marker either. Since the Recent Past in Xhosa cannot be defined as a (Present) perfect/anterior marker, it should be treated as a kind of a **past tense**. However, the semantic distinction between it and the Remote Past tense remains to be further addressed. This will be done in the following sections, in which the distinction between the two Future tenses will be discussed as well.

6.4. Remoteness: Distance from S

This section discusses (including subsections 6.4.1-6.4.3) the distinction between the two Past and the two Future tenses in Xhosa which in the literature has often been characterised as

concerning different degrees of remoteness. I will approach this distinction in terms of the objective properties of the events they denote, which includes their distance from S.

6.4.1. E-S

As outlined in section 1.1, the relational theory postulates that the semantics of tense reflects the relation between R and S. Since R-E encodes aspect and is thus 'occupied', it is worth considering if the distinction between the two Past tenses, as well as that between the two Future tenses is based on a difference in the relation between E and S.

As a rule, events whose occurrence is asserted in the past portion of the timeline (i.e. R before S) ceased to hold before S. However, this is not necessarily always the case. Consider example (27) from the last section (=66 from section 5.9), repeated here as (40), in which the interviewee, coach Peter Koutrolis recounts his experience working with Daniel Mambush Mudau.

(40) U-th-é lo=gama e-sa-zi-qeqesh-a sa-theth-a
SM.1-sa-ANT while SM.1.PTCP-PERS-REFL-train-FV SM.1PL.PSTCONS-speak-FV

no-m-phathi we-Sundowns u-Peter=Koutrolis.
COM-1-trainer POSS.1-9.Sundowns AUG-1a.Peter-Koutrolis

Ndi-sebenz-é no-Mambush i-mi-nyaka e-si-8 ngoku,
SM.1SG-work-ANT COM-1a.Mambush AUG-4-year POSS.4-7-eight now

ukuba be-ku-kh-o nje aba-hlanu aba-fan-a na-ye
that SM.2.PTCP-15-exist-FV just ADJ.2-five RM.2-be=similar-FV COM-1

kw-eli qela la-m aku-kh-o klabhu
SM.17-DEM.5.PROX 5.team POSS.5-1SG NEG.SM.17-exist-FV 9.club

ibi-nga-s-oyis-a e-hlabathi-ni.
SM.9.be.PST-NEG-INFIX-defeat-FV LOC-5.world-LOC

U-Daniel u-qeqesh-iw-é, e-hloniph-a
AUG-1a.Daniel SM1-train-PASS-ANT SM.1.PTCP

kwaye e-zimisel-é e-m-sebenzi-ni wa-khe.
and SM.1.PTCP-be=determined-ANT LOC-3-work-LOC POSS.3-1

Njenge-kapteni u-ya-kw-az-i u-ku-khokel-a ne-ndlela
as-9.captain SM.1-DISJ-OM.15-know-FV AUG-15-lead-FV COM-9.way

enz-a nga-yo i-nik-a i-futhe kw-aba-nye
SBJRM.1.do-FV INSTR-9 SM.9-give-FV AUG-5.influence SM.17-ADJ.2-other

a-ba-dlali, u-tsh-ilo u-Koutrolis.

AUG-2-player SM.1-say=so-ANT.DISJ AUG-1a.Koutrolis

*While he (Mambush) was busy training, we talked with the coach Peter Koutrolis: '**I have worked** with Mambush for 8 years; if there were 5 people like him in my team no club in the world would beat us. Daniel is well-trained, he is respected and he is serious about his work. As a captain he knows how to lead people and how to encourage other players', Koutrolis said.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The event denoted by the Recent Past Perfective *ndisebenzé* ('I have worked') still held true at S, i.e. the time of the interview, as Koutrolis and Mambush collaborated at that time. This interpretation is licenced by *ngoku* ('now'), without which the default interpretation would be that of an event started and finished before S (2016.corpus.sebenza.recp8.f18-25D).

If events whose N lies in the past but extends to S may be referred to by both the Recent Past and the Present tense, we need to address what constitutes the difference between the two tenses. In section 6.2, I defined the Present tense as overlap between R and S. By contrast, being a past tense, the Recent Past tense in Xhosa locates R before S. Thus, events that extend from a point in the past and continue until S can be denoted by the Present tense if the speaker asserts that it **will continue in the future**, or by the Recent Past if she or he wishes to make a claim about the event's properties prior to S without implying that it will continue to occur in the future. This distinction with regards to the event's continuation in the future is paralleled by the use of different TAM markers in other languages. For example, in Serbian the Present tense in (41) implies that the addressees' quality of being diligent was observed in the past and that the speaker predicts it will remain unchanged in the future. By contrast, no such implication about the future is made in the Past tense in (42), because something about the addressees' quality is about to change: Either the speaker noticed something which indicates they will stop being diligent, or their status as for example hard-working students or workers is about to come to an end. As evident from the translations of the two examples, in English the Present Simple induces the implicature of the event's future continuation, cf. (41), unlike its Present Perfect counterpart in (42).

(41) Serbian

Vi	**ste**	vredn-i.
PRON.2PL	AUX.2PL	diligent-M.PL.NOM

*You **are** diligent.*

(42) Serbian

Bi-li	**ste**	vredn-i	(dosad).
be-PST.M.PL	AUX.3PL	diligent-M.PL.NOM	until=now

***You have been** diligent (so far).*

Thus, in (40) the speaker uses the Recent Past Perfective to summarise the experience of collaborating with Mambush, accordingly placing R only onto the portion of the timeline prior to S. Although the coach and Mambuh are still working together at S (the time of the interview), this is not relevant for his statement in which he indicates the duration of their collaboration in the past.

The fact that no Remote Past Perfective form was found in the data which can extend to S suggests that this TAM marker, unlike the Recent Past Perfective, excludes events whose N overlaps with S. This conclusion is in line with the Nxopo's (1993:108-109) observation that, as opposed to the Recent Past, the Remote Past forms are incompatible with *ngoku* ('now').

Events whose N overlap with S may also be denoted by one of the Future tenses. Consider corpus example (43) from a magazine article about a sexual assault victim who is receiving professional counselling during S, i.e. the time during which the article was being written. Nevertheless, his need for counselling is denoted by the Immediate Future Perfective verb form *úza kufuna* ('he will need'), because the claim is made about the duration of the event in the future.

(43)

U-Hofer	ú-th-i	u-Peter		
AUG-1a.Hofer	SM.1-say-FV	AUG-1a.Peter		
"wâ-b-a	ne-si-bindi'	ngo-ku-xel-a		
SM.1.REMPST-be-FV	COM-7-courage	INSR-15-report-FV		
u-ku-dlwengul-w-a	kwa-khe	e-ma-polis-eni.		
AUG-15-rape-PASS-FV	POSS.15-1	LOC-6-police=officer-LOC		
"**Ú-za=ku-fun-a**	ii-ngcebiso	i-xesha	eli-de	
SM.1-FUT-need-FV	AUG-10.advice	AUG-5.time	ADJ.5-long	
kwi-Masisukumeni	kunye	no-thando	ne-nkuthazo	
SM.17-9.Masisukumeni	as=well	COM-11.love	COM-9.encouragement	
a-ngá-yi-fuman-a	ku-sapho	na-ku-ba-hlobo.'		
SBJRM.1-POT-OM.9-get-FV	SM.17-11.family	COM-SM.17-2-friend		

> *Hofer says Peter 'was brave' for reporting to the police that he had been raped. '**He will need** counselling at Masisukumeni (Crisis Centre) for a long time, as well as all the love and encouragement he can get from his family and friends.'*
> (Snyman et al. 2012)

Despite the fact that N of the event denoted by the Immediate Future Perfective form *úza kufuna* ('he will need') overlaps with S, in (43) R is located after S. Analogously to the Recent Past tense in (40) which focuses on the event's duration in the past, in (43) the Immediate Future is used when the event's duration in the future is emphasised.

Unlike the Immediate Future, none of the Remote Future (Perfective) forms in the corpus example denote events that may hold true at S. Thus, the analysis of S-E relation in this section has revealed that the Recent/Immediate Past and Future tenses can refer to events that hold true at S, whereas this does not hold true for their Remote counterparts. However, because Recent Past and Immediate Future forms primarily refer to events that do not overlap with S (cf. section 6.3, especially PP.1-PP.4, and section 6.5), the distinction between the two Past and the two Future tenses cannot be accounted for by the event's capability to hold true at S.

6.4.2. Time adverbials: Recent Past vs. Remote Past

In this section, I entertain the assumption that the two Past tenses in Xhosa differ with respect to remoteness, i.e. the distance between the event's R and S (or, alternatively, between R and other events in the discourse). Positional time adverbials are of crucial importance for establishing an event's temporal distance from S (or other events). Durational time adverbials will also be considered here as they may be indicative of other remoteness-related properties of the event's R, e.g. its duration, and distance of the beginning point or endpoint from S (or other events).

Positional time adverbials indicate the temporal unit within which an event's occurrence, i.e. its R, is located. Those that indicate R's distance from S, such as *yesterday*, *last year*, or *in 1934*, I henceforth refer to as **absolute** (positional) time adverbials. By contrast, those time adverbials that indicate distance from other events in the surrounding discourse, such as *two weeks later* or *later*, I henceforth refer to as **relative** (positional) time adverbials. In addition,

positional time adverbials whose exact position is not specified such as one day, once upon a time I refer to as **indefinite**.

As was pointed out in the previous section, the Recent Past can denote events that are still ongoing at S (cf. example 40 in section 6.4.1). However, the underlined absolute positional time adverbial *ngo-1985* ('in 1985') in (44) indicates that the Recent Past can denote events that occur as many as 12 years before S.

(44) U-Constance ú-ya-tsho ukuba u-pas-é ku-m-sebenzi
AUG-1a.Constance SM.1-DISJ-say=so that SM.1-pass-ANT SM.17-3-job

wo-ku-coc-a wa-z-a wa-pas-a
POSS.3-15-clean-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-come-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-pass-FV

na-k-o-wo-ku-qhub-a. **Ú-sebenz-é** kwá-Spoornet
COM-SM.17-RM.3-POSS.3-15-drive-FV SM.1-work-ANT at-9.Spoornet

<u>ngo-1985</u> njengo-m-coci w-ee-moto wa-z-a
INSTR-1a.nineteen=eighty=five as-1-cleaner POSS.1-10-car SM.1.PSTCONS-come-FV

wa-dlulis-el-w-a kwa-Portnet ngo-1992
SM.1.PSTCONS-transfer-APPL-PASS-FV at-9.Portnet INSTR-1a.nineteen=ninety=two

njengo-m-coci. Ube-wu-thand-a u-m-sebenzi wa-khe, kodwa
as-1-cleaner SM.1.be.PST-OM.3-like-FV AUG-3-job POSS.3-1 but

ebe-nqwenel-a u-ku-qhub-a, ú-cel-é i-shop=steward
SM.1.be.PST-wish-FV AUG-15-drive-FV SM.1-request-ANT AUG-9.shop=steward

ukuba i-theth-e no-m-phathi. U-nge-ka-phel-i u-nyaka
that SM.9-speak-SUBJ COM-1-manager SM.3-NEG-EXP-finish-NEG AUG-3.year

kamva, wa-b-e se-qhub-a i-lori e-yi-20=tonner.
afterwards SM.1.PSTCONS-be-ANT UNEXP-drive-FV AUG-9.lorry RM.9-COP.9-9.twenty=tonner

*Constance says that she got her job as a cleaner and then got a driver. She **started working** (lit: **worked**) at Spoornet as a car cleaner <u>in 1985</u> and she was then transferred to Portnet in 1992 still as a cleaner. She liked her job but she desired driving. She asked the shop steward to talk to the manager. Before the end of the year, she was already driving a 20m lorry.*

Example (44) shows that the Recent Past tense can denote events that occurred more than a decade prior to S.

The Recent Past Perfective also co-occurs with the only **indefinite positional time adverbial** found in the analysed corpus data: In (45), an example from Bongela's *Iimbali zikaMpahleni* which contains a recount of a holiday adventure in direct speech, the adverb

ngenye iholide kaDisemba (‘(during) one December holiday’) is accompanied by the Recent Past form *ndibambé* (‘I took’).

(45) U-m-thetho wa-m ndandi-ngu-m-ntu o-thand-a
AUG-3-law POSS.3-1SG SM.1.go.REMPST-COP.1-1-person RM.1-like-FV
u-ku-jikelez-a ndi-bon-a i-li-zwe. Nge-nye
AUG-15-move=around-FV SM.1.PTCP-see-FV AUG-5-country INSTR.ADJ.9-one
i-holide ka-Disemba **ndi-bamb-é** i-qegu la-m
AUG-9.holiday POSS.9-1a.December SM.1SG-catch-ANT AUG-5.vehicle POSS.5-1SG
m-fo-ndini ekwaku-si-th-iw-a yi-Zephyr=Six,
1-man-EXCL RM.15.go.REMPST-PTCP.INFIX-say-PASS-FV COP.9-Zephyr=Six
i-xhwangusha la-kwa-Ford, nd-enjenjey-a u-ku-bhek-is-a a-ma-bombo
AUG-5.expert POSS.5-at-9.Ford SM.1SG-continue-FV AUG-15-go=towards-FV AUG-6-corner
nga-se-Sajonisi apho nda-lal-a khona
location-LOC-9.Port=Saint=Johns there.MED SM.1SG.PSTCONS-sleep-FV PRON.SM.17
nda-chith-a u-suku ndi-buk-a.
SM.1SG.PSTCONS-spend-FV AUG-11.day SM.1SG-watch-FV

*“I am a person who likes to travel and see the world. On this other December holiday **I took** my car called Zephyr Six, Ford’s legendary car (lit: expert) and I went in the direction of Port Saint Johns where I slept and where I spent the day sightseeing.’*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The co-occurrence of the Recent Past Perfective with indefinite positional time adverbials is in line with the use of this TAM marker in narrations which, as a rule, describe event sequences from a much more distant past (cf. example 36 in section 6.3). These observations (including those that pertain to example 44) suggest that the temporal reference of the Recent Past is in **no way limited to a particular degree of remoteness**.

The Remote Past, by contrast, seems to exhibit some remoteness-based referential limitations. In the elicited example (46), the Remote Past Perfective *ndâbona* (‘I saw’) is preferred if the event occurred several weeks before S; However, if the event occurred 3 days before S, although its Recent Past counterpart is the preferable option, *ndâbona* (‘I saw’) is not deemed as outright unacceptable (2014.elic.bona.recp-remp.pfv.f18-25A).

(46) Ndâ-bon-a i-sela e-dolophi-ni.
SM.1SG.REMPST-OM.5-see-FV AUG-5.thief LOC-9.town-LOC
***I saw** a thief in town.*

(2014.elic.bona.recp-remp.pfv.f18-25A)

Example (46) indicates that the Remote Past (Perfective) **does not cover** (at least) the **hodiernal or the hesternal**, but more distant past. This view is in line with the fact that no corpus examples have been found in which the Remote Past could refer to the hodiernal or hesternal past.

As pointed out at the beginning of the section, **relative (positional) time adverbials** indicate the temporal distance between the event, and the preceding event (or another point). By analogy with the idea that the Recent Past indicates a short distance between an event's R and S, it should be assumed that this tense denotes the shortest temporal distances (e.g. seconds, minutes, hours) between R and the preceding event.

(47) Emva ko-ku-hlal-a ndi-nga-dlal-i u-nyaka w-onke
after POSS.17-15-stay-FV SM.1SG-NEG.PTCP-play-NEG AUG-3.year SM.3-whole

ndi-diben-e no-Crossby=Tladiyane e-yoku-qhelis-el-a i-hockey,
SM.1SG-meet-ANT COM-1a.Crossby=Tladiyane SM.1.PTCP-FUT-train-APPL-FV AUG-9.hockey

u-khumbul-a oko u-Daniel o-na-ma-23 e-mi-nyaka.
SM.1-remember-FV DEM.15.MED AUG-1a.Daniel RM.1-COM-6-twenty=three POSS.6-4-year

Si-qal-e sa-nga-ba-hlobo si-theth-a nga-lo
SM.1PL-start-ANT SM.1PL-PSTCONS-COP.2-2-friend SM.1PL-speak-FV INSTR-DEM.3.PROX

m-dlalo kwa-no-celo=mngeni olu-lo. Emva kw-ee-ntsuku ezin-tathu
3-game too-COM-11.challenge RM.11.PROX-11 after POSS.17-10-day ADJ.9-three

ndi-hamb-é no-Crossby sa-y-a ku-prekthiz-a kwi-bala
SM.1SG-go-ANT COM-1a.Crossby SM.1PL.PSTCONS-go-FV 15-practise-FV SM.17-5.field

la-se-Temong=Section kufutshane ne-Royal=Beechnut=Stadium.
POSS.5-LOC-9.Temong=Section close=to COM-9.Royal=Beechnut=Stadium

*After staying there not playing for a whole year, I met Crossby Tladiyane who played hockey, remembers Daniel who is 23 years old. We started being friends when we talked about this sport and its challenges. Three days later, **I went** with Crossby to practise at the field of Temong Section near Royal Beechnut Stadium.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

A similar temporal distance is denoted by the relative time adverbial accompanying the bolded Recent Past form in example (48) from Lupuwana's *Lo Mhlaba Uyajikeleza*, in which a sequence of events in the life of a school principal, Mqede, is described. As indicated by the

adverbial *kwiveki elandelayo* (‘the following week’), the event denoted by the Recent Past, *úhambile* (‘he went’), is set several days after the preceding one.

(48) Lâ-tsh-o i-Tolokazi la-m-cebis-a
SM.5.REMPST-say=so-FV AUG-5.Tolokazi[630] SM.5.PSTCONS-OM.1-advise-FV

u-Mqede lowo ukuba a-y-e kwi-ngqungqumbana
AUG-1a.Mqede DEM.1.MED that SM.1.SUBJ-go-SUBJ SM.17-short=well=built=person

ka-Stenge, u-Ndoyisile i-gama, ukuba a-gay-e a-ba-fana
POSS.1a-Stenge AUG-1a.Ndoyisile AUG-5.name that SM.1.SUBJ-recruit-SUBJ AUG-2-young=man

bo-ku-khwel-a oo-xholovane bee-nkabi za-ma-hashe
POSS.2-15-ride-FV AUG-2a.full=grown=animal POSS.2-10.castrated=animal POSS.10-6-horse

ba-khawulel-e i-kumkani kwi-nkalo ya-se-Gculurha.
SM.2-help-SUBJ AUG-9.king SM.17-9.direction POSS.9-LOC-9.Gculurha

Okwenene ú-y-é wa-li-thakazelel-a u-m-fana
truly SM.1-go-ANT SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-appreciate-FV AUG-1-young=man

ka-Mqede elo cebiso, wa-tsh-o e-si-y-a
POSS.1.1a-Mqede DEM.5.MED 5.suggestion SM.1.PSTCONS-say=so-FV SM.1.PTCP-infix-go-FV

apho ku-M-numzana u-Ndoyisile=Stenge o-th-e
there.MED SM.17-1-Mister AUG-1a.Ndoyisile=Stenge RM.1-say-ANT

wa-l-amkel-a ngo-langazelelo no-thakazelo
SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-accept-FV INSTR-11.intense=desire COM-11.joy

elo wonga lo-ku-gay-a a-ba-fana bo-m-khwelo.
DEM.5.MED 5.honour POSS.5-15-recruit-FV AUG-2-young=man POSS.2-1-horse=ride

<u>Kwi-veki e-landel-a-yo</u> **ú-hamb-ile** u-Mqede u-ku-y-a
SM.17-9.week RM.9-follow-FV-DISJ SM.1-go-ANT.DISJ AUG-1a.Mqede AUG-1-5-go-FV

ku-gocagoc-a a-ma-phepha o-viwo lwe-Banga le-si-Thandathu
AUG-15.examine-FV AUG-6-paper POSS.6-11.exam POSS.11-5.grade POSS.5-7-six

e-Dik-eni phantsi ko-m-hloli om-khulu we-sekethe
LOC-9.Alice-LOC under POSS.17-1-inspector ADJ.1-big POSS.1-9.circuit

ya-se-Dik-eni, e-Hewu na-ku-Qoboqobo,
POSS.9-LOC-9.Alice-LOC LOC-9.Hewu COM-SM.17-Keiskammahoek

u-M-numzana=S.=C.=Mvambo, noo-gxa ba-khe
AUG-1-Mister=S.=C.=Mvambo COM-2a-colleague

a-ba-numzana Makwabe, Ntsaluba no-Zani.
POSS.2-1 AUG-2-Mister 1a.Makhwabe 1a.Ntsaluba COM-1a.Zani

[630] Female member of the Tolo clan.

The female member of the Tolo clan suggested that Mqede go to Stenge, whose (given) name is Ndoyisile, so that he would find men that would ride (male) horses to accompany the king. Mqede appreciated this suggestion and he went to Mr Ndoyisile Stenge who welcomed the honour to recruit the men who would ride the horses (lit: men of the horse ride) with a great desire and much joy.
The following week, Mqede ***went*** *to mark the exam papers of Standard 6 in Alice under the inspector of the circuit of Alice, Hewu and Keiskammahoek, S. C. Mvambo, and his colleagues, Mr. Makhwabe, Mr. Ntsaluba, and Mr. Zani.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Consider the relative (positional) time adverbials co-occurring with the Remote Past Perfective verb forms. As expected, in (49), an article about a famous singer, Rebecca Malope, the Remote Past form *ndâhamba* ('I left'), denotes the event of Rebecca leaving the farm where she had been working. The event occurred more than ten years before S; The time adverbial *emveni kokuba uFamba-Famba eyithengiselé omnye umntu ifama nowayesitsha kanobomi* ('after Famba-Famba sold it to someone else who treated us badly (lit: who burnt us a lot)') suggests that she left the farm days, weeks (or months?) after the change of ownership of the farm, during which she could experience the difference in the working conditions.

(49) Ndâ-sebenz-a phantse u-nyaka apho.
SM.1SG-REMPST-work-FV almost AUG-3.year there

Ndandi-hlal-a e-nkomponi-ni, ndi-fuman-a i-ntwana
SM.1SG.go.REMPST-stay-FV LOC-9.compound-LOC SM.1SG-get-FV AUG-9.a=bit

ye-mielie=meal, ii-mbotyi, i-tyuwa, i-swekile
POSS.9-9.mielie=meal AUG-10.bean AUG-9.salt AUG-9.sugar

kunye ne-R10,50. Ndandi-sabel-a no-sapho
as=well COM-9.ten=Rand=and=fifty=cents SM.1SG.go.REMPST-share-FV COM-11.family

lwa-m olwalu-s-emva e-khaya ezo zi-nto.
POSS.11-1SG RM.11.go.REMPST-LOC-behind LOC-5.home DEM.10.MED 10-thing

Ndâ-hamb-a emveni ko-kuba u-Famba=Famba
SM.1SG.REMPST-go-FV after POSS.17-that AUG-1a.Famba=Famba

e-yi-thengis-el-é om-nye u-m-ntu i-fama
RM.9-OM.9-sell-APPL-ANT ADJ.1-other AUG-1-person AUG-9.farm

n-owaye-si-tsha kanobomi. Sasi-vuk-a nge-ntsimbi
COM-RM.1.go.REMPST-OM.1PL-burn extensively SM.1PL.go.REMPST-wake=upFV INSTR-9.o'clock

ye-si-thathu ekuseni si-sebenz-e de ku-b-e
POSS.9-7-three in=the=morning SM.1PL-work-SUBJ until SM.17-be-SUBJ

yi-ntsimbi ye-si-xhenxe ngo-rhatya.
COP.9-o'clock POSS.9-7-seven INSTR-11.dusk

"I worked there for almost a year. I used to stay in a compound. I got a bit of mielie meal, beans, salt, sugar and R10.50. I used to share these things with my family back at home. ***I left*** *the farm <u>after Famba Famba sold it to someone else who treated us badly (lit: who burnt us a lot)</u>. We used to wake up at three in the morning and work until seven in the afternoon.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Example (50) comes from Sidayiya's *Iyawa nguMayedwa*. In the excerpt, Mayedwa and his friends try to find a solution to the problem they have with a malicious man. The adverbial *ngaloo mini* ('that day') indicates that Mayedwa's confusion denoted by the Remote Past verb *wâzifumana* ('he found himself') belongs to the same day as Nzimeni's direct speech in the preceding sentences.

(50) "Ukuba ebe-y-e-nye i-nkwenkwe nge-si-y-az-i
if SM.1.go.PST-COP.9-ADJ.9-one AUG-9.boy COUNTERFACT-SM.1PL-OM.9-know-FV

i-nto e-ma-si-m-enz-e yona,' yâ-tsh-o i-nkwenkwe
AUG-9.thing RM.9-HORT-SM.1PL-OM.1-do-SUBJ PRON.9 SM.9.REMPST-say=so-FV AUG-9.boy

ya-se-Ma-Giqw-eni ekwaku-si-th-iw-a ngu-Nzimeni,
POSS.9-LOC-6-Magiqweni-LOC RM.17.go.REMPST-INFIX-say-PASS-FV COP.1-1a.Nzimeni

ya-qokel-a ngo-ku-th-i: "Kodwa ke si-ya-xak-w-a
SM.9.PSTCONS-continue=speaking-FV INSTR-15-say-FV but then SM.1PL-DISJ-perplex-PASS-FV

kuba yi-n-doda. Naxa ku-njalo ku-ya-funek-a
because COP.9-9-man even=so SM.17-be=like=that SM.17-DISJ-be=necessary-FV

ukuba si-zam-e u-ku-cing-a i-nto e-ma-si-y-enz-e.
that SM.1PL-try-SUBJ AUG-15-think-FV AUG-9.thing RM.9-HORT-SM.1PL-OM.9-do-SUBJ

Ukuba aku-kh-o nto si-y-enz-a-yo asi-sokuze
if NEG.SM.17-exist-FV 9.thing SM.1PL-OM.9-do-FV SM.1PL-never=do

s-onwab-e yi-le n-doda. I-si-dl-is-a
SM.1PL-be=happy-SUBJ COP.9-DEM.9.PROX 9-man SM.9-OM.1PL-eat-CAUS-FV

u-b-omi be-ntshontsho ng-olu hlobo.'
AUG-14-life POSS.14-9.chicken INSTR-DEM.11.PROX 11.manner

U-Mayedwa na-ye <u>nga-loo mini</u> **wâ-zi-fuman-a**
AUG-1.aMayedwa COM-1 INSTR-DEM.9.MED SM.1.REMPST-REFL-get-FV

e-xakiw-é, e-ng-az-i ukuba ku-ng-enz-iw-a ntoni na
SM.1.PTCP-confuse-ANT SM.1.PTCP-NEG-know-FV that SM.17-POT-do-PASS-FV what Q

nge-nto e-lolu hlobo. Waye-qhel-é
INSTR-9.thing RM.9-DEM.11.PROX 11.manner SM.1.go.REMPST-get=used-ANT

u-ku-zi-sombulul-a i-zi-nto ezi-zii-ngxaki za-ma-khwenkwe,
AUG-15-REFL-solve-FV AUG-10-thing RM.10-COP.10-10.problem POSS.10-6-boy

e-li-themba la-wo kwi-zi-nto ezi-wa-xak-ile-yo.
SM.1.PTCP-COP.5-5.hope POSS.5-6 SM.17-10-thing RM.10-OM.6-perplex-ANT-DISJ

*"[…] If he was a boy, we would know how to deal with him' said a boy from MaGiqweni called Nzimeni, and continued: 'But we don't know what to do because he is a (grown) man. Nevertheless, we should try to think of something we could do. If we don't do anything about it, we will never be happy because of this man. He makes our lives miserable (lit: feeding us the life of a chicken).' On that day, Mayedwa **found himself** confused, not knowing what to do about a matter like this. He used to be able to solve their problems (lit: things that were problems to the boys), being their hope when it comes to issues that perplexed them.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Examples (47-50) show that the Recent Past and the Remote Past do not denote events with any difference in terms of temporal distance from the preceding event.

In accordance with the abovementioned restriction of the Remote Past which concerns the hodiernal and hesternal past domains, the **absolute durational time adverbials** confirm that past events whose N extends up to S can only be denoted by the Recent Past, cf. *iminyaka esi-8 ngoku* ('for eight years now') which accompanies the Recent Past *ndisebenzé* in example (40), and *ukusukela oko lasekwayo eli qela ngo-1991* ('since the formation of this group in 1991') with *sifumené* ('we have received') in (34) from section 5.4, repeated here as (51).

(51)

U-ku-vumel-an-a	nge-gama	s-e-sona	si-gqibo	
AUG-15-allow-RECIP-FV	INSTR-5.name	COP.7-SUPERL-PRON.7	7-decision	
si-khawulez-ile-yo	lâ-kh-a	la-s-enz-a	eli	qela
SM.7-hurry-ANT-DISJ	SM.5.REMPST-ever=do-FV	SM.5.PSTCONS-OM.7-do-FV	DEM.	7.PROX
la-ma-lungu	a-li-12.	U-ku-sukel-a	oko	
POSS.7-6-member	SM.6-COP.5-5.twelve	as=from	DEM.15.MED	
la-sek-w-a-yo	eli	qela	ngo-1991,	
SM.5.REMPST-found-PASS-FV-DISJ	DEM.5.PROX	5.group	INSTR-1a.nineteen=ninety=one	
si-fumen-é	ii-platinum	ezi-ne		
SM.1PL-get-ANT	AUG.10-platinum	ADJ.10-four		
ku-ma-cwecwe	a-si-xhenxe.	Ngoko	beku-fanelek-ile	ukuba
SM.17-6-CD	RM.6-7-six	therefore	SM.17.be.PST-be=appropriate-ANT.DISJ	that
si-zi-biz-e	ngokuba	si-yi-Platinum.		
SM.1PL-REFL-call-SUBJ	as	SM.1PL-COP.9-9.platinum		

*Agreeing about the name was the quickest decision that this group of 12 members has ever made. Since the formation of this group in 1991, **we have received** four platinums for six CD's, therefore we found it suitable (lit: it was suitable for us) to call ourselves 'Platinum'.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The two Past tenses seem not to exhibit any significant differences neither with respect to the remoteness between S and the beginning point of the accompanying absolute durational time adverbial (=R), nor with respect to the latter's duration. The absolute durational time adverbials in (40) and (51) show that the events denoted by the Recent Past tense started eight (40) and nine years (51) (from 1991 to 2000, the year when the magazine article was published) before S. Consider, by comparison, example (52) taken from a magazine article about Khayalethu Duna, who went missing when he suffered memory loss.

(52) Wâ-zi-bandakany-a na-ba-ntu ababe-qokelel-a ba-thengis-e
SM.1-REFL-involve-FV COM-2-person RM.2.go.REMPST-collect-FV SM.2-sell-SUBJ

ii-ntsimbi. **Wâ-phil-a** ng-olo hlobo de
AUG-10.iron SM.1.REMPST-live-FV INSTR-DEM.11.MED 11.manner until

wa-bon-w-a ngo-m-hla we-17 ku-Juni
SM.1.PSTCONS-see-PASS-FV INSTR-3-day POSS.3-9.seventeen SM.17-1a.June

ngu-m-hlobo wa-kh-e u-Mpumelelo=Damane.
COP.1-1-friend POSS.1-1 AUG-1a.Mpumelelo=Damane

"Ndâ-th-i xa ndi-gqith-a nda-bon'
SM.1.REMPST-say-FV when SM.1SG-pass=by-FV SM.1SG.PSTCONS-see.FV

u-m-ntu o-fan-a no-Khayalethu nda-z-a
AUG-1-person RM.1-look=like-FV COM-1a.Khayalethu SM.1SG.PSTCONS-come-FV

nda-jik-a nda-m-jong-is-is-a.
SM.1SG.PSTCONS-turn=around-FV SM.1SG.PSTCONS-OM.1-take=a=look-FV

Yayi-ngu-ye ncakasana! [...]'
SM.9.go-REMPST-COP.1-1 ID.exactly

He got involved with people who collected and sold irons. ***He lived*** *that way until his friend, Mpumelelo Damane, saw him on 17 June.*
"When I was passing by, I saw someone looking like Khayalethu I turned and looked carefully, and it was him! [...]'
(Snyman et al. 2012)

In (52), the absolute durational time adverbial *de wanbonwa ngomhla we-17 ku-Juni ngumhlobo wakhe uMpumelel Damane* ('until his friend, Mpumelelo Damane, saw him on 17 June') co-occurs with the Remote Past *wâphila* ('he lived'). The time interval covered by the Remote Past Perfective is considerably shorter than its counterparts in (40) or (51). It spans over approximately two months: The man went missing in April and he was found alive in June. Furthermore, the article in (52) was published already in September the same year, showing that

the onset of the event denoted by the Remote Past is also more recent than that of its counterparts denoted by the Recent Past in (40) or (51). Hence, with respect to the duration or the remoteness of the accompanying absolute durational time adverbial's (=R's) beginning point, the two Past tenses do not differ.

A similar conclusion is drawn about the relative durational time adverbials which provide R for events denoted by the Recent Past and the Remote Past Perfective verb forms. Consider example (32=67) from sections 5.4 and 5.9, repeated here as (53) from a magazine article about the dangerous cliff near the village of Molweni. The Recent Past Perfective verb form *simfuné* represents the three-hour-long search for Nontombi, as indicated by the adverbial *iiyure ezintathu* ('for three hours').

(53) Wâ-th-i xa e-buy-a nga-se-liw-eni u-m-fana
SM.1.REMPST-say-FV when SM.1.PTCP-return-FV location-LOC-5.cliff-LOC AUG-1.young=man

owaye-ncum-a ne-n-tombi ya-m wa-si-xelel-a ukuba
RM.1.go.REMPST-smile-FV COM-9.girl POSS.9-1SG SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.1PL-tell-FV that

u-yi-bulel-e i-nja ye-thu. Lwâ-phum-a l-onke
SM.1-OM.9-kill-ANT AUG-9.dog POSS.9-1PL SM.11.REMPST-exit-FV SM.11-all

u-sapho lwa-y-a ku-fun-a u-Nontombi.
AUG-11.family SM.11.PSTCONS-go-FV 15-want-FV AUG-1a.Nontombi

Si-m-fun-é ii-yure ezin-tathu sa-z-a
SM.1PL-OM.1-want-ANT AUG-10.hour ADJ.10-three SM.1PL.PSTCONS-come-FV

sa-m-fuman-a ezantsi e-li-w-eni e-ne-nxeba
SM.1PL.PSTCONS-OM.1-find-FV below LOC-5-cliff-LOC SM.1.PTCP-COM-5.wound

e-ntloko. Sâ- m biz-a a-ma-polisa a-wu-land-a
LOC-9.head SM.1PL.REMPST-call-FV AUG-6-police SM.6.PSTCONS-OM.3-fetch-FV

u-m-zimba wa-khe ezantsi nge-zi-tretsha nee-ntambo.
AUG-3-body POSS.3-1 below INSTR-10-stretches COM-10.rope

When the man who was dating my daughter came back from the cliff, he said that he had killed our dog. The whole family went out to look for Nontombi. ***We looked for her*** *for three hours and then we found her deep under the cliff with a wound on her head. So, we called the cops to fetch her body from down there with stretches and ropes.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Remote Past can denote events with a similar duration. In example (54) from the same article as (52), Sibongile's search for Khayalethu denoted by that the Remote Past *wâmfun'* ('he

searched for him') lasted around one day, as indicated by the (relative) durational time adverbial *imini yonke* ('the whole day').

(54) U-Sibongile ú-th-i, 'Ndâ-th-i xa ndiphuma evenkileni
AUG-1a.Sibongile SM.1-say-FV SM.1SG.REMPST-say-FV when SM.1SG-exit-FV LOC-9.shop-LOC

ndi-jong' u-Khayalethu anda-m-bon-a.'
SM.1SG-see.FV AUG-1a.Khayalethu NEG.SM.1SG.PSTCONS-OM.1-see-FV

Wâ-m-fun' i-mini y-onke.
SM.1SG.REMPST-OM.1-want.FV AUG-9.day SM.9-whole

Wâ-goduk-a wa-yo-xel-a e-khaya.
SM.1SG.REMPST-go=home-FV SM.1SG.PSTCONS-go.SUBJ.15-tell-FV LOC-5.home

*Sibongile says: 'When I left the shop I was looking for Khayalethu, but I didn't see him.' **He searched for him** the whole day. He went home to tell people.*

The durational time adverbials in examples (51-54) show that both the Recent Past and the Remote Past can denote events whose R can extend from hours to many years.

By way of summary, in this section I show that the semantic distinction between the Recent Past and the Remote Past cannot be fully accounted for in terms of remoteness alone. Besides the fact the Remote Past cannot refer to events whose N is part of the hodiernal or hesternal past, no other properties related to R duration or remoteness from S (or other events) seems to be relevant for the distinction between the two Past tenses.

6.4.3. Time adverbials: Immediate Future vs. Remote Future

With regards to the Future tenses, the absolute positional adverbials which co-occur with the Immediate Future and with the Remote Future exhibit no significant difference. Consider example (55) from a call for a language expert conference. The call was most probably published in July 2010[631], approximately a month before the conference date.

[631] Judging by the other announcements (from the same corpus file) we can locate S more exactly between 28 June and 22 July 2010: The most recent past event mentioned took place on 27 June 2010, whereas the closest future event takes place on 23 July 2010.

(55) |I-zi-ganeko zo-ku-phakel-an-a nge-zim-vo
AUG-8-event POSS.8-15-do.favour-RECIP-FV INSTR-10-opinion
ezi-sindlek-w-e yi-SATI|
RM.10-host-PASS-ANT COP.9-9.SATI

I-lungu le-Bhunga le-SATI u-Michelle=Rabie **ú-za=ku-bamb-a**
AUG-5.member POSS.5-5.council POSS.5-9.SATI AUG-1a.Michelle=Rabie SM.1-FUT-catch-FV

i-ngqungquthela e-Kapa ngo-m-hla we-si-5 ku-Agasti
AUG-9.conference LOC-9.Cape=Town INSTR-3-day POSS.3-7-five SM.17-1a.August

ka-2010. Le ngqungquthela i-ya=ku-b-e
POSS.17-1a.two=thousant=and=ten DEM.9.PROX 9.conference SM.9-REMTFUT-be-ANT

i-no-m-xholo o-th-i 'I-ndlela Yo-ku-zi-thengis-a Njenge-Ngcali
SM.9-COM-3-theme RM.3-say-FV AUG-9.way POSS.9-15-REFL-sell-FV as-9.expert

Yo-Lwimi E-zi-m-el-e-yo', kwaye i-za=ku-vul-a i-thuba
POSS.9-11.language RM.9-REFL-stand-APPL-ANT-DISJ and SM.9-FUT-open-FV AUG-5.opportunity

eli-hle lo-ku-ncaz-el-an-a na-ma-nye a-ma-lungu
ADJ.5-nice POSS.5-15-request-APPL-RECIP-FV COM-ADJ.6-other AUG-6-member

a-kw-enz-a lo m-sebenzi kwi-meko e-ncom-ek-a-yo.
RM.6-OM.17-do-FV DEM.3.PROX 3-work SM.17-9.situation RM.9-praise-NEUTR-FV-DISJ

|*Events for an exchange of views hosted by SATI*|
*A member of the SATI council, Michelle Rabie, **will hold** a conference in Cape Town on 5 August 2010. This conference will have the theme 'A Way to Sell Yourself as an Independent Language Practitioner' and it will also provide a good opportunity for interaction with other members (lit: who do this job commendably.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

Thus, the Immediate Future Perfective form *úza kubamba* ('(it) will catch') refers to an event whose R is located around one month after S. However, example (56) taken from an announcement of an annual seminar, demonstrates that the Remote Future can denote events whose R is even closer to S.

(56) I-nyanga Yo-ku-qatsh-el-w-a kwe-Mpilo
AUG-9.month POSS.9-15-spread-APPL-PASS-FV SM.15-9.health

e-phathelel-é e-ku-belek-eni i-ya=ku-mis-el-w-a
RM.9-extend-ANT LOC-15-give=birth-LOC SM.9-REMFUT-schedule-PASS-FV

e-Ntshona=Koloni kwi-Semina yo-nyaka yo-Kw-az-is-a
LOC-9.Western=Cape SM.17-9.Seminar POSS.9-3.year POSS.9-15-know-CAUS-FV

mayela=ne-Mpilo e-phathelel- é e-ku-Zal-eni
about-9.health RM-extend-ANT LOC-15-give=birth-LOC

ne-ya=ku-b-a ngo-m-hla we-17
COM.SM.9-REMFUT-be-FV INSTR-3-day POSS.3-9.seventeen

kwe-yo-Mdumba ka-2006 e-River=Club,
SM.17.RM.9-POSS.9-3.bud POSS.1a-two=thousand=and=six LOC-9.River=Club

e-Observatory. I-Sebe Le-ze-mpilo
LOC-9.Observatory AUG-5.department POSS.5.RM.10-POSS.10-9-health

li-ya=ku-sebenz-is-a eli thuba
SM.5-REMFUT-work-CAUS-FV DEM.5.PROX 5.opportunity

li-s-az-is-a nge-Western=Cape=Youth=Z=Card.
SM.5-INFIX-know-CAUS-FV INSTR-9.Western=Cape=Youth=Z=Card

The month of natal health will be launched in the Western Cape, in the annual informative seminar which will take place on 17 February 2006 at the River Club in the Observatory. The Department of Health ***will use*** *this opportunity to provide information on the Western Cape Youth Z Card.*
(Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014)

R of the event denoted by the bolded Remote Future verb *liya kusebenzisa* ('(it) will use') is determined by the time adverbial *ngomhla we-17 kweyoMdumba ka-2006* ('on 17 February 2006') (even though the verb and the time adverbial do not occur in the same sentence). Since the announcement in (56) was issued on 31 January 2006, the Remote Future form refers to an event whose R is located only 17 days after S. Thus, the two Future tenses do not reflect different degrees of remoteness from S: R of the Remote Future Perfective form *liya kusebenzisa* ('(it) will use') in (56) is considerably closer to S than that of the Immediate Future Perfective form *úza kubamba* ('(it) will catch') in (55), which occurs about a month after S.

With respect to relative positional time adverbials, there seems to be no correlation between the degree of temporal distance and the accompanying Future tense. For example, the Remote Future may denote an event that occurs on the same day as the event from the previous clause, as demonstrated in (57). The example is taken from an investigative article about illegal abortion clinics in which the undercover journalist enquires the illegal service provider about the procedure. The events described in the excerpt did occur in the past, but the **embedded** Remote Future Perfective form *ndiya kuhamba* ('I would go') indicates that the journalist leaving the clinic is temporally posterior to R_{mc} (*úthé* 'he said') instead of S. The time adverbial *emva kwemizuzu engama-20 ndiyiginyile* ('twenty minutes after I have swallowed it') suggests that the time that would elapse between R_{mc} and the Remote Future event's R does not exceed 20 minutes.

(57) Ndi-m-buz-é ukuba ú-za=ku-nced-a nga-ntoni okanye
SM.1SG-OM.1-ask-ANT that SM.1-FUT-help-FV INSTR-what or

a-ndi-sel-is-e ntoni. Ú-th-é u-za=ku-ndi-nik' i-pilisi
SUBJ.SM.1-OM.1SG-drink-CAUS-SUBJ what SM.1-say-ANT SM.1-FUT-OM.1SG-give.FV AUG-9.pill

eku-funek-a ndi-yi-giny-e phambi kwa-khe. Ú-th-é
RM.17-be=necessary-FV SM.1SG-OM.9-swallow-SUBJ in=front=of POSS.17-1 SM.1-say-ANT

ndi-ya=ku-hamb-a emva kwe-mi-zuzu e-nga-ma-20
SM.1SG-REMFUT-go-FV after POSS.17-4-minute RM.4-be=as=much=as-6-twenty

ndi-yi-giny-ile. Ndi-th-é ndi-y-oyik-a
SM.1SG-OM.9-swallow-ANT.DISJ SM.1SG-say-ANT SM.1SG-DISJ-be=afraid-FV

nda-m-buz-a nokuba ndi-ya=ku-v-a ii-ntlungu na.
SM.1SG.PSTCONS-OM.1-ask-FV whether SM.1SG-REMFUT-feel-FV AUG-10.pain Q

I asked him how he was going to help me and what he was going to make me drink. He said he was going to give me pills that I should swallow in front of him, and that (lit. he said) ***I would go*** *home 20 minutes after swallowing the pill. I said I was afraid and asked if I would experience pain.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

However, most relative positional time adverbials which co-occur with the Future tenses (in the analysed corpus data) do not refer to a specific, unique position on the timeline (unlike their Past tense counterparts). Consider example (58) from an informative text about the procedure of registering private hospitals.

(58) |U-ku-bhalis-a i-Si-bhedlele Sa-bucala|
AUG-15-register-FV AUG-7-hospital POSS.7-private

S-onke i-si-bhedlele sa-bucala okanye i-ndawo e-sebenz-a
SM.7-every AUG-7-hospital POSS.7-private or AUG-9.place RM.9-work-FV

nge-zi-gulane e-nga-nxulumen-anga ne-kawonkewonke
INSTR-8-patient SM.9-NEG-relate=to-NEG.ANT COM-1a.public

ku-funek-a i-bhalis-iw-e. Xa oko kw-enz-iw-é
SM.17-be=necessary-FV SM.9-register-PASS-SUBJ when DEM.17.MED SM.17-do-PASS-ANT

i-Sebe le-ze-Mpilo **li-za=ku-nikezel-a** nge-si-qinisekiso
AUG-5.department POSS.5.RM.10-POSS.10-9-health SM.5-FUT-provide-FV INSTR-7-certificate

so-ku-bhalis-w-a ku-m-nini we-so si-bhedlele, eku-funek-a
POSS.7-15-register-PASS-FV SM.17-1-owner POSS.1-DEM.7.MED 7-hospital RM.17-be=necessary-FV

si-hlaziy-w-e phambi ko-m-hla wa-ma-31
SM.7-revise-PASS-SUBJ before POSS.17-3-day POSS.3-6-thirty=one

kwe-yo-Mnga wo-nyaka nga-m-nye.
POSS.17.RM.9-POSS.9-3.thorn=tree POSS.3-3.year INSTR-COP.3-one

|*Registration of private hospitals*|

> *Every private hospital or institution (lit. place) working with patients that is not associated with the public service must be registered. When that is done, the Health Department* ***will provide*** *(lit.* ***give out****) the hospital owner with a registration certificate which must be renewed every year before 31 December.* (Snyman et al. 2012)

R of the Immediate Future verb *liza kunikezela* ('(it) will provide') is determined by the time adverbial *xa oko kwenziwé* ('when that is done') which is not restricted to one particular future interval from the perspective of a hypothetical reader. The bolded Immediate Future verb refers to a procedure that consists of an infinite number of individual instances of registering a new private hospital. These instances occur habitually, i.e. before, during and after S. Despite this, the bolded verb has the Immediate Future tense which indicates that the event's R, which is denoted by the time adverbial, is located after S. The relation between R and S suggests that the event is **evidentially closer to the addressee's own experience** from a future interval: It is within that future time interval that the target reader (who intends to register her or his health institution) will personally witness the event of obtaining the registration certificate. In other words, it is only after the potential reader has read the text in (58) (=S) than she or he can proceed to register the health care institution and obtain the registration certificate (=R).

In (58), R does not occupy one specific position posterior to S. Each individual instance of both R and S is **conditioned** by the existence of a target reader. This is why I will henceforth refer to the use of either Future tense to indicate the addressee's own experience of a habitually (regularly) occurring event from a future interval as **experiential-conditional future**.

The conditional nature of the position of each instance of both S and R is confirmed by the fact that the relative positional time adverbial in (58) with the conjunction *xa* ('when') is formally identical to the protasis in factual conditional sentences, such as *xa ethembekile* ('if she/he is trustworthy') in example (59) from a magazine article containing advice to individuals who suspect their partner might be unfaithful. R of the Immediate Future Perfective form *úza kucinga* ('she/he will think') does not have a specific position relative to S, as it refers to the hypothetical reader's partner being trustworthy (a state that is not limited to one particular, well-defined time interval).

(59) Ú-th-i u-Gqr.=Lieberman xa u-theth-a ng-olu
SM.1-say-FV AUG-1a.Dr=Lieberman when SM.2SG-speak-FV INSTR-DEM.11.PROX

hlobo a-ya-phel-a a-ma-hlathi kwi-qabane la-kho
11.manner SM.6-DISJ-finish-FV AUG-6-forest SM.17-5.partner POSS.5-2SG

li-bon-e ukuba ma-li-theth-e i-nyaniso. "Kaloku yena
SM.5-see-SUBJ that HORT-SM.5-speak-SUBJ AUG-9.truth however PRON.1

ú-cing-a ukuba xa e-theth-a i-nyaniso ú-za=ku-fuman-a
SM.1-think-FV that when SM.1.PTCP-speak AUG-9.truth SM.1-FUT-get-FV

i-nkululeko ku-le nto a-y-enz-a-yo.'
AUG-9.freedom SM.17-DEM.9.PROX 9.thing SBJRM.1-OM.9-do-FV-DISJ

Xa e-thembek-ile **ú-za=ku-cing-a**
when SM.1.PTCP-be=trustworthy-ANT.DISJ SM.2SG-FUT-think-FV

ukuba u-shiy-w-a zii-ngqondo u-kanti
that SM.1SG-leave-PASS-FV COP.10-10.mind SM.2SG-whereas

nga-loo ndlela u-za=ku-yi-fuman-a i-nyaniso.
INSTR-DEM.9.MED 9.manner SM.2SG-FUT-OM.9-get-FV AUG-9.truth

*Dr Liebermann says that when you talk this way, your partner stops seeing the reason to lie. 'He/she thinks that if she/he tells the truth, he/she will be free to do what he/she does.' If he/she is trustworthy, **he/she will think** you have lost your mind and that way you will hear the truth.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The fact that the protasis of the factual conditional sentence in (59) and the relative positional time adverbial in (58) are formally indistinguishable suggests they have shared semantics too. This observation, in turn, implies that the Immediate Future (which co-occurs with the relative positional time adverbial and with the protasis of the factual conditional sentence in 58 and 59, respectively) also includes conditional semantics.

The experiential-conditional future is not limited to the Immediate Future. The Remote Future also occurs with relative positional time adverbials while referring to habitual events without a specific temporal position. Consider example (60) which is taken from the same text as example (33) from Chapter 5, i.e. an information booklet on the workplace injury reimbursement fund.

(60) U-gqirha wa-kho ú-ya=ku-bhal-a i-ngxelo ye-zonyango
AUG-1a.doctor POSS.1-2SG SM.1-REMFUT-write-FV AUG-9.report POSS.9-9.treatment

ngo-ko ku-khubazek-a. Emva k-oko u-Mkomishinala
INSTR-DEM.15.PROX 15-be=disabled-FV after POSS.17-DEM.17.PROX AUG-1a.commissioner

na-ba-nye oo-gqirha **ba-ya=ku-gqib-a** ekubeni
COM-ADJ.2-other AUG-2a.doctor SM.2-REMFUT-decide-FV that

u-ku-khubazek-a oko ku-nzima okanye
AUG-15-be=disabled-FV DEM.15.MED COP.ADJ.15-difficult or

ku-nzulu kangakanani na.
COP.ADJ.15-deep to=what=extent Q

*Your doctor will write a medical report about your disability. <u>After that, a</u> commissioner and other doctors **will decide** on how severe (lit: the difficulty or the depth of) your disability is.*
(Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014)

The bolded Remote Future Perfective *baya kugqiba* ('they will decide') refers to the event of the doctor committee assessing the severity of the disability. The event recurs habitually because it is part of a regular procedure as indicated by R, the accompanying relative positional time adverbial *emva koko* ('thereafter'), which does not occupy a concrete interval on the timeline. Whenever an injured employee's doctor writes a medical report, the committee will subsequently determine the severity of the injury. Thus, the Remote Future Perfective *baya kugqiba* ('they will decide') represents another example of the experiential-conditional future.

At this point, we can observe that both the Immediate Future and the Remote Future include conditional semantics that allows them to express the experiential-conditional future. Furthermore, the relative positional time adverbials in (58) and (60) do not differ in any particular way that could define the semantic difference between the Immediate Future and the Remote Future.

With respect to indefinite punctual time adverbials, the only example found in the analysed corpus data is *ekugqibeleni* ('eventually') in (61), a magazine article about Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela's relationship with Graça Machel. The adverbial co-occurs with the Immediate Future verb *siza kucinga* ('(they) will think'); It signals the denoted event's R, which represents one specific time interval, but its exact location on the timeline is not specified.

(61) U-Mongameli=Joachim=Chissano wa-se-Mozambique,
AUG-1a.President=Joachim=Chissano POSS.1-LOC-9.Mozambique

owâ-ngen-a e-zi-hlangw-ini ze-ndoda ka-Graça=Machel,
RM.1.REMOST-enter-FV LOC-8-shoe-LOC POSS.8-9.man POSS.9.1a-Graça=Machel

u-Samora=Machel o-nga-se-kh-o-yo, ku-thi-w-a
AUG-1a.Samora=Machel RM.1-NEG-PERS-exist-FV-DISJ SM.17-say-PASS-FV

u-y-az-i ukuba u-Madiba no-Graça ba-ya-thand-an-a
SM.1-DISJ-know-FV that AUG-1a.Madiba COM-1a.Graça SM.2-DISJ-love-RECIP-FV

kwaye u-ngo-m-nye wa-ba-ntu aba-khulu aba-th-i
and SM.1-COP.1-ADJ.1-one POSS.1-2-person ADJ.2-big RM.2-saay-FV

ma-ba-tshat-e ngo-ku-khawulez-a. E-nye i-ndwalutho e-th-i
HORT-SM.2-marry-SUBJ INSTR-15-hurry-FV ADJ.9-another AUG-honourable=person RM.9-say-FV

ma-ba-tshat-e ngu-Bhishophu=Desmond=Tutu, o-nga-thandabuz-i-yo
HORT-SM.2-marry-SUBJ COP.1-1a.Bishop=Desmond=Tutu RM.1-NEG-hesitate-NEG-DISJ

ukuba esi si-bini **si-za=ku-cing-a** ngo-ku-tshat-a e-ku-gqibel-eni.
that DEM.7.PROX 7-couple SM.7-FUT-think-FV INSTR-15-marry-FV LOC-15-finish-LOC

*President Joachim Chissano from Mozambique who succeeded the late husband of Graça Machel, Samora Machel, is said to know of Madiba's and Graça's relationship and to be one of the people who support the idea that they marry as soon as possible. Another honourable person who supports their marriage is Bishop Desmond Tutu who does not doubt that the couple **will** eventually **think** about getting married.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

In the analysed corpus data, no absolute durative time adverbials have been found which accompany a Future tense verb. However, in example (62) from a text that aims to raise parental awareness around preventing injuries in children, the Immediate Future verb *iza kufundisa* ('(it) will teach') denotes an event whose R is specified 'indirectly', i.e. through a subordinate relative clause, *eza kuba ngomhla we-6 kuse kowe-12 kuAgasti* ('from 6 to 12 August'), which refers to the same subject (as said Immediate Future verb), i.e. the National Childhood Injury Prevention Week. The interval of time occupied by the Immediate Future verb form's R starts only several days after S: The article was published in August 1995, the same month as the announced event would take place.

(62) Si-nga-wa-nciphis-a njani la ma-nani? I-si-sombululo
SM.1PL-NEG-OM.6-reduce-FV how DEM.6.PROX 6-number AUG-7-solution

so-khuseleko ku-kw-enz-a i-mekobume e-khusel-ek-ile-yo
POSS.7-11.safety COP.15-15-do-FV 9-environment RM.9-be=safe-ANT-DISJ

no-ku-landel-a u-m-gaqo o-si-si-seko wo-khusel-ek-o mi-hla le.
COM-15-follow-FV AUG-3-rule RM.3-COP.7-7-basis POSS.3-11.safety 4-day DEM.4.PROX

I-National=Childhood=Injury=Prevention=Week e-za=ku-b-a
AUG-9.National=Childhood=Injury=Protection=Week RM.9-FUT-be-FV

ngo-m-hla we-6 ku-s-e ko-we-12 ku-Agasti
INSTR-3-day POSS.3-six SM.17-extend=to-SUBJ POSS.17-POSS.3-twelve SM.17-1a.August

i-za=ku-fundis-a a-ba-ntu ngo-ku-balulek-a
SM.9-FUT-teach-FV AUG-2-person INSTR-15-be=important-FV

ko-ku-khusel-a a-ba-ntwana ba-ng-enzakal-i.
POSS.15-15-be=safe-FV AUG-2-child SM.2-NEG-hurt-NEG.SUBJ

How can we reduce these numbers? A solution for safety is to create a safe environment and to follow a certain safety procedure every day.
*The National Childhood Injury Prevention Week, which will last from 6 to 12 August, **will teach** people about the importance of protecting children so they do not hurt themselves.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The only relative durative time adverbial in the analysed corpus data, *de abe amapolisa anelisiwe bubungqina abufumene kuphando lwalo* ('until the police are satisfied with the evidence they have found') also co-occurs with an Immediate Future form, *uza kusebenza* ('(it) will work') in example (63) which is taken from an article about an ongoing criminal investigation.

(63) A-ma-polisa a-phand-a ngo-ku-b-a y-enzek-a phi i-mpazamo
AUG-6-police SM.6-investigate-FV INSTR-15-be-FV SM.9-happen-FV where AUG-9.mistake

xa kwaku-phand-w-a eku-qal-eni ng-eli tyala.
when SM.17.go.REMPST-investigate-PASS-FV LOC-15.begin-LOC INSTR-DEM.5.PROX 5.case

U-m-thetho **u-za=ku-sebenza** ng-eli tyala de a-b-e a-ma-polisa
AUG-3-law SM.3-FUT-work-FV INSTR-DEM.5.PROX 5.case until SM.6-be-SUBJ AUG-6-police

anelis-iw-e bu-bu-ngqina a-bu-fumen-é ku-phando lwa-wo.
SM.6.satisfy-PASS-SUBJ COP.14-14-evidence RM.6-OM.14-get-ANT SM.17-11.investigation POSS.11-6

*The police are still trying to identify the mistake at the beginning of their investigation (lit: when they were investigating the case at the beginning). The court (lit: law) **will work** on this case until the police are satisfied with the evidence they have found.*

Although the court was already working on the case when the article was written (=S), the Immediate Future form signals that N of said event will continue to hold true until a future point

in time (endpoint of R) indicated by the underlined time adverbial (cf. example 43 in section 6.4.1). The same explanation applies to the only instance of an indefinite durative time adverbial in the analysed corpus data, *ixesha elide* ('for a long time'), which co-occurs with the Immediate Future *úza kufuna* ('he will need') in example (43) from section 6.4.1, repeated here as (64).

(64) U-Hofer ú-th-i u-Peter
AUG-1a.Hofer SM.1-say-FV AUG-1a.Peter

"wâ-b-a ne-si-bindi' ngo-ku-xel-a
SM.1.REMPST-be-FV COM-7-courage INSR-15-report-FV

u-ku-dlwengul-w-a kwa-khe e-ma-polis-eni.
AUG-15-rape-PASS-FV POSS.15-1 LOC-6-police=officer-LOC

"**Ú-za=ku-fun-a** ii-ngcebiso i-xesha eli-de
SM.1-FUT-need-FV AUG-10.advice AUG-5.time ADJ.5-long

kwi-Masisukumeni kunye no-thando ne-nkuthazo
SM.17-9.Masisukumeni as=well COM-11.love COM-9.encouragement

a-ngá-yi-fuman-a ku-sapho na-ku-ba-hlobo.'
SBJRM.1-POT-OM.9-get-FV SM.17-11.family COM-SM.17-2-friend

*Hofer says Peter 'was brave' for reporting to the police that he had been raped. '**He will need** counselling at Masisukumeni (Crisis Centre) for a long time, as well as all the love and encouragement he can get from his family and friends.'*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

As pointed out in section 6.4.1, Peter, the assault victim needed counselling already during the time of the interview with Hofer, suggesting that the Immediate Future *úza kufuna* ('he will need') held true at S. However, because in (64) N of the event is asserted for every point of an interval (specified by the time adverbial) that lies in the future, R is temporally located after S, accordingly requiring a Future tense.

In section 6.4.1, it was shown that the objective properties of an event may affect the choice of one of the two Future tenses only if **N overlaps with S**, a case in which neither the Remote Past nor the Remote Future tense can be used. However, in this and the previous section it has been confirmed that the remoteness of an event's R from S (or from other events in the discourse) **does not correlate** with the choice of (the Past or Future) tense. Hence, the substitution tests conducted in section 6.5 are expected to indicate the basic semantic differences between the two Past and between the two Future tenses.

6.5. Remoteness: Substitution tests

Sections 6.5.1 and 6.5.2 primarily focus on substitution tests in which consultants describe the semantic change that arises when a Recent/Immediate Past/Future form in a corpus example is replaced by its Remote counterpart and vice versa. The various (types of) context-dependent responses which relate to each tense are briefly discussed and linked to one, invariant constellation between R, E (=O, N, C) and S.

6.5.1. Recent Past vs. Remote Past

In section 6.4.2, it was demonstrated that remoteness between R and S does not determine which of the two Past tenses will be used. This observation is further supported by the fact that one and the same event sequence (narration) located in the past frequently contains both the Remote Past and the Recent Past tense.

Before addressing the difference between the two Past tenses' semantics in narrations, let us briefly consider whether they denote a different relation between R and S only. This question is best approached by comparing the two tenses' reference to a past event in a context in which they are not preceded by other Past tense forms (i.e. where they represent **isolated** verbs, cf. sections 1.4.3 and 5.3). Consider example (65) from an article on Peter Abrahams, a prominent South African writer[632] who was still alive in 1996 when the article was published.

(65) U-Abrahams ú-hlal-a e-Jamaica ngoku apho a-fuman-a
AUG-1a.Abrahams SM.1-stay-FV LOC-9.Jamainca now there.MED RM.1-get-FV
u-bu-mnandi bo-ku-hlal-a kwi-ndawo e-nge-na-lo u-calulo
AUG-14-delightfulness POSS.14-15-stay-FV SM.17-9.place RM.9-NEG-COM-11 AUG-11.discrimination
lwee-ntlanga. U-Abrahams **ú-bhal-é** i-mi-bongo, ii-ncwadi
POSS.11-10.race AUG-1a.Abrahams SM.1-write-ANT AUG-4-poem AUG-10.book
ne-ncwadi e-ngo-b-omi. Xa u-nqwenel-a u-ku-fund-a
COM-9.book RM.9-INSTR-14-life when SM.2SG-wish-FV AUG-15-read-FV
ezi-nye ii-ncwadi za-khe, nazi ezi-mbalwa za-zo [...]
ADJ.10-some AUG-10.book POSS.10-1 PRES.10 RM.10-several POSS.10-10

[632] Although the excerpt has not been taken from the very beginning of the text, the Past tense forms from the preceding discourse do not affect the temporal location of the forms in the excerpt.

> *Abrahams lives in Jamaica, where he enjoys living in a place without racial discrimination. Abrahams* ***has written*** *poems, books and an autobiography. If you wish to read some of his books, here are a few: [...]*
> (Roux et al. 2001)

According to a consultant (2016.corpus.bhala.recp6.f18-25H), if the Recent Past *úbhalé* ('he wrote/has written') was replaced with its Remote Past counterpart *wâbhala* ('he wrote') it would entail that the author was **no longer alive**. However, this interpretation is a contextually grounded inference that cannot be generalised to represent the underlying difference between the Recent Past and the Remote Past. As shown in example (39) (cf. section 6.3.), the subject of the Recent Past Perfective verb *úsebenzé* ('he worked') was deceased before S, whereas in (42) (cf. 6.4.2) the Remote Past form *ndâhamba* ('I left') refers to a subject who was alive at S. Although it is evident that the two Past tenses exhibit different semantics, the substitution of the bolded Recent Past (Perfective) in (65) with its Remote Past counterpart does not signal an obvious change in the relation between R and S.

Narrations may provide further insights into the difference between the Recent Past and the Remote Past in terms of the relation between R on the one hand, and S, as well as R of the events in the surrounding discourse, on the other hand. Consider example (66) which comes from Mncedi Mbambo's novel *Amakroza*. In the excerpt, Khuselwa, who had just been removed from her position as a lawyer as a result of a major intrigue, talks to Nala who offers her an opportunity to take a position as a court interpreter instead.

(66)

Ú-theth-é	w-ophel-a		u-Nala	e-bonakalis-a
SM.1-speak-ANT	SM.1.PSTCONS-do=extensively-FV		AUG-1a.Nala	SM.1.PTCP-show-FV
u-ku-velan-a	no-Khuselwa	de	a-b-e	ú-m-bon-el-a
AUG-15-sympathise-FV	COM-1a.Khuselwa	until	SM.1.SUBJ-be-SUBJ	SM.1-OM.1-provide-FV
i-si-thub-a	so-ku-tolik-a		i-mi-thetho	ka-Rhulumente. ¶[633]
AUG-7-opportunity	POSS.7-15-interpret-FV		AUG-4-law	POSS.1a-government
E-kruquk-ile	ku-ku-hlal-a		e-khaya	u-Khuselwa
SM.1.PTCP-satiate-ANT.DISJ	COP.15-15-sit-FV		LOC-5.home	AUG-1a.Khuselwa
wâ-s-amkel-a	eso	si-hlalo	si-phantsi	so-ku-tolik-a
SM.1.REMPST-OM.7-accept-FV	DEM.7.MED	7-position	SM.7-below	POSS.7-15-interpret-FV
e-ndaw-eni	y-eso	so-bu-gqwetha.	**Ú-sebenz-ile**	u-Khuselwa
LOC-9.place-LOC	POSS.9-DEM.7.MED	POSS.7-14-lawyer	SM.1-work-ANT.DISJ	AUG-1a.Khuselwa

[633] Whenever relevant, I add ¶ to indicate paragraph breaks.

e-xakanisek-ile yi-le meko a-zi-bon-a
SM.1.PTCP-become.worried-ANT.DISJ COP.9-DEM.9.PROX 9.situation RM.1-REFL-see-FV

e-gaxelek-a ku-yo. Aku-phum-a e-m-sebenzi-ni
SM.1.PTCP-be.surrounded-FV SM.17-9 SM.1.TEMP-exit-FV LOC-3-work-LOC

nge-nye i-mini ú-sing-é e-dolophi-ni.
INSTR.ADJ.9-one AUG-9.day SM.1-proceed=to-ANT LOC-9.town-LOC

Nala spoke extensively showing sympathy for Khuselwa, eventually providing her with an opportunity to interpret governmental regulations. ¶
Fed up with sitting at home, Khuselwa accepted the job of being a translator instead of being a lawyer. ***She worked*** *while being worried about the situation that she found herself in. One day after work she headed to town.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The bolded form *úsebenzile* ('she worked') has the Recent Past tense although it occurs in a narration in which the Remote Past forms prevail. Since the predicate of the bolded form, *-sebenza* ('work'), has a durative N and no identifiable resulting state, it is evident that the choice of the Recent Past tense is unrelated to the relevance of the event's resulting state for the other events in the surrounding discourse (or for S). Therefore, a consultant (2017.corpus.sebenza.recp9.m18-25E) was asked to describe the semantic difference that would emerge if the bolded Recent Past in (66) was substituted by its Remote Past counterpart, *wâsebenza* ('she worked'). He suggested that while the Recent Past Perfective form *úsebenzile* ('she worked') in this context signals that Khuselwa, at that stage of the novel, started working as an interpreter, the Remote Past counterpart, *wâsebenza* ('she worked') would refer to her entire working experience, from the beginning to the end. This explanation would suggest that while the Recent Past Perfective of a durative verb like *-sebenza* ('work') includes only one part of N, i.e. the transition from O to N, the Remote Past Perfective of the same verb includes the entire N, i.e. all the three phases, O, N and C.

Even if in (66) the two Past tenses may be interpreted as a difference in the portions of N that are asserted, this cannot be viewed as the invariant meaning of the two tenses for several reasons. Firstly, both the Recent Past and the Remote Past Perfective may assert the entire durative N, e.g. (53) and (54) in section 6.4.2. Secondly, the Remote Past (Perfective) does not have to signal the completion of the predicate's N, as demonstrated by the grammaticality of the elicited examples (67) and (68) which are based on test (A) (cf. section 5.2).

(67) **Ndâ-yi-fund-a** loo ncwadi
SM.1SG.REMPST-OM.9-read-FV DEM.9.MED 9.book
kodwa zange ndi-yi-gqib-e.
but never=do SM.1SG-OM.9-finish-SUBJ
I started reading *that book* [intended: ???***I read*** *that book*]*, but I never finished it.*
(2019.elic.read.recp-remp.pfv.f<25G)

(68) **Ndâ-yi-fund-a** loo ncwadi
SM.1SG.REMPST-OM.9-read-FV DEM.9.MED 9.book
kodwa andi-zange ndi-yi-gqib-e.
but NEG.SM.1SG-never=do SM.1SG-OM.9-finish-SUBJ
I started reading *that book* [intended: ???***I read*** *that book*]*, but I never finished it.*
(2019.elic.read.recp-remp.pfv.f<25G)

Thirdly, if the Recent Past and the Remote Past tenses invariantly differed with respect to the portion of N that is asserted, the difference between the two tenses with punctual Ns would be completely redundant, which is not the case, as demonstrated in example (54) from Sidayiya's novel *Iyawa nguMayedwa*. The excerpt describes a dialogue between two young characters, Mphinumi and Nomhle, who have met for the first time.

(69) "Heyi wena m-ntwana-ndini ndi-fun-a u-ku-theth-a na-we,'
hey PRON.2SG 1-child-EXCL SM.1SG-want-FV AUG-15-speak-FV COM-2SG
wâ-ngqoko-s-a i-li-zwi e-si-tsh-o
SM.1.REMPST-speak=in=a=gruff=voice-CAUS-FV AUG-5-voice SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-say=so-FV
u-Mphinumi. "Ndi-theth-a na-we m-ntwana-ndini,
AUG-1a.Mphinumi SM.1SG-speak-FV COM-2SG 1-child-EXCL
wena u-ne-lokhwe e-na-ma-bala a-bomvu na-mhlophe.' ¶
PRON.2SG SM.2SG-COM-9.dress RM.9-COM-6-spot RM.6-red COM.RM.6-white
Ú-yi-jong-ile le n-kwenkwe i-m-biz-a-yo u-Nomhle,
SM.1-OM.9-look=at-ANT.DISJ DEM.9.PROX 9-boy SM.9-OM.1-call-FV-DISJ AUG-1a.Nomhle
aka-y-az-i. Naxa waye-nga-yi-thand-i i-m-bonakalo
NEG.SM.1-OM.9-know-NEG even=so SM.1.go.REMPST-NEG-OM.9-like-NEG AUG-9-appearance
le ya-yo kodwa wâ-yi-phendul-a kakuhle
DEM.9.PROX POSS.9-9 but SM.1.go.REMPST-OM.9-answer-FV nicely
e-si-th-i: "Ndi-nga-kw-az-i no-ku-kw-az-i nje
SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-say-FV SM.1SG-NEG-OM.2SG-know-FV COM-15-OM.2SG-know-FV just
wena u-nd-az-el-a phi,
PRON.2SG SM.2SG-OM.1SG-know-APPL-FV where
njengokuba se-wu-fun-a u-ku-theth-a na-m nje?'
since IAM-SM.2SG-want-FV AUG-15-speak-FV COM-1SG just

> *"Hey girl, I want to speak to you.' said Mphinumi in a gruff voice. 'I am talking to you in the dress with red and white spots.'* ¶
> ***She looked*** *at the boy that was calling her; She did not know him. Although she did not like his looks, she replied: 'I don't know you. Where do you know me from, since you want to talk to me?'*
> (Roux et al. 2001)

The Recent Past Perfective form *úyijongile* ('she looked at him') represents a predicate with a punctual N. The moment N starts, it has reached its point of completion. Initially, the consultant (2016.corpus.hamba.remp6-7.m18-25E) observed that *úyijongile* ('she looked at him') suggests that the event of Nomhle looking at Mphinumi 'immediately follows' the last event in the preceding discourse. In other words, the Recent Past indicates that there was no temporal space for intermediate events between Mphinumi's direct speech represented by the Remote Past verb *wângqokosa* ('he made (it) gruff'), and the event of Nomhle looking at him. This interpretation of the Recent Past semantics will henceforth be referred to as the **temporal link**. Accordingly, if the bolded Recent Past Perfective form in (69) was replaced by its Remote Past counterpart, *wâyijonga* ('she looked at him'), it would entail a much longer period of time elapsed between the event of looking and the last preceding event in the discourse, during which a number of other (unreported) events could take place.

However, defining the semantics of the Recent Past as a temporal link to the preceding event in the discourse is challenged in (39) from section 6.3, repeated here as (70). In the example, a substantial amount of time had to pass from when C.M. Mchitheka took up law (indicated by the Past Consecutive verb *wenza* 'and then he did' in the first sentence) until he moved and started working in Lesotho.

(70)

C.=M.=Mchitheka –	i-sekela=nobhala –	wâ-phum-a		
1a.C=M=Mchitheka	AUG-5.deputy=secretary	SM.1.REMPST-exit-FV		
e-bu-titshal-eni	w-enz-a	u-m-thetho.	**Ú-sebenz-é**	e-Lusuthu
LOC-14-teaching-LOC	SM.1.PSTCONS-do-FV	AUG-3-law	SM.1-work-ANT	LOC-9.Lesotho
wa-buy-a	wa-y-a	e-Butswana		
SM.1.PSTCONS-return-FV	SM.1.PSTCONS-go-FV	LOC-9.Botswana		
apho	a-swelek-é	kwi-ngozi	ye-moto.	
there.MED	SBJRM.1-die-ANT	SM.17-9.accident	POSS.9-9.car	

C.M. Mchitheka, the deputy secretary, he left teaching and took up law. ***He worked*** *in Lesotho and then he went to Botswana where he died in a car accident.* (Roux et al. 2001)

In another example, the consultant reinterpreted the distinction between the Recent Past and the Remote Past (2016.corpus.fumana.remp7.m18-25E), linking it to the event's expectability from the preceding discourse. Consider example (71) from Lupuwana's novel *Lo Mhlaba Uyajikeleza*. The excerpt describes a scene in which Sikhova was asked by his cousin, Mqikela, to fetch marhewu[634] before they went to work together.

(71) Kungoko wê-v-iw-a nge-nye i-ntseni
because SM.1.REMPST-hear-PASS-FV INSTR.ADJ.1-one AUG-9.early=morning

e-yalel-a u-m-za wa-khe u-Sikhova=Ntanga,
SM.1.PTCP-instruct-FV AUG-1-cousin POSS.1-1 AUG-1a.Sikhova=Ntanga

u-Ndlangisa we-lali ya-se-Zolo ukuba
AUG-1a.member=of=Ndlangisa=clan POSS.1-9.village POSS.9-LOC-9.Zolo that

a-m-phathel-e u-m-hlotshazan-a we-bhekile
SM.1.SUBJ-OM.1-carry-APPL-SUBJ AUG-3-tin=can POSS.3-small=container

ya-ma-rhewu kuba e-fun-a u-ku-v-a a-ma-ndla
POSS.9-6-marhewu because SM.1.PTCP-want-FV AUG-15-feel-FV AUG-6-power

a-buy-el-é ku-ye. Okwenene **ú-y-ile** u-Sikhova
SM.6-return-APPL-ANT SM.17-1 truly SM.1-go-ANT.DISJ AUG-1a.Sikhova

u-ku-zalisekis-a u-m-nqweno wo-m-za wa-khe
AUG-15-fulfil-FV AUG-3-wish POSS.3-1-cousin POSS.1-1

wa-buy-a kwi-gumbi lo-ku-phek-el-a
SM.1.PSTCONS-return-FV SM.17-5.room POSS.5-15-cook-APPL-FV

e-wa-kh-ile loo ma-rhewu
SM.1.PTCP-OM.6-scoop-ANT.DISJ DEM.9.MED 6-marhewu

a-wa-fun-a-yo. Wâ-si-beth-a sa-th-i
SBJRM.1-OM.6-want-FV-DISJ SM.1.REMPST-OM.7-hit-FV SM.7.PSTCONS-say-FV

pitsini u-Mqikela i-si-su sa-khe nga-loo
ID.persistently AUG-1a.Mqikela AUG-7-stomach POSS.7-1 INSTR-DEM.6.MED

ma-rhewu, emva k-oko ba-phangel-a
6-marhewu after POSS.17-DEM.17.MED SM.2.PSTCONS-work-FV

no-m-za wa-khe u-Sikhova. – **Ku-th-é** kwi-ndlela e-y-a
COM-1-cousin POSS.1-1 AUG-1a.Sikhova SM.17-say-ANT SM.17-9.way RM.9-go-FV

e-m-sebenzi-ni u-Mqikela wa-m-chazel-a
LOC-3-work-LOC AUG-1a.Mqikela SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.1-explain-APPL-FV

[634] Fermented non-alcoholic drink made from mealie pap.

u-m-za	wa-khe	u-Sikhova	i-njongo	ya-khe	
AUG-1-cousin	POSS.1-1	AUG-1a.Sikhova	AUG-9.aim	POSS.9-1	
ngo-ku-sel-a	a-ma-rhewu	kwakusasa	kangako.		
INSTR-15-drink-FV	AUG-6-marhewu	at=dawn	so=much		
Ú-m-buzisis-ile	u-Sikhova	u-m-za	wa-khe	ukuba	
SM.1-OM.1-enquire-ANT.DISJ	AUG-1a.Sikhova	AUG-1-cousin	POSS.1-1	that	
ú-yi-qond-a	kakuhle	kusini	na	loo	nto
SM.1-OM.9-understand-FV	well	whether	Q	DEM.9.MED	9.thing
a-th-i	ú-zimisel-é	u-ku-y-enz-a,	wa-vum-a		
RM.1-say-FV	SM.1-be=determined-ANT	AUG-15-OM.9-do-FV	SM.1.PSTCONS-confirm-FV		
u-Mqikela	ukuba	ú-yi-qond-a	kakuhle	kusini	na	loo	nto
AUG-1a.Mqikela	that	SM.1-OM.9-understand-FV	well	whether	Q	DEM.9.MED	9.thing
a-th-i	ú-zimisel-é	u-ku-y-enz-a,	wa-vum-a		
RM.1-say-FV	SM.1-be=determined-ANT	AUG-15-OM.9-do-FV	SM.1.PSTCONS-confirm-FV		
u-Mqikela	ukuba	kudala	e-yi-jika=jik-a	e-ntliziy-weni	ya-khe.
AUG-1a.Mqikela	that	long=ago	SM.1.PTCP-OM.9-turn=around-FV	LOC-9.heart-LOC	POSS.9-1

*Therefore, he was heard on one morning instructing his friend Sikhova Ntanga, from Ndlangisa clan from the village of Zolo, to bring a container with marhewu so that he (Mqikela) can regain his strength. Sikhova indeed **went** to fetch marhewu to fulfil his cousin's wish and he came back from the kitchen bringing what he wanted. Mqikela quenched his thirst and he went to work with his cousin (Sikhova). On their way to work, Mqikela **told** his cousin why he drank marhewu that early in the morning. His cousin **asked him** whether he was sure he knew what he was doing. Mqikela confirmed that he did, saying that it had been thinking about it for a long time.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Typically, in narrations Remote Past forms prevail and this is the case with the narration which the long excerpt in (71) comes from. However, the narrative also contains some Recent Past tense forms, as evidenced by the three bolded verb forms in (71). According to the consultant (2016.corpus.fumana.remp7.m18-25E), the bolded Recent Past Perfective form *úyile* ('he went') suggests that the event is expected to occur based on the preceding discourse (i.e. preceding sentence), in which the reader learns that Sikhova is asked by Mqikela to go and bring marhewu. This semantic component of the Recent Past which entails that the reported event is known to or anticipated by the addressee I will henceforth refer to as the **anticipatory link**. Accordingly, when the Recent Past Perfective form *úyile* ('he went') is replaced by its Remote Past counterpart, *wâya* ('he went'), the consultant (2016.corpus.fumana.remp7.m18-25E) does not interpret the event as an expected occurrence.

The anticipatory link can account for a number of Recent Past forms which occur in narrations, including those cases which are accounted for by means of the temporal link. Thus, for instance, the Recent Past Perfective *úyijongile* ('she looked at him') in (69) refers to the event of Nomhle looking at Mphinumi, who had just called her: While it can be viewed as an immediate reaction to the event of Mphinumi talking to her (temporal link), it can also be understood as an expected reaction to it (anticipatory link). The temporal and the anticipatory links do not exclude each other as the semantic elements of the Recent Past, as they obviously share a common semantic ground: Two events which occur with a minimal temporal distance (e.g. that of several seconds) are often causally linked, which entails that the mention of the first event induces (the concept of) the second one.

However, like the temporal link, the anticipatory link encounters limitations in accounting for the Recent Past forms. For example, it is questionable if it can apply to the two other bolded Recent Past Perfective forms in (71). The Recent Past Perfective *kuthé* ('then (it happened that)') has an expletive subject and it refers to Mqikela explaining to Sikhova (on their way to work) why he had drunk marhewu earlier that day. It is not necessarily understood that, at that stage of the novel, the reader would expect Mqikela's explanation, which is why it is more difficult to account for the Recent Past form as an example of the anticipatory link. The event of Sikhova asking Mqikela a question, referred to by the third bolded Recent Past Perfective verb, *úmbuzisisile* ('he asked him'), is even less likely to be understood as known or expected by the reader. The choice of the two Recent Past forms, *kuthé* ('then (it happened that)') and *úmbuzisisile* ('he asked him') can rather be accounted for with the temporal link: The event denoted by *kuthé* ('then (it happened that)') occurred on the two cousins' way to work, a situation that was already introduced (i.e. described) in the preceding sentence, whereas *úmbuzisisile* ('he asked him') represents an immediate reaction to the preceding event, namely Mqikela explaining why he had drunk marhewu.

Thus, neither the anticipatory nor the temporal links can account for all instances of the Recent Past Perfective forms discussed so far. However, in another excerpt from Mbambo's novel *Amakroza*, cf. (72), the consultant (2017.corpus.sebenza.recp11.m18-25E) identified the semantic distinction between the Recent Past (Perfective) and the Remote Past (Perfective) in terms that are conceptually closer to the two tenses' invariant meanings. In the excerpt, Khuselwa has just taken on the new position as a court interpreter after being removed from her

previous position as a lawyer. The first sentence belongs to a paragraph that contains her internal monologue which ensued these negative events in her life.

(72) Na-ku-le mbali u-Nala wâ-bonakalis-a
COM-SM.17-DEM.9.PROX 9.story AUG-1a.Nala SM.1.REMPST-show-FV

u-ku-velan-a no-m-ntu wa-yo
AUG-15-sympathise-FV COM-1-person POSS.1-9

e-m-xolis-a ng-eli-th-i, Li-yi-nene
SM.1.PTCP-OM.1-calm=down-CAUS-FV INSTR-RM.5-say-FV SM.5-COP.9-9.truth

lona eli-th-i, i-mfundo li-li-fa eli-nga-bol-i-yo. ¶
PRON.5 RM.5-say-FV AUG-9.lesson COP.5-5-inheritance RM.5-NEG-decay-NEG-DISJ

U-Khuselwa **ú-wu-sebenz-é** ngo-coselelo
AUG-1a.Khuselwa SM.1-OM.3-work-ANT INSTR-11.accuracy

u-m-sebenzi wa-khe wo-ku-tolik-a. A-ba-sebenzi
AUG-3-work POSS.3-1 POSS.3-15-interpret-FV AUG-2-employee

b-onke bâ-m-thand-a na-nge-ndlela a-b-e-ncokol-a
SM.2-all SM.2-OM.1-like-FV COM-INSTR-9.way RM.1-be-PST-talk-FV

nga-yo na-bo kwaku-phuny-w-a e-m-sebenzi-ni.
INSTR-9 COM-2 SM.17.TEMP-exit-PASS-FV LOC-3-work-LOV

Also in this situation, Nala sympathised with her, comforting her by saying 'The truth is that education is something nobody can take away from you (lit: education is an inheritance that does not decay)'. ¶

*Khuselwa **worked** thoroughly as an interpreter. All the workers liked her because of the way she talked to them after work.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The bolded Recent Past Perfective verb form *úwusebenzé* ('she worked') belongs to a new paragraph in which the narrator's voice replaces Khuselwa's voice from the previous paragraph. According to the consultant (2017.corpus.sebenza.recp11.m18-25E), the substitution of the bolded Recent Past Perfective form with its Remote Past counterpart *wâwusebenza* ('she worked') would primarily affect the way the denoted event relates to Khuselwa's train of thoughts from the previous paragraph. The Recent Past Perfective *úwusebenzé* ('she worked') indicates that the event of Khuselwa working as an interpreter is part of the '**same situation**' as her internal monologue (from the preceding paragraph), a property that I will henceforth refer to as the **situation link**. By contrast, the Remote Past Perfective *wâwusebenza* ('she worked') would rather suggest that said event is part of a '**new situation**' which is thematically unrelated to Khuselwa's internal monologue and which probably occurred after a certain amount of time.

The difference between the presence and the absence of the situation link is well illustrated by comparison of example (72) with example (54), from a magazine article about Khayalethu Duna, which is repeated here in an extended version as (73).

(73) Ú-th-i wâ-y-a ku-dederhu lwee-venkile e-Khayelitsha
SM.1-say-FV SM.1.REMPST-go-FV SM.17-11.array POSS.11-9.shop LOC-9.Khayelitsha

e-hamb-a no-m-zala wa-khe u-Sibongile=Tom
SM.1.PTCP-walk-FV COM-1-cousin POSS.1-1 AUG-1a.Sibongile=Tom

ng-owa-ma-29 ku-Aprili – u-m-hla a-f-a
INSTR-RM.3.POSS.3-6-twenty=nine SM.17-9.April AUG-3-day SBJRM.1-die-FV

nga-wo e-ngozi-ni ye-moto.
INSTR-3 LOC-9.danger-LOC POSS.9-9.car

U-Sibongile ú-th-i, 'Ndâ-th-i xa ndi-phum-a e-venkile-ni
AUG-1a.Sibongile SM.1-say-FV SM.1SG.REMPST-say-FV when SM.1SG-exit-FV LOC-9.shop-LOC

ndi-jong' u-Khayalethu anda-m-bon-a.'
SM.1SG-see.FV AUG-1a.Khayalethu NEG.SM.1SG.PSTCONS-OM.1-see-FV

Wâ-m-fun' i-mini y-onke.
SM.1SG.REMPST-OM.1-want.FV AUG-9.day SM.9-whole

Wâ-goduk-a wa-yo-xel-a e-khaya.
SM.1SG.REMPST-go=home-FV SM.1SG.PSTCONS-go.SUBJ.15-tell-FV LOC-5.home

He said that he went to a mall in Khayelitsha with his cousin, Sibongile Tom, on 29 April, the day he died in the car accident. Sibongile says: 'When I left the shop I was looking for Khayalethu, but I could not see him.' ***He searched for him*** *the whole day. He went home to tell others about it.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

Like the bolded Recent Past Perfective form in (72), the Remote Past Perfective form *wâmfun'* ('he looked for him') in (73) occurs directly after a brief interruption of the past narration by direct speech. The Recent Past Perfective *úwusebenzé* ('she worked') in (72) suggests that the event it denotes occurred in the same employment situation Khuselwa was in when she held her internal monologue. By contrast, in (73) the Remote Past *wâmfun'* ('he looked for him') represents Sibongile Tom's search for Khayalethu, an event that occurred in completely different circumstances than his direct speech (a statement he produced during the interview with the journalists) or the event succession that precedes it.

What I refer to as the situation or the circumstances that an event occurs in may be defined as the contextually relevant **relations between the entities** involved, e.g. the subject's state, physical location, or the subject's relation to another person or to an object, which have **not**

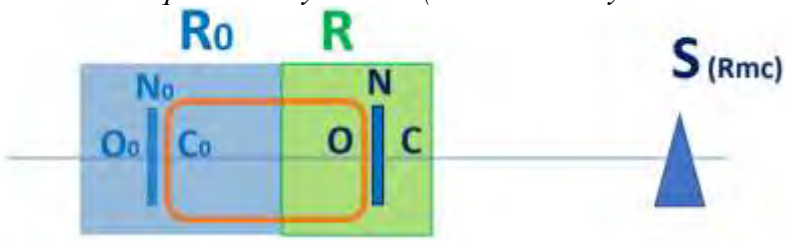
changed since the (resulting state of the) preceding event. Thus, unlike the Remote Past which is the default tense in narrations, the Recent Past tense 'reuses' these inter-entity relations from the preceding events. Hence, the difference between the two Past tenses does not rely on an objective property of the event nor on objectively (dis)similar inter-entity relations between two adjacent events in a narration. What determines the choice of a tense is the speaker's decision to indicate whether or not the inter-entity relations have remained the same when a new event is introduced into the discourse. However, two adjacent events in a past narration like (i) asking a question and (ii) receiving an answer in a conversation are much more likely to be represented as part of the 'same situation' than would be the case with a person (i) moving abroad and (ii) buying a house there.

The situation link can account for other examples of the Recent Past tense in narrations discussed in this section. For example, in (66) the Recent Past Perfective *úsebenzile* ('she worked') refers to Khuselwa working as an interpreter, an immediate consequence of her accepting the offer in the preceding sentence which is indicated by the Remote Past Perfecitve *wâsamkela* ('she accepted (it)'). The predicate of the Remote Past Perfective *wâsamkela* ('she accepted (it)') has a punctual N, whereby its C-phase represents the (resulting) state in which Khuselwa has taken on the interpreter position. The relation between Khuselwa and her new position represents the core inter-entity relation that remains the same throughout the following sentence, in which the bolded Recent Past Perfective verb refers to her working as an interpreter. In (69), the event of Nomhle looking at Mphinumi is represented by the Recent Past Perfective *úyijongile* ('she looked at him') and it occurred in the same dialogue (i.e. situation with the same inter-entity relations) as him talking to her which was described in the preceding sentence. Similarly, in (39=70) the Recent Past Perfective *úsebenzé* ('he worked') refers to C.M. Mchitheka working in the law sector while indicating that the inter-entity relation between the subject and the profession remain the same as in the preceding sentence (in which it was indicated that he left teaching and that he took up law). The inter-entity relations can be said to hold true during the events denoted by the three bolded Recent Past Perfective verbs in (71) and their respective preceding events.

At this point, I need to address how the semantic difference between the two Past tenses, i.e. the presence or absence of a situation link, can be formalised using the framework adopted in this study. In narrations, a Recent Past verb form 'reuses' the same inter-entity relations that

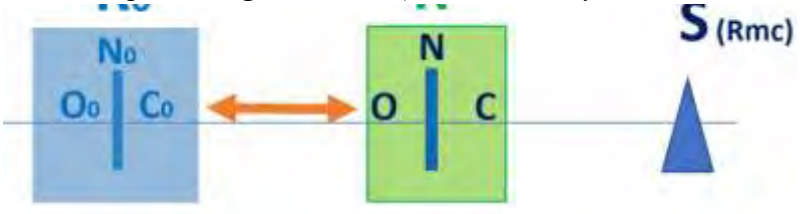
were introduced by the preceding verb, denoting an event E_0 (with its phases O_0, N_0 and C_0) whose occurrence is asserted within reference time R_0. As demonstrated in (66, 69-71), in preceding verbs with a punctual N_0, it is the resulting state, C_0, that contains the inter-entity relations which will be transferred to the following sentence (with the Recent Past). Thus, a Recent Past form in narrations indicates that the inter-entity relations that hold true at its R are taken over from R_0, suggesting that the state in C_0 is qualitatively similar to that in O, as illustrated in Figure 6.5.

Figure 6.7. *In narrations, the Recent Past Perfective introduces a new R in which the same inter-entity relations hold true as in the preceding event's R_0. C_0 in the preceding event and O are qualitatively similar (as indicated by the round rectangle).*



The Recent Past is the marked tense in (past) narrations. Although it introduces a new R, it also indicates that the circumstances in R are very similar to those in R_0, creating one of the common interpretations, e.g. that the two events occur at a very short temporal distance or that they are causally linked (whereby the occurrence of the second event is predictable). By contrast, the Remote Past is a default narrative tense which always introduces a new R with new inter-entity relations, which are often interpreted as a greater temporal distance, cf. Figure 6.6[635].

Figure 6.8. *In narrations, the Remote Past Perfective introduces an R with new inter-entity relations which significantly differ from those in the preceding event's R_0 (as indicated by the double arrow).*



[635] Both the Recent Past Perfective and the Remote Past Perfective introduce a new R into the discourse. However, the differ with respect to the inter-entity relations in the new R.

Let us consider the difference between the two Past tenses outside narrative contexts, i.e. in isolated verbs. In section 6.3, it was established that the Recent Past (Perfective) of inchoative verbs like *-phila* ('be well, live') entails that the predicate's punctual N precedes S, while its C extends to and encompasses S, as demonstrated in example (33), repeated here as (74).

(74)

M-cebisi	Wa-kwa-Bona,			
1-advisor	POSS.1-at-9.Bona			
Ndâ-nyanzelek-a	ukuba			
SM.1SG-be=forced-FV	that			
ndi-kh-e	ndi-si-yek-e	i-si-kolo	ngenxa=yo-ku-gul-a	
SM.1SG-ever=do-ANT	SM.1SG-OM.7-leave-SUBJ	AUG-7-school	because=of-15-be=ill-FV	
nge-ngqondo.	**Ndi-phil-ile**	ngoku,	ndi-qhubek-a	
INSTR-9.mind	SM.1SG-be=well-ANT.DISJ	now	SM.1SG-continue-FV	
no-bomi	b-am	njenga-ngaphambili.		
COM-14.life	POSS.14-1SG	as-before		

Dear BONA Advisor,
I was forced to leave school because of my mental illness. ***I am well*** *now, and I am going on with my life just like before.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

By contrast, in the Remote Past (Perfective) inchoative verbs denote predicates whose C stopped before S: All the phases of those events are located in the past, cf. example (52) from section 6.4.2, repeated here as (75).

(75)

Wâ-zi-bandakany-a	na-ba-ntu	ababe-qokelel-a		ba-thengis-e
SM.1-REFL-involve-FV	COM-2-person	RM.2.go.REMPST-collect-FV		SM.2-sell-SUBJ
ii-ntsimbi.	**Wâ-phil-a**	ng-olo hlobo		de
AUG-10.iron	SM.1.REMPST-live-FV	INSTR-DEM.11.MED 11.manner		until
wa-bon-w-a	ngo-m-hla	we-17		ku-Juni
SM.1.PSTCONS-see-PASS-FV	INSTR-3-day	POSS.3-9.seventeen		SM.17-1a.June
ngu-m-hlobo	wa-kh-e	u-Mpumelelo=Damane.		
COP.1-1-friend	POSS.1-1	AUG-1a.Mpumelelo=Damane		
"Ndâ-th-i	xa	ndi-gqith-a	nda-bon'	
SM.1.REMPST-say-FV	when	SM.1SG-pass=by-FV	SM.1SG.PSTCONS-see.FV	
u-m-ntu	o-fan-a	no-Khayalethu	nda-z-a	
AUG-1-person	RM.1-look=like-FV	COM-1a.Khayalethu	SM.1SG.PSTCONS-come-FV	

nda-jik-a nda-m-jong-is-is-a.
SM.1SG.PSTCONS-turn=around-FV SM.1SG.PSTCONS-OM.1-take=a=look-FV

Yayi-ngu-ye ncakasana! [...]'
SM.9.go-REMPST-COP.1-1 ID.exactly

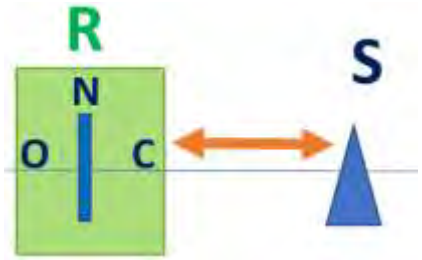
He got involved with people who collected and sold irons. ***He lived*** *that way until his friend, Mpumelelo Damane, saw him on 17 June.*
"When I was passing by, I saw someone looking like Khayalethu. I turned and looked carefully, and it was him! [...]'
(Snyman et al. 2012)

Thus, the extended C in inchoative verbs has a different relation to S in the Recent Past (Perfective) than in the Remote Past (Perfective). This suggests that (in both inchoative and non-inchoative verbs) these two Past tenses may primarily differ in the way they encode R-S relation: While R in the Recent Past is part of the **same situation** (i.e. shares the relevant inter-entity relations with) S, in the Remote Past R is **dissociated** from S. Note that the assumed relation between R and S in this observation is analogous with the role of R in the distinction between the two Past tenses in narrations. Instead of marking the similarity between R and R_0, the choice between the Recent Past or the Remote Past in isolated verbs indicates whether or not R is part of the same situation as (i.e. shares its inter-entity relations with) S.

The assumption that the Recent Past and the Remote Past provide different information about the similarity between R and S (in isolated verbs) is further supported by two observations made in earlier sections of this chapter. Firstly, in section 6.4.1. I concluded that the Recent Past can denote events which extend to S, whereas this does not hold for the Remote Past. Events that start in the past and continue until S are part of a situation which must be similar enough to S, for the event to hold at both a past R and S. By contrast, the Remote Past denotes events which cannot be part of the same set of circumstances as those at S. Secondly, in section 6.4.2. I concluded that R of the Recent Past can be found anywhere on the timeline because this tense is not restricted to any particular part of the (past potion of the) timeline. However, the Remote Past cannot denote events from the hodiernal or hesternal past, since an R located in these parts of the timeline are too similar to the circumstances at S. Thus, unlike the Recent Past, the **Remote Past indicates that R is dissociated from S**, i.e. the inter-entity relations in R differ from those in S, as shown in Figure 6.7. This description of the Remote Past corresponds with Plungian & van

der Auwera's (2006) cross-linguistic gram-type **discontinuous past** which they define as a 'past with no present relevance' (cf. section 3.5).

Figure 6.9. *In isolated verbs, the Remote Past (Perfective) indicates that R is dissociated from S in that its inter-entity relations are different from those at S.*



One corpus example which confirms that a core element that distinguishes the Remote Past from the Recent Past is the dissociation of R from S is (65) from the beginning of this section. By way of reminder, the isolated Recent Past Perfective verb form *úbhalé* ('he wrote/has written') refers to an author who was alive when the article was being written, whereas its replacement with the Remote Past Perfective *wâbhala* ('he wrote') was interpreted by the consultant (2016.corpus.bhala.recp6.f18-25H) as if the subject was deceased at the time. The Recent Past suggests that the event and its result (the poems and books) are part of a situation that holds at S (i.e. the subject being alive), whereas the Remote Past dissociates them from S.

Another argument for the status of the Remote Past as a discontinuous past tense (by signalling dissociation of R from S) is its inability (unlike the Recent Past) to function as an embedded tense in a subordinate clause. In the analysed corpus data, the Recent Past (like the Present and the Future tenses, cf. sections 6.2 and 6.4.3, respectively) denotes events in dependent clauses whose R aligns relative to R_{mc} of the reporting verb in the main clause, as demonstrated in examples (76-78). Example (76) has been taken from a magazine cartoon, Takalani Sesame. In the excerpt, Zuzu and Neno try to catch a chicken that belongs to their friend, Moshe.

(76)	Zuzu:	Y-e-nye	y-ee-nkuku	zi-ka-Moshe!	Khawulez-a,
		COP.9-ADJ.9-one	POSS.9-10-chicken	POSS.9-1a-Moshe	hurry=up-FV

ma-si-yi-bamb-e!
HORT-SM.1PL-OM.9-catch-SUBJ

Neno: I-ne-s-antya le nkuku!
SM.9-COM-7-speed DEM.9-PROX 9.chicken

Zuzu: Balek-a, Neno! U-Moshe ú-za=ku-vuy-a
run-FV 1a.Neno AUG-1a.Moshe SM.1-FUT-be=happy-FV

ku-ku-b-a **si-yi-bamb-ile** i-nkuku ya-khe.
COP.15-15-be-FV SM.1PL-OM.9-catch-ANT.DISJ AUG-9.chicken POSS.9-1

Zuzu: It's one of Moshe's chickens! Quick, we must catch it!
Neno: This chicken is very fast!
*Zuzu: Faster, Neno! Moshe will be very happy if **we catch** (lit: if **we have caught**) his chicken!*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The Recent Past Perfective verb *siyibambile* ('we have caught it') does not refer to a past, but to a future event. The event of catching the chicken has the Recent Past tense to indicate that it occurs **before** R_{mc} of the Immediate Future Perfective verb from the main clause, *úza kuvuya* ('he will be happy'). Moshe can be happy only **after** his friends have caught his chicken. Similarly, in example (77) from an article about child abuse, the Recent Past Perfective *úwile* ('it fell') does not denote a past event but an event that is anterior to each subevent of R_{mc} of the habitual present event denoted by the Present tense form *badla ngokuthi* ('they (usually) say').

(77) Olu l-o-lona hlobo lu-xhaphak-ile-yo
DEM.11.PROX COP.11-SUPERL-PRON.11 11.way SM.11-be=common-ANT-DISJ

lo-ku-phath-w-a kakubi e-m-zimb-eni. Ba-ninzi a-ba-ntwana aba-fa-yo
POSS.11-15-treat-PASS-FV badly LOC-3-body-LOC SM.2-many AUG-2-child RM.2-die-DISJ

ngenxa=yo-ku be-se-ne-mi-nyaka e-nga-phantsi
because-DEM.15.PROX SM.2.PTCP-PERS-COM-4-year RM.4-be=as=much=as-under

kwe-mi-nyaka emi-bini. Phofu ke a-ma-xesha ama-ninzi a-ba-zali
SM.17-4-year ADJ.4-two anyhow then AUG-6-time ADJ.6-many AUG-2-parent

ba-dla=ngo-ku-th-i u-m-ntwana **ú-w-ile** okanye ú-z-enzakal-is-é
SM.2-usually=do-15-say-FV AUG-1-child SM.1-fall-ANT.DISJ or SM.1-REFL-hurt-CAUS-ANT

yena. Ku-nzima u-ku-fuman-a i-nyaniso xa u-m-ntwana
PRON.1 SM.17-be=difficult AUG-15-get-FV AUG-9.truth when AUG-1-child

e-s-oyik-a u-ku-theth-a.
SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-be=afraid-FV AUG-15-speak-FV

*This is the most common kind of abuse. There are many children under the age of two who die because of this. Often the parents say that the child **fell down** or that it hurt itself (by its own fault). It is difficult to get the truth when the child is afraid to speak.*
(Roux et a. 2001)

The Recent Past tense can also denote past events that precede events from the plot in a past narration. In example (78) taken from a dialogue in Bongela's novel *Iimbali zikaMpahleni*, the Recent Past Perfective *liwile* ('it had fell') signals that the event of the tombstone falling precedes the event of Mpahleni hearing the news, which also occurred in the past.

(78) "Ndi-th-i xa ndi-fik-a e-khaya ng-e-nye i-mini
SM.1SG-say-FV when SM.1SG-arrive-FV LOC-5.home INSTR-ADJ.9-one AUG-9.day

ndi-z-e ku-jong-a u-m-sebenzi wa-ba-khi
SM.1SG-come-SUBJ 15-see-FV AUG-3-work POSS.3-2-construction=worker

ba-m, suk-é ndi-fuman-e i-ngxelo
POSS.2-1SG suddenly=do-ANT SM.1SG-get-SUBJ AUG-9.report

yo-kuba eli-nye la-la ma-tye,
POSS.9-that ADJ.5-one POSS.5-DEM.6.DIST

kanye eliya li-ka-tat'omkhulu, **li-w-ile**.'
once DEM.5.DIST POSS.5-1a-grandfather SM.5-fall-ANT.DISJ

"**Li-w-ile**? I-li-tye le-ngcwaba li-w-a njani?
SM.5-fall-ANT.DISJ AUG-5-stone POSS.5-5.grave SM.5-fall-FV how

Lali-ngá-gil-w-anga z-ii-nkomo?'
SM.5.go.REMPST-POT-knock=over-PASS-NEG.ANT COP.10-10-cow

*"When I arrived home the other day to check on the work that was being done by the construction workers, I heard (lit: got a report) that one of the tombstones, the one of my grandfather, **had fallen**.'*
*"**Fallen**? How does a tombstone fall? Was it knocked over by the cows?'*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Examples (76-78) show that, like the Present and the Future tenses (cf. sections 6.3 and 6.4.3), the Recent Past can function as an embedded tense. It indicates that an event's R precedes R_{mc} of the main clause (instead of S). However, in the analysed corpus data, no examples have been found in which the Remote Past functions as an embedded tense. This fact I interpret as an implication that the **Remote Past can only function as an absolute tense** which indicates the position of R relative to S. If this assumption is true, it suggests that the Remote Past, unlike the

other tenses (the Recent Past, the Present and the Future tenses), cannot position an event's R in the same 'situation' (i.e. inter-entity relations) as R_{mc}. As a discontinuous past marker, the primary function of the Remote Past is to dissociate its R from S or any R in the surrounding discourse.

The role of the Remote Past is to associate R of the event it denotes to a situation that is clearly separate from S and/or other events' R is also evident in verb forms in which this tense is combined with the Imperfective aspect. As expected, the most common interpretation of the substitution of a Recent Past Imperfective form by its Remote Past counterpart (and vice versa) was related to the remoteness of R from S. However, the Recent Past Imperfective and the Remote Past Imperfective may exhibit differences with respect to how they relate their R to the events in the following discourse. This is illustrated in example (79) from a text about Grain SA's educational school programme. The direct speech is part of one of the schoolchildren's impressions about Grain SA's visit.

(79) "[…] Ku-ndi-nced-é kakhulu. Ndi-nqwenel-a ukuba i-Grain=SA
SM.17-OM.1SG-help-ANT much SM.1SG-want-FV that AUG-9.Grain=SA

i-ngá-phind-a i-buy-e. Bendi-ng-az-i ukuba i-rayisi
SM.9-POT-do=again-FV SM.9-return-SUBJ SM.1.be.PST-NEG-know-FV that AUG-9.rice

i-vel-a e-m-hlab-eni o-na-ma-nzi. Oku-nye
SM.9-come=from-FV LOC-3-soil-LOC RM.3-COM-6-water ADJ.17-another

endi-ku-fund-ile-yo ku-kuba
SBJRM.1SG-OM.17-learn-ANT-DISJ COP.17-that

oo-tatomkhulu be-thu **bebe-hamb-a** ba-y-e ku-zingel-a
AUG-2a.grandfather POSS.2-1PL SM.2.be.PST-walk-FV SM.2-go-SUBJ 15-hunt-FV

ukuze ba-kw-az-i u-ku-nxib-a, lo=gama thina
so=that SM.2-OM.15-know-FV AUG-15-put=on-FV while PRON.1PL

si-theng-a e-zi-venkile-ni. Ndi-fund-é oku-ninzi
SM.1PL-buy-FV LOC-10-shop-LOC SM.1SG-learn-ANT ADJ.17-much

ngaphezu ko-kuba bendi-lindel-é. [...]"
more=than POSS.17-that SM.1.be.PST-expect-ANT

*"[…] It has helped me a lot. I wish Gran SA could come back again. I did not know that rice comes from soil with water. Another thing that I learnt is that our grandfathers **went** to hunt so that they could have clothes to wear, while we buy them in shops. I learnt more than I had expected. […]'*
(Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014)

The bolded Recent Past Imperfective verb *bebehamba* ('they went (walked)') in (79) refers to the habitual event of walking which was an integral part of the ancestors' (productive) lifetime. Despite the temporal distance of a number of centuries between the event's R and S, the verb that represents it exhibits the Recent Past tense. However, according to the consultant (2017.corpus.hamba.recp5.m18-25E) the substitution of *bebehamba* ('they went (walked)') by its Remote Past Imperfective form *babehamba* ('they went (walked)') would primarily affect the event's relation to the Future Subjunctive *baye kuzingela* ('they would hunt'). The Recent Past Imperfective *bebehamba* ('they went (walked)') merges the actions of walking and hunting into one joint event in which both activities are intertwined. By contrast, the Remote Past Imperfective form *babehamba* ('they went (walked)') would imply that the habitual events of walking and hunting were two clearly separate activities. Each instance of walking and the subsequent instance of hunting were divided by a 'conscious decision'. Both the Recent Past Imperfective and the Remote Past Imperfective in (79) represent habitual events which consist of a number of subevent and they do not differ with respect to remoteness of the habitual events' R from S. What example (79) shows is that all subevents of the Recent Past Imperfective form share their inter-entity relations with the following (Future Subjunctive) subevents, creating a joint event. By contrast, the Remote Past Imperfective refers to each subevent as separate from (or part of a different situation than) each following Future Subjunctive subevent.

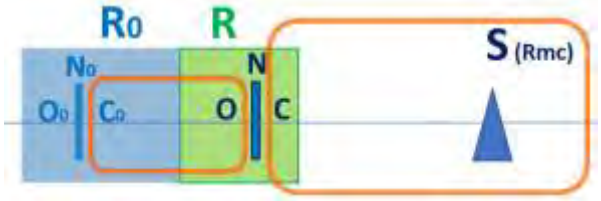
Defining the distinction between the two Past tenses in Xhosa as a marker of closeness between R and $S/R_0/R_{mc}$ (or another R in the surrounding discourse) parallels Botne & Kershner's (2008:153) distinction between the **P-domain** and the **D-domain** which they employ to account for the distinction between the Zulu Recent Past and Remote Past, respectively. According to Botne & Kershner (2008:153), P-domain (primary domain) contains S and it represents 'a primary, prevailing experiential past and future perspective', while Crane (2011:121) characterises P-domain as the 'here-and-now reality'. Accordingly, Botne & Kershner's (2008:153) view of D-domain (dissociative domain) as 'relations of non-inclusion' is in line with R's **dissociation** from S which is what I see as a feature typical of the Xhosa Remote Past.

As the examples in this section show, the division into P-domain and D-domain is justified as a tool that allows accounting for multiple past or future tenses in a language. However, in the case of Xhosa I propose that P-domain and D-domain be thought of as different

domains along the same, shared timeline. They can be defined in terms of the relevant inter-entity relations, which may include any relations between persons, objects, physical or 'abstract' spaces (i.e. various life situations such as an emotional state, a conflict, employment, marriage, etc.). Equally important is to extend the distinction between P-domain and D-domain to include narrative contexts, which allows us to view them as relative concepts, and not as absolute domains which are embedded in S only.

By way of summary, I suggest that the Recent Past indicates: (i) that **R precedes S/R_{mc}**, and (ii) that the inter-entity relations between R and a **reference point in time** (S, R_{mc}, R_0 or other events' R in the surrounding discourse) are **not marked as different**, as illustrated in Figure 6.8.

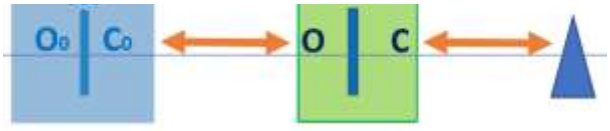
Figure 6.10. *The Recent Past indicates that an event's R precedes S or R_{mc} and that R shares its inter-entity relations with S/R_{mc}/R_0 (as indicated by the round rectangles).*



As shown in the examples in this section, whether it is S, R_0, or R_{mc} that functions as the reference point depends on the context: In narrations this role is usually taken by R_0. In isolated verbs in subordinated clauses, it is R_{mc}, whereas in isolated verbs that occur in contexts in which there is no other point to relate the event's R to, it is S.

The Remote Past qualifies as a discontinuous past tense and its semantics entails: (i) that R precedes S, and (ii) the inter-entity relations between and a reference time (S, R_{mc}, R_0 or other events' R in the surrounding discourse) are **marked as different**, as illustrated in Figure 6.9.

Figure 6.11. *The Remote Past indicates that an event's R precedes S and that its inter-entity relations are different from those in S/R_{mc}/R_0 (as indicated by the double arrows).*



6.5.2. Immediate Future vs. Remote Future

This section addresses the semantics of the Immediate Future (Perfective) and the Remote Future (Perfective). Unsurprisingly, the most common type of response to the substitution tests which involved the replacement of the former tense by the latter, or vice versa, concerned the event's remoteness from S. However, as we saw in section 6.4.3, remoteness alone cannot account for the distinction between the Immediate Future and the Remote Future, as there is no objectively establishable 'cut-off point' on the timeline which can be said to inviariantly divide the two tenses. Those responses which gave a more concrete idea about the distinction between the different degrees of remoteness reflected in the two Future tenses often involved a difference in certainty regarding the future event's actualisation (and/or its particulars): Thus, future events that are in the phase of conception are not referred to with the same tense as those whose actualisation is inevitable. Consider example (80) from a magazine article about a theatre play that aims to raise awareness around AIDS.

(80) U-lu-tsha lu-ne-thamsanqa kuba
AUG-11-youth SM.11-COM-5.luck because

i-Excelsior=International=Performing=Arts=Centre=(iEXIPAC)
AUG-9.Excelsior=International=Performing=Arts==Centre=EXIPAC

i-za=ku-hamb-a i-wu-bonis-a lo m-dlalo
SM.9-FUT-go-FV SM.9-OM.3-show-FV DEM.3.PROX 3-play

e-zi-kolw-eni, kw-ii-kholeji na-kw-ii-yunivesithi
LOC-8-school-LOC SM.17-10-college COM-SM.17-10-university

za-lo l-onke eli.
POSS.10-5 SM.5-all DEM.5.PROX

*Young people (lit: youth) are lucky because Excelsior International Performing Arts Centre **will travel** (lit: **will go**) around showing this play at schools, colleges and universities throughout the country.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Immediate Future (Perfective) verb *iza kuhamba* ('it will go') refers to the Excelsior International Performing Arts Centre (EXIPAC) travelling around the country with the play. The exact time interval when the event will take place is not specified, but the play already exists in

its final form: It has been written, the actors know their lines and the play has already been performed. According to a consultant (2017.corpus.hamba.immf3.m18-25E), if the Immediate Future (Perfective) form was substituted by its Remote Future counterpart, it would entail that the play was still at one of the preparatory stages.

Consider example (56) from section 6.4.3, repeated here as (81). The Remote Future (Perfective) *liya kusebenzisa* ('it will use') refers to the event of advertising the Western Cape Youth Z Card which is supposed to take place less than three weeks after S (i.e. the date when the announcement was published, cf. section 6.4.3).

(81)

I-nyanga	Yo-ku-qatsh-el-w-a			kwe-Mpilo
AUG-9.month	POSS.9-15-spread-APPL-PASS-FV			SM.15-9.health
e-phathelel-é	e-ku-belek-eni		i-ya=ku-mis-el-w-a	
RM.9-extend-ANT	LOC-15-give=birth-LOC		SM.9-REMFUT-schedule-PASS-FV	
e-Ntshona=Koloni	kwi-Semina	yo-nyaka	yo-Kw-az-is-a	
LOC-9.Western=Cape	SM.17-9.Seminar	POSS.9-3.year	POSS.9-15-know-CAUS-FV	
mayela=ne-Mpilo	e-phathelel- é	e-ku-Zal-eni		
about-9.health	RM-extend-ANT	LOC-15-give=birth-LOC		
ne-ya=ku-b-a		ngo-m-hla	we-17	
COM.SM.9-REMFUT-be-FV		INSTR-3-day	POSS.3-9.seventeen	
kwe-yo-Mdumba	ka-2006		e-River=Club,	
SM.17.RM.9-POSS.9-3.bud	POSS.1a-two=thousand=and=six		LOC-9.River=Club	
e-Observatory.	I-Sebe	Le-ze-mpilo		
LOC-9.Observatory	AUG-5.department	POSS.5.RM.10-POSS.10-9-health		
li-ya=ku-sebenz-is-a		eli	thuba	
SM.5-REMFUT-work-CAUS-FV		DEM.5.PROX	5.opportunity	
li-s-az-is-a		nge-Western=Cape=Youth=Z=Card.		
SM.5-INFIX-know-CAUS-FV		INSTR-9.Western=Cape=Youth=Z=Card		

The month of natal health will be launched in the Western Cape, in the annual informative seminar which will take place on 17 February 2006 at the River Club in the Observatory. The Department of Health ***will use*** *this opportunity to provide information on the Western Cape Youth Z Card.*
(Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014)

It is possible that the future event denoted by the Remote Future (Perfective) *liya kusebenzisa* ('it will use') is not at the same preparatory phase as its counterpart in (80): At the moment of publishing the announcement (=S), the event of advertising the card does not necessarily have a final form in which it will be delivered to the audience: It can be only a plan that consists of

approximate ideas. However, when the bolded Remote Future (Perfective) verb form is substituted by its Immediate Future counterpart, *liza kusebenzisa* ('it will use'), the consultant (2016.corpus.sebenzisa.remf.m18-25E) interpreted the utterance as more suitable if produced just before (e.g. several hours before) the event of advertising or/and at the annual seminar.

Example (81) shows that the Remote Future tense does not have to indicate a different preparatory phase of the event than the Immediate Future; It may also signal that the future event is temporally and/or spatially dissociated from, i.e. irrelevant for the 'here and now'.

The level of certainty about a future event's actualisation also correlates with whether the time of its occurrence is known (definite) or whether it is conditioned by something else. Consider example (82) from Siwisa's story *Ukuqina enyaleni* (from the collection entitled *Izimanga zaloMhlaba*). In this excerpt, Mvulane informs the contract killer he has hired how he will pay him.

(82)

"U-fun-a	ntoni	wena?	Theth-a	mfo-ndini,	theth-a!'
SM.2SG-want-FV	what	PRON.2SG	speak-FV	man-EXCL	speak-FV
"li-nkomo	ezin-tlanu	Mvulane.'			
AUG-10.cow	ADJ.10-five	1a.Mvulane			
"Ku-lung-ile		**ndi-za=ku-ku-nik-a**	a-ma-R60	ndi-b-e	
SM.17-become=alright-ANT.DISJ		SM.1SG-FUT-OM.2-give-FV	AUG-6-sixty=Rand	SM.1SG-be-ANT	
ndi-ya-ku-bulel-a		nga-le	i-nga-phezulu	i-nkomo.'	
SM.1SG-DISJ-OM.2SG-thank-FV		INSTR-DEM.9.PROX	SM.9-be=as=much=as-above	AUG-9.cow	
Z-enz-iw-e	i-zi-gqibo [...]				
SM.8-do-PASS-ANT	AUG-8-decision				

"What do you want? Speak, man, speak!'
"I want 5 cows, Mvulane.'
"That's fine, ***I will give you*** *R60, and I will thank you with one more cow.'*
Decisions were made […]
(Roux et al. 2001)

The substitution of the Immediate Future (Perfective) *ndiza kukunika* ('I will give you') by its Remote Past counterpart, *ndiya kukunka* ('I will give you'), would suggest that it is not known when the event of Mvulane paying the contract killer will take place (2016.corpus.nika.immf11.f18-25F). The uncertainty around the time when a future event will

take place often means that its occurrence is conditioned by something else. Indeed, conditionality seems to be a frequent (yet not obligatory) semantic element in a great number of the Remote Future forms: Most instances of the Remote Future Perfective in the analysed corpus data represent the experiential-conditional future (cf. section 6.4.3), in which the actualisation of each instance of a habitual event is conditioned by the existence of a target reader. Consider example (83) from a text about unwanted pregnancy.

(83) Ukuba u-b-é ne-ndibano ye-sondo u-nga-sebenz-i
if SM.2SG-be-ANT COM-9.encounter POSS.9-9.sex SM.2SG-PTCP.NEG-work-NEG
i-zi-thinteli=kumitha, yi-y-a kwa-gqirha okanye e-klinikhi
AUG-10-contraception IMP-go-FV at-1a.doctor or LOC-9.clinic
zi-nga-phel-anga ii-yure ezi-nga-ma-72.
SM.10-NEG-finish-ANT.NEG AUG-10.hour RM.10-COP.6-6-seventy=two
Ba-ya=ku-ku-nik-a i-pilisi e-ya=ku-ku-thintel-a
SM.2-REMFUT-OM.2SG-give-FV AUG-9.pill RM.9-REMFUT-OM.2SG-prevent-FV
u-nga-khulelw-a. Phofu olu asi-kuphela kwe-ndlela
SM.2SG-PTCP.NEG-become=pregnant-FV anyway DEM.11.PROX NEG.COP-only POSS.17-9.way
yo-ku-thintel-a u-ku-mith-a ye-yo-ku-setyenzis-w-a
POSS.9-15-prevent-FV AUG-15-become=pregnant-FV POSS.9.RM.9-POSS.9-15-use-PASS-FV
nga-ma-xesha kaxakeka kuphela.
INSTR-6-time emergency only

If you have had sexual intercourse without using contraception, go to the doctor or a clinic within 72 hours. ***They will give you*** *a pill that will prevent you from getting pregnant. However, this is not the only way to prevent pregnancy. It is a way that is used as an emergency only.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

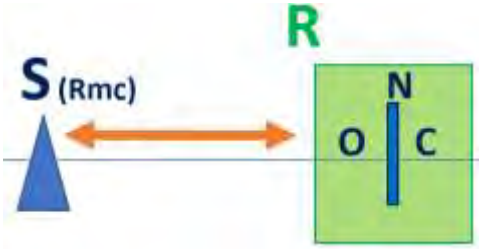
The Remote Future (Perfective) *baya kukunika* ('they will give you') refers to a hypothetical event of doctors providing a contraceptive pill. Replacing the bolded verb form by its Immediate Future counterpart, *baza kukunika* ('they will give you'), would suggest that the time of the event is known, e.g. if the addressee was about to be given the pill in reality (and not as a reader reading about a hypothetical event).

What can be concluded about the Remote Future is that it always contains at least one element that makes it dissociated from the situation 'here and now', while the Immediate Future is unspecified in this respect: We have seen in 6.4.3 that experiential-condition future is not

restricted to the Remote Future but that it also occurs with the Immediate Future. Furthermore, in section 6.4.3 it was established that the Immediate Future exhibits no restrictions with respect to the objective properties of the events, whereas the Remote Future does not denote events whose N holds true at S. Therefore, I conclude that the Remote Future has a more specialised meaning than the Immediate Future. What all instances of the Remote Future discussed in this section have in common is that the events they denote **cannot be actualised at S**: Either because not all referents exist yet (e.g. they are in a preparation phase, cf. 80), because the event is irrelevant 'here and now' (cf. 81), or because it is unknown when the event will occur (e.g. the event is conditioned by something, cf. 82-83).

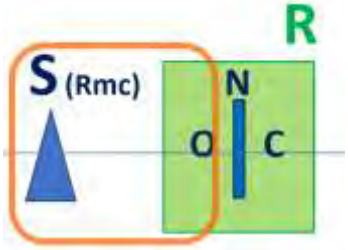
What the Future tenses have in common is that both refer to events whose R is a time interval that follows S/R_{mc}[636]. In addition, just like their Past counterparts, the two Future tenses seem to indicate how close an event's R is to S. When a future event cannot be actualised at S, something in the situation or inter-entity relations that hold at S, needs to change for it to occur. If R represents the time interval during which the event can take place, the Remote Future event entails that R exhibits different inter-entity relations than S, as shown in Figure 6.10. By contrast, the underspecified Immediate Future does not provide any information on the similarity between R and S, as illustrated in Figure 6.11.

Figure 6.12. *The Remote Future tense entails that R follows S/R_{mc} while signalling that it contains different inter-entity relations than S (as indicated by the double arrow).*



[636] In subordinate clauses (of main clauses with a reporting verb), the Immediate Future and the Remote Future were deemed interchangeable. The consultants could not identify any difference. Due to lack of space, I have not added any examples illustrating this.

Figure 6.13. *The Immediate Future tense entails that R follows S/R_{mc}, but it does not imply anything about the similarity between the inter-entity relations at R and S (as indicated by the round rectangle).*



Being a tense that emphasises that R is not part of the same situation as S, the Remote Future can be understood as the future counterpart of the discontinuous past (cf. sections 3.5 and 6.5.1), i.e. a category that I term **discontinuous future**. This notion also corresponds with Botne & Kershner's (2000) concept of D-domain (cf. section 6.5.1 for adjustments of the notion) in the future part of the timeline. Accordingly, the Immediate Future represents the future part of P-domain.

6.6. Conclusions

This chapter addressed the semantics of tenses in Xhosa. In section 6.2, I conclude that the Present tense indicates that an event's R overlaps with S/R_{mc}, whereby R asserts the occurrence of any phase of the event: Not only N, but also O or C only.

With respect to the two Past tenses, both indicate that R precedes S/R_{mc} (in isolated verbs) or R_0 (in narrations). Thus, contrary to the claim frequently made in the literature, the Recent Past does not qualify as the Xhosa counterpart of the English Present Perfect (cf. section 6.2). In section 6.5.1, I show that the Recent Past and the Remote Past differ with respect to similarity between R and S/R_{mc}/R_0. The Remote Past indicates that R contains different inter-entity relations (i.e. is part of a different 'situation') than S/R_0, a property that allows us to define this tense as a **discontinuous past** marker (Plungian & van der Auwera 2006). At the same time, the Recent Past indicates that R does not exhibit different inter-entity relations than S/R_{mc}/R_0. Thus, the Recent Past and the Remote Past in Xhosa correspond to an adjusted version (cf. section 6.5.1) of Botne & Kernsher's (2000) concepts of P-domain and D-domain, respectively.

With respect to the two Future tenses, they denote events whose R is posterior to S/R_{mc}. The two tenses also reflect the distinction between P-domain and D-domain on the future part of the timeline (cf. section 6.5.2). The Remote Future tense implies that the event it denotes cannot be actualised at S, i.e. the event's R contains different inter-entity relations than those at S, which is why it can be defined as a **discontinuous future** marker. By contrast, the Immediate Future does not specify whether or not R contains the same inter-entity relations as S.

7. Anterior, Prospective, Subjunctive, Consecutive, Participial, Temporal

7.1. Introduction

The present chapter investigates the semantics of the Anterior and Prospective aspects, while also briefly discussing the semantics of the Subjunctive and the Past Consecutive (as defined in section 3.16), the Participial and the Temporal.

In section 7.2, I show that the semantics of the Anterior aspect extends beyond the often cited meaning of indicating that an event precedes another point. This aspectual category often refers to a past or future event whose occurrence is asserted at its C-phase, which includes events whose result no longer holds true or those whose C-phase is contradicted in the immediate discourse. Section 7.3 shows that the Prospective aspect refers to an event whose O-phase is asserted at R. An important observation is that, like the Imperfective aspect, the Anterior and the Prospective aspects do not introduce their own R into the discourse, but they 'reuse' the ones that are already there.

In section 7.4, I focus on the remaining categories, the Subjunctive, the Past Consecutive, the Participial and the Temporal. Only the Subjunctive can qualify as a modal category which does not assert an event's occurrence. The Past Consecutive, the Participial and the Temporal belong to the Indicative mood: They denote events whose exact temporal location relies on that of the main clause event. Out of the three categories, only the Past Consecutive introduces its own R into the discourse, whereas the Participial and the Temporal simply 'reuse' the ones that are already there. While the Present, Past and Future Participials indicate that an event's N is simultaneous, anterior and posterior to R, respectively, the Temporal signals that the onset of the event's N precedes R of the main clause.

7.2. Anterior Aspect

The Anterior aspect's most quoted meaning in the literature (cf. section 3.10.3) is its reference to an event that occurs before another specific point in time other than S. This semantic element of the Anterior aspect is exemplified in (1), an excerpt from Bongela's novel *Iimbali zikaMpahleni* which describes Mpahleni visiting a friend whom he had not seen in a long time. During the visit, he learns that his friend had been imprisoned on Robin Island.

(1)

Ú-th-é	emva	ko-kuba	e-tsh-ilo$_{(1)}$	wa-phakam-a$_{(2)}$
SM.1-say-ANT	after	POSS.17-that	SM.1.PTCP-say=so-ANT	SM.1.PSTCONS-get=up-FV
wa-y-a$_{(3)}$	e-wodrobhi-ni		ya-khe wa-khuph-a$_{(4)}$	
SM.1.PTCP-go-FV	LOC-9.wardrobe-LOC		POSS.9-1 SM.1.PSTCONS-take=out-FV	
e-nye	i-hempe.	Ú-y-é	wa-yi-khulul-a$_{(5)}$	
ADJ.9-another	AUG-9.shirt	SM.1-go-ANT	SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.9-take=off-FV	
le	**bendi-fik-é**$_{(0)}$		e-yi-nxib-ile$_{(-1)}$	
DEM.9.PROX	SM.1SG.be.PST-arrive-ANT		SM.1.PTCP-OM.9-put=on-ANT.DISJ	
wa-z-a	wa-nxib-a$_{(6)}$		le.	
SM.1.PSTCONS-come-FV	SM.1.PSTCONS-put=on-FV		DEM.9.PROX	
Ú-th-é	aku-m-a$_{(5)}$	ngo-gaga,	nda-bon-a$_{(>5)}$	
SM.1-say-ANT	SM.1.TEMP-stand=up-FV	INSTR-11.chest	SM.1.PSTCONS-see-FV	
u-m-hlola	owa-ndi-hambis-el-a$_{(>5)}$		u-m-zimba.	
AUG-3-something=unusual	RM.3.REMPST-OM.1SG-set=in=motion-APPL-FV		AUG-3-body	
U-m-zimba	lo	w-onke wawu-zel-é$_{(x)}$	zi-zi-va	
AUG-3-body	DEM.3.PROX	SM.3-all SM.3.go.REMPST-be=full=of-ANT	COP.8-8-scar	
endi-ng-azi$_{(>5)}$	nokuba	zazi-nga-phi$_{(x)}$	na,	
RM.1SG-NEG-know-FV	whether	SM.8.go.REMPST-be=as=much=as-where	Q	
z-ênz-iw-é$_{(<-1)}$	nga-si-phi	na	i-si-xhobo.	
SM.8.REMPST-do-PASS-ANT	INSTR-7-where	Q	AUG-7-tool	

After he said that$_{(1)}$*, he stood up*$_{(2)}$ *and went*$_{(3)}$ *to his wardrobe and took out*$_{(4)}$ *one of his shirts. He took off*$_{(5)}$ *the one he was wearing*$_{(<0)}$ *(lit: he had put on*$_{(-1)}$*)* ***when I arrived***$_{(0)}$ *and put on*$_{(6)}$ *the other shirt. When he took off his shirt*$_{(5)}$*, I saw*$_{(>5)}$ *something that left*$_{(>5)}$ *me in shock. His whole body was*$_{(x)}$ *covered in scars. I did not know*$_{(>5)}$ *how many there were*$_{(x)}$ *or what kind of tool they were*$_{(<-1)}$ *made with.* (Roux et al. 2001)

Note the temporal order of the events indicated by the subscript numbers (which do not equate with R)[637]. In the first sentence of the excerpt, each Perfective (including the Past Consecutive)

[637] R reflects the temporal structure of the main plot and is indicated by subscript numbers $_{(1)}$ and higher. By way of reminder, R-movement represents the transition from a lower to a higher number, e.g. the first event $_{(2)}$ after an event(s) $_{(1)}$. R-stagnation is the repetition of a previously introduced subscript number. As I will point out later on in this section, a retrospective event indicated by a subscript numbers lower than the preceding number (e.g. $_{(0)}$ and $_{(-}$

verb contributes to the progression along the timeline to the point where Mpahleni's friend takes off the shirt (in the second sentence). The Recent Past Anterior *bendifiké* ('I had arrived') refers to the event of arrival whose N precedes the entire main plot (=R) in (1). Just like an Imperfective verb, the bolded Recent Past Anterior form does not advance the narrative progression. It 'reuses' R from the main event sequence to temporally locate N of the event it denotes, thus creating a digression that does not affect the R-movement of the main event sequence. Furthermore, R-movement in the following discourse continues from R's temporal position before the retrospective digression and not from the Recent Past Anterior event's position on the timeline.

The Remote Past Anterior can also imply that an event's N precedes R that is anterior to S, as illustrated in example (2) from a novel by V. Magadla entitled *Inzol' Enkundleni*. The excerpt describes a scene in which MaMndaweni is preparing to have a serious conversation with her husband, Zakhele, who has just returned home.

(2)

U-MaMndaweni	kwâ-b-a$_{(1)}$	ngathi	ku-kh-o$_{(1)}$	
AUG-1a.MaMndaweni	SM.17.be.REMPST	as=if	SM.17-exist-FV	
i-nto	e-th-é$_{(0)}$	xibilili	u-ku-suk-a	
AUG-9.thing	RM.9-say-ANT	ID.of=removing	AUG-15-exit-FV	
oku	e-ma-gx-eni	a-khe,	e-nyanisw-eni	
DEM.17.PROX	LOC-6-shoulder-LOC	POSS.6-1	LOC-9.truth-LOC	
yayi-kh-o$_{(1)}$	kwaye	waye-za=ku-yi-th-i$_{(>1)}$		
SM.9.go.REMPST-exist-FV	and	SM.1.go.REMPST-FUT-OM.9-say-FV		
talakaxa	e-ma-gx-eni	o-m-yeni	wa-khe	
ID.of=putting=on	LOC-6-shoulder-LOC	POSS.6-1-husband	POSS.1-1	
u-Zakhele	nga-bo	obo	bu-suku.	U-Zakhele
AUG-1a.Zakhele	INSTR-14	DEM.14.MED	14-night	AUG-1a.Zakhele
waye-fik-é$_{(0)}$		u-Sithonga	e-lel-é$_{(-1)}$,	emva
SM.1.go.REMPST-arrive-ANT		AUG-1a.Sithonga	SM.1.PTCP-sleep-ANT	after
ko-kuba	e-gqib-ile$_{(2)}$		u-ku-ncokol-a	no-yise
POSS.17-that	SM.1.PTCP-finish-ANT.DISJ		AUG-15-converse-FV	COM-1a.father
ii-ndatyana	ezi-ngephi		zo-hambo	lwa-khe
AUG-10.small=news	RM.10-unimportant		POSS.10-11.journey	POSS.11-1
ne-mpilo	ye-khaya,	wa-vus-a$_{(3)}$		u-Sithonga
COM-9.health	POSS.9-5.home	SM.1.PSTCONS-wake=up.CAUS-FV		AUG-1a.Sithonga

1) after (1), (<3) after (3), etc.), does not introduce a new R. *x* in the subscript parentheses indicates states (as an actional class), i.e. events whose onset and endpoint cannot be temporally aligned to the main plot.

e-bu-thongw-eni kuba waye-m-khumbul-a(3) kakhulu.
LOC-14-sleepiness-LOC because SM.1.go.REMPST-OM.1-remember-FV much

MaMndaweni was(1) relieved (lit: To MaMndaweni it seemed(1) as if a burden had gotten off(0) her shoulders); Indeed, there was(1) a burden she needed(1) to talk about with her husband (lit: she was going to put(>1) on her husband's shoulders) that night. Zakhele ***arrived****(0) when Sithonga was asleep(-1). After he finished(2) talking to his father about the news from his journey and about how everyone was doing(2) at home (lit: about home's health), he went(3) to wake Sithonga up (lit: he woke Sithonga up(3)) because he missed(3) him.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The first sentence in (2) describes MaMndaweni's desire to share her concerns with Zakhele. In the second sentence, the Remote Past Anterior *wayefiké* ('he had arrived') refers to Zakhele's arrival, an event that temporally precedes the events from the first sentence. Just like in (1), the bolded Anterior form in (2) does not advance or affect the narrative progression.

However, note that the Anterior aspect's reference is not restricted to retrospective events. It may simply assert the occurrence of an event's resulting state (C-phase), e.g. in example (3) from a text about a youth training agricultural programme. The excerpt contains a list of the skills that the potential participants will acquire by the end of the programme.

(3) Yi-ntoni i-Nkqubo Ya-ba-fundi Aba-se-ba-tsha?
COP.9-what AUG-9.programme POSS.9-2-student RM.2-PERS-COPADJ.2-young

E-ku-phel-eni kwa-le nkqubo, a-ba-thabathi=nxaxheba
LOC-15-finish-LOC POSS.15-DEM.9.PROX 9.programme AUG-2-participant

aba-phumelel-e-yo **ba-ya=:**
RM.2-succeed-ANT-DISJ SM.2-REMFUT=

*** =ku-b-e** **be-fumen-é** a-ma-va a-lu-lu-tho
=REMFUT-be-SUBJ SM.2.PTCP-get-ANT AUG-6-experience RM.6-COP.11-11-something=valuable

ngo-phando.
INSTR-11.research

*** =ku-b-e** **ba-fumen-é**[638] i-Si-danga see-Master's
=REMFUT-be-SUBJ SM.2-get-ANT AUG-7-degree POSS.7-10.Master's

[638] The consultant (2017.corpus.fumana.immf.ant1-2.m18-25E) reported that the Remote Future Anterior forms *baya kube bafumené* ('they will have got') and *baya kube befumené* ('they will have got'), with different Anterior Participial elements, are (nearly) synonymous. On second thought, he linked *befumené* ('they having got') to the speaker's attitude that the event should occur, and the form with *bafumené* ('they got') to the expression of a greater degree of certainty. Although this is an interesting observation, I find that this difference is not of substantial importance for the point made about the Anterior aspect in the Remote Future tense.

kw-e-zo-limo. […]
SM.17-RM.9-POSS.10-11.agriculture

What is the youth programme?
*At the end of this programme, the successful participants **will**:*
** **gain** valuable research experience;*
** **earn** a Master's degree in agriculture; […]*
(Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014)

The Remote Future Anterior forms *baya kube befumené/bafumené* ('they will get') refer to the participants' possession of the necessary skills at the end of the programme (=R), which is indicated by the adverb *ekupheleni kwale nkqubo* ('at the end of the programme'). The participants' expertise referred to by the Remote Future Anterior verbs represent a resulting state (C-phase) of acquiring the skills (N). However, the exact time of acquisition of said skills is not given, as it is irrelevant in the context of the programme completion (=R).

The Anterior aspect's reference to an event's C-phase is common in predicates with a punctual N. Consider the punctual verb *-bamba* ('catch') in example (4) from the beginning of a report from the meeting of *South African Translators' Institute* (SATI).

(4) A-ba-Phathi be-SATI **bebe-bamb-é** i-ntlanganiso ngo-m-hla
AUG-2-manager POSS.2-9.SATI SM.2.be.PST-catch-ANT AUG-9.meeting INSTR-3-day

we-12 ngo-Juni ka-2008. Apha ngezantsi ku-kh-o
POSS.3-9.twelve INSTR-1a.June POSS.1a-two=thousand=and=eight here below SM.17-exist-FV

i-si-shwankathelo se-yona mi-bandela i-phambili
AUG-7-summary POSS.7.SUPERL-PRON.4 4-item SM.4-in=front

beku-xox-w-a nga-yo.
SM.17.be.PST-discuss-PASS-FV INSTR-4

*Managers of SATI (South African Translators' Institute) **held** a meeting on 12 June 2008. Below is a summary of the most important points discussed.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The Recent Past Anterior verb *bebehambé* ('they had caught') belongs to the predicate *-bamba intlanganiso* ('hold a meeting') with a punctual N which refers to the onset of holding a meeting. Accordingly, to refer to the actual course of the meeting, it is C-phase of the event that needs to be asserted. Thus, the bolded Recent Past Anterior form *bebehambé* ('they had caught') assigns the event's C to R, which is represented by the time adverbial *ngomhla we-12 ngo-Juni ka-2008* ('on 12 June 2008). According to a consultant (2017.corpus.bamba.recp.ant1.m18-25E), if the

Recent Past Anterior form was replaced by its Recent Past Perfective counterpart, *babambé* (‘they caught’), it would indicate the meeting is taking place at S. This observation suggests that unlike *-bamba* ‘catch’ alone (cf. example 45 in section 6.4.2), the predicate *-bamba intlanganiso* (‘hold a meeting’) can be classified as an inchoative predicate. Furthermore, example (4) shows that the Anterior aspect enables linking an inchoative predicate’s C to a past R.

The Anterior aspect may also indicate that an event’s C-phase (i.e. resulting state) is evidentially closer to the discourse participants than the event’s other phases. Consider example (5) from by D.M. Lupuwana’s novel *Lo Mhlaba Uyajikeleza*. In the excerpt, Mkhwemnte is being arrested by Mabhovu, who informs him that he is the main suspect in a murder care as the victim was last seen walking away with him.

(5) “Yi-ntoni ngoku e-ntsha?’ ku-buz-a u-Mkhwemnte.
COP.9-what now ADJ.9-new SM.17-ask-FV AUG-1a.Mkhwemnte

“Mkhwemnte, bu-kh-o u-bu-ngqina obu-lu-qilima bo-kuba
1a.Mkhwemnte SM.14-exist-FV AUG-14-evidence RM.14-COP.11-11.something=firm RM.14-that

u-m-fikazi **waye-hamb-é** na-we nge-njikalanga
AUG-1-deceased=woman SM.1.go.REMPST-walk-ANT COM-2SG INSTR-9.afternoon

ya-le mini a-z-e a-nga-buy-i
POSS.9-DEM.9.PROX 9.day SM.1.SUBJ-come-SUBJ SM.1.SUBJ-NEG-return-NEG

nga-yo; wena wa-buy-a u-hamb-a
INSTR-9 PRON.2SG SM.2SG.PSTCONS-return-FV SM.2SG-walk-FV

w-edwa. Ngako oko ke e-gam-eni lo-m-thetho
2SG-alone about=it DEM.17.MED then LOC-5.name-LOC POSS.5-3-law

ndi-ya-ku-bamb-a’, wâ-tsh-o e-khuph-a
SM.1SG-DISJ-OM.2SG-catch-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-say=so-FV SM.1.PTCP-take=out-FV

a-ma-khamandela e-m-khonx-a u-M-khwemnte
AUG-6-shackle SM.1.PTCP-OM.1-arrest AUG-1a.Mkhwemnte

u-Mabhovu.
AUG-1a.Mabhovu

“Any news (lit: what is new now)?’ asked Mkhwemnte.
“Mkhwemnte, there is strong (concrete) evidence that the victim (lit: deceased woman) ***left*** *with you in the afternoon that day and that she did not come back, whereas you came back alone. Therefore, in the name of law I am arresting you’, said Mabhovu while handcuffing Mkhwemnte.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

Note that the Remote Past Anterior form *wayehambé* (‘she left’) does not specify the anteriority of the event relative to the time adverbial *ngenjikalanga yale mini* (‘that afternoon’). As a matter

of fact, the event of them leaving together occurred during said afternoon. What the Anterior aspect indicates is that the evidence asserts only the resulting state, i.e. C-phase of the event. N of the punctual verb *-hamba* ('leave, walk') refers to walking (or the process of leaving a place)[639], whereas its C-phase denotes the subsequent state of absence. Since Mhkwemnte and Mabhovu do not share common knowledge about the temporal location of N (i.e. the transition from O to N, or from N to C), the event needs to be identified via its only phase (C) that is referred to by the evidence (the source of **the inferential type of evidential** information, cf. section 2.5.2) which functions as R (instead of time adverbial *ngenjikalanga yale mini* 'that afternoon'). This type of R, I henceforth refer to as the **evidential R**.

The evidential R can rely on other types of evidential knowledge. Consider example (6) from a magazine article about people who make their living by collecting reusable waste.

(6)

Y-onk'	i-mi-hla	ú-hamb-a	u-m-gama	we-10km
OM.4-every	AUG-4-day	SM.1-walk-FV	AUG-3-distance	POSS.3-ten=kilometres

e-suk-a	e-Kagiso	ukuze	a-yo-fik-a
SM.1.PTCP-leave-FV	LOC-9.Kagiso	so=that	SM.1.SUBJ-go.FV.15-arrive-FV

i-nge-ka-khutshw-a	i-nkunkuma	ukuze
SM.9-NEG-EXP-be=taken=out-FV	AUG-9.rubbish	so=that

i-thath-w-e	zii-lori	za-kwa-masipala.
SM.9-take-PASS-SUBJ	COP.10-10.lorry	POSS.10-at-1a.municipality

Nge-mini	i-BONA	ebi-ncokol-a
INSTR-9.day	AUG-9.Bona	RM.9.be.PST-converse-FV

na-ye	**ube-fumen-é**	ii-bhotile
COM-1	SM.1.be.PST-get-ANT	AUG-10.bottle

ze-bhiya	ez-onel-é	ii-kesi	ezim-bini
POSS.10-9.beer	RM.10-suffice=for-ANT	AUG-10.case	ADJ.10-two

na-zi-thengis-é	nge-R25	kwi-venkile
COM.SBJRM.1-OM.10-sell-ANT	INSTR-twenty=five=Rands	SM.17-9.shop

yo-tywala!	"Ndi-za=ku-zi-theng-el'	i-sepha
POSS.9-14.liquor	SM.1SG-FUT-OM.10-buy-APPL	AUG-9.soap

yo-ku-hlamb-a namhlanje,'	ú-tsh-ilo.
POSS.9-15-wash-FV today	SM.1-say=so-ANT

[639] According to a consultant (2017.corpus.hamba.remp.ant2.f18-25F), the substitution of the Remote Past Anterior form *wayehambé* ('she left') by its Imperfective counterpart, *wayehamba* ('she was walking'), would suggest that a witness saw them walking together. This example confirms that the location of R reflects the part of the event that the evidence refers to.

Every day he walks 10km from Kagiso before the rubbish is taken by the municipal lorries. The day BONA was talking to him, ***he had got*** *enough bottles of beer to fill two cases that he sold for R25 at a bottle store!*
"I will buy bathing soap today', he said.
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The Recent Past Anterior *ubefumené* ('he had collected') refers to the event of collecting beer bottles on the day that Isaac Mokoena talked to the journalists. Like in (5), the bolded Anterior verb does not indicate that the event occurred before the time adverbial *ngemini i-Bona ebincokola naye* ('on the day that Bona talked to him'). Namely, the bottles were collected on the day that he talked to the journalists. The Anterior aspect in the bolded form signals that the event took place before the interaction between Isaac Mokoena and the journalists, which is indicated by the relative form *ebincokola naye* ('which (they) talked to him'). Thus, what functions as evidential R in (6) is the journalists' personal experience of the event, the **firsthand type of evidential** information (cf. section 2.5.2). Since they only witnessed the result of the event, and not its other phases (O and N), its C is asserted in the evidential R. If the Anterior form was replaced by its Perfective counterpart, *úfumené* ('he collected'), the event would be positioned anywhere within that day, before or after the interview (2017.corpus.fumana.recp.ant1.m18-25E), suggesting that the day denoted by the time adverbial *ngemini i-Bona ebincokola naye* ('on the day that Bona talked to him') would take over the role as R.

While in example (1-2) the Anterior indicated retrospective events (N precedes R), in (3-6) it refers to events whose C is located within R. However, the link between the two meanings is evident. If an event's N occurred before R, its **C is asserted at R** (cf. 1-2).

Note that, in some cases, the Anterior aspect is directly indicative of the event's relation to **the state-of-affairs at S**. Consider the Recent Past Anterior *ubuhambile* ('you had left') form in (7). According to a consultant (2017.elic.hamba.recp.ant.m18-25E), this verb form suggests that the addressee left home and came back.

(7) **ubu-hamb-ile** / **??u-hamb-ile**
SM.2SG.be.PST-walk-ANT.DISJ SM.2SG-walk-ANT.DISJ
you have been going out / you were away *(lit:* ***you had left****)*
[context: speaker and addressee are both at home]
(2017.elic.hamba.recp.ant.m18-25E)

The Recent Past Anterior *ubuhambile* ('you had left') refers to a past event of leaving whose result has been annulled by S, a meaning which corresponds to Plungian's (2001) definition of the category (gram-type) labelled **antiresultative** (cf. *reversed action* in Dickey 2000, section 2.4.1). As indicated in (7), the Recent Past Perfective *uhambile* ('you left') has a strong implicature that C holds true at S (when no wider context is provided), which is why this verb form is disprefered as an antiresultative marker in Xhosa.

The antiresultative semantics encoded in the Recent Past Anterior entails that C ceases before S. Since the antiresultative makes a claim about a past event's C, we need to assume that its occurrence and completion is encompassed by R which extends from a point in the past to (but does not overlap with) S. Thus, even the antiresultative represents a case of C being asserted at R (like examples 3-6).

The dissociation of a past event's C from S that is encoded in the (Recent Past) Anterior has also developed into a pragmatic marker which indicates the truth-conditionality between the event's result and the immediate discourse. Consider example (8) from a correction note that relates to a mistake in a magazine article.

(8)

Ku-shicilelo	lwe-thu	lu-ka-Novemba=2006		
SM.17-11.issue	POSS.11-1PL	POSS.11-1a-November=two=thousand=and=six		
besi-bhal-é	nge-zi-dlo	zee-ntsana	sa-z-a	
SM.1PL.be.PST-write-ANT	INSTR-8-meal	POSS.8-10.baby	SM.1PL.PSTCONS-come-FV	
sa-balul-a	u-ku-ty-a	kwee-ntsana	kwa-kwa-Woolworths	
SM.1PL.PSTCONS-mention	AUG-15-food-FV	POSS.15-10.baby	POSS.15-at-9.Woolworths	
oku-tsha	no-ku-phambili.	S-enz-e	i-mpazamo	
RM.15-new	COM-RM.15-before	SM.1PL-do-ANT	AUG-9.mistake	
kw-elo	nqaku	sa-th-i	oku	ku-ty-a
SM.17-DEM.5.MED	5.article	SM.1PL-say=FV	DEM.15.PROX	15-food-FV
„ku-ne-zi-gcinakaliso'.	Yi-mpazamo	leyo.		
SM.15-COM-8-preservatives	COP.9-9.mistake	DEM.9.MED		
U-ku-ty-a	kwa-kwa-Woolworths	aku-na-zi-gcinakaliso.		
AUG-15-food-FV	POSS.15-at-9.Woolworths	NEG.15-COM-8-preservatives		

*In our November 2006 issue **we wrote** about baby food and we mentioned baby food from Woolworths, both the latest types and earlier types. We made a mistake in that article saying that 'this food has preservatives'. That is a mistake. The food from Woolworth does not contain preservatives.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The Recent Past Anterior verb *besibhalé* ('we wrote/had written') refers to writing the article that contained the erroneous information. Like in examples (3-6), the Anterior aspect in (8) does not indicate that the event of writing precedes the adverbial, *kushicilelo lwethu lukaNovemba 2006* ('in our November 2006 issue'). What the Anterior aspect signals is that the event's resulting state, i.e. the truthfulness of the information from the article, is about to be contradicted in the following discourse[640]. The function of the Anterior aspect in (8) to signal that the validity of the event's result is **salient information**, implies that R is a salient, past interval which asserts the event's C-phase.

The same meaning of the Anterior aspect, which functions as a pragmatic marker, is evident in the elicited example (9). The example represents a reaction to a colleague who changes the layout of the office furniture against the will of the other colleagues (breaching the informal agreement about the layout).

(9) **Besi-theth-ile** nga-yo kaloku le nto!
SM.1PL.be.PST-talk-ANT.DISJ INSTR-9 however DEM.9.PROX 9.thing
*But **we talked** about this!* [reaction to a colleague breaching the agreement about the arrangement of the office furniture]
(2017.elic.thetha.recp.ant.f18-25F)

With the Recent Past Anterior form *besithethile* ('we (had) talked'), the speaker signals that the agreed plan of actions, i.e. result (C-phase) of the discussion (=the event of talking), is being contradicted by the hearer's actions. In this example, the contradiction of C-phase of said event represents both accessible and salient information. The contradiction of the event's C would not be present if the bolded verb was substituted by its Perfective counterpart, *sithethile* ('we (have) talked'), a sentence preferred in a context in which the speaker is about to merely inform her or his colleague about the outcome of the event.

[640] This is a conclusion I draw based on several examples in which the Recent Past Anterior verbs denote events whose results are contradicted in the surrounding discourse. A consultant (2017.corpus.bhala.recp.ant1.f18-25F) deemed the replacement of the Anterior with its Perfective counterpart perfectly grammatical without being able to identify the difference implied by the two forms.

By way of summary, the various semantic components of the Anterior aspect revolve around the **assertion of an event's C at R**, as illustrated in Figure 1. Like the Imperfective aspect (and unlike the Perfective aspect), the Anterior does not introduce its own R: It needs an externally provided R (cf. section 5.7). Thus, in narrations, where the Anterior aspect denotes restrospective meaning (1-2), it does not affect R-movement.

Figure 7.1. *The Anterior aspect indicates that an event's N precedes R. In specific contexts, this relation manifests itself as the assertion of the event's C at R.*

Besides being an anaphrically established time interval in narrations (1-2), R can represent a period of time specified by a time adverbial (3-4), a period when evidence about a past event emerged (5-6), a past interval that extends to (but does not overlap with) S (7), or a period of time whose validity is salient in the upcoming discourse (8-9). Thus, the Anterior aspect may involve **evidential** semantics, as shown in examples (5-6).

7.3. Prospective Aspect

The Prospective aspect is considerably less frequent in the corpus data than the Anterior aspect[641] (cf. also Oosthuysen 2016:246; cf. Dowling 1998:123, Bryant 2007:179-199). As a posterior counterpart of the Anterior aspect, the Prospective aspect denotes events which are seen as prospective from a certain (past or future) interval of time, R. Consider the Remote Past Prospective *wayeza kuyithi* ('she would do (it)') in (19), a fragment taken from example (2).

(10) […] e-nyanisw-eni yayi-kh-o$_{(1)}$ kwaye
POSS.6-1 LOC-9.truth-LOC SM.9.go.REMPST-exist-FV and
waye-za=ku-yi-th-i$_{(>1)}$ talakaxa e-ma-gx-eni

[641] Impressionistic observation.

SM.1.go.REMPST-FUT-OM.9-say-FV ID.of=putting=on LOC-6-shoulder-LOC

o-m-yeni wa-khe u-Zakhele nga-bo obo bu-suku.
POSS.6-1-husband POSS.1-1 AUG-1a.Zakhele INSTR-14 DEM.14.MED 14-night

Indeed, there was(1) a burden ***she needed****(1) to talk about with her husband (lit:* ***she was going to*** *put(>1) on her husband's shoulders) that night.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

At that stage of the novel, the reader does not know whether MaMndaweni managed to share her burden with Zakhele later that evening. The Remote Past Prospective *verb wayeza kuyithi* ('she was going to') only informs the reader about her intention which existed at R, the interval that started with Zakhele's return home. By way of reminder, in section 6.2, the subject's (=speaker's) intention to engage in an event was formalised as O-phase, cf. (15) and (17). Analogously, MaMndaweni's intention to discuss the important issues with Zakhele in (10) can be denoted as O-phase as the event of talking. Hence, the Remote Past Prospective *verb wayeza kuyithi* ('she was going to') denotes that an event's O-phase is asserted at R.

The assertion of an event's O-phase at R is also exemplified in the Recent Past Prospective verb *ubeza kukhwel'* ('she would get on') in (11), an example taken from an article about a social event at Zoo Lake which was attended by the three celebrities, Winnie Mashaba, Ntokozo Mbambo and Mam'Deborah Fraser.

(11) |Si-bhiyoz-a na-ma-bhinqa|
SM.1PL-celebrate-FV COM-6-woman

U-Winnie=Mashaba kunye no-m-yeni wa-khe ba-vuk-e(1) nge-cala
AUG-1a.Winnie=Mashaba together COM-1-husband POSS.1-1 SM.2-wake=up-ANT INSTR-5.side

emva kwe-ntsimbi ye-si-ne kusasa be-za=ku-hamb-a(>1) nge-moto
after POSS.17-9.o'clock POSS.9-7-four in=the=morning SM.2.PTCP-FUT-walk-FV INSTR-9.car

be-suk-a(>1) e-Limpopo be-si-y-a(>1) e-Rhawutini. U-Mam'
SM.2.PTCP-leave-FV LOC-9.Limpopo SM.2.PTCP-INFIX-go-FV LOC-9.Johannesburg AUG-1a.Mam'

u-Deborah=Fraser yena **ube-za=ku-khwel'**(>1/>2) e-qong-eni kungekudala
AUG-1a.Deborah=Fraser PRON.1 SM.1.be.PST-FUT-get=on.FV LOC-5.stage-LOC soon

kodwa ú-zam-ile(2) u-kw-enz-a i-xesha eli-ncinane
but SM.1-try-ANT.DISJ AUG-15-do-FV AUG-5.time ADJ.5-small

lo-ku-diban-a na-thi. U-Ntokozo=Mbambo ube-banj-w-é(<2)
POSS.5-15-meet-FV COM-1PL AUG-1a.Ntokozo=Mbambo SM.1.be.PST-catch-PASS-ANT

ngu-m-khuhlane ngoko beku-fanel-é(<2) ukuba ú-phuml-e(>2)
INSTR-3-cold therefore SM.17.be.PST-be=necessary-ANT that SM.1-rest-SUBJ

kodwa ú-z-ile(2) na-ye u-ku-zoku-theth-a ne-BONA.

but SM.1-come-ANT.DISJ COM-1 AUG-15-come.FV.15-speak-FV COM-9.Bona

|*We are celebrating with women*|
Winnie Mashaba and her husband woke up$_{(1)}$ *at half past four in the morning to go*$_{(>1)}$ *by car from Limpopo to Johannesburg. Mam' Deborah Fraser* ***was going to get onto***$_{(>1/>2)}$ *the stage soon but she tried*$_{(2)}$ *to find a bit of time to meet us. Ntokozo Mbambo had*$_{(<2)}$ *a cold and she needed*$_{(<2)}$ *to rest*$_{(>2)}$*, but she, too, came*$_{(2)}$ *to talk to Bona.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The Recent Past Prospective verb *ubeza kukhwel'* ('she would get on') does not inform the reader whether or not Mam' Deborah Fraser she went onstage or if something prevented her from doing so. The verb provides information about the celebrity's plan which existed at R (the time during which the celebrities and the journalists were still preparing for the performance and the interviews at Zoo Lake). Furthermore, note that the Prospective aspect, like the Anterior and the Imperfective aspects, does not introduce its own R in the narration. As indicated by the subscript numbers in (12), the Recent Past Prospective *ubeza kukhwel'* ('she would get on') neither progresses the narration from the preceding discourse, nor does it affect the R-movement in the following discourse: R of the Perfective verb *úzamile* ('she tried') follows directly that of the Recent Past Perfective *bavuké* ('they woke up') from the first sentence.

The Prospective verbs in (10) and (11) are formed with the infixed *-za ku-*. Alternatively, Prospective verbs can be formed with *-ya ku-*[642], as exemplified in the Remote Past Prospective *wayesiya kudibana* ('he was going to meet') in (12) from the article about Khayalethu Duna who went missing after he suffered memory loss (from the same article as examples 52 and 54=73 from sections 6.4.2 and 6.5.2).

(12) "Ndâ-th-i xa ndi-gqith-a nda-bon'
SM.1SG.REMPST-say-FV when SM.1SG.PSTCONS-pass-FV SM.1SG.PSTCONS-see.FV
u-m-ntu o-fan-a no-Khayalethu nda-z-a
AUG-1-person RM.1-resemble-FV COM-1a.Khayalethu SM.1SG.PSTCONS-come-FV
nda-jik-a nda-m-jongisis-a.
SM.1SG.PSTCONS-turn-FV SM.1SG.PSTCONS-OM.1-take=a=look-FV

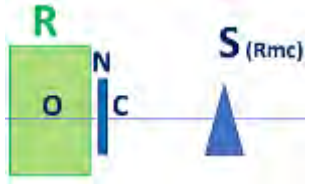
[642] Because the Participial infix *-si-* is added before *-ya ku-*, it is unclear whether the form represents the Posterior aspect or an Imperfective aspect followed by an Infinitive without the augment, cf. *wayesiya kudibana* ('he was going to meet'). However, since the semantics of the bold verb in (12) does not exhibit any differences relative to its counterparts in (10-11), I will continue to treat it as a Posterior verb.

Yayi-ngu-ye	ncakasana!	Azange	ndi-kholw-e.
SM.9.go.REMPST-COP.1-1	ID.of=being=exact	never=do	SM.1SG-believe-SUBJ
Ndandi-si-th-i	ndi-ya-phuph-a.	Ndâ-th-i	
SM.1.go.REMPST-INFIX-say-FV	SM.1SG-DISJ-dream-FV	SM.1SG-say-FV	
maka-ngen-e	e-motw-eni	si-goduk-e,'	ku-tsh-o
SM.1.HORT-enter-SUBJ	LOC-9.car-LOC	SM.1PL-go=home-SUBJ	SM.17-say=so-FV
u-Mpumelelo.	"W-âl-a	ngelithi	ube-ba-tyelel-é
AUG-1a.Mpumelelo	SM.1.REMPST-refuse-FV	that	SM.1.be.PST-OM.2-visit-ANT
a-ba-zali	ba-khe yaye	**waye-si-ya=ku-diban-a**	
AUG-2-parent	POSS.2-1 and	SM.1.go.REMPST-INFIX-REMFUT-meet-FV	
no-m-ntu	malunga	no-m-sebenzi.	Wâ-balek-a
COM-1-person	about	COM-3-work	SM.1.REMPST-run-FV
wa-ngen-a	e-hlathi-ni,'	ku-tsh-o	u-Mpumelelo.
SM.1.PSTCONS-enter-FV	LOC-5.forest-LOC	SM.17-say=so-FV	AUG-1a.Mpumelelo

"When I was passing by, I saw someone looking like Khayalethu. I turned and looked carefully, and it was him! I couldn't believe it. I thought I was dreaming. I told him that he should enter the car so we could go home,' said Mpumelelo. 'He refused, saying that he had just visited his parents and that ***he was going*** *to see (lit: meet) someone about a job. Then he ran (lit: ran and went) into the bush,' said Mpumelelo.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

Like the Prospective verbs in (10-11), the Remote Past Prospective *wayesiya kudibana* ('he was going to meet') refers to the subject's plan. Khayalethu intends to meet a person at R, the interval of time when Mpumelelo met him by chance.

Figure 7.2. *The Prospective aspect indicates that an event's O-phase in asserted in R.*



Thus, I formalise the Prospective aspect as the assertion of an event's O-phase at R, cf. Figure 2. Like the Imperfective and the Anterior aspect (and unlike the Perfective aspect), the Prospective aspect does not introduce its own R, but it uses an externally provided R (cf. section 5.7). In narrations, the Prospective aspect neither introduces its own R, nor does it affect the further course of R-movement. Just like the Anterior aspect in some cases uses evidential knowledge

(=evidential R) to assert an event's C-phase, in the case of the Prospective aspect, R is linked to modal semantics (=**modal R**) as it denotes an interval defined by (the subject's) intention, preparation, plan, or (the speaker's) knowledge or certainty that the event will occur (although the source of modal meaning remains often underspecified). Thus, by analogy with the Anterior aspect that may express evidentiality, the Prospective aspect encodes **modal** semantics.

7.4. Subjunctive, Consecutive, Participial, Temporal

In sections 3.9 and 3.16, I suggested that the Subjunctive is one of the three moods in Xhosa (along the Indicative and the Imperative) and that it denotes events whose factuality is not asserted. However, its semantics also includes temporal consecutiveness, a domain which it shares with the Indicative mood. Therefore, the boundary between the Subjunctive and the Indicative will be briefly addressed in section 7.4.1.

As pointed out in section 3.16, the Temporal (and the Infinitive with the temporal reference), the Participial, and the Past Consecutive belong to the Indicative mood, but their temporal location relies on the main clause Indicative verb. Nevertheless, their semantics is not yet defined within the framework I use in this study, as it depends on the currently unresolved issue of differentiating between aspect and relative tense. A central question in resolving this problem regards how the form affects the properties of their R in the surrounding discourse. By way of reminder, the Past Consecutive (a relative tense, cf. sections 2.3.2, 3.9.1 and 3.16) does affect the R-movement in the following discourse, whereas the Temporal and the Participial do not.

7.4.1. Subjunctive

In this section, I will focus on defining the semantics of the Subjunctive after Indicative verbs in the Past tenses, while leaving other environments in which its use is obligatory (e.g. after certain deficient verbs, conjunctions and modal verbs which require a Subjunctive complement, such as *-funeka* 'be necessary') out of account.

I will first discuss the Subjunctive's expression of intention, purpose or desire. Consider example (8) from section 5.3, repeated here as (13), about the followers of the Nazareth Baptist Church and their pilgrimage to the top of the Nhlangakazi mountain.

(13) A-ma-rhamente a-nga-ma-20,000
AUG-6-member=of=congregation RM.6-be=as=much=as-6-twenty=thousand

beku-th-iw-a(2) a-fikelel-é(1) e-nkcochoyi-ni ya-se-Nhlangakazi
SM.17.be.PST-say-PASS-FV SM.6-reach-ANT LOC-9.top-LOC POSS.9-LOC-9.Nhlangakazi

ngo-m-hla we-si-2 ku-Januwari wa-lo nyaka - kodwa
INSTR-3-day POSS.3-7-two SM.17-1a.January POSS.3-DEM.3.PROX 3.year but

aba-nye ba-hamb-é(1) nje xa u-hambo belu-sa-qal-a(0)
RM.2-other SM.2-walk-ANT just when AUG-11.journey SM.11.be.PST-PERS-start-FV

ba-z-a ba-jik-a(2) e-ndlel-eni **ba-phind-a**(3)
SM.2.PSTCONS-come-FV SM.2.PSTCONS-turn-FV LOC-9.road-LOC SM.2.PSTCONS-do=again-FV

emva kwii-bhasi **ebezi-fik-a**(<3)
after POSS.17-10.bus RM.10.be.PST-arrive-FV

zi-ba-thath-e(>3) **zi-ba-godu-s-e**(>3).
SM.10-OM.2-take-SUBJ SM.10-OM.2-go=home-CAUS-SUBJ

More than 20,000 members of the congregation were estimated(2) *to have reached*(1) *the top of Nhlangakazi on January 2 this year - but others made the effort to walk (lit: walked just when the journey was still starting)* ***the beginning stretches***(1) *before they had* ***to be ferried back home***(3) ***by waiting buses***(<3).
(Roux et al. 2001)

The two bolded Subjunctive forms *zibathathe* ('that they take them') and *zibagoduse* ('that they take them home') refer to the pilgrimage organisers' intention to bring the congregation members home. They represent part of a plan which existed during R of the preceding Indicative relative verb *ebezifika* ('which were coming/came'). Thus, the Subjunctive refers to bringing the pilgrims home as **non-factual events** that were not yet actualised at R[643]. Although they were most likely carried out at a later point, this information is not given in the Subjunctive forms.

Like the Prospective aspect, the Subjunctive verbs in (13) can be formalised as assertions of an event's O-phase at the given R. However, already at this point one can notice how the two categories differ. Although the Prospective aspect needs an externally provided R, it can function

[643] By way of reminder, in this study the term *non-factual* indicates that the factuality of an event is not confirmed, not that it is denied (cf. section 3.4.10).

as the main clause verb with a complete, independent temporal location. This does not hold true for the Subjunctive aspect (the few exceptions are described in section 3.9).

Whether the Subjunctive denotes a plan, a desire or intention depends on the preceding element (verb, conjunction, etc.) and its semantics. Consider example (17) from section 5.3.1, repeated here as (14), from a text about the life of Eskia Mphahlele.

(14) U-Mphahlele wâ-y-a ku-sebenz-a(1) kwi-magazini i-Drum
AUG-1a.Mphahlele SM.1.REMPST-go-FV 15-work-FV SM.17-9.magazine AUG-9.Drum

ukususela ngo-1955 ukuya ku-1957.
from INSTR-9.nineteen=fifty=five to SM.17-nineteen=fifty=seven

Waye-nga-ku-thand-i(1) u-ku-b-a(1) yi-ntatheli ngoko
SM.1.go.REMPST-NEG-15-like-NEG AUG-15-be-FV COP.9-9.journalist as

aka-zange onwab-e(1). **Wâ-gqib-a**(2) ekubeni
NEG.SM.1-never=do SM.1.SUBJ.be=happy-SUBJ SM.1.REMPST-finish-FV that

a-bhac-e(>2) kw-eli li-zwe
SM.1.SUBJ-desert=home-SUBJ SM.17-DEM.5.PROX 5-country

ukuze kwi-li-zwe **a-bhac-el-e**(>2) ku-lo **a-fundis-e**(>2)
so=that SM.17-5-country SBJRM.1-desert=home-APPL-SUBJ SM.17-5 SM.1.SUBJ-teach-SUBJ

yaye **a-bhal-e**(>2) kwakhona. U-Eskia wâ-sebenz-a(3) e-Nigeria,
and SM.1.SUBJ-write-SUBJ again AUG-1a.Eskia SM.1.REMPST-work-FV LOC-9.Nigeria

e-France, e-Kenya, e-Melika na-se-Zambia.
LOC-9.France LOC-9.Kenya LOC-9.USA COM-LOC-9.Zambia

Kodwa waye-ku-khumbul-a(3) e-Mzantsi=Afrika
but SM.1.go.REMPST-OM.17-miss-FV LOC-9.South=Africa

wâ-z-a wa-buy-a(4) ngo-1977.
SM.1.REMPST-come-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-return-FV INSTR-9.nineteen=seventy=seven

(Eskia) Mphahlele went to work(1) for Drum magazine starting 1955 to 1957. He did not like(1) being a journalist(1) as he did not enjoy it(1). ***He decided****(2) to move abroad(>2) (lit: and to move to(>2)) to a country where* ***he could teach****(>2) and* ***write****(>2) again. Eskia worked(3) in Nigeria, France, Kenya, America and Zambia. But he missed(3) South Africa and he came back(4) in 1977.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Subjunctive form *abhace* (‘that he leaves home’) refers to Eskia Mphahlele’s decision to move abroad, whose R is introduced by the Remote Past Perfective *wâgqiba* (‘he decided’). The other three Subjunctive forms *abhacele* (‘that he moves to’), *afundise* (‘that he teaches’), and *abhale* (‘that he writes’) occur in the typical Subjunctive environment after the conjunction *ukuze* (‘so that’) and they express an intention that existed during the same R.

Consider the semantics of the bolded Subjunctive form in (15) from the article about Peggy-Sue Khumalo (same text as examples 2 and 68 from sections 5.3 and 5.9, respectively).

(15)

Eli nenekazi	li-th-i	u-Peggy=Sue=Khumalo		u-ngaphezu	
DEM.5.PROX	5.lady	SM.5-say-FV AUG-1a.Peggy=Sue=Khumalo		SM.1-more=than	
ko-bu-dala	a-bu-chaz-ile-yo		ba-ma-21		
POSS.17-14-age	SBJRM.1-OM.14-explain-ANT-DISJ		POSS.14-6-twenty=one		
e-mi-nyaka	li-th-e	u-na-ma-23	kwaye	e-lona	gama
POSS.6-4-year	SM.5-say-ANT	SM.1-COM-6-twenty=three	and	SUPERL-PRON.5	5.name
la-khe	ngu-Peggy=Pinky=Erasmus.	Ngokw-eli		nenekazi	
POSS.5-1	COP.1-1a.Peggy=Piky=Erasmus	according=to-DEM.5.PROX		5.lady	
li-nga-fun-anga	ku-zi-chaz-a,	n-el-az-iw-a-yo			
SM.5-NEG-want-NEG.ANT	15-REFL-explain-FV	COM-RM.5-know-PASS-FV-DISJ			
nga-be-BONA,	**beli-fun-a**	u-Nkszn.=Khumalo			
COP.2-2-Bona=journalists	SM.5.be.PST-want-FV	AUG-1a.Miss=Khumalo			
a-rhox-is-w-e		e-kub-eni	ngu-Miss=SA.		
SM.1.SUBJ-resign-CAUS-PASS-SUBJ		LOC-that-LOC	COP.1-1a.Miss=SA		
I-BONA	i-fun-a	u-ku-ku-cacis-a	ukuba	eli	nenekazi
AUG-9.Bona	SM.9-want-FV	AUG-15-OM.17-clarify-FV	that	DEM.5.PROX	5.lady
li-y-e	ku-cel-a	u-xolo	ku-Peggy=Sue=Khumalo		
SM.5-go-ANT	15-request-FV	11-peace	SM.17-Peggy=Sue=Khumalo		
na-ku-mama	wa-khe,	u-Jumaima.			
COM-SM.17-1a.mother	POSS.1-1	AUG-1a.Jumaima			

The woman claims that Peggy-Sue Khumalo is actually older than 21, that she is 23 years old, and that her real name actually is Peggy Pinky Erasmus. According to the anonymous caller, whose identity is known to BONA, ***she wanted*** *Ms Khumalo* ***to be disqualified*** *as Miss SA.*
BONA wants to put on record that the anonymous caller has actually come forward to Peggy-Sue Khumalo and her mom, Jumaima, to apologise.
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Subjunctive *arhoxiswe* (‘that she be disqualified’) in (15) expresses a desire which existed during R introduced by the Recent Past Imperfective *belifuna* (‘she wanted’).

The Subjunctive may, however, also denote **factual** events. Consider the Subjunctive forms which follow the Imperfective verb in (5) in section 5.3, repeated here as (16).

(16) Ndi-ngu-mama$_{(S)}$ wa-ba-ntwana aba-bini o-na-ma-27 e-mi-nyaka.
SM.1SG-COP.1-mother POSS.1-2-child ADJ.2-two RM.1-COM-6-twenty=seven POSS.6-4-year

Nd-ohluken-é$_{(1)}$ no-m-yeni wa-m kwaye ndi-fun-a$_{(S)}$
SM.1SG-separate=from-ANT COM-1-husband POSS.1-1SG and SM.1SG-want-FV

si-wu-qhawul-e$_{(>S)}$ u-m-tshato. Si-th-é$_{(0)}$ ngoku
SM.1PL-OM.3-divorce-SUBJ AUG-3-marriage SM.1PL-say-ANT now

si-tshat-ile-yo wa-thand-an-a$_{(0)}$ n-ama-ny'
SM.1PL-marry-ANT-DISJ SM.1.PSTCONS-love-RECIP-FV COM-ADJ.6-other

a-ma-doda kwaye **bendi-m-bamb-a**$_{(0)}$ qho xa e-lel-é$_{(0)}$
AUG-6-man and SM.1SG.be.PST-OM.1-catch-FV repeatedly when SM.1.PTCP-sleep-ANT

na-wo **a-z-e**$_{(0)}$ **a-xolis-e**$_{(0)}$ na-m **ndi-m-xolel-e**$_{(0)}$
COM-6 SM.1.SUBJ-come-SUBJ SM.1.SUBJ-apologise-SUBJ COM-1SG SM.1SG-OM.1-forgive-SUBJ

kuba ndi-m-thand-a$_{(0)}$ kwaye ndi-cing-a$_{(0)}$
because SM.1SG-OM.1-love-FV and SM.1SG-think-FV

ukuba ú-za=ku-wu-yek-a$_{(>0)}$ lo m-khuba wa-khe.
that SM.1-FUT-OM.3-leave-FV DEM.3.PROX 3-vice POSS.3-1

I am$_{(S)}$ *27 years old and I am a mother*$_{(S)}$ *of two. I have split*$_{(1)}$ *from my husband and I want*$_{(S)}$ *a divorce. When we got married*$_{(0)}$*, he had affairs*$_{(0)}$ *with other men;* ***I used to catch him***$_{(0)}$ *sleeping*$_{(0)}$ *with them repeatedly,* ***he would apologise***$_{(0)}$ *and* ***I would forgive him***$_{(0)}$ *thinking*$_{(0)}$ *he would stop*$_{(>0)}$ *his vice.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The Subjunctive forms *aze* ('and then (lit: that he comes)'), *axolise* ('that he apologises') and *ndimxolele* ('that I forgive him') follow the Recent Past Imperfective *bendimbamba* ('I used to catch him'). They represent **habitual factual events** consisting of successive instances (N) which are **conditioned** by and which **temporally ensue** the (individual instances of the habitual) bolded Imperfective verb. Although the different events' individual instances of N occurred in succession (each instance of forgiveness followed an instance of apology, which in turn took place after each act of infidelity), their habitual recurrence extended over the same period of time, the Subjunctive verbs can be said to 'use' R of the Recent Past Imperfective *bendimbamba* ('I used to catch him').

Another example of a Subjunctive verb referring to habitual factual events is found in (28), an example from an article about a famous singer, Dr Rebecca Malope.

(17) “Ndâ-sebenz-a phantse u-nyaka apho.
SM.1SG-REMPST-work-FV almost AUG-3.year there

Ndandi-hlal-a e-nkomponi-ni, ndi-fuman-a i-ntwana
SM.1SG.go.REMPST-stay-FV LOC-9.compound-LOC SM.1SG-get-FV AUG-9.a=bit

ye-mielie=meal, ii-mbotyi, i-tyuwa, i-swekile
POSS.9-9.mielie=meal AUG-10.bean AUG-9.salt AUG-9.sugar

kunye ne-R10,50. Ndandi-sabel-a no-sapho
as=well COM-9.ten=Rand=and=fifty=cents SM.1SG.go.REMPST-share-FV COM-11.family

lwa-m olwalu-s-emva e-khaya ezo zi-nto.
POSS.11-1SG RM.11.go.REMPST-LOC-behind LOC-5.home DEM.10.MED 10-thing

Ndâ-hamb-a emveni ko-kuba u-Famba=Famba
SM.1SG.REMPST-go-FV after POSS.17-that AUG-1a.Famba=Famba

e-yi-thengis-el-é om-nye u-m-ntu i-fama
RM.9-OM.9-sell-APPL-ANT ADJ.1-other AUG-1-person AUG-9.farm

n-owaye-si-tsha kanobomi. **Sasi-vuk-a** nge-ntsimbi
COM-RM.1.go.REMPST-OM.1PL-burn extensively SM.1PL.go.REMPST-wake=upFV INSTR-9.o’clock

ye-si-thathu ekuseni **si-sebenz-e** de ku-b-e
POSS.9-7-three in=the=morning SM.1PL-work-SUBJ until SM.17-be-SUBJ

yi-ntsimbi ye-si-xhenxe ngo-rhatya. […]’
COP.9-o’clock POSS.9-7-seven INSTR-11.dusk

“I worked there for almost a year. I used to stay in a compound, while getting a bit of mielie meal, beans, salt, sugar and R10.50. I used to share these things with my family back at home. I left the farm after Famba Famba sold it to someone else who treated us badly (lit: who burnt us a lot). ***We used to wake up*** *at three in the morning* ***and work*** *until seven in the afternoon. […]’*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Subjunctive *sisebenze* (‘that we work’) refers to the habitual, factual event of working whose individual instances of N occurred regularly after each instance of the event of waking up, which is denoted by the Remote Past Imperfective *sasivuka* (‘we used to wake up’). In this case, too, the habitual event represented by the Subjunctive takes its R from the Imperfective verb.

The way the Subjunctive was defined in examples (13-15), where it refers to non-factual events, i.e. desires, intentions and/or plans, is that it asserts an event’s O phase at R. The question that needs to be addressed at this point is how this definition relates to the Subjunctive in (16-17) where it denotes factual habitual events. Note that in examples (16) and (17), too, during each instance of the Imperfective verbs’ N, the (individual) ensuing Subjunctive verbs’ N is viewed as still forthcoming, i.e. it is not yet asserted. In other words, each instance of the event denoted by the Subjunctive verb is still at its O-phase when each occurrence of the Imperfective verb’s N is

confirmed. Hence, the abovementioned definition of the Subjunctive needs an adjustment: The **Subjunctive verb's O-phase** does not occupy the entire R, but it is **asserted at each Indicative event's N**. The Subjunctive can be thought of as a 'semantic enrichment' of the Indicative verb, which states the purpose or plan of the denoted event.

The reason the events represented by the Subjunctive verbs in (16-17) are interpreted as factual is that the Subjunctive verb's O and the Indicative N are asserted within the same R. A repeated O-phase within one R creates the strong implicature that the ensuing N actualises itself in between.

I conclude that the Subjunctive is a modal category which indicates than an event's O-phase is asserted within the Indicative verb's N, as illustrated in Figure 3[644]. This primarily implies that the Subjunctive can denote events whose factuality is not asserted, hence its modal semantics. As noted earlier, the Subjunctive verb semantically enriches the Indicative verb's N with its O-phase, which is why its modal semantics (desire, intention, request, or plan) is directly linked to the semantics of the Indicative verb[645]. Note that this definition of the Subjunctive does not preclude it from denoting factual events in particular contexts, e.g. in (16-17)[646].

Figure 7.3. *The Subjunctive indicates that an event's O is asserted at the Indicative verb's N and R, which provide it with a temporal location (as indicated by the interrupted line).*

The main difference between the Subjunctive and the Prospective aspect is that the former requires a main clause verb to realise its temporal location. Namely, it takes the main clause

[644] Unlike the Prospective aspect, the Subjunctive does not have an independent temporal location and it has to borrow it from the Indicative verb's R (i.e. N), as indicated by the interrupted line in Figure 7.3.
[645] A similar conclusion could apply to the Subjunctive in other environments, where it follows deficient verbs, conjunctions, etc.
[646] cf. section 3.9 for all the cases in which the Subjunctive refers to factual events.

verb's R (and position of N). By way of reminder, the Prospective aspect encodes (an externally provided) R in its verb form and can therefore function as the main clause verb.

Before proceeding to analyse the Past Consecutive, let us briefly consider the so-called Future Subjunctive. Consider example (2) from section 5.3, repeated here as (18), about Peggy-Sue Khumalo.

(18) Ku-dliwano=ndlebe olu-l-odwa lwe-Bona no-Jumaima=Khumalo
SM.17-11.interview RM.11-SM.11-only POSS.11-9.Bona COM-1a.Jumaima=Khumalo

no-Linah=Sosana=Dunn, o-ngu-ninakhulu ka-Peggy=Sue,
COM-1a.Linah=Sosana=Dunn RM.1-COP.1-1a.grandmother POSS.1a-Peggy=Sue

ku-vel-é(1) i-zi-nto ezi-ninzi ezi-phikisan-a-yo. U-Linah=Sosana=Dunn
SM.17-appear-ANT AUG-10-thing RM.10-many RM.10-dispute-FV-DISJ AUG-1a.Linah=Sosana=Dunn

ú-b-é(0) lu-gcwabevu ngu-m-sindo
SM.1-be-ANT COP.11-infuriated=person COP.3-3-rage

xa **besi-fik-a**(0) **si-z-e** **ku-dl-an'**(>0)[647] i-ndlebe na-ye.
when SM.1.PL.be.PST-arrive-FV SM.1PL-come-SUBJ 15-consume-RECIP.FV AUG-9.ear COM-9

"Ndi-yek-e-ni! [...]'
OM.1SG-leave-SUBJ-IMP.2PL

*In Bona's exclusive interview with Jumaima Khumalo, and with Linah Sosana Dunn, Peggy-Sue's grandmother, a number of conflicting elements emerged(1). Granny Linah Sosana Dunn was furious(0) when **we were coming(0) to interview**(0>) her.*
'Leave me alone! [...] '
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Future Subjunctive *size kudlan'* ('so that we would interview') follows the Recent Past Imperfective *besifika* ('we were arriving'), and it denotes the journalists' intention to conduct an interview with Linah Sosana Dunn, Peggy-Sue Khumalo's grandmother.

Also in example (51) from section 5.7 (i.e. 79 from secion 6.5.1), repeated here as (19), the Future Subjunctive *baye kuzingela* ('so that they would hunt') refers to an event whose factuality is not necessarily confirmed.

[647] The symbol > in the subscript parentheses indicates that said event occurred after the time indicated by the number indicated in the parentheses. Since the event's occurrence is not asserted, it cannot be allocated a subscript number.

(19) "[…] Ku-ndi-nced-é kakhulu. Ndi-nqwenel-a ukuba i-Grain=SA
SM.17-OM.1SG-help-ANT much SM.1SG-want-FV that AUG-9.Grain=SA

i-ngá-phind-a i-buy-e. Bendi-ng-az-i ukuba i-rayisi
SM.9-POT-do=again-FV SM.9-return-SUBJ SM.1.be.PST-NEG-know-FV that AUG-9.rice

i-vel-a e-m-hlab-eni o-na-ma-nzi. Oku-nye
SM.9-come=from-FV LOC-3-soil-LOC RM.3-COM-6-water ADJ.17-another

endi-ku-fund-ile-yo ku-kuba
SBJRM.1SG-OM.17-learn-ANT-DISJ COP.17-that

oo-tatomkhulu be-thu **bebe-hamb-a** **ba-y-e** **ku-zingel-a**
AUG-2a.grandfather POSS.2-1PL SM.2.be.PST-walk-FV SM.2-go-SUBJ 15-hunt-FV

ukuze ba-kw-az-i u-ku-nxib-a, lo=gama thina
so=that SM.2-OM.15-know-FV AUG-15-put=on-FV while PRON.1PL

si-theng-a e-zi-venkile-ni. Ndi-fund-é oku-ninzi
SM.1PL-buy-FV LOC-10-shop-LOC SM.1SG-learn-ANT ADJ.17-much

ngaphezu ko-kuba bendi-lindel-é. [...]"
more=than POSS.17-that SM.1.be.PST-expect-ANT

"[…] It has helped me a lot. I wish Gran SA could come back again. I did not know that rice comes from soil with water. Another thing that I learnt is that our grandfathers ***went to hunt*** *so that they could have clothes to wear, while we buy them in shops. I learnt more than I had expected. […]'*
(Eiselen & Puttkammer 2014)

The Future Subjunctive *baye kuzingela* ('so that they would hunt') denotes the ancestors' intention to hunt, which existed during each recurrent event of walking represented by the Recent Past Imperfective *bebehamba* ('they went (walked)'). Whether each event of walking resulted in hunting remains unasserted.

Similarly, in example (20) from an article about famous South African soccer players, the Future Subjunctive *ndizokuncedisa* ('so that I would help') refers to an intention, i.e. a non-actualised event.

(20) U-Dladla ú-ya-m-ngqin-el-a. 'Ndi-ngathi nje a-ba-dlali
AUG-1a.Dlala SM.1-DISJ-OM.1-affirm-APPL-FV SM.1SG-as=if just AUG-2-player

ba-se-Yurophu ba-nxanelw-e i-mpumelelo ngaphezu kwe-thu.
POSS.2-LOC-9.Europe SM.2-long=for-SUBJ AUG-9.success more=than POSS.17-1PL

Ngoko-m-zekelo ndâ-hamb-a kw-eli ndi-ngu-m-dlali
manner-3-example SM.1SG.REMPST-go-FV SM.17-DEM.5.PROX SM.1SG-COP.1-1-player

wa-phambili o-hlasel-a-yo, **ndi-nga-kw-az-i** u-ku-buy-a
POSS.1-in=front RM.1-attack-FV-DISJ SM.1SG-PTCP.NEG-OM.15-know-FV AUG-15-return-FV

ndi-zoku-nced-is-a a-ba-dlali ba-semva yaku-phuncuk' i-bhola.'
SM.1SG-come.SUBJ.15-help-CAUS-FV AUG-2-player POSS.2-back TEMP.9-slip=off.FV AUG-9.ball

*(Josta) Dladla also confirms this. 'I can say that European players are so much hungrier for success than us. For example, I left the country (South Africa) as an attacker, not knowing how **to drop back** into (lit: how to return **in order to help**) defence when we lost the ball.'*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The Future Subjunctive *ndizokuncedisa* ('so that I would help') denotes Josta Dlala's intention to help his teammates, something he was not able to do (at the time).

Certainly, the label *Future Subjunctive* is a misnomer, given that it is in no way 'more posterior' relative to R than the Subjunctive[648]. What all the Future Subjunctive verbs in (18-20) have in common is that they denote an **intention**, which implies that this is a type of the Subjunctive with specialised semantics which automatically includes the **subject's volition**. Hence, *Volitional Subjunctive* would perhaps be a more suitable label. However, this assumption would need to be confirmed by more data before replacing the form's current label.

7.4.2. Consecutive

As pointed out in sections 3.9.1 and 3.16, the Consecutive form denotes past events which are subsequent to the events from the preceding discourse and: It may occur only after a Past Indicative main verb, which serves as an anchoring point for their relative temporal reference. Since they establish their temporal reference relative to a point different than S, I treat them as a relative tense (cf. sections 3.9.1, 3.16, Nurse 2008:120-124).

Consider example (39) from section 6.3 (i.e. 70 from section 6.5.1), repeated here as (21), which contains biographical data of C.M. Mchitheka.

(21) C.=M.=Mchitheka – i-sekela=nobhala – wâ-phum-a
1a.C=M=Mchitheka AUG-5.deputy=secretary SM.1.REMPST-exit-FV

e-bu-titshal-eni **w-enz-a** u-m-thetho. **Ú-sebenz-é** e-Lusuthu
LOC-14-teaching-LOC SM.1.PSTCONS-do-FV AUG-3-law SM.1-work-ANT LOC-9.Lesotho

[648] The number of Future Subjunctive verb forms analysed in this corpus data is too small to be able to conclude if the infixed *-ze ku-* (*-zoku-*) or *-ye ku-* (*-yoku-*) in any way affect the forms' semantics (e.g. ventive vs. itive).

wa-buy-a **wa-y-a** e-Butswana
SM.1.PSTCONS-return-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-go-FV LOC-9.Botswana

apho a-swelek-é kwi-ngozi ye-moto.
there.MED SBJRM.1-die-ANT SM.17-9.accident POSS.9-9.car

C.M. Mchitheka, the deputy secretary, he left teaching and took up law. ***He worked*** *in Lesotho and then* ***he went*** *(lit:* ***he returned*** *and* ***went****) to Botswana where he died in a car accident.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The three Past Consecutive forms, *wenza* ('(and then) he did'), *wabuya* ('(and then) he returned') and *waya* ('(and then) he went') represent factual events. Their actualisation is an obligatory part of the Past Consecutive forms, and not just an implicature. In addition, they advance the plot line, which suggests that **they introduce a new R** into the discourse, just like Perfective verbs. For example, the Past Consecutive *wenza* ('(and then) he did') refers to an event that occurred after the one denoted by the Remote Past Perfective *wâphuma* ('he exited') finished. Similarly, R of the Past Consecutive *wabuya* ('(and then) he returned') is located after R of the Recent Past Perfective *úsebenzé* ('he worked').

The fact that the Past Consecutive introduces its own, new R automatically means it affects the R-movement in the following discourse. For example, R of the Recent Past Perfective *úsebenzé* ('he worked') ensues R of the preceding Past Consecutive *wenza* ('(and then) he did'). Thus, unlike the Anterior aspect, the Prospective aspect and the Subjunctive, they 'impose' their R by determining the position on the timeline where the R-movement in further discourse continues from.

Like the Perfective verbs, the Past Consecutive does not always introduce a new R. Consider example (22) from an article about a journalist's visit to a traditional healer.

(22) Ngo-ku-khawulez-a emva k-oko zâ-khutshw-a
INSTR-15-hury-FV after POSS.17-DEM.17.PROX SM.10.REMPST-be=taken=out-FV

ii-nyoka wa-b-a u-ya-qal-is-a u-m-cimbi
AUG-10.snake SM.3.PSTCONS-be-FV SM.3-DISJ-start-CAUS-FV AUG-3-matter

esasi-y-e ku-wo. **Ndâ-bhal-a** i-bali la-m,
RM.1PL.go.REMPST-go-ANT SM.17-3 SM.1SG.go.REMPST-write-FV AUG-5.story POSS.5-1SG

u-Dave **wa-fot-a**.
AUG-1a.Dave SM.1.PSTCONS-take=photo-FV

Soon afterwards, they took out snakes and the ceremony began. ***I wrote*** *my story, and Dave* ***took pictures****.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

When the ceremony began, the author of the article wrote down a story about what had happened to him when they arrived at the traditional healer's, an event represented by the Remote Past Perfective verb *ndâbhala* ('I wrote'). Although his colleague Dave was talking pictures of the ceremony at the same, this event is denoted by a Past Consecutive form, *wafota* ('(and then) he took pictures'), which evidently does not introduce a new R. This can be accounted for by the lack of a semantic clash between the two clauses. Since the subjects differ in the two verbs, both verbs can hold true at the same time.

The Past Consecutive occurs sometimes in compound verbs where the second element is the Infinitive, e.g. in example (23) which comes from Sidayiya's novel *Iyawa nguMayedwa*.

(23) Aku-b-a anelis-ek-ile ukuba aku-kh-o m-ntu
SM.1.TEMP-be-FV SM.1.PTCP.satisfy-NEUTR-ANT.DISJ that NEG.SM.17-exist-FV 1-person

ú-z-a-yo w-ehlik-ile e-gigi-ni, elaa phepha le-z-onka
SM.1-come-FV-DISJ SM.1-dismount-ANT.DISJ LOC-9.cart-LOC DEM.5.DIST 5.paper POSS.5-8-bread

abe-li-nik-w-é e-bhaki-ni eli-pheth-é nge-s-andla.
RM.1.be.PST-OM.5-give-PASS-ANT LOC-9.bakery-LOC RM.5-carry-ANT INSTR-7-hand

U-hamb-é na-lo **wa-y-a** **ku-jikel-a**
SM.1-walk-ANT COM-5 SM.1.PSTCONS-go-FV 15-go=round-FV

emva kwe-tyholo eli-shinyen-e-yo.
after POSS.17-5.bush RM.5-become=dense-ANT-DISJ

Apho ú-fik-é wa-thabath-a i-li-tye eli-si-xwexwe,
there.MED SM.1-arrive-ANT SM.1.PSTCONS-take-FV AUG-5-stone RM.5-7-thick=slab

wa-li-bek-a phantsi i-phepha elo,
SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-put=down-FV down AUG-5.paper DEM.5.MED

wa-z-a wa-li-gqum-a
SM.1.PSTCONS-come-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-cover-FV

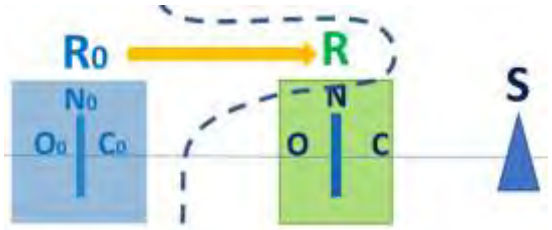
wa-li-shicilel-a ng-elo li-tye.
SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-press-FV INSTR-DEM.5.MED 5-stone

When he made sure nobody was coming, he got off his cart, carrying the piece of paper (which concerned the bread) he was given at the bakery in his hand. He ***went*** *with it* ***to hide*** *behind a dense bush. There (behind the bush) he took a stone slab, put the paper on the ground, covered the it with the stone and pressed it.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

In the Past Consecutive *waya kujikela* ('(and then) he went to hide (lit: to go around)') in (23), the first verb, the Past Consecutive form of *-za* ('come') or *-ya* ('go') represents a factual event. The purpose of the movement is indicated in the Infinitive (without the augment), *kujikela* ('to hide'). Thus, unlike the first half of the compound, the second part with the Infinitive does not necessarily refer to a factual event.

By way of summary, the Past Consecutive is a **relative tense** which belongs to the Indicative mood. Although it needs an Indicative main clause verb to anchor its temporal reference in, it denotes factual past events that introduce a new R into the discourse (like the Perfective aspect)[649], as illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 7.4. *Although the Past Consecutive needs an Indicative main clause verb to obtain a temporal location, it introduces a new R (provided there is a semantic clash with the preceding verb).*



The ability to **introduce its own R** and to '**impose' it in the further discourse** is a property that distinguishes the Past Consecutive from the Imperfective, Anterior and Prosespective aspects (but not the Perfective aspect). Furthermore, unlike all the four aspectual categories in Xhosa, the Past Consecutive (along with the Subjunctive) is syntactically conditioned: It requires an Indicative main clause verb to complete its otherwise dependent temporal reference.

Thus, both the **relative tense** and **aspect** reflect the relation between **E and R**. Aspectual categories assign an event's E (=O+C+N) to a unique interval in time, R, irrespective of whether R is provided in the verb itself (Perfective) or externally, outside the verb (Imperfective,

[649] Note that (a) the ability to **introduce a new R** into the discourse and (b) **the (in)dependence of a temporal reference (R)** from the preceding discourse are two separate issues. While (a) signals whether or not an event happened after the preceding content, (b) indicates whether or not we need to rely on the last mentioned R in order to identify the new R's exact location on the timeline. It is also important to clarify that I understand all linking of a temporal reference of a verb (e.g. Participial verb) to that of another verb (e.g. Indicative verb) as a case of dependence (b), be it that their relation is one of coincidence/overlap or one of temporal sequence.

Anterior, Prospective). By contrast, R encoded in a relative tense like the Past Consecutive is by default **incomplete** without a main clause verb, in that it cannot independently refer to a unique time interval.

7.4.3. Participials

Participials refer to an event within a dependent (subordinate) clause while indicating that its occurrence is anterior, simultaneous or posterior to the event in the main clause (cf. section 3.10). Consider the Present Participial in example (14) from section 5.3.1, repeated here as (24), from Sidayiya's novel *Iyawa nguMayedwa*.

(24) Apho ú-fik-é$_{(1)}$ wa-thabath-a$_{(2)}$ i-li-tye eli-si-xwexwe,
there.MED SM.1-arrive-ANT SM.1.PSTCONS-take-FV AUG-5-stone RM.5-7-thick=slab

wa-li-bek-a$_{(3)}$ phantsi i-phepha elo,
SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-put=down-FV down AUG-5.paper DEM.5.MED

wa-z-a wa-li-gqum-a$_{(4)}$
SM.1.PSTCONS-come-FV SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-cover-FV

wa-li-shicilel-a$_{(5)}$ ng-elo li-tye.
SM.1.PSTCONS-OM.5-press-FV INSTR-DEM.5.MED 5-stone

Wâ-shiy-a$_{(6)}$ ku-njalo ke apho u-m-fo om-khulu
SM.1.REMPST-leave-FV SM.17-be=like=that then there.MED AUG-1-man ADJ.1-big

wa-buyel-a$_{(7)}$ e-gigi-ni. U-ku-buy-a$_{(8)}$ kwa-khe
SM.1.PSTCONS-return=to-FV LOC-9.cart-LOC AUG-15-return-FV POSS.15-1

waye-hamb-a$_{(8)}$ **e-theth-a**$_{(8)}$ ye-dwa **e-si-th-i**: 'Nd-aku-khe$_{(>S)}$
SM.1.go.REMPST-go-FV SM1.PTCP-speak-FV 1-alone SM.1.PTCP-INFIX-sau-FV SM.1SG-FUT-ever=do

ndi-bon-e$_{(>S)}$ u-ku-th-i$_{(>S)}$ laku-xel-a$_{(>S)}$ ntoni na namhlanje eli phepha. [...]'
SM.1SG-see-SUBJ AUG-15-say-FV SM.5.TEMP-tell-FV what Q today DEM.5.PROX 5.paper

There$_{(1)}$ (behind the bush) he took$_{(2)}$ a stone slab, put$_{(3)}$ the piece of paper on the ground, covered$_{(4)}$ it with the stone and pressed it$_{(5)}$. He left it$_{(6)}$ like that, and went$_{(7)}$ to his cart. ***On his way back***$_{(8)}$*,* ***he was talking***$_{(8)}$ *to himself* ***saying***$_{(8)}$*: 'I'm going to see$_{(>S)}$ what this piece of paper will say$_{(>S)}$ today. […]'*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Present Participial forms *ethetha* ('(he) speaking') and *esithi* ('(he) saying') indicate events whose N is simultaneous with, i.e. 'occupies' the entire R of the Recent Past Imperfective *wayehamba* ('he was walking') in the main clause.

In example (2) from section 7.2, repeated here as (25), the Past Participial *elelé* ('(he) sleeping') refers to the event of sleeping whose N (onset of sleeping) precedes R of the Recent Past Anterior *wayefiké* ('he had arrived') in the main clause. The C of the Past Participial verb *elelé* ('(he) sleeping') is the state of sleeping, and this state is observable at R: In (25) Zakhele arrived when Sithonga was already sleeping.

(25)

U-MaMndaweni	kwâ-b-a$_{(1)}$	ngathi	ku-kh-o$_{(1)}$	
AUG-1a.MaMndaweni	SM.17.be.REMPST	as=if	SM.17-exist-FV	
i-nto	e-th-é$_{(0)}$	xibilili	u-ku-suk-a	
AUG-9.thing	RM.9-say-ANT	ID.of=removing	AUG-15-exit-FV	
oku	e-ma-gx-eni	a-khe,	e-nyanisw-eni	
DEM.17.PROX	LOC-6-shoulder-LOC	POSS.6-1	LOC-9.truth-LOC	
yayi-kh-o$_{(1)}$	kwaye	waye-za=ku-yi-th-i$_{(>1)}$		
SM.9.go.REMPST-exist-FV	and	SM.1.go.REMPST-FUT-OM.9-say-FV		
talakaxa	e-ma-gx-eni	o-m-yeni	wa-khe	
ID.of=putting=on	LOC-6-shoulder-LOC	POSS.6-1-husband	POSS.1-1	
u-Zakhele	nga-bo	obo	bu-suku.	U-Zakhele
AUG-1a.Zakhele	INSTR-14	DEM.14.MED	14-night	AUG-1a.Zakhele
waye-fik-é$_{(0)}$		u-Sithonga	**e-lel-é**$_{(-1)}$,	emva
SM.1.go.REMPST-arrive-ANT		AUG-1a.Sithonga	SM.1.PTCP-sleep-ANT	after
ko-kuba	e-gqib-ile$_{(2)}$		u-ku-ncokol-a	no-yise
POSS.17-that	SM.1.PTCP-finish-ANT.DISJ		AUG-15-converse-FV	COM-1a.father
ii-ndatyana	ezi-ngephi		zo-hambo	lwa-khe
AUG-10.small=news	RM.10-unimportant		POSS.10-11.journey	POSS.11-1
ne-mpilo	ye-khaya,	wa-vus-a$_{(3)}$		u-Sithonga
COM-9.health	POSS.9-5.home	SM.1.PSTCONS-wake=up.CAUS-FV		AUG-1a.Sithonga
e-bu-thongw-eni	kuba	waye-m-khumbul-a$_{(3)}$		kakhulu.
LOC-14-sleepiness-LOC	because	SM.1.go.REMPST-OM.1-remember-FV		much

*MaMndaweni was$_{(1)}$ relieved (lit: To MaMndaweni it seemed$_{(1)}$ as if a burden had gotten off$_{(0)}$ her shoulders); Indeed, there was$_{(1)}$ a burden she needed$_{(1)}$ to talk about with her husband (lit: she was going to put$_{(>1)}$ on her husband's shoulders) that night. Zakhele **arrived**$_{(0)}$ when Sithonga **was asleep**$_{(-1)}$. After he finished$_{(2)}$ talking to his father about the news from his journey and about how everyone was doing$_{(2)}$ at home (lit: about home's health), he went$_{(3)}$ to wake Sithonga up (lit: he woke Sithonga up$_{(3)}$) because he missed$_{(3)}$ him.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

In example (26) from an article about the development of lobola contracts, the Future Participial *eza kutshata* ('(he being) about to get married') denotes the planned event of getting married,

which never actualised itself because the subject passed away. Thus, it is O-phase of said event that is asserted at R of the Remote Past Perfective *wâsweleka* ('he died').

(26) "U-m-ntakwethu wâ-swelek-a sele e-lobol-é yaye
AUG-1-my=brother SM.1.REMPST-decease-FV IAM SM.1.PTCP-pay=lobola-ANT and

e-za=ku-tshat-a. U-m-fazi wa-khe a-zange
SM.1.PTCP-FUT-marry-FV AUG-1-woman POSS.1-1 SM.1.SUBJ-never=do

a-kw-az-i u-kw-enz' i-bango kwi-zi-nto za-khe
SM.1.SUBJ-OM.15-know-FV AUG-15-do.FV AUG-5.claim SM.17-10-thing POSS.10-1

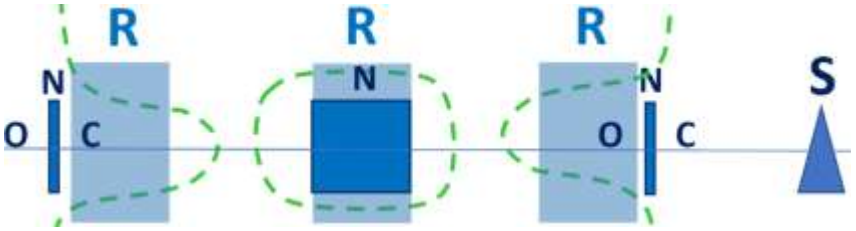
awaye-zi-shiy-ile. Kwaku-za=ku-b-a bhetele
SBJRM.1.go.REMPST-OM.10-leave-ANT.DISJ SM.17.go.REMPST-FUT-be-FV better

ukuba waye-fumen-é i-risithi,' ú-tsh-o u-Mpho.
that SM.1.go.REMPST-get-ANT AUG-9.receipt SM.1-say=so-FV AUG-1a.Mpho

*"My brother passed away after he paid lobola and **when he was about to get married**. His wife could not claim the things he had left behind; It would have been better if she had got a receipt', said Mpho.*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The definition of the Future Participial as the assertion of an event's O-phase within R of the main clause verb may appear to be quite similar to the definition of the Subjunctive (cf. 7.4.1). However, the difference lies in the fact that while the Subjunctive asserts the O-phase of an event only at the Indicative event's N (and not within its entire R), the Future Participial asserts an event's O-phase across the entire R (without regard to the position of an Indicative verb's N within R). This difference is also reflected in the semantic dissimilarities between the two categories. Namely, the Subjunctive indicates a wide range of modal meanings related to the subject's desire, plan, request or intention. By contrast, the speaker in (26) uses the Future Participial to merely assert that the event was supposed to take place in the specified interval of time, without making any claims about his certainty or the subject's volition. Thus, it follows that the assertion of an event's O-phase across the entire R, e.g. in the Future Participial and the Prospective aspect, state the fact that an event is about to occur without explaining why that is the case or how this is known.

Figure 7.5. *The Past, Present and Future Participial (from left to right) assert an event's O, N or C (respectively) in R of the Indicative verb from the main clause. The Participial forms' reliance on R from another verb is indicated by the interrupted lines.*



The Past, Present and Future Participials also belong to the Indicative mood. Like the Subjunctive and the Past Consecutive, they occur in subordinated clauses and they obtain their unique temporal reference only in relation to R of an Indicative verb from the main clause. As shown in Figure 7.5, they specify that the position of an event's N is anterior, simultaneous or posterior relative to R of the main clause verb.

7.4.4. Temporal

The Temporal verb form refers to a time interval defined by an event which (at least partly) precedes R of the main clause, cf. section 3.11. Consider the bolded Temporal form in (66) from section 6.5.1, repeated here as (27).

(27) Ú-theth-é w-ophel-a u-Nala e-bonakalis-a
SM.1-speak-ANT SM.1.PSTCONS-do=extensively-FV AUG-1a.Nala SM.1.PTCP-show-FV

u-ku-velan-a no-Khuselwa de a-b-e ú-m-bon-el-a
AUG-15-sympathise-FV COM-1a.Khuselwa until SM.1.SUBJ-be-SUBJ SM.1-OM.1-provide-FV

i-si-thub-a so-ku-tolik-a i-mi-thetho ka-Rhulumente. ¶
AUG-7-opportunity POSS.7-15-interpret-FV AUG-4-law POSS.1a-government

E-kruquk-ile ku-ku-hlal-a e-khaya u-Khuselwa
SM.1.PTCP-satiate-ANT.DISJ COP.15-15-sit-FV LOC-5.home AUG-1a.Khuselwa

wâ-s-amkel-a eso si-hlalo si-phantsi so-ku-tolik-a
SM.1.REMPST-OM.7-accept-FV DEM.7.MED 7-position SM.7-below POSS.7-15-interpret-FV

e-ndaw-eni y-eso so-bu-gqwetha. Ú-sebenz-ile u-Khuselwa
LOC-9.place-LOC POSS.9-DEM.7.MED POSS.7-14-lawyer SM.1-work-ANT.DISJ AUG-1a.Khuselwa

e-xakanisek-ile yi-le meko a-zi-bon-a
SM.1.PTCP-become.worried-ANT.DISJ COP.9-DEM.9.PROX 9.situation RM.1-REFL-see-FV

e-gaxelek-a ku-yo. **Aku-phum-a** e-m-sebenzi-ni
SM.1.PTCP-be.surrounded-FV SM.17-9 SM.1.TEMP-exit-FV LOC-3-work-LOC

nge-nye i-mini **ú-sing-é** e-dolophi-ni.
INSTR.ADJ.9-one AUG-9.day SM.1-proceed=to-ANT LOC-9.town-LOC

Nala spoke extensively showing sympathy for Khuselwa, eventually providing her with an opportunity to interpret governmental regulations. ¶
*Fed up with sitting at home, Khuselwa accepted the job of being a translator instead of being a lawyer. She worked while being worried about the situation that she found herself in. One day **after** work (**when she left** work) she headed to town.*
(Roux et al. 2001)

The Temporal form *akuphuma (emsebenzini)* ('when she left (work)') indicates that right after Khuselwa left work, R of the Recent Past Perfective verb *úsingé* ('she headed to town') from the main clause, started.

The Temporal verb forms can also refer to habitual events, e.g. in (20) from section 7.4.1, repeated here as (28).

(28) U-Dladla ú-ya-m-ngqin-el-a. 'Ndi-ngathi nje a-ba-dlali
AUG-1a.Dlala SM.1-DISJ-OM.1-affirm-APPL-FV SM.1SG-as=if just AUG-2-player

ba-se-Yurophu ba-nxanelw-e i-mpumelelo ngaphezu kwe-thu.
POSS.2-LOC-9.Europe SM.2-long=for-SUBJ AUG-9.success more=than POSS.17-1PL

Ngoko-m-zekelo ndâ-hamb-a kw-eli ndi-ngu-m-dlali
manner-3-example SM.1SG.REMPST-go-FV SM.17-DEM.5.PROX SM.1SG-COP.1-1-player

wa-phambili o-hlasel-a-yo, **ndi-nga-kw-az-i** u-ku-buy-a
POSS.1-in=front RM.1-attack-FV-DISJ SM.1SG-PTCP.NEG-OM.15-know-FV AUG-15-return-FV

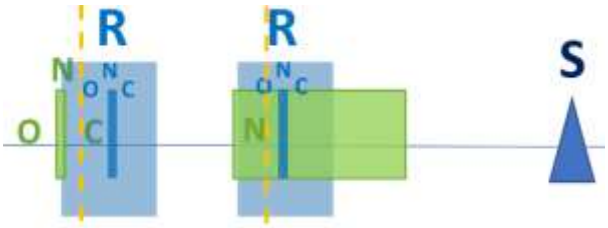
ndi-zoku-nced-is-a a-ba-dlali ba-semva **yaku-phuncuk'** i-bhola.'
SM.1SG-come.SUBJ.15-help-CAUS-FV AUG-2-player POSS.2-back TEMP.9-slip=off.FV AUG-9.ball

*(Josta) Dladla also confirms this. 'I can say that European players are so much hungrier for success than us. For example, I left the country (South Africa) as an attacker, not knowing how **to drop back** into (lit: how to return **in order to help**) defence when we lost the ball.'*
(Snyman et al. 2012)

The Temporal *yakuphuncuk' (ibhola)* ('when we lost (the ball)') refers to every time Josta Dladla's team lost the ball, after which he was unable to help his team, which is represented by the Present Participial verb *ndingakwazi* ('I not being able to').

The Temporal form asserts that the punctual N, i.e. the onset of the durative N (cf. du Plessis & Visser 1992:167-168) introduces R of the main clause verb, as illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 7.6. *The Temporal indicates that a punctual N (left), i.e. onset of the durative N (right) introduces R of the main clause verb.*



7.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been shown that the Anterior aspect expresses a wide range of meanings: From retrospective events in narrations, to resulting states of events, to events identified by the evidence of their resulting state. Furthermore, this aspectual category expresses the meaning of the antiresultative (event results that have been annulled by S), while it may also refer to an event whose result is contradicted in the immediate discourse. All these meanings are accounted for as N before R (which is often manifests itself as the assertion of the event's C at R). The Prospective aspect denotes the opposite relation, i.e. events whose O-phase is asserted at R. Whereas in some cases, the Anterior aspect overlaps with **evidentiality** (cf. evidential R in section 7.2), **modality** is involved in the Prospective aspect (cf. modal R in section 7.3).

The Subjunctive is a modal category which represents events without confirmed factuality. In cases where it follows an Indicative verb in one of the Past tenses, the Subjunctive is a modal category which asserts an event's O-phase at the Indicative verb's N.

The Past Consecutive refers to subsequent events in the past and it belongs to the Indicative mood. As a relative tense, it relies on R from the main clause verb in order to establish a reference to a particular time interval. At the same time, this category introduces its own R which affects the R-movement (i.e. which 'imposes' itself) in the following discourse. Although both the Past Consecutive and the aspectual categories determine the relation between E and R, I use the two abovementioned properties to define relative tense and to differentiate it from aspect: (i) as a relative tense, it does not have the ability to independently refer to a time interval without relying on another verb form; (ii) once established, its temporal reference includes its own, discourse-new R.

The Past, Present and Future Participials represent events whose N is anterior, simultaneous, or posterior (respectively) to R encoded in another, main clause verb. With respect to the Temporal, it signals that the verb's punctual N i.e. onset of a durative N introduces R of the main verb.

Thus, besides the Past Continuous Xhosa can be said to have three more categories with a temporal reference dependent on other verbs: Subjunctive, Participial, Temporal. Since they do not affect R-movement in the discourse, they cannot be considered relative tenses.

PART IV

8. Conclusions

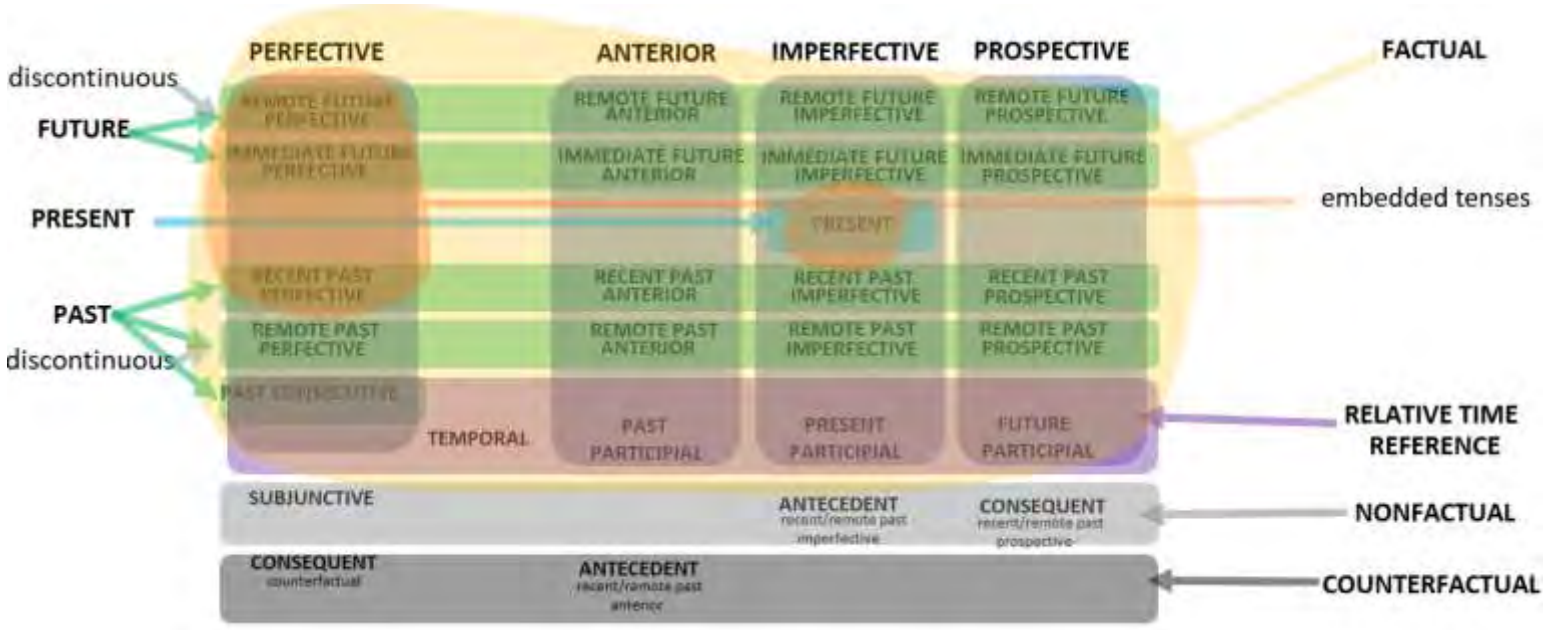
8.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the most important findings of this study which answer the research questions I-IV formulated in section 1.4. In section 8.2, I provide an overview of the TAM categories in Xhosa and their semantics. Section 8.3 addresses questions that revolve around the semantics of the individual TAM categories form a cross-linguistic perspective. More specifically, I address the core of aspectual semantics, the distinction between aspect and relative tense, as well as that between the two Past and the two Future tenses. In section 8.3, I point out the particular issues related to the findings presented here that need to be addressed in future research.

8.2. TAM in Xhosa: An overview

In the Indicative mood, Xhosa has five tenses and four aspects, cf. Figure 1. The five tenses reflect three different positions between S, the moment of speech, and R, the time interval about which a claim is made. The Present tense signals the overlap between R and S, or, in subordinated clauses between R and R (R_{mc}) of the reporting verb from the main clause.

Figure 8.1. *TAM categories in Xhosa. In the Indicative mood, there are five tenses (Remote Future, Immediate Future, Present, Recent Past, Remote Past) and four aspects (Perfective, Anterior, Imperfective, Prosepctive).*



The two Past tenses indicate that R is positioned before S on the timeline. The first difference between the two tenses is that the Recent Past may also signal that R precedes R_{mc}, whereas in the same position the Remote Past relates R to S. The second difference concerns how similar R is to S or, in narrations, to R (R_0) of the preceding verb (cf. research question III from 1.4). The Recent Past in indicates that R is not part of a different situation than S, R_{mc} or R_0. By contrast, the Remote Past suggests that the contextually relevant relations between persons, the object(s), physical locations, physical and abstract spaces (i.e. inter-entity relations) in R are different from those in S or R_0. Therefore, I take the Remote Past to represent the discontinuous past in Xhosa.

The two Future tenses indicate that R follows S/R_{mc}. The Immediate Future refers to an event whose R is not different from S, which suggests that its actualisation is possible (in the conditions that hold true) at S. By contrast, the Remote Future marks that the event's R contains different inter-entity relations than S, requiring a change in those relations before the event can actualise itself (cf. research question III from 1.4).

The four aspects in the Indicative mood reflect different relations between R and E, the event. E can consists of up to three integral phases. Besides its nucleus phase N which contains the characteristic part of the event, it may have an onset phase O that precedes N, and a coda phase C which follows N (cf. research question I from section 1.4). Predicates differ primarily

with respect to whether N refers to one point in time. Predicates whose N pertains to one point in time (punctual N) are completed as soon as they begin. By contrast, the other predicates have a durative N which extends over multiple adjacent points in time.[650]

All tenses but the Present tense (Imperfective) exhibit all the four aspectual categories. The primary distinction between them concerns their ability to introduce a new R into the discourse. The Perfective denotes events which at the same represent a change-of-state. They assign the predicate's N to one unique point on the timeline, which at the same time functions as R. Thus, the Perfective aspect combines both the lexical information about the event E and its R in one verb form[651], cf .Table 1.

Table 8.1. *The semantics of the Perfective, Imperfective, Anterior and Prospective aspects.*

Information encoded in the verb	**Perfective**	**Imperfective**	**Anterior**	**Prospective**
Lexical (E) and/or temporal (R) information	E+R	E	E	E
E-R relation	N is 1 point in time (N=R)	N may (but needs not) hold true at every point of R	C at R	O at R

By contrast, the Imperfective, Anterior and Prospective aspects do not introduce a new R into the discourse (cf. Table 1). Instead, the lexical information about E they denote is assigned to R, which is encoded outside the verb. The Imperfective aspect indicates that N of the predicate is assigned to the entire duration of R. N may, but needs not, hold true at all points within R. In the case of the Anterior aspect, an event's C is asserted at R, whereas the Prospective aspect denotes an event whose O is asserted at R.

In the case of the Imperfective, Anterior and Prospective aspects, R can be both an overtly specified time interval, e.g. time adverbials, or a 'covert' one that is contextually given, e.g. R_0 in narrations. Using S as R in the Present tense (=Imperfective aspect) is another example of a covert R. Another important finding in this study is the fact that R can also be determined by **modality/evidentiality** and **information structure** (**focus**). Thus, the Anterior aspect may suggest that R is the time when the evidence of an event emerged and the Imperfective aspect

[650] The observations regarding the predicate phases, O, N and C, pertain to the situation in Xhosa.
[651] As shown in section 5.3, the Perfective aspect does not introduce a new R only when it refers to (a different part of) the same event as in the previous clause.

can imply that R is a time interval that is part of the interlocutors' shared experience. In the case of the Prospective aspect, R represents a period defined by modal semantic elements, e.g. intention, plan, and/or certainty that the event will actualise itself. With respect to information structure, the Anterior aspect signals that the validity of the event's resulting phase C will be or has been contradicted in the immediate discourse. The Imperfective aspect implies that the resulting phase C is not salient in the following discourse. R can also be a **contextually inferable** period of time: The Imperfective aspect may use (the relevant portion of) a temporal entity's duration or a person's lifetime as R, whereas for the Anterior a past period which extends to S can function as R to give rise to the antiresultative semantics.

Besides the five tenses and the four aspects, Xhosa has five verb forms with a relative temporal location, i.e. which require a main clause verb to establish their R (their unique temporal location): The Past Consecutive, the Temporal, and the Past, Present and Future Participials. The Consecutive Past introduces its own, new R (like the Perfective aspect) which temporally follows R of the main clause verb. By contrast, the other forms temporally locate the events they denote relative to the R of the main clause. The Temporal locates an event's initial (or only) point of N before R, whereas the Past, Present and Future Participials assert an event's O, N and C (respectively) at R.

Since the Past Consecutive introduces its own R, the location of R of the verb form(s) in the upcoming discourse is aligned to it. This property of the Past Consecutive (R 'imposition'), together with the reliance on the main verb for establishing a unique temporal location, is taken to define the **relative tense**.

With regards to the verb forms that do not confirm an event's factuality, these include not only the Subjunctive, but also the antecedents and consequents of the non-factual and counterfactual conditional sentences, which are represented by the Recent/Remote Past Anterior/Imperfective/Posterior as well as by the Counterfactual. Since these forms share non-factual reference to events, I propose that they be grouped together into one Irrealis mood. For example, in the postverbal position (after Past Indicative verbs), the Subjunctive refers to an event's O which holds at the Indicative verb's N (as some kind of enrichment of the latter's semantics).

8.3. TAM semantics from a cross-linguistic perspective

Both tense and aspect temporally locate events. Whereas tense locates events relative to the moment of speech (S), aspect does so with respect to another interval of time (R). This study shows that an adapted version of Klein's (1994) framework (cf. section 4.10) reflects the aspectual semantics in Xhosa: While aspect represents the relation between R and E, tense represents that between R and S. While E-R is also indicative of the relative tense, this category differs significantly from aspect in that it requires a main verb to establish a unique temporal reference, and in that it introduces R that determines the position of the following verbs' R in the forthcoming discourse (cf. research question IV from section 1.4).

Equally important are the findings of this study (cf. research question II from section 1.4 and) which suggest that the core function of aspect in communication is to indicate: (i) whether or not R is encoded together with E in the verb; (ii) whether the predicate pertains to (is asserted at) one unique point in time (=change-of-state) or to more than one point in time. While the property in (i) validates the claim that aspect indicates an (in)definite temporal expression (cf. Barentsen 1998, Boogaart 1999, Dickey 2000, Ramchand 2004, Arsenijević 2006), (ii) supports the interval semantics confirming that aspect indicates whether or not it functions as a quantised temporal expression (Borer 2005, Arsenijević 2006, Arche 2014).

The properties in (i) and (ii) also suggest that the Xhosa Perfective aspect is distinct from the other aspectual categories (the Imperfective, Anterior, and the Prospective aspects): The Perfective encodes both lexical information (E) and temporal information (R), while the other aspectual categories only contain the former information.

The primary distinction between the Perfective and the other aspects is evident in the morpho-syntactic structure of the aspectually marked verbs: The non-compound verb forms in the Past and the Future tenses are Perfective, suggesting that this aspectual category is the unmarked verb form in all but the Present tense. To refer to any event that is not true at the moment of speech S, what is required is the information about (a) the type of event E, as well as (b) a concrete, unique temporal location R that separates that event instance from all the other events of the same type. However, when referring to events that are true at the moment of speech, only the type of event needs to be specified, whereas its temporal location is already provided in the moment of speech S. Therefore, the Perfective aspect is not the default aspectual

category in the Present tense: An event which holds at S is incompatible with a temporal location that pertains to one point in time.

The opposite is true of the Imperfective aspect. While it has compound forms in the Past and the Future tenses, its morphological structure is simplex in the Present tense, where it is the only aspectual category. That is why one may assume that the Imperfective forms stem from the Present tense: The aspectual properties of the Present have been transferred to the Past and Future tenses. The Present tense does not represent the predicate as a change-of-state which pertains to one unique point in time. Instead, it only encodes the lexical information about the predicate, while applying it to every point of a time frame indicated by the discourse situation (S). In order to assert a predicate's N to every point of an interval (R) that does not overlap with S, the Present Participial form (which shares great morphological similarity with the Present tense form) is transposed into the past (before S) or the future (after S) by means of the auxiliary verb *-ba* ('be') or *-ya* ('go'). This way, the predicate rules out numerous semantic elements that are otherwise present in the morphologically simplex Past or Future Perfective forms: The predicate no longer refers to a transition from O to N or from N to C. Therefore, the predicate no longer pertains to one unique point in time (like the Present tense), while its location on the timeline is determined only by the time interval R. Furthermore, unlike in the Perfective aspect, the salient information introduced by the Imperfective verb excludes the resulting phase C.

The invariant meaning of the Imperfective aspect in Xhosa has been defined as 'N may but needs not hold true at every point of R'; However, this definition can also describe the semantics of the Imperfective aspect as a cross-linguistic gram-type. Although this interpretation of the Imperfective semantics relies on O, N and C as the key concepts of the lexical aspect in Xhosa, the recognition of O, (punctual and durative) N, and C as event phases is cross-linguistically applicable with certain language-specific additions (e.g. (a)telicity or incrementality of N, etc.).

The significant semantic cross-linguistic differences in the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual opposition described in Chapter 1, need not be due to language-specific differences of the basic meaning of these aspectual categories, but they may reflect a variation in the functions and properties of R (i.e. which intervals may serve as R). For example, while Xhosa (and perhaps also Spanish, cf. *narrative imperfect* in Bertinetto 1987) can 'place' R around a predicate's N to signal that C of an event is not salient in the following discourse, this is not the case in the Slavic

languages like Russian, Czech, Polish or Serbo-Croatian. Another example has to do with recurring events which can be denoted by the Perfective aspect in Czech or Serbo-Croatian, which suggests each individual instance is encompassed by an individual R. By contrast, in Russian or Bulgarian habitual events are only represented by the Imperfective aspect because all its individual instances must be encompassed by one 'common' R.

The relation between E(=O+N+C) and R has the capacity to account for other aspectual categories as well. For example, the subcategory of the Imperfective aspect, the Progressive aspect, also indicates that N occupies the entire duration of R. However, it differs from the Imperfective aspect in that the predicate's N **must** hold true for every moment of R. Thus, this view of the Progressive aspect excludes the habitual readings which involve interruptions between the instances of a recurring event. When a Progressive marker starts to allow intermittent interruptions (habitual contexts) within R, it has made the first step towards developing into an Imperfective aspectual marker.

Note that while the Progressive aspect (in e.g. English) creates R-stagnation in narrations and refers to time intervals that are accessible to all discourse participants (e.g. 'shared experience'), it may share some of its functions with the lexical aspect. Thus, in English states create R-stagnation without being marked for the Progressive aspect. We can assume that lexical aspect takes over much more aspectual semantics in aspectless languages (languages with little or no aspectual morphology), such as German.

With respect to the Anterior (Perfect) aspect in Xhosa, I defined it as the assertion of an event's C (=any state that follows the event) at R. This definition can also be applied cross-linguistically. For example, when combined with the Present tense, it suits the semantics of the English Present Perfect, more specifically to the Perfect of Result (1) and to the Experiential Perfect (2)[652], which locate an event's C at R=S. At the same time, the location of N relative to S remains irrelevant and non-specified.

(1) You have broken my mug.

[652] This does not apply to the Perfect of Persistent Situation, in which N holds true at R=S, e.g. *I have been waiting for three hours now*. N reaches S at one end and it started at a past point in time. The element that links the Perfect of Persistent Situation to the current definition of the Anterior aspect (C is asserted at R) is that N precedes R.

(2) They have never been to South Africa.

8.4. Future research

This study has shown the importance of analysing language-specific mechanisms of identifying R which underlie TAM semantics in a language. More data both from other examples of the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual oppositions and from diverse aspectual systems from various language families is necessary as it may reveal cross-linguistically common patterns for selecting intervals that function as R. Equally important is to systematically approach the identification of the most relevant inter-entity relations characterising individual events that determine the choice of one of two Past or Future tenses.

In order to address these topics, one should not only use data from natural language use, but also evidence from experiments in which the non-linguistic input is manipulated to produce variations in the linguistic (verbalised) output. Klein's (1994) framework seems to be a suitable tool for conducting these kinds of analyses, which could particularly benefit the domain of natural language processing.

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