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5

Tense and aspect in Manda: A domains and regions (DaR) analysis

Rasmus Bernander

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to offer a synchronic analysis of the Tense-Aspect (TA) system found in Manda (N11, mgs), a Bantu language spoken by roughly 30 000 speakers along the eastern shores of Lake Nyasa (Malawi) in southern Tanzania. More precisely, the description and analysis offered here is an attempt to frame the results discussed in Bernander (2017) and subsequent publications, within the DaR model developed by Botne & Kershner (e.g., Botne & Kershner 2008, Botne forthc., this volume). This general attempt at encapsulating the Manda TA data within the DaR framework will serve as a major update and revision of the results presented in Bernander (2017), adding a more precise synchronic semantic analysis of individual grams as well as a comprehensive analysis of the system as a whole. Particularly prominent in this regard are the re-interpretation of the semantic specifics of some verb forms and even the addition of some new constructions, along with novel insights into how the Manda speakers conceptualize time within the structuring of discourse.[1] In addition, I will argue that the TA system of Manda can be conceptualized as consisting of two overlapping "layers", one basic system with more simple temporal and aspectual contrasts and an additional layer of both formally and functionally more complex verb forms.

The article is organized in the following manner. After these introductory notes, section 2 will offer some additional background information on the Manda language. Section 3 consists of an introduction to the DaR framework and the conceptualization of temporal relations but also to grammatical and lexical aspect. Section 4 introduces the specific conceptualization of two layers within the Manda TA system. In sections 5-11, different chunks of the TA system in Manda are presented and further analyzed within the DaR framework. Sections 12 and 13 close this chapter by offering a summary and some general conclusions about the Manda TA system as a whole as interpreted within the framework of the DaR model. Consequently, section 12 also contains Figure 16 which represents an attempt at fitting all TA forms presented in the preceding sections into a single diagrammatic representation.

[1] Not discussed in this paper are concepts clearly connected to TA such as mood and modality, taxis, phasal polarity and negation. See Bernander (2017) for an account of how these concepts apply in Manda.

2. Language background

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned, Manda is spoken along the eastern littoral of Lake Nyasa in Southern Tanzania (see Appendix). As argued in Bernander (2018), Manda has been heavily affected by (intra-genetic) contact and has an ambiguous genealogical (subgrouping) status, which motivates taking into account comparative data from both the Rufiji-Ruvuma cluster of Bantu languages (N10 + P10-P20) and languages of the Southern Highland group (G60) for comparative-historical inferences.

As is typical of an (Eastern) Bantu language, Manda has complex and concatenative verbal morphology (see e.g., Nurse 2008:28-78, Dahl 1985). The Manda verb template, consisting of various morphological positions dedicated to affixes expressing certain functional categories, can be represented as in (1). Brackets indicate optionality.[2]

(1) (Pre-SM-) (SM-) (-TAM1-) (-OM-) -BASE[=ROOT (-EXT)] -TAM2

As a main negation strategy, viz. for all TA forms discussed in this paper, Manda makes use of post-verbal negation, expressed either with the particle *lepa* (~*lepe*~*lepi*) or *he*, used interchangeably.

Manda has a restricted tone system, as is typical of Bantu languages in this area. With regard to verbs, Manda lacks contrastive lexical verb tones. However, Manda has several distinctive grammatical or "melodic" tone patterns discriminating different verb forms (/conjugations) from each other. Basically, Manda speakers contrast TA forms with high tone on the antepenult + penult (an APU-PU pattern) and those marked with a high tone on the penult (PU) alone. Some exceptions to these two patterns exist, such as the Remote Future tense in the Matumba variety.[3] The addition of an object marker to the verb may in some verb forms change the tone pattern, typically resulting in the shift of the high tones to a stem-initial position.

Final front vowels are raised in Manda. Thus, the subjunctive suffix reflex of Proto-Bantu *-é is (typically) pronounced as /*i*/ and the perfect(ive) suffix *-ile (and variants thereof) is pronounced as /ili/. Manda speakers may optionally delete the final syllable of verbal words, as seen in (2).

(2) *tu-ka-long-**í'*** *ná-kʊ* < *tu-ka-long-**íli*** *ná-kʊ*
SM1-PL-PST-speak-PFV COM-3SG SM1PL-PST-speak-PFV COM-3SG
'we spoke to him/her'

Deletion of the final syllable is phonologically restricted to words containing an approximant and/or a coronal in the onset of the final syllable (with exceptions found in some grammaticalizing auxiliaries). Its effects are thus not functionally motivated in Manda (unlike what has been suggested for neighboring Mpoto N14; Botne 2019a:111; see a further discussion in §6.1). Notice that (2) incidentally also illustrates a divergent form of the subject marker of the 1st person singular, which is more often realized as *ti*- rather than *tu*-, as in this example.

[2] TAM = Tense-Aspect-Mood. As mentioned, the latter concept will not be discussed in this study expect when directly (historically) related to the expressions of a TA form.

[3] There are also some additional minor differences and occasional exceptions within certain tone patterns. These will not concern us further in this paper, however (but see Bernander 2017). Notice also that some examples, for which proper audio recordings/analyses are missing, occur without any indications of tone in this paper.

2.2 A note on the "extra" *-a-* in some verb forms

Another (morpho-)phonological variation that may occur in Manda, and which is less easily accounted for, is the irregular tendency to shift the vowel quality of the subject marker to coalesce with an "extra" *-a-* (typically, but not exclusively, confined to verb forms where the TA prefix also contains an /a/). Its inclusion makes it appear that an additional formative has been introduced. A case in point is (3), where the consultant first gave the form of the Recent Past as having the shape *-aka-*B-*ili*, but when asked just as readily accepted the removal of the additional /a/, viz. *-ka-*B-*ili*, claiming no change in meaning.

(3) *n-**aka**-l-í'* *pa-monga* *na* *va-na* *w-angu…* *ni-**ka**-l-í* *sawa* *pia*
SM1SG-PST-eat-PFV 16-one COM 2-children 1-POSS.1SG SM1SG-PST-eat-PFV ok also
'I was eating with my children… *nikali* is also ok"'

A similar type of "free variation" has also been described for the neighboring languages Ngoni (Ebner 1939:23) and Mpoto (Botne 2019a, b). Botne (2019a:118, 122) suggests, for Mpoto, while admitting that distributional patterns are not clear, that the insertion of this extra *-a-* may stand in relation to notions such as "strong assertion, "certainty" and "emphasis".[4] Plausible as it might sound, I have not found any clear evidence for such a functional division in Manda. As nuances of this type can easily get neutralized in a language, one could, however, imagine that this is the historical explanation of its presence. Another niche for the extra /a/ seems to be in sequenced situations in a sentence (see also Botne 2019). That is, whereas the first verb form will be realized with the TA prefix alone, the second (and third and fourth, etc.) will receive the additional /a/. An example of this is the realization of the string of verbs inflected with the Consecutive, the verb form where this tendency seems to hold the best, in (4).

(4) *li-**ka**-hid-a* *li-himba,* *y-**aka**-hid-a* *sóvi* *y-**aka**-hid-a*
SM5-CONS-come-FV 5-lion SM9-CONS-come-FV 9.leopard SM9- CONS-come-FV

ndembo, *l-**aka**-hid-a* *li-yani*
9. elephant SM5-CONS-come-FV 5-monkey
'Lion came, Leopard came, Elephant came, Monkey came…'

Such a generalization, however, does not always hold, or does not hold perfectly. The example with the Recent Past in (5) is one of many from the corpus.

(5) *t-**aka**-mem-isi* *ki-víga* *lukela* *ólʊ*
SM1PL-PST-fill-CAUS.PFV 7-pot morning DEM11
'we filled the pot this morning' [no proceeding discourse = first verb in the sentence]

Whether a verb form contain an "extra" *-a-* or not is further obscured by the fact that sequences of identical vowels are subject to vowel deletion in Manda (see Bernander 2017:48, 55). Hence, it is not possible to detect if the TA prefixation is realized as *-aka-* or just *-ka-* when the subject marker itself contains a vowel /a/. This is the case for both class 1 *a-* and 2 *va-* – as exemplified in (6) below – but also for class 6 *ga-*, 12 *ka-* and 16 *pa-*.

(6) ***a-ka/aka**-ying-i'* *lepe mu-gati* ***va-ka/v-aka**-hich-a* *kʊni*
SM1-CONS-enter.PFV NEG 18-inside SM2-CONS/SM2-CONS-come-FV there
'[…] he did not go inside, they came there […]'

[4] See also Edelsten & Lijongwa (2006:74-75) for a parallel line of argumentation for a similar feature in Ndamba (G52), spoken not far from Manda.

In my analysis of Manda, this variation is most often easily treated as a type of (function-less) phonological fluctuation, unless there is a clear discernable function attached to a verb prefix /a/ in relation to an otherwise structurally identical verb form, e.g., the Remote Past *-a-*B-*ili* vs the (Past) Perfect(ive) *-Ø-*B-*ili*.

2.3 Outline of the Manda TA forms

In closing this section and as a point of departure for the remaining discussion of this study, Table 1-3 summarize the various TA forms occurring in Manda that will be scrutinized. Table 1 provides what arguably is the "basic" inventory of verb forms, forming the understructure of the Manda TA system – a proposition further elaborated on in §4.

Table 1. Basic underlying structures

	Form	**Temporal range**
P2 PFV IMPV	*-a-*B-*íli* *-a-*B-*áyi*	> Hodiernal
P1 PFV	*-aka-*B-*íli*	Hodiernal +
P0 PFV IMPV	*-Ø-*B^{H}*-íli* *-Ø-*B^{H}*-éye*	
Pr [Matumba]	*-Ø-*B^{H}*-a* *-i-*B^{H}*-a*	Present/Future; certain

The other tables illustrate the additional layer of formally and functionally complex constructions (Table 2), including aspectualizing auxiliaries (Table 3).

Table 2. Formal and functional complex structures

	Form	**Temporal range**
P2 PluPf	*-a-(v)y-íli -Ø-*B^{H}*-íli*	> Hodiernal
P1 PluPf	*-aka-*B*-íli -Ø-*B^{H}*-íli*	Hodiernal +
Pr PROG	*-(v)y-i(li) pa-/mu-ku-*B*-a*	
Pr HAB [Matumba]	*-ya -Ø-*B*-a* *-vya -i-*B*-a*	
Fut	*ya*=SM*-Ø-*B$^{(H)}$*-(ay)i*	Hodiernal +
Fut 2 [Matumba]	*-ala-*B$^{(H)}$*-a*	post-Hodiernal; uncertain

Table 3. Aspectualizing auxiliary structures

	Form	**Temporal function**
PROXimative	*-lond- ku-*B*-a*	'about to'
PROSPective	*-bɪt- ku-*B*-a*	action away from D.C., spatial or temporal
PERsistive	*-akona* + various conjugations	'still Ving'

As indicated in these table (as also indicated on the map in the Appendix), there is a topolectal division between a northern Matumba "dialect", structurally more similar to the Southern Highland languages, and a southern variety, more akin to the Rufiji-Ruvuma group. There are two topolectal structural isoglosses discernable specifically within the TA system, namely the Remote future *-ala-*B*-a*, which is only found in the northern Matumba language variety, and the formally different Present verb form. To this we may also add the difference in

shape between the copula, i.e. *-y-* versus Matumba *-v(y)-*, used in forming otherwise identical complex TA constructions.

3. The DaR framework and the conceptualization of tense, aspect, and actionality

3.1 Introduction

The Domains and Regions (DaR) framework, first comprehensively introduced in Botne & Kershner (2008) and subsequently refined and modified in Botne (2010, 2012, 2013, 2014, forthc., this volume), is a multimodal cognitive model developed to comprehend the TA systems primarily of Bantu languages. According to Botne (this volume), the DaR model ultimately relies on three essential "verbal frames of reference", viz. Time, Condition and Location, of which Time is the important "frame" for this paper. The Time frame may be further divided based on the parameter of deixis, viz. the deictic (sub-)frame of temporal status (tense and tenors) and the essentially non-deictic (sub-)frame of aspect. With specific reference to the notion of temporality, the division in deixis – a fundamental division between inclusiveness (within the deictic center) versus exclusiveness (or dissociation) – entails the split between contemporal versus *not* contemporal, viz. past and future. This relationship is sketched in Table 4 below.

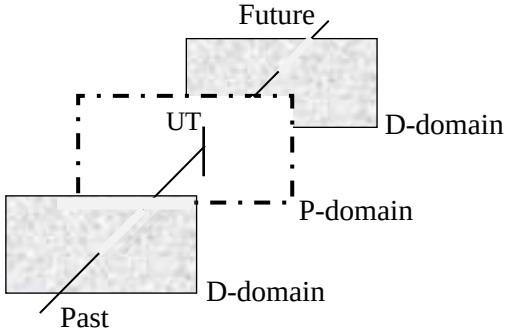
Table 4. The deictic division of temporal status (based on Botne (this volume))

	INCLUSIVE (deictic center)	**EXCLUSIVE (Dissociative)**
TEMPORAL STATUS	Contemporal	Not contemporal - PAST Not contemporal - FUTURE

3.2 Temporal status: Perspectives, tense and tenors

The DaR model treats the frame of Temporal status, and of Time more broadly, in two complementary ways or "perspectives", the D(issocatied)-perspective and the I(nternal)-perspective. Firstly, The D-perspective, depicted in Figure 1, considers the relationship between different domains (or separate mental worlds), for which the term "tense" is reserved. This tense relation stands between a (primary, principal or performative) P-domain, comprising Utterance Time (UT) and representing inclusivity and contemporality, and (dissociated) D-domains in the past and in the future, respectively, representing detachment and non-contemporality.

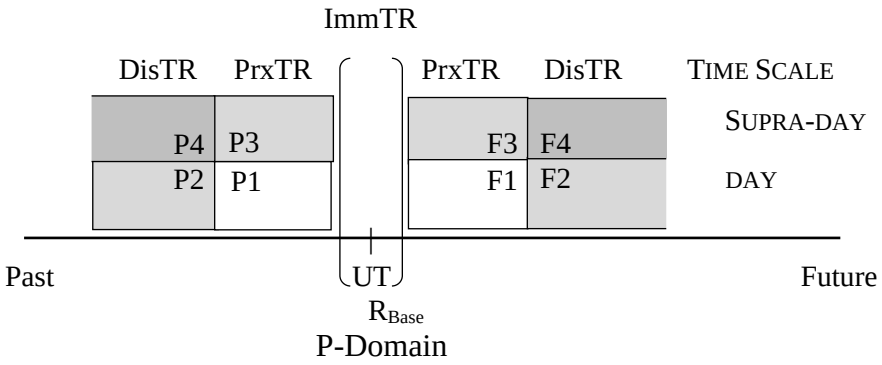
Figure 1. The D-perspective and the division of domains within the DaR model (Botne forthc.)



The conceptualization of a division between a D- a P-domains can nicely account for overlap in absolutive terms between two temporal markers in a language. A case in point is the two futures *-zo*-B-*a* and *-yo*-B-*a* in Zulu (S42), which overlap in their temporal range. However, where the former marker carries readings of relative imminence and certainty the latter is rather associated with readings of relative distance and uncertainty. Such a relationship is neatly accounted for in a DaR analysis in which *-zo-* is treated as denoting a future in the P-domain and *-yo-* a future in the D-domain (cf. Botne & Kershner 2000; see also Crane & Mabena 2019 on cognate forms in other Nguni varieties).

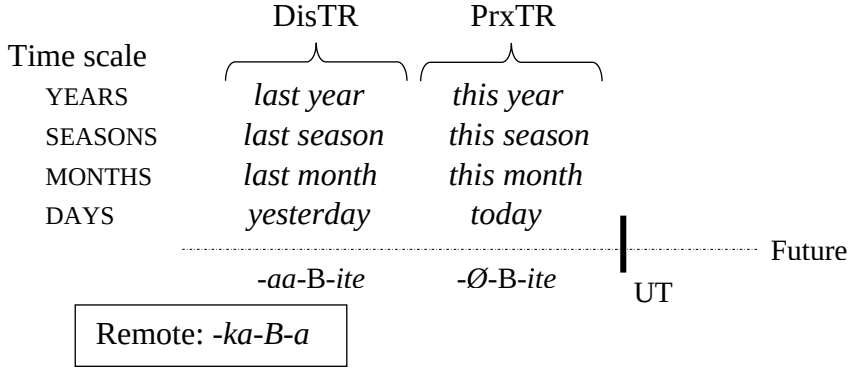
The second perspective, the I-perspective, monitors temporal relations and delineations within these domains, most typically in the P-domain as in Figure 2, but it may also occur in the D-domains of a language. Relations within domains in the DaR model carries a designation of their own, namely "tenor", in contrast to "tense", a term which is exclusively reserved to temporal relations holding across domains. Within the realm of the I-perspective, and the notion of tenors, time is divided into spans or regions (see also Klein 1994: 122, 130): Proximal or Current Time region denoting "inside current region" vs. Distal Time region denoting "outside current region". These time regions may be further divided into time scales, consisting of different units referring to time (hours, days, weeks, seasons, etc.).

Figure 2. The I-perspective and the division of time regions in the DaR model (Botne this volume)



The blending together of adjoined time regions and time scaling occurs, for example, in the past P-domain in Ndali (M301), as illustrated in Figure 3. Here, the verb form *-Ø*-B-*ite* is used with reference to any time unit that coincides with a contemporal contextual reading, whether today, this month or this year, etc., whereas *-aa*-B-*ite* is employed with reference to any time unit that precedes what at the moment is conceived as a contemporal, thus marking distance.

Figure 3. Intermingling of time regions/scaling in Ndali (Botne 2007, 2013)

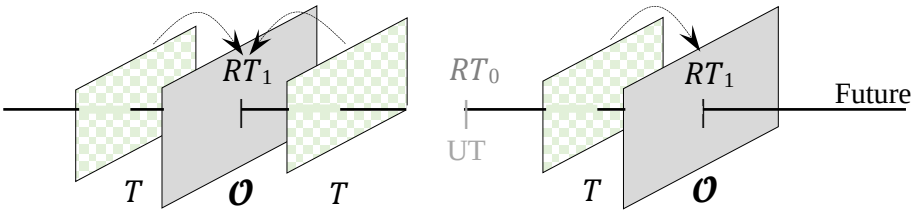


Traditionally in the DaR model, the idea of adjoining time regions has been reserved to delineations between tenor markers within a domain. However, as will be argued in this paper with regard to Manda, the notion of inside and outside current region may be construed to hold also with respect to cross-domain relations.

The Bantu languages are renowned typologically for having complex TA systems, a particular characteristic being an elaborate tense system with multiple sets of verbal forms marking different degrees of past and future (see e.g. Dahl 1985, Nurse 2008). The DaR framework becomes a response to the traditional view in which Bantu TA systems are treated as instantiating a linear scale with discrete cut-off points between different degrees of temporal distance in relation to the moment of speech. In reality, the systems do not function so neatly and discretely, as is most evident in the temporal overlap between different TA markers commonly exposed in the literature. This fact and the fact that tense granularity is associated with its interactions with other cognitive/grammatical concepts and notions such as relativity and subjectivity (as also pointed out by other authors, e.g., Crane (2013), Nurse (2008:93-94) and Dahl (2013)), can be nicely captured and accounted for within the DaR model and its dual perspectivization of tense and tenors.

Considering the concept of reference time within the DaR model, it is decomposed into two separate concepts, the referential worlds or cognitive domains already discussed above, and the concomitant concept of reference anchor, that is, any temporal locus of orientation "with respect to which an event may be temporally related" (Botne & Kershner 2008:151). The default reference anchor (RT0) is Utterance Time (UT), but this is not necessarily the case. Of importance here is the notion of *origo* as the deictic pivot or the temporal locus of orientation. Although the origo typically coincides with UT, and hence is situated in the P-domain, it can shift to a reference point situated in some other domain, hence making the latter domain the relevant deictic point from which the temporal specifics of the situation are measured. Tenor relations may be marked with reference to this new referential locus. Furthermore, the shift of the origo (RT1) and the concomitant shift of a different reference time, the Theme – a "designated relatum" (RT2), may establish secondary domains related to the primary D-domains and thus secondary tense relations. This is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Tense in the DaR framework: Secondary domains



This possibility entails that several verb forms behave like relative verb forms (or "anaphoric" verbs; Kubota et al. 2009) as they are not local to UT but may shift their temporal range in accordance with the shift of the origo. Often, in Bantu, such shifts are marked by complex biverbal "compound constructions" (Nurse 2008:29-30), where the first verb is a copula inflected in the TA verb form that corresponds to the shifted reference point, and the

second verbal word is inflected in the "relative" verb form, containing the lexical verb stem expressing the main situation. A case in point is the pluperfect(ive) construction in Swahili (G42) *tulikuwa tumenunua* 'we had bought', with the compositional verb-by-verb meaning being 'we were we have bought'. As will be further discussed in this study, however, it would seem, for Manda at least that this shift in the temporal locus of orientation does not have to be explicitly marked by a complex copula construction, but that it might be derived from context (anchored by the temporal specifics of a TA marker belonging to some other verb occurring earlier in the sentence or in a given chunk of discourse). This shift from the moment of speech as referential anchor mainly affects the P-domain, which, in the wording of Crane (this volume), may be seen as being "constantly updated across discourse". Also aspectual viewpoints, and thus the referential time with regard to the (internal structuring) of the situation itself, may either be anchored at UT (or the referential base) or may shift to some reference event different from UT.

See Botne (this volume) for much more elaboration on various types of referential points and their interrelationship with particular reference to the construal of the pluperfect(ive).

3.3 On Aspect

The domain-internal perspective of the DaR model is also of importance for the conceptualization of many aspectual distinctions, both grammatically encoded and lexically inherent ones, and their interrelationship. Following Botne (forthc.) grammatical aspect is here viewed as concerning "the cognitive stance a speaker adopts in depicting and projecting a particular view on the temporal phase structure of a situation" (ibid:21). Broadly speaking, the classification of grammatical aspect revolves around the major distinction between perfective and imperfective, specifically focusing on how different "viewpoints" on the situation may encode different interpretations, even within this major strand of time-course distinction. Within this conceptualization, the perfective is understood as encoding inherently delimited, retrospective perspectives, whereas the imperfective is understood as marking inherently unbounded, neutral, or prospective perspectives on the situation. Viewpoints are interpreted as either internal or external to the situation resulting in further differentiations in readings. The fine-grained nuances of the construal of different aspectual notions and imposition of various perspectival vantage points will be further discussed under the sections in this chapter dealing specifically with the aspectual forms in Manda.

The conceptualization of lexical aspect, or actionality, also needs to be addressed as it interacts with grammatical aspect (and tense) in specific manners (see Crane & Persohn 2019 for a recent treatment of this issue). On an ad hoc basis, this study applies the terminology used by Botne (1983, 2010; see also Kershner 2002) ultimately borrowed from Freed (1979) – Onset, Nucleus and Coda – to refer to the coding of different temporal phases inherent in a verb, as has become the common standard in the analysis of lexical aspect in Bantu studies (see e.g. Persohn 2017, Roth 2018, Kanijo 2019 for three recent studies on actionality in Tanzanian Bantu languages employing this framework). I will make use of this terminology to facilitate defining the specific behavior of TA forms with different verbs. It should be stressed, however, that there is no comprehensive classification of lexical verb types in Manda, and thus the results presented here are tentative. The main focus is on the major division of actionality in Bantu, i.e. between the different grammatical encoding of activity verbs – implying dynamic nuclei

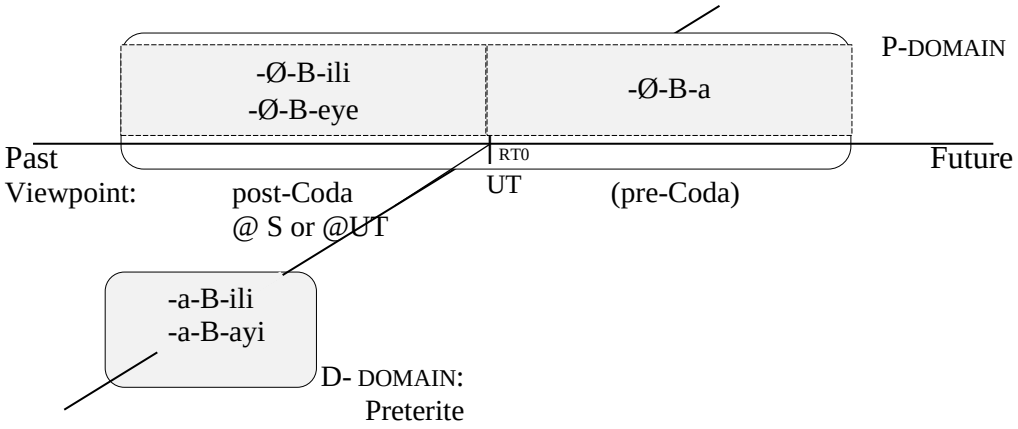
"throughout which the action occurs" (Botne 2019a:86) – and of change-of-state verbs (aka Transitionals or Transformatives), i.e. "those verbs whose aspectual potential includes a transition from one state to another on the part of the subject" (Crane & Persohn 2019:311).

4. The two layers of the Manda TA system

Based on the formal characteristics and the usage patterns of the various TA forms in Manda, as introduced in the tables in §2.3, it can be proposed that Manda has a double-layered overlapping system. The system consists of a basic understructure (Table 1 in §2.3), made out of a paradigmatically coherent system characterized by more straightforward contrasts between both functionally and formally simpler verb forms, and an additional layer of formally and functionally more complex verb forms (those of Tables 2 and 3 in §2.3). Together, these layers create the complex overarching TA system of Manda.

Figure 5 illustrates the extracted basic understructure of verb forms as they occur within the DaR model.

Figure 5. Schematic representation of the basic layer of the Manda TA system



Without going too much into detail at this point, it can still be easily deduced from the figure that simple contrasts occur between the different verb forms, from both a syntagmatic and paradigmatic point of view. Thus, there is a tense contrast in the TAM1 slot between P-domain -*Ø*- versus Preterite D-domain -*a*-, as well as an aspectual contrast in the TAM2 slot between Perfective (-*ili*) versus Imperfective (-*eye*) (and a more neutral -a). Figure 5 also indicates the contrast within the P-domain in the construal of a punctiliar viewpoint of a situation: Whereas the perspectivization of the Perfective -*Ø*-B-*ili* form is on the post-Coda phase (whether at the situation or at UT), the perspective of the Present -*Ø*-B-*a* is typically on the pre-Coda phase (but not always, since -*Ø*-B-*a* has several different functions that does not always comply with such a punctiliar type of perspectivization, as will be made clear in §0; hence the parentheses).

Formally, all verb forms of the P-domain are jointly characterized by being constituted by a zero morph *Ø* – or rather the lack of any prefix – in the post-initial (TAM1) slot (Cf. (1) in §2.1). As further discussed in detail below, they all have similar melodic tone patterns too. Functionally, these forms stipulate simple paradigmatic distinctions. Firstly, there is an aspectual contrast between perfective and non-perfective interpretations as well as a simple temporal contrast between past and non-past, with -*Ø*-B-*ili* versus -*Ø*-B-*a* in the P-domain. Secondly, in the P-domain past, -*Ø*-B-*ili* contrasts with -*Ø*-B-*eye* with regard to the fundamental

split between perfective and imperfective interpretations. The same split between perfective and imperfective, marked in a formally analogous fashion, occurs between the verb forms in the (past) D-domain too. These D-domain verb forms are additionally constituted by a formative *-a-* in the post-initial slot. They also share the same tonal pattern, a sole penult high tone. Furthermore, although the imperfective suffixes *-eye* and *-ayi* are in part formally similar (VCV with /y/ as C) and indeed are also partly made up of cognate forms, they are at the same time also different in shape (different vowels), which can be explained by their origin in slightly different source constructions (as further described in §8), but perhaps also due to the varied influence of the different domains on their phonological developments. Taken together, these formal features of the verb forms in the D-domain set them apart from those found in the P-domain. Semantically, the D-domain forms contrast with their P-domain counterparts by regularly expressing more dissociated and non-contemporal notions. Interesting in this regard, all P-domain markers in Manda may constantly be used also in what in absolutive terms refer to temporally remote contexts, but which in one way or another are subjectively construed as proximal to the speaker. These semantic characteristics will be more fleshed out in §7-9.

There are arguably also diachronic or chronogenetic arguments in favor of analyzing the system in Figure 5 as being more basic. All affixes surfacing in these verb forms are straightforwardly linked up with suggested reconstructions for Proto-Bantu, as will be made clear throughout the subsequent sections, and they can be seen as instantiating the type of post-stem contrasts indicative of a more mature type of Bantu system discussed by, e.g., Nurse & Devos (2019). In contrast, the form-meaning pairs of the additional non-basic layer are all local to Manda alone or only to a smaller group of its closest affiliates.

In the following sections (§5-8) we will zoom into these different verbs forms to offer a more detailed and comprehensive account of their formal and functional characteristics and their role within the DaR framework. In the later sections (§9-11) the markers of the more complex layers will be discussed and contrasted with this simple system.

5. The (Simple) Present imperfective

The present verb form in the southern varieties of Manda is realized as *-Ø-*B*-a*; hence, its "unmarked" functional status is arguably also structurally reflected by the lack of any explicit TA prefix. The tone melody is generally APU-PU (similar to the other verb forms in the P-domain), including when an OM marker is included, as in (8).

(7) *yóla* *a-mékél-a* *ndava* *ya* *u-kafi* *w-ake*
DEM1 SM1-show_off-FV 9.reason CONN9 14-wealth 14-POSS.3SG

a-cheches-a *ma-lupíya*
SM1-spread_around 6-money
'he shows off because of his wealth, he spreads around money'

(8) *tenga* *ti-n-dond-a* *nala* *ku-n-towol-a*
1PL SM1PL-OM1-want-FV 1.wife INF-OM1-marry-FV
'we want a wife to marry'

As touched upon already in §0, however, there is a dialectal isogloss in the marking of the Present setting the northern Matumba variety apart (see Bernander 2017:156-157; Persohn & Bernander 2018 for further details and for the comparative and historical implications of this

fact). In adherence with a large part of southern Tanzania, the Matumba speakers include an additional prefix *-i-* in the formative TAM1 slot (coalescing with the SM). The inclusion of an OM in the pre-radical slot after the TAM1 slot triggers a curious shift in the morphological pattern, *-i-* being replaced with either *-ku-* or *-ka-*. As indicated in (9), the tone patterns of these variant forms, however, are the same, and functionally their behavior is identical. Consequently, these forms will be treated together under the joint formal representation *-Ø*(/*i*)-B-*a*.

(9) (Persohn & Bernander 2018:61)

a. ***i***(<⁰*a-i*)-*télék-a*
   SM1-PRS-cook-FV
   's/he cooks / is cooking'

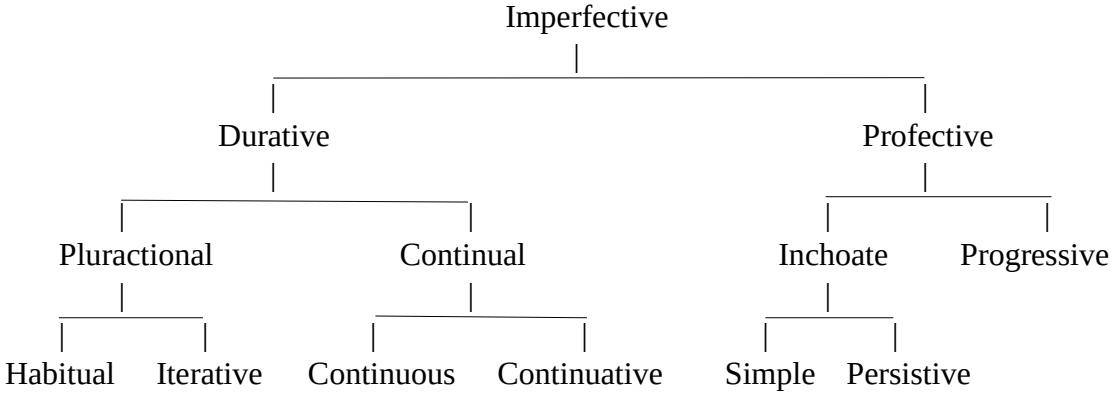
b. *a-ku-ni-fwát-a*
   SM1-PRS-OM1SG-follow-FV
   's/he follows / is following me'

c. *a-ka-ni-yımálíl-a*
   SM1-PRS-OM1SG-supervise-FV
   's/he supervises / is supervising me'

The Present verb form can be understood as a neutral or aspectually unmarked form in the sense that it does not make an explicit contrast between perfective and imperfective (cf. Botne forthc.). Most prominently, however, the present verb form is used for expressing a multitude of concepts pertaining to imperfective aspect within the P-domain. I will start by presenting these imperfective features in terms of how they are coded when UT is the temporal referential anchor. Notice that there is no reflex of the "imperfective" form, reconstructed for Proto-Bantu as **-a(n)g-*, being applied to the Present verb form, neither in southern Manda nor in the Matumba variety. This lack of a "present imperfective" (or perhaps more correctly a present durative) counterpart stands in contrast to the neighboring languages Kisi (Nicolle et al. 2018) and Mpoto (Botne 2019:111-116). Instead, the simple verb form alone is used to express many imperfective concepts, within the subcategories of both profectives and duratives.

The classification and discussion of Manda imperfective markers will rely on Botne's "Bantu-particular" taxonomy as outlined in Figure 6.

Figure 6. Imperfective aspects across Bantu (based on Botne forthc.)



In this section we will concentrate on the profective uses as an extensive examination of the taxonomy and semantic specialties of the various durative aspectuals is presented in §0. It is worth explicitly mentioning, however, that the present verb form *-Ø*(/*i*)-B-*a* encompasses habitual and generic/gnomic situations (i.e. where the situation is expressed as holding

throughout time; Dahl 1985:98-100). For example, it is the chosen construction in riddles, as in (10), and in procedural texts such as the excerpt in (11) on how "we the Manda" cook cassava-*ugali*.

(10) *ng'ǒnda w-ángu u-kulúmb-a nyamuhópi kóma ni-bén-a pa-ki-gánji*
3.plot 3-POSS.1SG 3-big very but SM1sg-harvest-FV 16-7-hand
'my plot is very big, but I harvest in the palm of my hand' [Answer: hair]

(11) *ti-tól-a má-chi, ti-vík-a pa-móto mu-sufulía ti-tó' sémbe*
SM1PL-take-FV 6-water SM1PL-put-FV 16-fire 18-pot SM1PL-take 14.flour
ti-sóp-a ti-kolog-aaaa
SM1PL-put_in-FV SM1PL-stir-FV
'we take water, we put it on the fire […] we take the flour, we put it in, we stiiir'

There is also a type of compound construction (local to UT and generally rare in my corpus), with the copula inflected in the Present and a second verb inflected in the same verb form expressing a habitual~generic sense, e.g. *tu-**ya** tuhemela* 'we usually buy'. A similar construction has been described for several Southern Highland languages spoken to the north of Manda, including Pangwa (Stirnimann 1983:180) and Bena (Morisson 2011, Botne forthc.). See more about this construction in Bernander (2017:252-253).

With regard to profective usages, the *-Ø*(*/i*)-B-*a* construction is used for the simple inchoate imperfective with the viewpoint set in a pre-coda phase, thus depicting the situation as not being completed (see Botne forthc.). In this role, it puts the focus on the nucleus of the situation, thus encoding a developing situation in atelic activity verbs like 'pass' in (12), or the coming-to-be phase of a change-of-state verb like the copula verb *-y-* 'be(come)' in (13).

(12) *hínu ápa a-pít-a na li-sándúku na li-bóksi*
now DEM16 SM1-pass-FV COM 5-box COM 5-box
'now, here, he is passing with the trunk and the box'

(13) *u-ka-mál-a ku-gehélél-a lyási, ng'ǒnda ú-y-a wíchu*
SM2SG-SIT-finish-FV INF-weed-FV 5-grass 3.plot SM3-be(come)-FV good
'when you have finished weeding grass, the plot becomes clean'

In Botne's (forthc.) conceptualization, the focus may alternatively be put on the onset of the verb's internal structure rather than on the nucleus, rendering more of an inceptive or near-future reading. Such a reading is further discussed in §11.21 below in association with two auxiliary constructions.

The Present may be explicitly shifted to some other temporal reference point by being included in a complex copula construction, as in (14).

(14) *ni-ka-y-íli ni-gón-a pa-n-dángáti*
SM1SG-PST-be(come)-PFV SM1SG-lie.down-FV 16-9.bed
'I was lying on the bed'

However, the shift in temporal reference is not necessarily presented with an explicit copula but may simply be derived from context.[5] Thus, in (15), the matrix clause has shifted the origo of the proposition to the past.

(15) *a-tav-í'* *kukíta* *a-lémb-a* *meseji*
SM1.PST-announce-PFV COMP SM1-write-FV 9.message
'he said that he was writing a (cell phone) message' (adapted from Dahl 156)

Example (16) describes a situation that took place in the consultant's childhood and thus in the far past. In this case, the remote past discourse setting has been presented three or four lines earlier, temporally anchored with a predicate in the Remote past tense.

(16) *…ku-sisámúk-a, ni-m-bón-a lépe múndu,*
INF-wake.up-FV SM1SG-OM1-see-FV NEG 1-person
ni-túmbúl-a ku-kemél-él-a
SM1SG-begin-FV INF-call-APPL-FV
'waking up, I do not see anyone I begin to shout out'
~ 'waking up, I did not see anyone, I began to shout out'

In cases like this, the Present functions similarly to a "historical present". According to Klein (2009), this use can be understood as the speaker imagining himself to be present in the situations, in which case the deictic anchoring (i.e. the origo) is shifted from UT. Such an understanding is consistent with the findings described for neighboring Kisi by Nicolle et al. (2018), where the Present is used in the main event line in narratives to portray the situation as having a heightened prominence. (But see Botne & Kershner 2008:153-154 for a slightly different view).

As evidenced in (17), the Present may also be used just as readily on its own to locate situations in the future. In Manda, the use of the Present has an unrestricted temporal range (unlike e.g. in Sukwa (Kershner 2002:107)) and typically expresses a high degree of certainty (which associates it with the contemporal P-domain).

(17) *ni-hích-a alhamísi, ni-kɪláwók-a domaníka*
SM1SG-come-FV Thursday SM1SG-return-FV Sunday
'I will come on Thursday and return on Sunday'

That *-Ø*(/*i*)-B- may be used as both a present and future tense establish the basic contrast between this verb form and the Perfect(ive) as was also discussed in §4.

6. The Perfect(ive)

6.1 Introduction

Formally, the (Simple Past) Perfect(ive) *-Ø*-B-*ili* is characterized by the absence of any TA prefix and a reflex of the reconstructed Proto-Bantu suffix *-ile, which is common in Bantu languages and is an element typically ascribed with interrelated functional features such as resultative, perfect, perfective and past (see Crane 2012; Botne 2010; see see also Nurse 2008:*passim*). In accordance with general sound laws in Manda (discussed in §2.1), the aperture of the final vowel is higher than that of the reconstructed form, i.e. *-ili* rather than *-ile*. As further

[5] Arguably, the Perfect(ive) *-Ø*-B-*ili*, indicating a resultative reading with change-of-state verbs, may function similarly. However, such a nuance is hard to disentangle from the other potential viewpoint interpretations discussed in §6.3.

discussed in §2.1, it is also often the case that the final syllables of verbs inflected in the perfective are truncated, leaving the suffix *-ili* as a single /i/. This is related to a general phonological process of final syllable deletion in verbs in Manda and it does not seem to be given any functional weight, unlike in neighboring Mpoto, where it has been proposed to function as a specialized "resultative" suffix with some change-of-state verbs (see Botne 2019:107-108, 111). Consider for example (18) and (19), both with identical semantic interpretations, indicating a present resultative reading of the change-of-state (/stative verb) *-many-* 'know', but in example (18) realized with a truncated Perfect(ive) suffix and in (19) realized with the full *-ili*.

(18) ni-m-many-**i'**
SM1SG-OM1-know-PFV
'I know her (your aunt)'

(19) ni-m-many-**ili**
SM1SG-OM1-know-PFV
'I know him (Heliman)'

As will be witnessed throughout the rest of this chapter, several other TA verb forms are subject to the same type of optional final syllable truncations, i.e. the past tense forms (that also contain the suffix *-ili*), both past durative constructions (*-eye ~ -e*' and *-ayi ~ -a*', respectively), the (simple) present when containing verbal bases with a final coronal consonant, the General future (*-ayi ~ -a*' = same as the Remote past durative) and the Matumba Remote future (same as the present). Similar effects also occur in mood and taxis verb forms not considered in this chapter.

There is some morphophonological variation between a realization *-iti* or *-ili* for this suffix in Manda as in (20), *-ili* being the only form used in the northern Matumba variety. In all Manda varieties, *-ili* is the only form used with monosyllabic verb stems.

(20) *ni-mal-**iti*** vs. *ni-mal-**ili***
SM1SG-finish-PFV SM1SG-finish-PFV
'I have finished' 'I have finished'

In accordance with the cognate reflex in most other Bantu languages, the *-ili* suffix is subject to imbrication, i.e. a process of internal modification where *-ili* coalesces with the immediately preceding syllable of the verb stem (21). This applies to all verb bases that are longer than -CV(N)C- (cf. e.g., Hyman (1995:28-29)[6]. All formal features described for this suffix also apply to the past verb forms in Manda, which also include *-ili* in their constructional make-up (see §7 and §9).

(21) *ka-fúgími* (< ka-fugam-ili)
SM12-kneel.PFV (< SM12-kneel-PFV)

The *-Ø-*B-*ili* verb form is characterized by a tone pattern APU-PU, which turns into a single SI high tone when the verb is inflected with an object prefix (22).

[6] Occasionally, another type of modification occurs with certain verb roots, affecting the root vowel (and leading to its raising), e.g *tam-ili* > *temi* 'sit' in example (36) below. See Meeussen (1967:86).

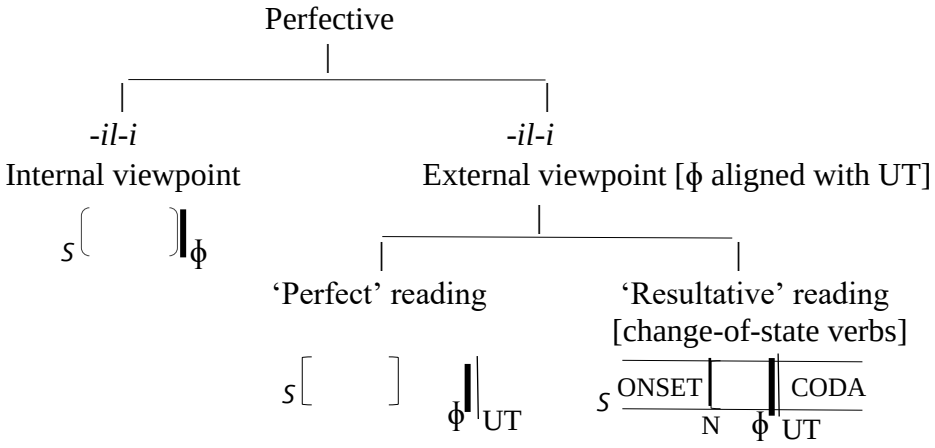
(22) *a-yımál-íli* vs. *a-**ni**-yímal-ili*
SM1-supervise-PFV SM1-**OM1SG**-supervise-PFV
'he has supervised' 'he has supervised me'

Functionally, the verb form *-Ø-*B-*ili* in Manda may be used to denote several interrelated yet different aspectual functions associated with perfect, perfective, and resultative notions and even with that of past tense alone.[7] The disentangling of the complex multi-functionality of this Manda verb form fits neatly into Botne's proposal developed to deal with cognate forms in other Southern Tanzania Bantu languages (Botne forthc., 2019a, 2019b), further revised and extended in Botne (this volume)[8]. In accordance with this analysis (schematized in Figure 7 below) we may explain this versatility as a type of polysemic pattern, depending on the perceived alignment of different viewpoints (or point-of-view, vantage point). Thus, with a situation-internal (or situation-centered) viewpoint the situation is conveyed as internal to the situation coda, i.e. it is aligned just after the completion of the situation, yielding a past reading of the situation in relation to the origo (the deictic pivot, typically situated at UT; see §3.2). As further explained in §7, as a past marker *-Ø-*B-*ili* represents hodiernal situations but also broader contemporal intervals of time units, thus contrasting with the non-contemporality associated with the dissociated Remote past *-a-*B-*íli*. With a speaker-centered, situation-external viewpoint, on the other hand, the completed situation is witnessed in alignment with the origo, yielding what more broadly speaking can be referred to as a "perfect" reading with activity verbs and a "resultative" reading with change-of-state verbs.

[7] Botne (forthc.) hypothesizes that this type of polysemic split may eventually also be formally marked. He bases this claim on data from Zulu (S42), discussed further in Botne & Kershner (2000), where exactly this is the case (as the externally viewed Perfect/Resultative triggers imbrication, whereas the internally viewed Perfective does not). There are no indications of such a formal split of *-ili* in Manda. However, situation-external events are often expressed with the completive 'already'-auxiliary *-mal-* (in turn inflected in the *-Ø-*B-*ili* verb form), and the experiential auxiliary *-wahi(li),* borrowed from Swahili *-wahi* (where the final, irregular /i/ of this verb has been reinterpreted as a truncated instantiation of the *-Ø-*B-*ili* verb form). An extended use and generalization of these auxiliary forms might eventually leave the "bare" *-Ø-*B-*ili* form to be associated with a situation-internal reading alone.

[8] Notice that this section thus serves as a major revision of my previous analysis (Bernander 2017:157-166), where this verb form is (erroneously) treated as a perfect alone. This re-interpretation also comes with important diachronic implications, as it more readily explains how *-Ø-*B-*ili* and the "imperfective" suffix *-a(n)g- at some point in time may have fused to create the past imperfective form *-Ø-*B-*eye* (see more about this in §8). It also helps explain the usage of the form *-Ø-*B-*ili* (+ an additional pre-initial prefix *nga-*) in the apodosis of conditionals, a usage rather associated with past than with perfect markers. I am grateful to K. Bostoen (in his role as my opponent during the defense of my thesis) for initially pointing out these problems connected to analyzing *-Ø-*B-*ili* as a perfect alone.

Figure 7. The different interpretations of the Perfect(ive) with different viewpoints (based on Botne forthc.)

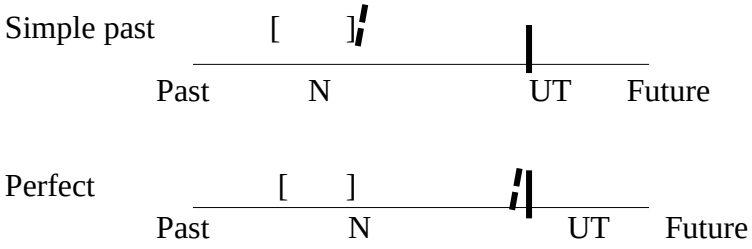


These differences will be further discussed with regard to Manda in the following two (sub-)sections.

6.2 Perfective viewpoints with Activity verbs

An Activity verb inflected in the Perfect(ive) can, broadly speaking, have two different readings in Manda, depending on whether an internal situation-centered or an external speaker-centered viewpoint is conveyed on the situation (S). Both realizations are sketched in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8. Perfective viewpoints with Activity verbs (based on Botne 2019:109)



Within a situation-internal perspective, the (completed) situation is viewed just from the endpoint of the situation, typically the Nucleus (N) phase. Such a perspectival position conveys a Simple past reading, as in examples (23) to (25). Notice in this regard the explicit co-occurrence of *-Ø-*B-*ili* with temporal adverbials, situating the situation as a whole in the past, a typical diagnostic used for ruling out a perfect reading (see e.g. Dahl 1985:135-37, 2013).

(23) ti-yál-í' mw-ési wa kúmi na mbíli
SM1PL-weed-PFV 3-month CONN3 twelve (Sw.)
'we weeded in December'

(24) *gólo ni-wɔ́k-ili saa mója na núsu kuhúma ku-nsɔ́ngɔ*
yesterday SM1SG-depart-PFV time half past eleven from 17-Nsungu
'yesterday, I left from Nsungu at half past eleven (= half past five)'

(25) *ti-wonang-ini na ɔ́yɔ n-twási n-jángu Maheleni*
SM1PL-meet-ASS.PFV COM DEM1 1-sister-in-law 1-companion Maheleni
'we met with my companion's sister-in-law Maheleni'

In an aligned speaker-centered point-of-view, the viewpoint instead coincides with UT, yielding all four readings typically/traditionally presented as characteristic of the perfect

(Comrie 1976, Dahl & Wälchli 2016; see also Botne 2010, 2014 for examples from Bantu languages). The examples below showcase these different interpretations: A Perfect of result in (26) and (27), a Perfect of persistent situation in (28), a Recent Past Perfect in (29) and (30) and an Experiential perfect in (31).

(26) *v-a-y-i'* *va-mahéle* *lakíni* *va-mahéle* *va-ni-lék-ili*
SM2-PST-be(come)-PFV 2-many but 2-many SM2-OM1SG-leave-PFV
'they were many, but many have left me'

(27) *ti-ch-íti* *apa* *lɪlɪnu*
SM1pl-come-PFV DEM16 today
'we have come here today'

(28) *va-lʊt-a* *ku-lɪm-a* *ku-mu-gʊnda* *lu-kela* *va-pɪnd-ili* *ma-yela*
SM2-go-FV INF-cultivate-FV 17-3-plot 11-morning SM2-carry-PFV 6-hoes
'they are going to cultivate their plot; they have brought hoes (and they still carry them)'

(29) *ʊ́yʊ* *n-géni* *a-húm-í'* *pa-mwánja,* *a-tónd-íti*
DEM1 1-guest SM1-come.from-PFV 16-trip SM1-be(come).tired-PFV
'this guest has just come from a trip; he is tired'

(30) *hínu* *náha,* *ni-wonáng-ini* *ná-ko*
now just SM1SG-meet-ASS.PFV COM-1
'just now I have met with him'

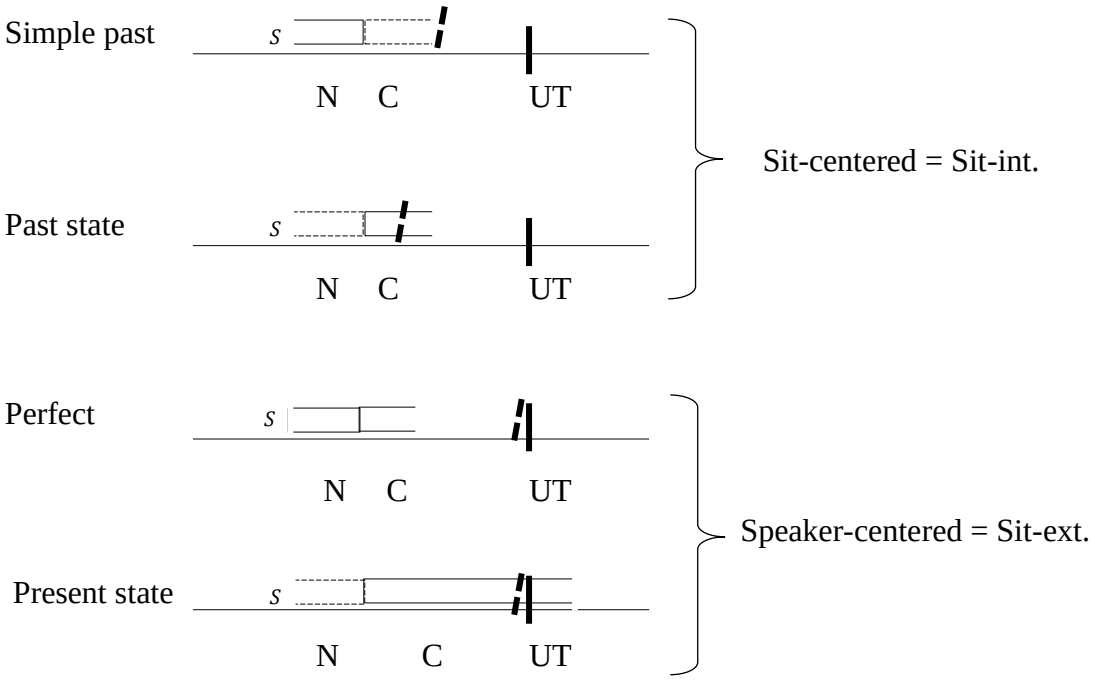
(31) *ni-wónj-iti* *soséji*
SM1SG-taste-PFV 9.sausage
'I have tasted sausage'

6.3 Perfective viewpoints with Change-of-state verbs

The picture of perfective viewpoints painted above is slightly more complicated for change-of-state verbs having a more elaborate internal phase structure. Thus, the viewpoint on the situation may be interpreted in more ways yielding more possible readings in Manda, depending on both the location of the viewpoint and whether the viewpoint is interpreted as internal to the Coda (C) phase, thus yielding a stative reading, or not. This is summarized in Figure 9.

To begin, a past reading is conveyed with a situation-aligned perspective. This is illustrated in (32) and (33), respectively. In (32), the situation is interpreted as a Simple past, with the viewpoint located external to the Nucleus. Example (33) conveys a past stative reading as the viewpoint is interpreted as internal to the Coda phase.

Figure 9. Possible perfective viewpoints with a change-of-state verb
(based on Botne 2019:110)



(32) *lelo ni-yúmwiki, lukela, ni-sál-ili, …*
today SM1SG-wake_up.PFV morning SM1SG-pray-PFV
'today, I woke up, in the morning, I prayed…'

(33) *a-y-í' m-fálme, a-y-íli na va-na va-vílɪ va-dala*
SM1.PST-be(come)-PFV 1-king SM1.PST-be(come)-PFV COM 2-children 2-two 2-female

va-na va-nyámb-iti sána
2-children SM2-be(come)_beautiful-PFV very
'There was a king, he had two female children, the children were very beautiful'

From a speaker-centered point of view, a change-of-state verb inflected in the Perfect(ive) may get a Perfect or Present state reading depending on whether the interpretation is on the whole process leading up to a state or on the Coda-internal resultative state itself (a state which endures into UT or some other potential origo). In other words, the focus is put either on both the "change" and the "state" part or on the "state" part alone of the change-of-state encoded in the verb. Example (34) illustrates a Perfect reading and example (35) – (36) a Present state reading (see also the second verb 'tired' in sentence (29) above.)

(34) *li-tóki ɪlɪ li-nónóno li-fúnd-í lépa*
5-banana DEM5 5-hard SM5-be(come)ripe-PFV NEG
'this banana is hard, it has not (yet) become ripe'

(35) *ki-gólɔ k-ángu ki-fímb-íli*
7-leg 7-POSS.1SG 7-be(come)swollen-PFV
'my leg is swollen'

(36) *a-tém-í* *pa-ki-tewo* *a-som-a* *ki-tabu*
SM1-(become)seated-PFV 16-7-chair SM1-read-FV 7-book
'he is sitting on a chair reading a book'

Often it would seem that the Present state reading is the most typical reading of a change-of-state verb inflected in the Perfect(ive), with the Perfect reading available as a secondary option. Example (37) has a Perfect reading when taken literally but has otherwise a Present state reading.

(37) *má-chi* *ga-yím-íti*
6-water SM6-stand.up-PFV
'the water is still (lit. has become standing up)'

6.4 A note on situation sequencing in discourse with the Perfect(ive)

Recall that there are broadly speaking two ways to interpret the Perfect(ive) *-Ø-*B*-ili* form, either as perfective or perfect, and that this fact can be accounted for in terms of a distinction in viewpoint between a situation-internal and situation-external conceptualization of the situation. These different readings of the Perfect(ive) form may also have an effect on the interpretation of a situation in relation to the structuring of discourse with a past temporal reference. As illustrated in example (38) and (39) (further schematized in 38b and 39b), *-Ø-*B*-ili* as a perfective marker, i.e., with a situation-internal viewpoint, may be used to indicate several situations as occurring one after another in a given chunk of discourse, initially framed temporally with a past tense marker. Either of the past tense markers, viz. the Recent Past *-(a)ka-*B*-ili*, as in (38), or the Remote Past *-a-*B*-ili*, as in (39), may function as such a referential anchor. As seen in the final line in (38), when a new "scene" arises, there is a switch back to a tense marked verb (re-)setting the temporal locus.[9]

(38) a. *lílınu* *lú-kela* *ni-ka-lav-íli* *ku-ng'ónda*
today 11-morning SM1SG-pst-be_early-PFV 17-3.plot
'this morning […] I was early for the plot;'

ni-lím-íli *ma-kímba* *gá-dátu, ni-ga-kílus-ili*
SM1SG-cultivate-PFV 6-terraces 6-three SM1SG-OM6-return.CAUS-PFV
'I cultivated three terraces, I re-covered them (the ridge),

ni-kílwíki, *ni-hích-íli* *ku-nyúmba*
SM1SG-return.PFV SM1SG-come-PFV 17-9.home
(and) I returned home.'

Va-ka-ni-pig-íli *simu…*
SM2-PST-OM1sg-call-PFV 9.phone
'I got a call (lit. they called me on the phone)'

b. **Scene 1** *-ka-lay-íli* '[I] was early [to the plot]'
-Ø-lím-íli '[I] cultivated]'
-Ø-ga-kílus-ili '[I] re-covered them
-Ø-kílwíki '[I] returned [home]

Scene 2 *-ka-ni-pig-íli* '[they] called me'

[9] As evident in these two examples, speakers vary in their exact pronunciation of the verb 'return home'.

(39) a. *n-a-bɪt-í'* *ku-Dár,* *ni-wonáng-íni* *na* *va-lóngʊ* *vá-ngu,*
SM1SG-PST-go-PFV 17-Dar SM1sg-meet-ASS.PFV COM 2-relatives 2-POSS.1SG

ni-kɪláwíki *ku-li-káya*
SM1SG-return.PFV 17-5-home(stead)
'(last year) I went to Dar (es Salaam), I met with my good friends (lit. relatives), (then) I went home'

b. *-a-bit-i* '[I] went [to Dar]'
-Ø-wonáng-íni '[I] met [friends]'
-Ø-kiláwiki '[I] returned [home]'

According to Bybee et al. (1994:54), such sequencing is typical as a distinctive characteristic of a perfective marker in relation to a perfect one. A perfect in these contexts rather yields a reading of counter-sequentiality (cf. Givón 2001). This is also exactly the function of *-Ø-*B-*ili* with a speaker-centered, situation-external viewpoint, as witnessed in (40) (see also (28) above).

(40) *a-v-ili* *apa,* *a-yingili* *ku-chumba,* *a-dínd-íli* *n-dyangu*
SM1-be(come)-PFV DEM16 SM1-enter.PFV 17-7.room SM1sg-close-PFV 3-door
'she is here, she has entered the room, she has closed the door…'

In fact, in contexts with the referential time set in the past, i.e. in cases of discourse-structuring parallel to examples (38) and (39) above, the Perfect(ive) with a speaker-centered viewpoint acquires a pluperfect reading (or, more precisely, a preterite perfect reading, if we interpret the Kilumbu clan as not coming all at once but over an extended period of time).

(41) *va-na=Kilumbu* *va-y-í'* *pala,* *va-hum-í'* *ku-Maláwi,*
2-child=Kilumbu SM2-be(come)-PFV DEM16 SM2.PST2-come_from-PFV 17-Malawi

va-yómbwíki *nyánja* *kuhúma* *ku-Maláwi* *ku-hich-a* *pala*
SM2-cross.PFV 9.lake from 17-Malawi INF-come-FV DEM16

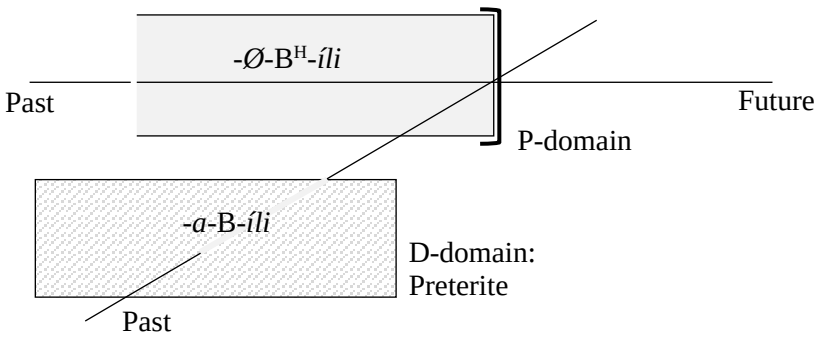
'The Kilumbu clan, they were there, they came from Malawi, they had crossed the lake to come there'

Pluperfect(ive) marking in Manda is further discussed in section 11.3.

7 The Remote Past

Turning to a marker in Manda with a temporal range delimited to the past alone, the *-a-*B-*ili* verb form may in a relatively straightforward manner be considered as a Remote Past tense marker, situating an event in the dissociated D-domain (as shown in Figure 10). Such a conclusion is based on several factors. To begin with, *-a-*B-*ili* may be systemically contrasted with the parallel *-Ø-*B-*ili* verb form in the P-domain.

Figure 10. The Pasts of the basic system in Manda shown diagrammatically



Formally, they differ in two ways: segmentally they contrast in that the Dissociative past has an additional formative segment *-a-* (typically associated with past readings; see e.g. Nurse & Philippson 2006, Dom et al. 2018); supra-segmentally they contrast in that *-a*-B-*ili* has a rigorous penultimate grammatical tone pattern.

(42) *n-a-l-í'* *gwáli* *gólo* *kímíhi*
SM1SG-PST-eat-PFV 14.ugali yesterday evening
'I ate ugali yesterday evening'

Functionally, the verb form -a-B-*ili* is the default choice at the beginning of narratives and legends, as typical of a Remote and dissociated past tense.[10]

(43) *mwándi* *a-y-íli* *mu-ndu* *na* *va-dála* *va-vɪlɪ*
past SM1.PST-be(come)-PFV 1-person COM 2-wife 2-two
'a long time ago, there was a man and his two wives'

(44) *li-góno* *li-mónga* *ka-pécha* *a-n-kokos-íli* *li-lwífu*
5-day 5-one 12-hare SM1.PST-OM1-explain-PFV 5-chameleon
'one day, Hare said to Chameleon…'

Although the verb form *-a*-B-*ili* may be used to represent hesternal situations, as indicated in (42), it is never used to denote situations occurring within a hodiernal time span. Thus, the sentence in (45) below, for example, is considered unacceptable.

(45) ***n**a**bɪti' kumuhanga lelenu* 'I went to the beach today'

The Remote past may also contrast with the Perfect(ive)/past -Ø-B-ili with reference to other, broader types of contemporal versus non-contemporal units of time reminiscent of Klein's (1994:122, 130) distinction of relative distance as "in region" versus "out of region". A case in point is (46) marked with the Perfect(ive) and referring to the current dry season, in contrast to (47), marked with the Remote past and referring to a preceding dry season. This coding of temporal remoteness bears significant similarities with the organization of the past duratives discussed in the following §8. Taken together, these parallel forms suggest a paradigmatically coherent basic structure of the Manda TA system, as was discussed in §4.

(46) *ki-lolélo* *íkɪ* *ni-lím-íli* *ma-lómbi*
7-dry.season DEM7 SM1-cultivate-PFV 6-corn
'*this* kiangazi I (have) cultivated corn'

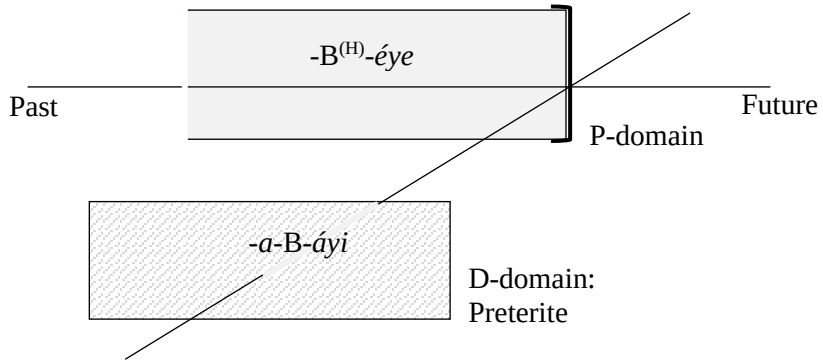
(47) *ki-lolélo* *kíla* *n-a-lɪm-íli* *ma-lómbi*
7-dry.season DEM7 SM1-PST-cultivate-PFV 6-corn
'*that* kiangazi I cultivated corn (too)'

8 The Past durative constructions

Moving from perfective to imperfective marking in the past, there are two imperfective forms dedicated to the past in Manda, formally realized as -Ø-B-*eye* and *-a*-B-*ayi*. They will be referred to as the Recent and Remote past durative, respectively.

[10] Recall from §2.2 that identical vowel sequences are coalesced in Manda, in these cases the class 1 subject prefix *a-* and the past prefix *-a-*. The penult tone pattern formally shows that we are dealing with the Remote Past.

Figure 11. Past duratives in Manda shown diagrammatically



These constructions are used to express several subtypes of imperfective aspect, described as especially salient in Bantu by Botne (forthc.). Following the classification laid out by Botne (forthc.) (see Figure 6 in §5), the verb forms *-Ø*-B-*eye* and *-a*-B-*ayi* can be seen as especially covering the left-side node, i.e., the subcategory of duratives. Duratives are imperfective markers invoking a reading of an "unbounded durative interval" (Botne forthc.:21), the situation being interpreted as lacking references to any boundaries. Duratives may in turn be split into further subcategories based on whether an internal or external viewpoint is expressed on the situation. As noted by Botne (2019:114), the durative subcategories overlap conceptually and are often ambiguous with regard to which exact subcategory is conveyed. This is also the case in Manda, where the two past duratives basically cover all durative subcategories.

To start with, both past durative forms express pluractionality, viz. expressions whose "essential characteristic is plurality or multiplicity of the verb's action" (Nurse 2008:153), in this case both habitual and (to a lesser extent) iterative notions.[11]

Habitual forms are, in Botne's conceptualization, dedicated to what is viewed as a completed situation in its singleton manifestation, but which reoccurs at various points over an extended interval of time in the past.

(48) *t-a-yog-il-áyi* *mu-máchi*
SM1PL-PST-bath-APPL-PST.DUR 18-6-water
'we used to/would always bathe in the water'

(49) *híla* *ma-góno* *va-tól-éye* *má-lávi* *va-lʊ́t-éye*
every 6-day SM3PL-take-PST.DUR 6-groundnuts 2-go-PST.DUR
'every day they would take groundnuts (and then) they would leave'

Iterative (or repetitive) expressions, envisaged as sub-events within the same situation, may also be covered by the durative past imperfective markers, e.g. *a-a-tyasamul-áyi* 'he sneezed (several times)' vs. *a-a-tyasamwíli* 'he sneezed (once)'. Such a reading may, however, also be conveyed through reduplication of the verb stem (see Bernander 2017:210-211). There are also combinations with a reduplicated verb stem and a durative marker attested in the data, such as (50) (notice the perfect reading here).

[11] I have not found any clear evidence in Manda that these past imperfective markers or any other verb constructions with reflexes of **-a(n)g-* in this language function as dedicated markers of distributive pluractionality (viz. marking related to the plurality of participants); cf. the discussion in Botne (forthc.) and Botne (2019a:114).

(50) *ti-kinakin-eye*
SM1PL-play.RED-PST.DUR
'we have been playing around'

Furthermore, the Past durative forms also cover continual imperfective aspects, including the continuative denoting "continuation of an action at intervals", i.e. that an action "recurs [in this case recurred] again and again with intervening breaks" (Botne 2019:112). Example (51) is a case in point.

(51) *kila lu-kúmbi la sikukúu ni-vík-éye sheréhe na*
every 11-time CONN11 9.holiday SM1SG-put-PST.DUR 9.feast COM

vá-na vá-ngu bahápa
2-children 2-POSS.1PL EMPH.DEM16
'every holiday I was putting up a feast here with my children, at this very place'

Notice that the continuative, which, if following Bybee et al. (1994:127), "additionally specifies that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going [e.g.] 'keep on doing' or 'continue doing'", is typically not expressed with the Past duratives. Instead, such notions are expressed in a periphrastic construction with the (non-grammaticalized) verb *-yendel-* 'continue' inflected in the appropriate TA verb form, in this case the Remote past tense.[12]

(52) *n-a-yendel-í'* *ku-tám-a* *kʊla-kʊla*
SM1SG-PST-continue-PFV INF-live-FV DEM17-DEM17
'I continued staying there'

The Past durative forms also cover the expression of past continuous situations with an unbounded durative interval, as in (53) and (54).

(53) *t-a-yombuk-áyi* *pa-darája*
SM1PL-PST-cross-PST.DUR 16-bridge
'we were crossing the bridge…'

(54) *ni-n-dínd-éye* *n-sʊ́ngʊ* *yʊ́la*
SM1SG-OM1-wait-PST.DUR 1-westerner DEM1
'I was waiting for that westerner'

Notice also that although some of these examples are reminiscent of Progressives, in the typical sense of that category (see e.g., Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985; Bybee et al. 1994; and Nurse 2008 for Bantu), the term "Progressive" is, in Botne's conceptualization, restricted to a specific construction, also part of the Manda TA system, that is presented in §0.

As mentioned in §0, it is significant from a formal perspective how these constructions correspond to the Past Perfect(ive) and the Remote Past constructions. Thus, *-Ø-*B-*eye* is characterized by the absence of any TA prefixal marking, just as the (Past) Perfect(ive) is. The suffix *-eye* consists of the amalgamation of the perfective suffix and a reflex of the suffix *-a(n)g-, reconstructed as an "imperfective" form for Proto-Bantu by Nurse & Philippson (2006). The verb form *-a-*B-*ayi*, in turn, shares the reflex of the imperfective *-a(n)g- with *-Ø-*B-*eye*, while sharing the additional prefix *-a-* in the formative slot with the remote basic past.

[12] This construction with *-yendel-* applies to other domain and regions as well, e.g. *ʊyʊ apa ayendelela kufyagila* 'this person here continues sweeping', is a similar construction confined to UT.

See Bernander (2017, 2020) for further elaboration on the diachronic and comparative evidence for these suggested reconstructions.[13] In addition to the segmental parallels, the tone patterns of the respective imperfective verb forms correspond to those of the Perfect(ive) and the Remote past form (cf. §6 and §7). Thus, *-Ø*-B-*eye* is conveyed with a high tone on the antepenult and penult, which shifts to a single stem-initial high tone when the verb carries an object prefix – just like the Past perfect(ive) and other verb forms in the P-domain, whereas *-a*-B-*ayi* has the strict penult high tone pattern characteristic of the Preterite D-domain.[14]

The P-domain *-Ø*-B-*eye* and the D-domain *-a*-B-*ayi* are organized in relation to each other, conveying relative degree of remoteness, *-Ø*-B-*eye* generally being used for less remote situations than *-a*-B-*ayi*. This conceptual difference, adhering to Klein's (1994:122, 130) distinction of relative distance as "in region" versus "out of region" is visible when the forms are explicitly compared to each other, as in (55) and (56).

(55) a. *juma íyɪ ti-hín-éye mahalámísi*
9.week DEM9 SM1PL-dance-PST.DUR mahalamisi
'this week we were dancing the mahalamisi'

b. *júma yíla t-a-hin-áyi mugánda*
9.week DEM9 SM1PL-PST-dance-PST.DUR muganda
'that week we were dancing the Muganda'

(56) a. *mw-ési ógʊ a-bít-éye ku-Songéa*
3-month DEM3 SM3SG-go-PST.DUR 17-songea
'this month she was going to Songea'

b. *mw-ési góla a-bɪt-áy' ku-Ludéwa*
3-month DEM3 SM3SG.PST-go-PST.DUR 17-ludewa
'that month she was going to Ludewa'

At the same time, these examples show that temporal overlap from any rigorous hodiernal cut-off point is just as possible and that *-Ø*-B-*eye* is frequently used when more distal events are talked about as well. Interestingly, *-Ø*-B-*eye* is often used in narratives, with the referential locus shifted to the past, yielding similar effects to those discussed for other P-domain markers such as the Present (§5), the Perfect(ive) (discussed in §6) and the Recent Past (§9). Often, the Recent Past Durative is used when referring to personal anecdotes in the past, as in (57) and (58) below. Notice for both of these examples that the temporal setting is established with the Remote Past.

[13] It may be noted that the historical evidence seems to suggest that the final *-ayi* in the *-a*-B-*ayi* construction does not in fact come from the suffix *-ile, as might be expected given the otherwise parallel correspondences with *-Ø*-B-*eye* and *-a*-B-*ili*, but most likely from a raised (generic/general/basic/aspectually neutral) "final vowel" *-a* (see Bernander 2020).

[14] This systematization keeps the Recent past *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* "hanging", i.e., without any parallel imperfective counterpart like the two other past/perfective markers in Manda. There does exist what is arguably a formally parallel construction, viz -(*a*)*ka*-B-*ayi*, but that form is constrained to occurring only in subordinate clauses, marking taxis.

(57) *nenga lu-kumbi pa-n-a-y-í'* *na=mw-ána, dadi*
me 11-time 16-SM1SG-PST-be(come)-PFV SM1SG.a=1-child 1.father

a-ni-hémelil-eye *ki-fwatu* *wona* *a-bél-i* *ku-ni-hemél-él-a*
SM1-OM1SG-buy-PST.DUR 7-clothes if SM1-refuse-PFV INF-OM1SG-buy-APPL-FV

ki-fwáto *ni-líl-éye*
7-clothes SM1SG-cry-PST.DUR
'when I was a child, father would buy me clothes; if he refused, I would cry'

(58) *te t-a-tem-í'* *pa-mónga* *n-jítu* *óyɔ* *a-hemelís-éye* *dúka*
we SM1PL-PST-live-PFV 16-one 1-companion DEM1 SM1sg-sell-PST.DUR shop

tenga ti-heng-é' *li-héngu la* *serikáli,* *kóma* *ti-nyw-é'*
we SM1PL-work-PST.DUR 5-work CONN5 9.government but SM1PL-drink-PST.DUR

pa-mónga, ti-gal-é *pa-monga, ti-longil-é* *pa-mónga,*
16-one SM1PL-get_drunk-PST.DUR 16-one SM1PL-discuss-PST.DUR 16-one

ti-kín-é' *pa-mónga*
SM1PL-dance-PST.DUR 16-one

'we lived together (in the early 1980s), our companion here had a shop, we were working for the government, but we would drink together, we would get drunk together, we would discuss together, we would dance together'

The shift in reference point from UT to the past may be explicitly marked through complex compound constructions with a copula indexing the new reference anchor, as seen in (59) and (60). Notice, however, that although these are acceptable constructions, they are rare in my corpus and come from elicited data only (and they only seem to be working with Recent Past morphology).

(59) *a-ka-y-ili* *a-lemb-eye* *meseji*
SM1-PST-be(come)-PFV SM1-write-PST.DUR 9.message
'I was writing messages'

(60) *ni-ka-y-í'* *ni-sóm-éye*
SM1SG-PST-be(come)-PFV SM1SG-read-PST.DUR
'I was reading'

The opposite does not seem to hold, i.e., it does not seem possible to use the form *-a*-B-*ayi* to convey relatively proximal forms. Thus, a sentence with the Remote Past Durative and an explicit hodiernal time frame as in (61) is considered ungrammatical (just as was described for the *-a*-B-*ili* form in §0).

(61) ***lelenu lukela* ***twayogayi*** *mu-machi* 'this morning, we were bathing in the water'

These functional characteristics, paired with the formal correspondences with the P-domain Perfect(ive) Past and the D-domain Remote Past mentioned above, are indicative of these two durative forms being organized as in the schema in Figure 11 above.

9 The Recent Past

9.1 Introduction

Having completed the description and the internal analysis of the basic layer of the Manda TA system, the remaining sections will deal with the less neatly construable parts of the system.

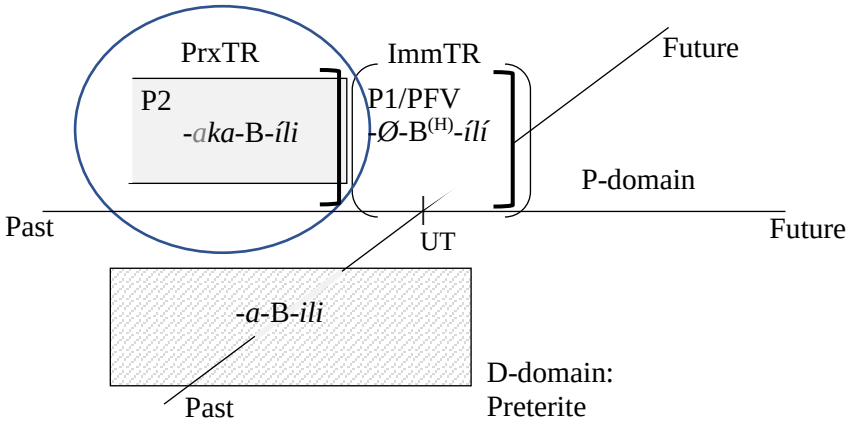
First out is the other dedicated past tense marker[15] found in Manda, the Recent Past. It has the form *-(a)ka*-B-*íli*. Thus, just as the Perfect(ive) and the Remote Past, it consists of a reflex of the perfective **-ide*. Similar to the Remote past (§7), it is furthermore characterized by a penultimate grammatical tone pattern. As indicated by the parenthesis, there is variation in the realization of the Recent Past between *-ka*-B-*ili* and *-aka-B-ili*. As previously discussed in §2.2, this variation adheres to a more general phenomenon in Manda which also affects other tense forms. As illustrated with the functionally concordant yet formally differing examples (62) and (63)—it is difficult to ascribe this formal variation any functional weight (at least in contemporary Manda).

(62) *li-mbelele* *la-n-**aka**-pat-iti* *li-sov-iti*
5-sheep REL5-SM1SG-PST-get-PFV SM5-(become)lost-PFV
'the sheep I got is lost'

(63) *ki-ndu* *ka-ni-**ka**-pat-iti* *ki-sov-iti*
7-thing REL7-SM1SG-PST-get-PFV SM7-(become)lost-PFV
'the thing I got is lost'

On a par with this elusive formal variation, the exact functional range of the Recent Past is also less easily accounted for, as it does not fit into the parallel system in the P- and D-domains upheld by *-Ø*-B-*ili* and *-a*-B-*ili*, respectively (and by their imperfective counterparts; see §4). Putting the Recent Past in relation to the Remote past and the Perfect(ive), however, makes it possible to map out its functional traits more carefully. More concretely, as sketched in Figure 12, *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* can be seen as Recent Past. Such a proximal sense might be surprising in light of the fact that TA verb forms including the formative of the shape *-ka-* are typically characterized as markers of distal tenor and remote past tense across the Bantu speaking area (such as in the Rufiji-Ruvuma language Matumbi P13; see Botne 2013; see also Botne 1999, Botne & Kershner 2008; Nurse & Philippson 2006). However, the pattern is the same in several of the closest neighboring languages to Manda (see Bernander 2017:168-169).

Figure 12. Schematic representation of the Recent past in relation to other past and perfective verb forms in Manda



[15] Recall that also the Perfect(ive) may denote (a simple) past reading at times, a fact further addressed below.

9.2 The recent past in relation to the Remote past

In relation to the Remote past *-a*-B-*ili*, *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* may be conceptualized as a Recent Past, encompassing a more current temporal region relative to a more distal time region of the Remote Past. Looking at elicited sentences, envisaged as having UT as the deictic center and with explicit time adverbials—as in (64) to (67) below, Manda speakers do largely agree (especially younger speakers) that *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* marks hodiernal and *-a*-B-*ili* marks pre-hodiernal temporal notions, and, more generally, that *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* is a relatively more proximal marker than *-a*-B-*ili*.

(64) *ti-ka-won-ang-íni* *lu-kela*
SM1PL-PST-meet-ASS.PFV 11-morning
'we met in the morning'

(65) *t-a-won-ang-íni* *golo*
SM1PL-PST-meet-ASS.PFV yesterday
'we met yesterday'

(66) *t-a-won-ang-íni* *mw-ési* *u-pít-í'* *ǒla*
SM1PL-PST-meet-ASS.PFV 3-month SM3-pass-PFV DEM3
'we met last month'

(67) *t-a-won-ang-íni* *mw-ési* *ǒgʊ*
SM1PL-PST-meet-ASS.PFV 3-month DEM3
'we met (earlier) this month'

Notice that *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* might be used to refer to situations which occurred very shortly prior to UT as evidenced in (68).

(68) *n-akona* *ku-longel-a* *na* *wenga?* *nenga* *ni-ka-lol-iti* *ma-kalatasi*
SM1SG-before INF-talk-FV COM you me SM1SG-PST-look-PFV 6-papers
'before talking to you (i.e. which I am doing now)? I looked at (my) papers'

Rarely, *-(a)ka*-B-*a* may also be used to express broader temporal intervals than 'today', still encompassing current or proximal time units, e.g., 'this year' in (69) and in (70), in the latter case in explicit contrast with the dissociative Remote past referring to 'that year'.

(69) *mw-aka* *ǒwʊ* *lu-kumbi* *la* *pasaka* *ni-ka-kemal-ili* *na=va-na=ngu*
3-year DEM3 11-time CONN11 Easter SM1SG-PST-call-PFV FOC=2 children=POSS.1SG
'this year at Easter I called my children'

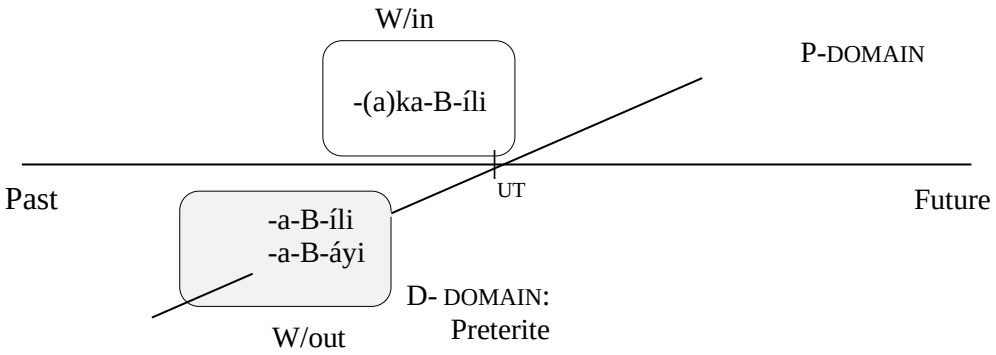
(70) *y-a-v-i'* *yi-noho* *lakini* *nya-mw-aka* *ni-holalel-a*
SM9-PST-be(come)-PFV 9-good but MED-3-year SM1SG-think-FV

y-aka-v-i *i-noho* *zaidi*
9-PST-be(come)-PFV 9-good more
'it was nice [Remote Past], but this year I think it was even nicer [Recent Past]'

This situation is reminiscent of the same type of division of labor between inside and outside-marking across domains, with the current time region realized as the deictic center, as described for the Perfect(ive) and the Remote past in §7 (and for their imperfective counterparts in §8). The Recent past *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* in Manda would thus be able to encompass any time span marked as proximal to the deictic center albeit taking place longer ago than today in absolutive terms. In order to explain why this type of division between "in current region" versus an "outside

current region" hold across domains, as it does in this case, we have to pursue that it is 'today' or some other broader current time unit rather than UT that function as the relevant deictic center. This conceptualizatiom can be sketched as in Figure 13.

Figure 13. Cross-domain contrast between Recent and Remote Past with Current TR as deictic center



However, there are some problems with such a conclusion. Firstly, there are some interlingual variation where for some speakers *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* can "bleed over" in its temporal range to past events taking place also hesternally, thus having extended the temporal range of *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* into a diurnal marker. Here, it would seem that the relative proximity in absolutive terms trumps the fact that the notion of contemporality is breached.

(71) *gólo, lukéla, ni-ka-yumwíki, ni-ka-bɪt-í ku-kanísa*
yesterday morning SM1SG-PST-rise.PFV SM1SG-PST-go-PFV 17-9.church
'yesterday, in the morning, I woke up, I went to church'

Secondly, as hinted already in (67), the Remote Past *-a*-B-*ili* is compatible also with in-region propositions as long as they refer to events taking place earlier than today (cf. §7), and without any explicit contrast with the time span of some other event. At the same time, an analogous construction with the Recent past verb form (72), was rejected by one speaker (the same speaker as in (70)) for the very same reason, i.e., that the event does not take place within a hodiernal confinement.

(72) **ti-ka-wonang-íni mw-esi ógʊ
SM1pl-PST-meet-ASS.PFV 3-month DEM3
Intended: 'we met (earlier) this month'

Thirdly, one might suspect that there is some conflation among the speakers between the formally similar Consecutive (or narrative) form –(*a)ka*-B-*a* (cf. §2.2) and the Recent past for inflection of the copula verb *-y-* ~ *-v(y)-*, very often showing up in examples were *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* acts outside of a hodiernal scope. This copula is a change of state verb ('become') and thus naturally inflected with the suffix -ili rather than -a when denoting a "plain" stative 'be'. (In fact, in neighboring Mpoto, the cognate verb is always used with perfective suffixal marking; Botne 2019:98). In several examples, it seems that the speakers have meant to use the consecutive while at the same time wanting to inflect the copula with the perfective suffix, thus only accidently make it appears as being in the Recent past form.

More typically one finds examples of *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* being used outside of the hodiernal scope (more or less) indiscriminately in discourse where the main event line at some earlier point has been anchored with a remote past tense form. In fact, this is the case with both of the examples

(69) and (70). Similarly, in both examples (73) to (74), the Recent Past is employed when the speakers refer to events taking place in their respective childhoods.

(73) *ni-vy-eye* *he* *ni* *amani* *kwa ndava* *ni-ka-hyoval-ili*
SM1SG-be(come)-PST.DUR NEG COM 9.peace because SM1SG-PST-get_used_to-PFV

ku-vya *na* *mawu*
INF-be COM 1.mother
'I would not be at peace since I was (more) used to being with mother'

(74) *kila* *lu-kumbi* *l-a* *sikukuu, nenga* *ni-pat-eye* *nguo,*
every 11-time CONN11 holiday me SM1SG-get-PST.DUR 10.clothes

ndi *ni-ka-y-i'* *na* *ki-ndamba*
EMPH.COP SM1SG-PST-be(come)-PFV COM 7-peace
'at every (Easter) holiday I would get clothes; then, indeed, I was satisfied'

The following sentences are similar examples but where the Recent Past is realized with an additional "extra" *-a-*.

(75) *n-aka-y-i'* *sana* *nyofi*
SM1SG-PST-be(come)-PFV very 1.insolent
'I was very insolent (as a child)'

(76) *nenga* *n-aka-gan-i* *nyamuhopi* *hesabu*
PERS1SG SM1SG-PST-love-PFV very 9.math
'I really loved math (in school)'

Notice that there is the same "risk" here too that the copula in examples in 0 and 0 is conflated with the consecutive.

In these cases, it would seem that the events depicted, although occurring in the remote past, are subjectively construed by the speakers as having a more proximal and contemporal status. At the same time, given the discoursal setting, it appears that the events are evaluated from the dissociated past domain as the temporal locus of reference, given the fact that all examples (73) to (76) are taken from discourse chunks that are initiated with (a) predicate verb(s) inflected in the Remote Past. A case in point is (77) which is the initial sentence of the story of which (73) is a part, which sets the temporal locus in the dissociated past. It starts with D-domain past verb forms – the Remote past imperfective (cf. §8) and the "simple" Remote past (cf. §7). Then, as the story unfolds, the speaker switches to the more proximal verbs forms illustrated in (73) above.

(77) *lu-kúmbi* *lwa-n-**a**-yogop-**áyi*** *lw-**a**-v-**í'***
11-time REL11-SM1SG-**PST**-be(afraid)-**PST.DUR** SM11-PST-be(come)-PFV

ná *nébe*
SM1SG 1.small
'a time when I was being scared… was as a (young) child'

This use of the Recent Past tenor marker is in many ways functionally reminiscent of the use of the (Simple) Present in Manda as a historical present, as further discussed in §5. Notice in this regard also the harmonic inflectional strategy of using the Recent Past Durative rather than the Remote Past Durative for other verbs occurring in these examples, further examined in §8. In fact, it would seem that all temporal markers in the P-domain in Manda may be used in this

way, to signal a heightened prominence and subjective proximity to the world of events being portrayed.

9.3 The Recent Past in relation to the (Past) Perfect(ive)

It also needs to be clarified how *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* contrasts with *-Ø*-B-*ili*, especially with regard to the (situation-internal) past interpretations of the latter. Indeed, in "low-context elicitation" (to use a phrase borrowed from Crane, this volume), these forms can be used overlappingly. Thus, consider (78) in relation to (64) above. (Both of these examples imply that the morning referred to has already passed).

(78) *ti-wonang-ini* *lu-kela*
SM1PL-meet-ASS.PFV 11-morning
'we met in the morning'

The fact that the Recent past and the Past Perfect(ive) can be understood, in relation to *-a*-B-*ili*, as expressing less distal and dissociated situations motivates putting both forms on a par in the P-domain, in contrast with the Remote Past alone in the D-domain. The compatibility of the Recent Past with the Recent Durative Past witnessed in the previous section, adds further weight to such a conclusion. Furthermore, counter to the more general comparative inferences about *ka*-marked tense forms in Bantu, but as clearly given at hand by the examples showcased above, the Recent Past as a tenor marker in the P-domain belongs in the current, or proximal, time region. Still, in relation to the Perfect(ive), the Recent Past may be characterized as a relatively more distal marker. Essentially, the Recent Past tense marker contrasts with the Perfect(ive) as it does not allow for any speaker-centered (i.e., "perfect" and "present resultative") readings directly aligned with UT. The Recent Past may also contrast with what arguably is situation-centered realizations of the Perfect(ive). For example, the Recent Past unlike the Perfect(ive) may not be used to indicate "immediate past" with a 'just'-reading (cf. Dahl 1985:127), as in (79) below.

(79) *a-búngwíli* vs. ** a-ka-bungwíli
SM1-fart.PFV SM1-PST-fart.PFV
'he just farted'

Similarly, in sequences of events, situations depicted in predicates inflected in the Perfect(ive) are interpreted as occurring later in time relative to those depicted in predicates inflected in the Recent Past, as illustrated in (80) and (81) (see also §6.4).

(80) *n-aka-bɪt-í'* *ku-mu-hanga, ni-wúy-í'* *ku-nyúmba*
SM1SG-PST-go-PFV 17-3-beach SM1SG-return-PFV 17-9.home
'I went to the beach, (then) I returned home (where I am now)'

(81) *n-aka-i-lek-íli* *símu* *ku-fúndi,* *ni-i-tól-íli*
SM1SG-PST-OM9-leave-PFV 9.phone 17-1.repairer SM1SG-OM9-take-PFV
'I left the phone at the repairer, (then) I took it (and it is with me now)'

Taken together, this motivates the conceptualization in Figure 12 in §9.1, where *-Ø*-B-*ili* is treated as a marker of an immediate past time region in the P-domain and *-(a)ka*-B-*ili* act as a marker of a proximal past time region, yet a more distant time region relative to *-Ø*-B-*ili*.

9.4 Some notes for the comparativist and some diachronic speculations

While getting too much involved in speculations about elements alone should be avoided, certainly in relation to such a notoriously difficult element as /ka/ (see e.g. Botne 1999, 2003, Nurse 2008:240-246), it is tempting to speculate that this formative originates from an itive marker, i.e. a marker of action away from the deictic center. This marker typically occurs in the limitative slot, i.e. in a position just to the right of the post-initial TAM1 slot and the OM slot within the verbal word (cf. (1) above), yielding bimorphemic TA prefixations (cf. Meeussen 1967; but see Maho 2007). It has been suggested in the comparative literature that the itive, typically consisting of a morpheme of the shape /ka/, may be re-interpreted from marking spatial to temporal movement away from the deictic center (= UT) (Nurse 2008:244-245). Along this line of reasoning, the form -(*a*)*ka*-B-*ili* would be the compositional result of the Perfect(ive) -*Ø*-B-*ili* + an additional (originally) itive element -(*a*)*ka*- in the limitative slot (no language-internal diachronic processes of such a constructionalization is reconstructible, however).[16] If we presume a metaphorical timeline oriented towards the past in the internal perspectivization of the P-domain (cf. Botne & Kershner 2008, Botne forthc.), it makes sense that the inclusion of -*ka*- in its extended meaning from spatial to temporal marker served to delineate a time region preceding that of the Past Perfect(ive). Importantly, however, this time region was still a relatively proximal one.

In this regard, the Recent Past shows parallels to a discontinuous past marker (within the confinements of the P-domain). That is, a marker introduced for explicitly specifying the situation as non-existent or not relevant at UT in relation to some marker not making a formal distinction between a past and perfect (resultative) reading (see Plungian & Van der Auwera 2006). Such a feature seems to be more articulated in Manda's neighbor Ngoni, for which Ebner (1939:24) explicitly describes the cognate form as expressing an action whose effects have been overtaken by another action.

(82) Ngoni (N12; Ebner 1939:24)

Kutangi	*n-aka-w-i*	*ku-nyumba,*	*hinu*	*ni-w-i*	*bahapa*
ere-yesterday	SM1PST-be-PFV	17-9.home	now	SM1SG-be-PFV	here

'vorgestern war ich zu Hause gewesen, jetzt bin ich (wieder) hier'

['the day before yesterday I was at home, now I am here (again)']

In Ngoni, the cognate form is also further associated with a pluperfect (see Ebner 1939:24, Moser 1983).[17] For Mpoto, Botne (2019) presents the cognate form as a pluperfective. Notice, in this respect, that the Manda examples above were back translated into the past alone and not with pluperfect marking. Still, pluperfect markers form the most common source for

[16] In a similar manner, one could argue that the specific formal variant -*aka*-B-*ili* (i.e. the variant with an "underlying" -*a*-) is the result of the itive -*ka*- being included in the Remote past -*a*-B-*ili* verb form (which furthermore could be taken to explain the fact that the Recent Past and Remote Past have similar tone patterns). In such a scenario, there would have originally been two different past verb forms with -*ka*- which then have more or less collapsed in contemporary Manda. However, there is really no functional evidence for such a scenario. As made clear in §2.2 also, there are plenty of other verb forms subject to the identical type of morpho-phonological fluctuation, suggesting that this feature is more general in its origin.

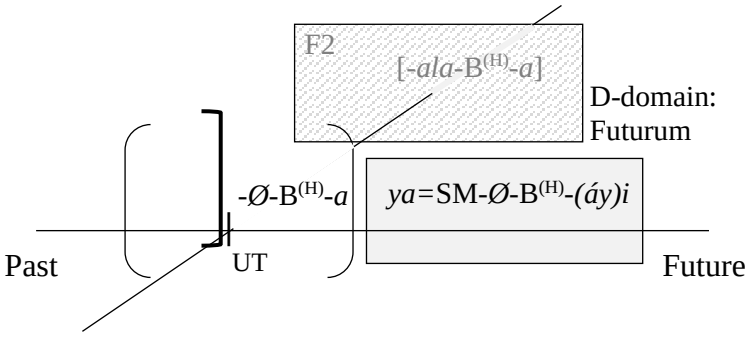
[17] Notice that both of these authors are German, a language which Plungian & Van der Auwera (2006) claim has a polysemic pluperfect/discontinuous past marker (unlike English).

discontinuous past markers (see Plungian & Van der Auwera 2006:334 for a sketch of this semantic extension). It is also interesting to note that neighboring Mpoto has a D-domain past paradigm which, in addition to the "pluperfect" *-(a)ka*-B-*ili*, also contains a parallel basic (aspectually non-specified) construction and a durative construction. In Manda, these cognate forms, i.e. *-(a)ka*-B-*a* and *-(a)ka*-B-*ayi* (i.e. with the same vowel fluctuation), are instead confined to subordinate clauses, being tied up with the marking of taxis and irrealis. Such functions are typically derived uses of the discontinuous past (Plungian & Van der Auwera 2006). Could it have been the case at some point in time that all these markers were part of a past (discontinuous) paradigm in Manda?

10 The Future(s)

The additional, non-basic layer of the TA system also contains the future markers in Manda. Except for the (Simple) Present of the basic TA layer that may carry future reference too, there are two Future markers in Manda. One is used by all speakers, and one is only used by speakers of the Matumba variety. As illustrated in Figure 14, the Matumba variety can be analyzed as having one future marker in the P-domain and one future marker in the D-domain, the remaining Manda speakers thus lacking a future tense marker in the D-domain. For a lack of a better term, I shall refer to the first future verb form as the General Future as it occurs in both dialects and is the sole (dedicated) future marker in Manda outside of the Matumba variety.

Figure 14. Future in Manda shown diagrammatically



The first future verb form has the form *ya*-SM-Ø-B-(*ay*)*i*, i.e. it consists of a pre-initial verbal prefix and an optional additional suffix. It is still unclear where the pre-initial prefix comes from. In Bernander (2017:173-176), I speculate on an origin either from the copula verb *-y-*'be(come)' or alternatively from a reflex of the Proto-Bantu verb *-gɪ- 'go' (see Bastin et al. 2002). The latter verb does not exist as a lexical verb in Manda, but it is common throughout the Bantu speaking area and it has also been grammaticalized into a future marker in several languages (see Botne 2006). The final vowel suffix stems from the subjunctive *-é (recall from §2 that final front vowels have been raised in degree of aperture in Manda), which is indicative of an origin in a marker expressing a more "unreal" modal existential status (see Nurse & Devos 2019, Botne this volume). However, this future construction may be described as conveying a relatively high degree of certainty, if it is taken into account that all future tense markers are in some sense non-factive as they refer to situations that have not yet taken place (and that the (Simple) Present construction marks an even stronger assertion with regard to

future events; see §5).[18] What is more, as indicated in (83) and (84), respectively, the General Future can be used with reference for any degree of temporal distance set in the future.

(83) *lílínu ya-ni-lótá-y'* *ku-Nchúchúma*
today FUT-SM1sg-go-DUR.SBJV 17-Mchuchuma
'today, I will go to (the river) Mchuchuma'

(84) *mi-yesi i-ch-ay'* *ya* *pa-lóngólo* *ya-ni-bít-i* *ku-Njombe*
4-month SM4-come-DUR.SBJV CONN4 16-ahead FUT-SM1SG-go-SBJV 17-Njombe

na *ku-kílawók-a; wo'* *ni-mál-í'* *ku-kílawók-a,* *ya-ni-wans-i*
COM INF-return-FV when SM1SG-finish-PFV INF-return-FV FUT-SM1sg-start-SBJV

ku-fyatul-a *ma-tofali*
INF-make_bricks-FV 6-bricks
'For the months that are ahead, I will go to Njombe and return; when I have returned, I will start making bricks (for the new house)'

It should be noted that the optional /ay/ part of the General future construction historically stems from the same "imperfective" *-a(n)g- suffix described for the past durative imperfectives in §5. Although some speakers occasionally seem to ascribe the same durative (especially pluractional) effects to the formal variant of the General Future that has this suffix, the pattern is far from regular. Thus, most speakers seem to accept, for example, propositions with a clearly pluractional reading like (85) both with and without /ay/ included.

(85) *ya-ti-hid-**i** / ya-ti-hid-**ayi*** *apa* *kila* *li-gono*
FUT-SM1PL-come-**SBJV** / FUT-SM1PL-come-**DUR.SBJV** DEM16 every 5-day
'they will come / be coming here every day'

This difference between the durative effects in the past and the future tenses/tenors is consistent with the fact that futures in Bantu are generally devoid of a (synthetic) imperfective-perfective distinction (see Botne forthc.). The historical reason for the presence of an "imperfective" marker in the General future has more to do with the connection of this verb form with the subjunctive and the modal/illocutionary use of **-a(n)g-* in such constructions to create overtones of exhortation (through semantic extension)—overtones that, in turn, have been bleached out in Manda (see Bernander 2020 for a full account of this historical process). In any case, this does not affect the temporal specifics of the General future within the DaR model.

The Matumba variety alone has another future form, *-ala*-B-*a*. In this case, the initial /a/ of the TA prefix is constant, unlike for instance in the Recent past; see the discussion in §0. It is typically seen as more remote than the, in this case, more proximal General future. This distinction is illustrated in example (86), where the different future markers contrast in a scalar distinction of years. At least in this case, the speaker considered the use of *-ala*-B-*a* together with a temporal adverbial referring to a current time cycle as infelicitous.

[18] There are accounts in the historical Manda data of this construction being used as an epistemic modal marker, but as such it typically marks a relatively high degree of certainty (cf. Bernander 2017:286). In present day Manda, notions of epistemic modality are preferably expressed with the auxiliary *-hotol-*, or various adverbs.

(86) *ku-mw-áka* ***n-ala-bít-a*** *ku-sóm-a* *ku-Dar,*
17-3-year SM1SG-FUT-go-FV INF-study-FV 17-Dar-es-Salaam

kóma mw-áka ʊ́gʊ **ya-ni-tám-áyi** (****n-ala-tam-a**) pa-nyúmba
but 3-year DEM3 FUT-SM1sg-stay-DUR.SBJV 16-9.home
'next year I will study in Dar-es-Salaam, but this year I will stay at home'

However, temporal overlap may also occur between the General Future and the Remote Future. Thus (87), with the General Future referring to the same remote temporal adverbial as in (86), forms an acceptable proposition.

(87) ***ya-ni-sóm-i*** *ku-mw-áka*
FUT-SM1sg-study-SBJV 17-3-year
'I will study next year (in Dar-es-Salaam)'

Similarly, the Remote Future may be used with temporal reference to relatively proximal situations, such as that in example (88) where the speaker refers to a situation occurring in the morning of the day after UT. However, as indicated in this example, it would seem, in such cases, that *-ala*-B-*a* encodes "subjective remoteness" (Botne 2012:546), i.e., it conveys less certainty on the part of the speaker that the situation expressed will take place.

(88) *a-mány-í'* *Múngu: n-ala-yúmúk-a* *au lépe*
SM1-know-PFV God SM1SG-FUT-rise-FV or NEG
'it is God who knows whether I will wake up or not'

Another example is (89) below, which originally comes from a conversation on the phone between a consultant and her relative, who was accompanying another person who had been hospitalized.

(89) {A: 'Are you leaving the hospital today or tomorrow?' B: 'No, not even this week…'}

A: ***ya-mu-tond-i (**mw-ala-tond-a)*** *sana, pole*
FUT-SM2pl-be(come)_tired-SBJV very, *pole*
'you will be very tired, *pole*'

As indicated in this illustration, the consultant explained that the use of the Remote future is inappropriate for this proposition, as the context entails that the process that leads up to the state of being tired has already commenced. Thus, the speaker's statement is construed as relating to the current moment of speaking and as having current relevance.

These semantic characteristics motivate treating the *ya*-SM-B-(*ay*)*i* construction as a P-domain future marker and the *-ala*-B-*a* construction as a D-domain future marker. This conclusion is further corroborated by the formal facts. That is, the General future and the Remote future are formally extremely different from one another: the General future has a pre-initial prefix and a final subjunctive suffix, whereas the Remote future has a prefix in the formative slot and a "basic" final vowel *-a*. Tonally, the General future patterns with all other conjugations of the P-domain in Manda—viz. APU-PU tone melody / stem-initial with object marking – whereas the Remote future has a single grammatical high tone on the initial syllable of the stem, regardless of whether the verb is inflected with an object marker or not.

It may furthermore be noted that for those languages neighboring Manda that have a cognate Remote future verb form (Ngoni N12 and G60 varieties), it is typically described in terms of a distal, dissociated tense marker, e.g., as a "far future" in Nurse & Philippson (2006:175), or as a "Futur des Ungewissheit" [= "Future of uncertainty"] in Ngoni (Ebner 1939:23). This

comparative outlook adds circumstantial evidence to the conclusion that *-ala*-B-*a* is indeed best treated as belonging to the D-domain (see Bernander (2017:178)).

The future perfect(ive) in Manda is expressed with a complex construction consisting of the copula inflected in the future tense form and with the second verb marked with the perfect(ive). The construction conveys that the situation will hold prior to a reference time set in the future, as indexed on the copula construction.

(90) *kiláwu* *ya-ní-y-i* *ni-jéng-íti*
tomorrow FUT-SM1SG-be(come)-SBJV SM1SG-build-PFV
'(by) tomorrow I will have built (it)'

(91) *wikéndi* *ya-ní-y-i* *ni-kɪláwík-i* *ku-Litúhi*
9.weekend FUT-SM1SG-be(come)-SBJV SM1SG-return-PFV 17-Lituhi
'I will have returned next week to Lituhi'

A dissociative Future Perfect(ive) may also be conveyed with the Remote Future.

(92) {Before this year has ended…}
tw-ala-vy-a *tu-bɪt-ili* *ku-nyumba*
SM1PL-FUT-be(come)-FV SM1PL-go-PFV 17-9.home
'we will have gone home'

Any further functional justification for these conclusions, accompanying the formal correspondences, is however lacking.

11 Auxiliary constructions and other complex constructions

11.1 Introduction

After having introduced the simple verb forms, both of the basic and the additional layer we now turn to the complex constructions. They are clearly chronogenetically young(er) and thus arguably part of the extended non-basic layer of the Manda TA system.

11.2 Imperfective constructions

In addition to the "simple" present which covers a vast number of both durative and profective imperfective expressions related to the moment of speech (see §0), there are also constructions dedicated to specific imperfective subcategories. Notice that these constructions are not local to UT, but their temporal reference point may shift, whether with the help of an explicit indexing copula or as derived from context (and thus interpreted in relation to the referential time as more broadly situated in discourse).

11.2.1 The Inchoate auxiliaries

There are two auxiliary constructions in Manda that mark that focus is on the onset of a developing situation more readily than the Present. Consequently, they also qualify as dedicated markers of the imperfective subdomain of (simple) inchoates.[19] The first auxiliary is the Proximative, denoting 'be about to' and thus used to "define a temporal phase immediately preceding the initial boundary of the situation described by the main verb" (Heine 2002:90). Hence, it is arguably very close in conceptual terms to Botne's inchoate category, defined as having the viewpoint at the onset of the situation. The Proximative in Manda is derived from

[19] See Bernander (2017) for more about the semasiological background of these auxiliary verbs and for the functional and formal evidence for their auxiliary status.

the volitive verb *-lond-* 'want, desire' and thus represents a typical construction in African languages, including in Bantu (see e.g. Heine 2002).

(93) *i-lónd-a ku-tóny-a*
SM9-PROX-FV INF-rain-FV
'it's about to rain' {when the clouds are gathering in the sky}

The second auxiliary *-bɪt-* is derived from a motion verb meaning 'go', referred to as a Prospective because it indicates that "preparations" already developing at the time of reference will lead to a certain state of affairs in the future (Jendracheck 2014:158). Again, such a semantic characterization is close to Botne's definition of a Simple Inchoate. In Manda, this marker further entails that the situation takes place away from the deictic center, either spatially or temporally or both.

(94) *kiláwu ni-bí' ku-hích-a ku-Lwílu ku-wonángán-a na Mahúndi*
tomorrow SM1SG-PROSP INF-come-FV 17-Luilo INF-meet-FV COM Mahundi
'tomorrow, I am going to come to Luilo to meet with Mahundi'

Neither of these auxiliary constructions is local to the present P-domain alone; instead, they may be inflected in various tenses when the point of reference is different from the here and now of UT. Examples (95) and (96) are cases in point.

(95) *li-darája líla l-a-lond-á' ku-dúmúk-a*
5-bridge DEM5 5-PST-PROX-PST.DUR INF-break-FV
'that bridge was about to break'

(96) *vá-ndu va mishéni ku-lét-a díni vála va-bɪt-í'*
2-people CONN2 9.mission INF-bring-FV 9.religion DEM2 SM2-PST-PROSP-PFV
ku-jéng-a pa-Lítúhi
INF-build-FV 16-lituhi
'the missionaries bringing religion, they built (there) at Lituhi'

In this sense, both the Proximative and the Prospective in the D-domain are also functionally reminiscent of what Botne et al. (this volume) refers to as the Profect, conceptualized as an inverse variant of the perfect, as it is directed to the future instead of the past.

11.2.2 The persistive

Persistive aspect, defined by Botne (forthc.:29) as "a relational aspect expressing a continuation of a situation and presupposing earlier knowledge", is expressed in Manda with the copulative or "aspectual copula" *-(a)kona*.[20]

(97) *vá-kóna va-yímb-a nyímbɔ mu-kanísa*
SM2-PER SM2-sing-FV 10.songs 18-9.church
'they are still singing songs in church'

[20] The use of *-yendelel-* discussed in §0 can be seen as a case of a less matured Persistive (cf. van der Auwera's 1998 discussion about English *continue* (+ infinitive) vs. Spanish *continuar* (+ gerundio).

For a more elaborate account of this form and its functional range, including its historical traces to an Nguni borrowing, see Bernander (2017:259-271, 2021).[21] For the purposes of this study, I believe that there are a few features of *-(a)kona* especially worth pointing out.

First, *-(a)kona* does not come from a verb but from the adverb *kona* 'here, now' in a "copulative" construction, i.e. a construction where a non-verbal element is "conjugated as the verb proper by the employment of subjectival concords" (Doke 1927: 225; see also e.g. Güldemann 2012 and Veselinova & Devos 2021 for examples of other Bantu non-verbal elements gaining verb-like features in this manner).

(98) *n-ákóna ku-Songéa*
SM1SG-PER 17-songea
'I'm still in Songea'

(99) *ákóna nchúmba w-ángu*
SM1SG-PER 1.fiancé 1-POSS.1SG
'she is still my fiancé'

Secondly, it cannot itself be inflected with TA(M) morphology (unlike the inchoate auxiliaries described above). It may occur in complex tripartite constructions where an initial copula *-y-* 'be(come)' inflected in some tenor or tense marker indexes the referential time as not co-occurring with UT, whether within the P- or D-domain. However, such constructions appear to be especially prominent with non-verbal predicates as in (100). I only have elicited examples with a verb as the main predicate, (101) being a case in point, and some speakers seem to consider such a construction unacceptable. Recall also from §5 that markers associated with the present may be used with non-present denotations without being explicitly shifted by a concomitant copula, as long as a past temporal reference has been set at some point earlier in discourse.

(100) *ni-ka-y-í'* *n-ákóna mw-ána*
SM1SG-PST-be(come)-PFV SM1SG-PER 1-child
'I was still a child'

(101) *n-a-y-i'* *n-akona ni-ly-a*
SM2SG-PST-be(come)-PFV SM1SG-PER SM1SG-eat-FV
'I was still eating'

Thirdly, in compliance with its copula-like categorical status, *-(a)kona* may actually also function as the first verb in a compound construction.

[21] The expression of 'still', but also the interrelated 'not yet', 'already' and 'no longer', has attracted recent interest in Africanistics/Bantuistics, framed as denoting a discrete conceptual domain of Phasal Polarity (PhP); see Kramer (2021). I remain agnostic about the best way of defining the Persistive in Manda (while it is evidently also an elusive marker in other ways). In compliance with the theoretical framework followed in this article and for the coherence of the volume, I chose to treat the persistive as an aspectual marker. Indeed, there is a close conceptual overlap between PhP and aspect; see Van Baar (1998), Kramer (2017); see also Veselinova & Devos (2021) for an account of the grammatical maturation of Bantu markers for 'not yet', viz. the negative equivalent of 'still', into more general (negative) perfects; see also Güldemann (1998, 2003), on the semantic and formal relationship between persistive markers and progressive (continuative) markers.

(102) *n-akona ni-vy-eye he ni amani*
SM1SG-PER SM1SG-be(come)-PST.DUR NEG COM peace
'I still did not have peace'

(103) *n-ákóna ya-ni-yímb-áyi*
SM1SG-PER FUT-SM1SG-sing-FUT
'I will still be singing'

Finally, it should be pointed out that *-(a)kona* may co-occur with change-of-state verbs which are then inflected in the perfect(ive). However, in analogy with what has been pointed out by Persohn (2017:21, 114, 127, 133, 2019) for Manda's neighbor Nyakyusa (M31) (see also Botne 2008 on Ndali, Botne 2019 on Mpoto, and Crane & Persohn 2019 more generally), such constructions are only possible when the lexical verb encodes a resultant (coda) state, like 'be full' in (104).

(104) *gólo a-l-íli sana gwáli, á-kóna a-túp-íli*
yesterday SM1.PST-eat-PFV very 14.ugali SM1-PER SM1-be(come)_full-PFV
'yesterday he ate a lot of *ugali* (and) he is still full'

11.2.3 The Progressive and Continuous

The Progressive in Manda is both formally and semantically in accordance with Botne's definition of this imperfective subcategory (which contrasts with the typical cross-linguistic definition, as further discussed later in this section). To begin with, it complies formally. In Botne (forthc.; see also Botne 1986, Kershner 2002:168-172), the label Progressive refers to a specific complex construction that can be formally schematized as [COP + LOC + INF], viz. a copula (verb), a locative prefix and an infinitive verb (see Bastin 2020 for a comparative overview of this form). In the case of Manda, the locative may either be a prefix from the locative class 16 or 18, respectively.[22] There are no differences in the temporal construal associated with the use of either *pa-* or *mu-* in these constructions, as far as my collection of data can tell (which includes acceptability judgement tests where the use of one form was contrasted to the other).

(105) *Sonobía a-ka-y-íli mu-ku-télék-a gwáli*
Sonobia SM1-PST-be(come)-PFV 18-INF-cook-FV 14.*ugali*
'Sonobia was (in the middle of) cooking *ugali'*

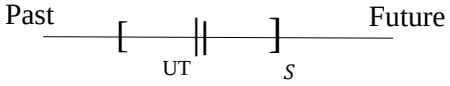
(106) *ni-ka-y-ili pa-ku-lím-a pa-u-ka-fik-i'*
SM1SG-PST-be(come)-PFV 16-INF-cultivate-FV 16-SM2SG-PST-arrive-PFV
'I was in the midst of cultivating when you came'

The Progressive, referred to as the "(narrow) progressive" in Bernander (2017), also complies functionally with Botne's conceptualization. Thus, it conveys a very narrow interpretation of duration. In relation to another situation described in the same sentence or in the surrounding context, it typically refers to the first participant as being 'in the midst of' or 'in the middle' of the situation encoded by the second (infinite) verb. Thus, the Progressive can

[22] Interestingly, the morphophonological fluctuation between the presence or not of an extra-morph /a/, as described in §2.2, may also occur here, affecting the locative prefix, e.g., *mu ~ mwa*.

be understood as situating the origo itself, either at UT or at a secondary reference point, inside the ongoing situation, as schematized in Figure 15.

Figure 15. Schematic representation of the situation structure imposed by the Progressive



In Bernander (2017:255-257), I argue that this construction in Manda is weakly grammaticalized, with a high amount of persistence of its locative source meaning still remaining, a remnant typically conveyed in the sense that the first participant is also physically involved in the situation encoded in the second verb.

(107) *sáa nchéche kiláwu ya-ní-y-i pa-ku-lóva*
clock four tomorrow FUT-SM1SG-be(come)-SBJV 16-INF-fish-FV
'tomorrow at 10, I will be (in the middle of) fishing' ~ 'I will be at (the lake) fishing'

Similarly, the only functional difference identified between the alternative use of *pa-* and *mu-* seems to be connected to the fine-grained semantic differences of the locative classes 16 and 18 themselves, the latter mainly associated with an inessive function of marking "insideness". For example, it would seem that the locative prefix of the progressive construction needs to be harmonic with any other overt locative marking in the clause, as illustrated in (108) where the mismatch between class 16 and the locative phrase 'in church' with class 18 marking render the proposition unacceptable. Compare the acceptable formation in (109).

(108) ** a-v-i **pa**-ku-sali **mu**-kanisa
SM1-be(come)-PFV **16**-INF-pray **18**-9.church
Intended: 'she is praying in church'

(109) *a-v-i* ***mu****-kusali* ***mu****-kanisa*
SM1-be(come)-PFV **18**-INF-pray **18**-9.church
'she is praying in church'

The free variation in forming the construction with either of two locative prefixes points towards a low degree of specialization, again an indication of a low level of grammaticalization (cf. Hopper 1991).

As already indicated by the examples so far, the Progressive is not confined to the deictic center of UT alone in Manda but can also be used when other temporal contexts serve as the reference anchor. The copula verb can be inflected with any type of tense/tenor marking.[23]

The progressive may also occur with different types of verbs. Typically, it occurs with dynamic activity verbs as in the examples given above. As is typical of a more "traditional" progressive (see e.g. Comrie 1976:35; Bybee et al. 1994:126), it cannot collocate with verbs of more stative aspectuality. However, there are examples with change-of-state verbs which are acceptable when framed within the Progressive construction, thus putting the focus on the coming-into-being development phase of the event.

[23] A possible exception would be the Matumba Remote Future (and hence the future D-domain); there are no records of such a construction and the consultant rejected a construed example as infelicitous.

(110) ***níyí' pakumánya* 'I'm knowing'

(111) *á-y-í'* *pa-ku-tónd-a*
SM3sg-be(come)-PFV 16-INF-be(come)_tired-FV
'she is (in the midst of) getting tired'

As mentioned, Botne's definition of a Progressive differs from that of other scholars, who typically accept reference to broader temporal boundaries (e.g. Bybee et al. 1994:126; Nurse 2008:139-143). Such a definition is more in compliance with Continuous (durative) imperfective marking within Botne's framework. Predications involving reference to such a less contracted span of ongoing time can be expressed in Manda with a complex construction with the copula inflected for the tense in question; the second verb is inflected with the *-Ø-*B-*a* verb form with Activity verbs (112) (– but see also (59) – (60) and (53) – (54) in §5) – and with the *-Ø-*B-*ili* form with (some) change-of-state verbs (113).

(112) *ni-ka-y-í'* *ni-sóm-a* *li-gaséti*
SM1SG-PST-be(come)-PFV SM1SG-read-FV 5-newspaper
'I was reading the newspaper'

(113) *ti-y-ili* *ti-tond-ili*
SM1PL-be(come)-PFV SM1PL-be(come)_tired-PFV
'we are getting tired'

11.3 A note on the expression of pluperfect(ive)(s) and future in the past

Pluperfects and Futures in the past are typically expressed in complex copula constructions in Bantu. In Botne's (forthc.; see Botne 1986, 1989) conceptualization, the role of the copula is "to index a second (variable) reference point", either a new reference anchor or new origo. The second verb, containing the verb stem expressing the main situation, then situates itself temporally in relation to this new reference point (see also Nurse 2008:14, 124, 174). It is also possible to form such complex copula constructions in Manda. However, they seldom occur in free speech.

Examples (114) to (115) are meant to illustrate the combinatory possibilities within the past domain, yielding readings of pluperfectivity. In 0 the indexical copula is inflected in the Remote Past tense form and in 0 it is inflected in the Recent Past tense form, producing a Preterite Perfect(ive) and a P-domain past perfect(ive), respectively (cf. Botne this volume). As indicated in these examples, their different readings are in accordance with the typical time scope restrictions of the two different tense forms, as discussed in §9.2. The second verb appears to invariably be inflected in the Perfect(ive) form.

(114) *fula* *y-a-v-ili* *yi-tony-ili* *kwa* *ma-gono* *ga-datu*
9.rain SM9-PST-be(come)-PFV SM9-rain-PFV for 6-hours 6-three
'it had rained for three days'

(115) *fula* *yi-ka-v-ili* *yi-tony-ili* *kwa* *ma-saa* *ga-datu*
9.rain SM9-pst-be(come)-PFV SM9-rain-PFV for 6-hours 6-three
'it had rained for three hours (today)'

This type of complex construction may be used to mark both ante-preterite expressions, viz. expressions indicating a time in the past connected to a later time (116), as well as preterite

perfect ones (117), viz. expressions indicating an extended time in the past (cf. Botne this volume). It may be hypothesized that the possibility of different readings goes back to whether the Perfect(ive) is interpreted with a situation-centered or speaker-centered vantage point (see §6.1), the former being associated with past readings and the latter with perfect ones – perfects having an "extended time span"-profile (Botne this volume; Dahl & Wälchli 2016).

(116) *pa-t-a-hik-ayi* *pa-ludeva* *t-a-kol-ili*
when-SM1PL-PST-arrive-PST.DUR 16-Rudewa SM1PL-PST-notice-PFV

y-a-v-ili *yi-tony-ili* *pala*
SM9-PST-be(come)-PFV SM9-rain-PFV 16.DEM
'when we came to Ludewa, we noticed that it had rained there (earlier)'

(117) *fula* *y-a-v-ili* *yi-tony-ili* *ku-wanjil-a* *jumatatu* *mbaka*
9.rain SM9-PST-be(come)-PFV 9-rain-PFV INF-start-FV Monday until

halamisi *yíla*
Thursday 9.DEM
'it had rained from Monday until that Thursday'

With change-of-state verbs like *-gon-* 'sleep' in (118) and *-yanangık-* 'become broken' in (119), the reading may either be a past resultative or a 'had become'-reading (cf. §6.3 above). Notice that both of these examples illustrate Preterite perfect constructions.

(118) *pa-n-aka-ch-iti* *ku-nyumba,* *a-ka-y-i'* *a-gon-iti*
when-SM1SG-PST-come-PFV 17-9.home SM1-PST-be(come)-PFV SM1-sleep-PFV
'when I came home, she was asleep ~ she had gone to sleep'

(119) *simu* *yi-ka-y-íli* *i-yaníngíki* *kóma* *ti-ka-tendakísi*
9.phone SM9-PST-be(come)-PFV SM9-(become)broken.PFV but SM1PL-PST-repair.PFV
'the phone had become broken ~ was broken, but we repaired it'

It is important to note those plausible combinations that are not included in the examples above. Thus, the past tenses *-a-*B-*ili* and *-(a)ka-*B-*ili* may not combine with themselves or with each other in copula-main verb combinations (e.g., ***nayíli nabıtíli* or ***nayíli nikabıtíli*). Notice that this restriction reduces the possibilities of forming specialized form-meaning pairings of the kind described for Hehe (Botne this volume). Arguably, this indicates that the pluperfect constructions still have more of a compositional reading in Manda. Similarly, it does not seem possible to encode the Post-preterite (future in the past) with copula compounds (e.g. ***tayíli yatibıtáyi* or **tikayíli talatónda*).

Most often in free speech, it would seem that a pluperfect reading (both that of Ante-Preterite and Preterite Perfect) as well as a Post-Preterite (or Future in the Past) reading is not explicitly expressed with a complex construction with an indexical copula but is rather derived from the temporal setting as provided by the context. The verb forms behave like "anaphoric tenses" (Kubota et al. 2009), being interpreted with respect to the local evaluation time provided at some point in the discourse (typically by the Remote Past tense marker *-a-*B-*ili*). Such a relationship may be witnessed in the propositional attitude complement constructions in (120)

to (122). In these cases, (120) has an ante-preterite pluperfective interpretation, and (121) and (122) a post-preterite.[24]

(120) *a-ka-ni-tawuk-íli kukíta n-sungu á-ch-íti*
SM1-PST-OM1SG-tell-PFV COMP 1-westerner SM1-come-PFV
'he told me that the westerner had arrived'

(121) *nenga n-a-many-í' hé ngáti ya-ni-lémb-áyi ki-tábu*
me SM1SG-PST-know-PFV NEG COMP FUT-SM1sg-write-DUR.SBJV 7-book
'I did not know that I would/was going to write a book'
(lit. I did not know that I will (am going to) write a book'

(122) *a-holal-íli golo, ma-chi aga ya-gá-y-i ga-sisimu*
SM1.PST-think-PFV yesterday 6-water DEM6 FUT-SM6-be(come)-SBJV 6-cold
'he thought yesterday that the water would be cold (today)' [from Dahl Q:119]

Examples (123) to (125) further illustrate how a pluperfective reading is not confined to complex copula constructions but that any verb inflected with a past tense marker may establish a reference time in the past to which a subsequent Perfect(ive) verb yields a pluperfective interpretation (see also example (41) in §6.4).

(123) *n-a-y-í' na=mú-ndu mu-kóngólo ni-wánj-íli li-héngu*
SM1SG-PST-be(come)-PFV 1SG-1-person 1-grown_up SM1SG-start-PFV 5-work
'I was a grown-up, I had started work(ing)'

(124) *ku-nyúmba y-áko n-a-lepal-í' kú-ly-a ndáva*
17-9.home 9-POSS.2SG SM1SG-PST-fail.PFV INF-eat-FV because

wénga u-vík-íti mu-pónga mu-saháni
PERS2SG SM2SG-put-PFV 3-rice 18-9.plate
'I failed to eat as you had put (the) rice on a plate'

(125) *t-a-y-i' ta=va-ndu kumi kila mu-ndu*
SM1PL-PST-be(come)-PFV 1PL=2-people ten every 1-person

a-ch-i' na mu-hana w-aki
SM1-come-PFV COM 1-wife 2-POSS.3SG
'we were ten persons; everyone had come with his wife'

Interestingly, there are also attestations of a type of "hybrid" construction, namely a complex copula construction where the copula verb is inflected in the Consecutive, i.e. a "true" relative verb form that may only be used when an established frame of temporal reference already exists (cf. Bernander 2017:196-197).

(126) *t-a-y-íli ta=va-vɪlɪ tu-ka-y-a ti-kwél-íli Mwafrika*
SM1PL-PST-be(come)-PFV 1PL-2-two SM1PL-CONS-be-FV SM1PL-climb-PFV Mwafrika
'there were two of us, we had taken the Mwafrika-bus…'

[24]Recall from §7 that the penultimate tone pattern of the first verb in (122) reveals that it is inflected in the Remote Past and not in the Perfect(ive) (which, in this particular case, otherwise is segmentally identical due to the deletion rule regarding sequences of identical vowels (cf. §2.1)).

Similar to what has been described above, the Consecutive as well does not have to occur on a copula and stand in a cohesive complex construction to contribute in establishing a pluperfective interpretation.

(127) *va-ka-bít-a* *ku-sikukuu* *yíla* *va-teliki* *m-póŋga;* *va-teliki* *kabisa*
SM2-CONS-go-FV 17-feast DEM9 SM2-cook.PFV 3-rice 2-cook-PFV a_lot

mu-sufuliya *va-vík-i'* *pala*
18-9.plate 2-put-PFV DEM16

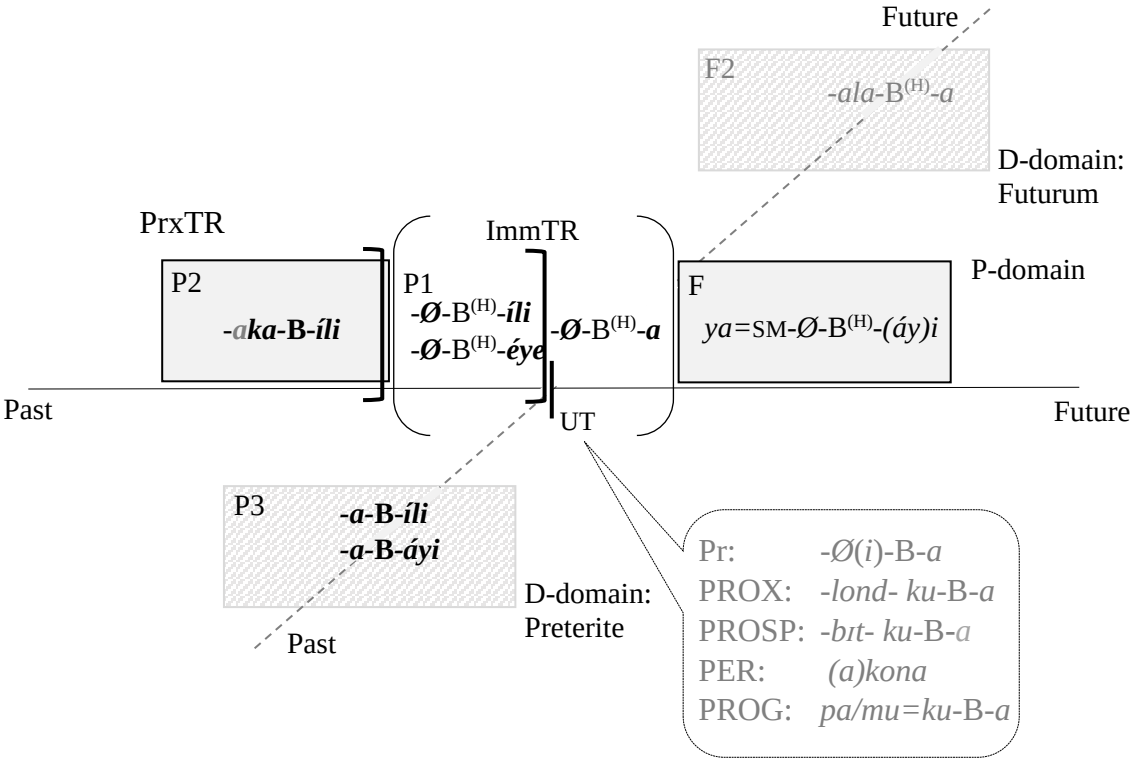
'they$_i$ (Hyena and Fox) went to the feast; they$_j$ (the organizers of the feast) had cooked rice; they had cooked a lot (of rice) in a pot, they had put/left it there'

In example (127), the past temporal frame has been established several sentences earlier in the discourse with a verb inflected in the Remote Past tense form.

12 Summary

Figure 16 offers a schematic representation of the complete TA system in Manda framed in this model. The verb forms that have been argued to constitute the "basic layer" of this system are bolded.

Figure 16.[25] The TA system of Manda as modelled within the DaR framework



As made clear in this figure, Manda's fairly complex TA system with a rich set of temporal and aspectual distinctions instantiates the conceptual dichotomy of an inclusive contemporal P-domain anchored at UT occurring in sequence with dissociated D-domains in the past and in the future, respectively. Only the Matumba variety of Manda, however, has a dedicated marker in the Future D-domain. In the past, Manda maintains a parallel system in the P- and D-domains with the perfective *-Ø-*B-*ili* and *-a-*B-*ili* and their imperfective counterparts *-Ø-*B-*eye* and *-a-*B-*ayi*.

[25] Complex copula constructions are not included in this figure.

The formal differences between -*Ø*-B-*ili* and -*a*-B-*ili* are thus similar to those pertaining between the past duratives -*Ø*-B-*eye* and -*a*-B-*ayi*. Similarly that -*a*-B-*ili* is formally harmonic with the past imperfective -*a*-B-*ayi*, with an identical formative -*a*- and the same tone pattern. This neat picture, however, is somewhat obscured by the inclusion of the Recent Past -(*a*)*ka*-B-*ili* but also Future *ya*-SM-B-(*ay*)*i* in the P-domain, where the former form has been the most challenging one to account for. As argued, the Recent Past can be understood as delineating the past P-domain into a proximal and an immediate time region, where this marker, albeit conveying a proximal time region, functions as a distal marker relative to the Past Perfect(ive).

13 Conclusion

This study has accounted for the organization of the TA system in Manda as analyzed within the multimodal cognitive DaR model. Within this analysis of the Manda TA system, it has been argued that two layers concomitantly exist; A more basic and paradigmatically coherent system additionally enhanced with a second layer of less coherent, and arguably younger, verb forms. Such a conceptualization can more easily account for the idiosyncratic patterns witnessed within the system.

The use of the DaR model has advanced the analysis of the Manda TA system both from an onomasiological and a semasiological perspective. From an onomasiological perspective it has offered a coherent framework to cater for the TA domain as a whole. This includes setting apart the paradigmatic relationship between different constructions both with respect to their (occasionally subtle) differences but also in relation to how and why they at times may overlap in their referential range.

From a semasiological perspective, employing the analytical tools and taxonomies that comes with the DaR model has served to refine the semantic characterizations of some verb forms, providing a more complete and/or detailed picture of their functions. The use of the DaR model for Manda has furthermore facilitated tying together the construal of tense (tenor) and aspect with features of event structure and actionality (lexical aspect) as well as with aspectual viewpoints. Most significant in this regard for Manda has perhaps been the refined examination of the Perfect(ive). As shown, the Perfect(ive) can be understood as a complex polysemic construction which gives rise to different fine-grained interpretations of a situation depending both on the inherent internal phase structure of the (lexical) verb stem and on the perceived alignment of different viewpoints.

A salient feature of the Manda TA domain witnessed throughout this chapter is the apparent use of P-domain temporal and aspectual verb forms as relative or anaphoric tenses without them having to occur in explicit compound constructions (i.e. complex constructions with an indexical copula). Instead, such relative relations are derived in relation to a secondary point of reference established by the inflectional pattern of some verb (not necessarily a copula verb) occurring previously in the sentence or even earlier in discourse. Also the origo, i.e. the relevant deictic pivot through which the event is evaluated, can be shifted from UT to the secondary referential point in the same manner. What is more, the deictic center in Manda may be broader than UT encompassing a larger contemporal unit. These tendencies, of which some seems to prevail in other Bantu languages too (see Crane this volume) would serve as an interesting topic to pursue further within the confinements of the DaR framework.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations used follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules with the following additions/ exceptions: 1, 2, 3… = noun class; ASS = associative; CONN = connective; CONS = consecutive; FV = final vowel; OM = object marker; MED = medial; PER = persistive; SM = subject marker.

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Appendix: Map of the Manda speaking area (Bernander 2017:14)

