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The grammaticalization and discourse use of tense, aspect and mode in Lugwere

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RICHARD KIJJALI NZOGI

ABSTRACT

The object of this paper is to introduce the nature of tense, aspect, and mode (TAM) in Lugwere, a Bantu language spoken in Eastern Uganda. Basic emphasis is on the morphosyntax relevant to the encoding of TAM notions and their basic meanings. As a way of verifying the findings herein, the paper sources its illustrative material from four discourse genres (texts), the examples of which are given verbatim as in the texts except for the numbering. Where the feature under description is nonexistent in the texts, the paper uses individual grammatical strings formulated with native-speaker intuition, and given in a systematic numerical progression at times alongside the discourse examples.

I am also aware that it is one thing to describe the internal structure of the grammar of a language and another thing to know when, and where in a discourse should one use a given form, and not another. Thus, I also review the distribution and role of TAM in discourse as a tool in establishing the motivation for the use of the TAM categories.

In conclusion, observations of immediate linguistic value are made and further research proposed.

¹ This was originally a linguistic project submitted to Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Translation Studies.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Agent	N	Noun
Adj	Adjective	Nc	Noun class
Adv	Adverb	NearFut	Near future tense
Ag	Noun agreement marker	Neg	Negative
Alc	Alethic mode	Nom	Nominalizer
AM	Associative marker	Num	Numeral
Appl	Applicative	Obj	Object
Art	Article	Obl	Obligative mode
Asp	Aspect	OPT	Optative mode
Aux	Auxiliary	P	Plural
Ben	Benefactive	PERF	Perfect aspect
Caus	Causative	Pers	Persistive aspect
Cess	Cessative aspect	PN	Proper name/noun
Comp	Completive aspect	Prep	Preposition
Cond	Conditional mode	PROG	Progressive aspect
Conj	Conjunction	Pron	Pronoun
Cop	Copula	Pst	Past tense
Decl	Declarative mode	Psv	Passive
Del	Delimited aspect	PT	Patient
Ded	Deductive mode	Ptv	Precative mode
DEL	Deliberative mode	Qf	Qualifier
Dem	Demonstrative	Qty	Quality
Dtv	Deontic vowel	Quant	Quantifier
Ext	Existential	Quot	Quotative mode
FarFut	Far future tense	Recip	Reciprocal
FarPst	Far Past tense	Redup	Reduplication
Foc	Focus	Refl	Reflexive
Fut	Future tense	Rel	Relativizer
Fv	Final vowel	S	Singular
Hab	Habitual	Sens	Sensory evidential mode
Hest	Hesternal past tense	Sjv	Subjunctive mode
Hod	Hodiernal	Stat	Stative
Hyp	Hypothetical mode	Sub	Subject
Imp	Imperative mode	TAM	Tense, Aspect, and Mode
ImPst	Immediate past	Tm	tense marker
Imptv	Imprecative mode	V	verb
Inch	Inchoative aspect	Vst	Verb stem
Inf	Infinitive	1P	First person plural
INT	Interrogative mode	1S	First person singular
IObj	Indirect Object	2P	Second person plural
Iter	Iterative aspect	2S	Second person singular
JUS	Jussive mode	3P	Third person plural
Loc	Locative	3S	Third person singular
Md	Mode	Ø	Zero morpheme

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Lugwere is an unwritten language spoken by over 300,000 people, the Bagwere, found in eastern Uganda. The Bagwere, therefore, barely have any written literature in their language. In the wake of the present efforts to promote local literacy and Bible translation into Lugwere, a good understanding of the structural basis of the Lugwere grammar and discourse structures would be essential. T. Givón stresses the importance of understanding tense, aspect, and mode (TAM) by observing that,

Of all grammatical sub-systems, tense-aspect-modality is probably the most complex and frustrating to the linguist. For one thing, it is an obligatory category, without which simple sentences cannot be produced, (Givón 1984, 269).

It is by this pertinent observation that I chose to investigate TAM and how they operate in the Lugwere grammatical and discourse systems with the hope that I make some useful contribution to the task of describing the language and maybe that any other issues of broader linguistic interest may be discovered.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preamble

This study is an investigation of the system of tense, aspect, and mode (TAM) in Lugwere. First, I investigate TAM mainly with reference to the basic meanings implied by the TAM inflections, auxiliaries, and particles. To ascertain the findings as factual in natural discourse, and to establish how they function in the various discourse genres, I analyze narrative, expository, hortatory, and procedural texts.

1.2 The language and the people

The Lugwere² language spoken by the Bagwere, found in eastern Uganda, is a single language of a speech community of now over 400,000 people by the 2002 population census (Mugisha 2002, 156). Lugwere is classified as Niger Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central J, and Nyoro-Ganda (J.10). It is closest to Lusiki in vocabulary, and has 68% lexical similarity with Luganda. While Luganda is regularly used in church, Lugwere is vigorously used in the homes, market places, radio programs, and as the medium of instruction in the first two years of primary school (Grimes 1996, 426).

The Bagwere are agriculturalists and depend on peasant farming. They grow cotton, rice, and maize as cash crops, and millet, sorghum, cassava, potatoes, beans, and groundnuts for subsistence. Most of the Bagwere live in Pallisa district, a plain west of and adjacent to Mbale town. Some live in neighboring districts, that is, Mbale in the east among the Lumasaba (Lugisu) speakers on the slopes of Mount Elgon, Tororo to the south among the Lunyole speakers, and Iganga and Kamuli to the west among the Lusoga and Lusiki speakers, all Bantu languages.

1.3 Linguistic Structure

1.3.1 Typology

Lugwere is an agglutinating language in which the verb bears greater functional load as compared to the other major syntactic structural members in that a verb alone can constitute a sentence. The verb bears the tense, aspect, and some modal markers; relativizing morphemes; and other devices that adjust semantic roles and grammatical relations in the clause. In addition, the structure of the verb is such that unless it is in the infinitive, the verb carries a bound pronominal subject (and object) prefixes agreeing in number and person with the sentence subject (and object).

1.3.2 Constituent order

Lugwere constituent ordering depicts the properties of Greenberg (1963) in Payne (1997, 72), for it places the object after the verb in the main clause. Lugwere is a Head-marking language. Elements referring to the entity that the entire phrase is talking about come clause-initially. While I uphold Greenberg's Subject-Verb-Object typological division, I prefer the 'semantico-syntactic roles' distinction advanced by Dixon (1979) and Comrie (1978a) in Payne (1997, 74) showing Lugwere as a language with an Agent-Verb-Patient (A-V-PT) constituent order in transitive and single-participant intransitive clauses.

² Hinnebusch et al, 1981 refer to the language as *Gwere*.

The formal properties that identify grammatical relations are, participant reference marking on the verb as in (1) and constituent order (another form of case marking) as in example (2) below.

(1) A– go– ere
3S.Sub sleep.V PERF
'He has slept.'

(2) O– mu– kali a– kubb– ire o– mw– ana
Art Nc1 woman 3S.A beat.V PERF Art Nc1 child.PT
'The woman she has beaten the child.'

1.3.3 Grammatical Relations

In a neutral clause, Lugwere groups the only participant of a single-argument clause (Sub), Agent (A), and Patient (PT) roles in the nominative/accusative system. It treats the only argument in a single-argument/intransitive clause (Sub) and the most agent-like argument of a transitive clause (A) alike by placing them in the preverbal position but the patient of transitive verb (PT) differently, placing it post-verbally.

1.4 Scope and goals of the research

This work will strictly focus on the description of tense, aspect, and the modes and how they relate in the grammar and discourse. The main goals of this project are:

- To discover the types of tenses in Lugwere and identify their position and marking.
- To identify and explain the aspectual forms and their use in Lugwere.
- To identify the various Gwere modal forms, where and when they occur.
- To describe the functional links between tense, aspect, and mode morphemes.
- To make available Lugwere language data for those who intend to use it.

1.5 Methodology and data corpus

This study is based on a corpus of data from two sources. First, from myself as a mother-tongue speaker of the language with intuition about the grammaticality of utterances; second, I have consulted other mother-tongue speakers aged fifteen to seventy years of age across all the language areas. The corpus comprises of sixteen texts: nine narratives, three procedural, three hortatory, and an expository text. I gathered the texts between June 3, 2002 and July 15, 2003. I elicited and transcribed three of the texts during my vacation in Naboa village in July 2003. Others were collected at the writer's contest at Budaka in June 2002. From this corpus, I chose four samples for analysis.

1.6 Limitations and delimitations

The study and presentation of the analyses herein is limited to a sample data corpus of only four Lugwere texts, a narrative, an expository, hortatory, and a procedural text. As the work on this paper progressed, it became clear that there is much more to do with the process of research and with the subject matter at hand, than had been earlier anticipated yet the period to do it has been so short that I present this as a set of hypotheses, as a prelude.

1.7 Summary

In the foregoing chapter, we pointed out the fact that Lugwere is an agglutinative and inflecting language. We also noticed that apart from tense, aspect, and mode, the structure of the verb is such that there must be a bound pronominal subject prefix agreeing in number and person with clausal subject except for infinitive verbs. We also highlighted the fact that Lugwere has three tones, high, low, and falling, and that tone in Lugwere has both grammatical and lexical functional load.

CHAPTER TWO: TENSE, ASPECT, AND MODE: AN OVERVIEW

2.0 Preamble

This chapter introduces tense, aspect, and mode (TAM) in reference to the general structure of Lugwere verb and phrase morphology. Section 3.1 reviews TAM in the literature. Section 3.2 explores Lugwere verb and grammar TAM encoding strategies.

2.1 Literature review

The question as to whether any of the three categories, tense, aspect, and mode can stand independent of the other still rages on. In many languages, the three conflate into mutually inter-dependent categories that form a logical whole. Literature on several languages reveals that, even where one category dominates in a given language, to an extent, all three are present. Their bond centers on the concept of time, as Givón says,

The division within the TAM notional space into **tense**, **aspect**, and **modality** is far from spurious. In one way or another, these three represent three different points of departure in our experience of time. Tense involves primary, though not exclusively... **time** as points in a sequence, and thus the notions of **precedence** and **subsequence**.

Aspects of various kinds involve our notion of the **boundaries** of time-spans, i.e., various configurations of beginning, ending, and middle points. Nevertheless, in the semantic space of aspect, nearly always some element of tense is also involved, in terms of establishing a **point of reference** along sequential time. Finally, modality... encompasses among other things our notions of **reality**, in the sense of “having factual existence at some real time”. (Givón 1984, 272, bolding his)

To précis Givón’s views, Chung and Timberlake (1985, 3) affirm that, “Tense locates an event in time, aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of an event, mood describes the actuality of an event in terms such as possibility”.

2.1.1 Tense

Several authors have defined tense in rather different, but related ways. Saeed, for example, defines tense as the impulse that spurs speakers to trace situations in relation to some reference point in time, most often the time of speaking (Saeed 1997, 114). His definition, for example, in some way sides with Payne who defines tense as “...the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered” (Payne 1997, 236).

Comrie (1985, 9), on his part, defines tense as ‘the grammaticalized expression of location in time’ and hence it is said to be a deictic system which can even indicate ‘the different degrees of remoteness’ often distinguished in some languages. He goes on to define the term ‘grammaticalized’ as meaning “integration into the grammatical system of a language”. In contrast, lexicalized expression of time, integrated into the language’s lexicon does not have crucial effect on its grammatical structure. He clarifies this by advising that morphological boundaries are not in themselves a necessary criterion of grammatical tense. This means that even non-bound auxiliaries and particles can encode tense in the same way as the verbal morphology does (Comrie 1985, 10).

Comrie’s defining of tense as ‘the grammaticalized location in time’ aims to omit lexical time expressions like ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’, often considered by many as tense notions. Concerning the marking of tense in a language, Comrie further differs with

Lyons (1977) in Comrie (1985, 12), which he quotes as one of the traditional grammars that insist that tense is a category of the verb on the basis of its morphological attachment to the verb. Comrie (1985, 12) proposes that tense should be regarded as, “a category of the whole sentence, or in logical terms of the whole proposition, since it is the truth-value of the proposition as a whole, rather than just some property of the verb, that must be matched against the state of the world at the appropriate time point”.

Another contributor, Palmer (1986, 37), in his discussion interprets tense as having three distinct functions; to mark purely temporal relations of the past and present time; to sequence points that are mostly relevant for reported speech; and to mark ‘unreality’ particularly in conditional clauses and wishes. In other words, Palmer seems to suggest that the most important function of tense is to indicate past and present time. However, this makes his account deficient for it does not explain why he leaves out the future in his three distinctive functions of tense. Besides, his definition ignores the many bipartite and metrical deictic systems so common in languages especially the Bantu.

In light of this disparity, Givón draws out two fundamentally connected features

- a. Sequential: Construing time as a succession of points each one occupying a fixed position in the linear order either preceding or following other discrete points in sequence. Within such a sequence, precedence means occurring before, and subsequence, occurring after.
- b. A point of reference: Within the flow of linear time, one may establish a point of reference or the time axis with respect to which the ‘past’ precedes and the ‘future’ follows. The most common universal point of reference is the **time of speech**, anchored to the speaker at the time of performing the speech act. This is the ‘now’, taken for granted as the unmarked time axis (Givón 1984, 273 *Italics and bolding his*)

However, while holding this description valid, Givón seems to imply only the encoding notions of precedence (past) and subsequence (future), still inadequate for languages that grammaticalize time distance from temporal reference points.

Cruse (2000, 274) seems to propose an answer when he highlights two contrasting tense systems, a vectorial system that he says, ‘indicates direction along a time-line from speaking time to event time’, and a metrical system that is based on definite intervals of time. He adds that a metrical tense system can distinguish over six intervals, with the past more highly differentiated than the others. This idea is alluded to by Comrie (1985, 99), in his discussion about the Yagua language tense systems.

According to Givón (1984, 273), languages with a metrical system grammaticalize measurement of distance in time less exactly than would be accomplished lexically. He says such languages instead utilize an approximate and subjective measure of interval linking periods with a tense locus proximally relative to the time axis. About this idea, Cruse (2000, 274), says that such languages encode event time relative to a secondary reference point that is itself located relative to speaking time. Thus, the relation between event time and speaking time is indirect. Conversely, languages that encode event time directly relative to time of speaking have absolute tense.

From the preceding review, I adopt Comrie’s definition of tense as the baseline in the proceeding discussion of the subject and will just incorporate the other descriptions that are relevant to the Lugwere tense system, for it is apparent that Lugwere tense is deictic. It has two kinds of reference points, the ‘here and now’-- location at, before or after the deictic centre; and the ‘there and then’- another point in time distant from the deictic centre, with moment of speaking as the deictic centre.

2.1.2 Aspect

Comrie (1991, 3) defines aspect as, “...the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”, thus, a relation of the way something is presented as happening (its internal temporal nature) across time. Saeed (1997, 116) hints that aspect has “to do with temporal distribution of an event in time”. He says,

Aspect systems allow speakers to relate situations and time...aspect allows speakers to view an event in various ways: as complete or incomplete, as so short..., as something stretched over a perceptible period, or as something repeated over a period.

Payne (1997, 238), sharing Saeed’s observation says, “Aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states”. Moreover, so does Givón (1984, 272) who affirms that, “Aspects of various kinds involve a notion of the **bounded-ness** of time-spans; the various configurations of beginning, ending, and middle points”.

Payne (1997, 239) identifies, among others, the major aspects as including perfective, imperfective, inceptive, completive, iterative, habitual, cessative, inchoative, distributive and progressive.

According to Comrie (1991, 35), aspects can be bounded or unbounded, a broader categorization that he constricts to mean *perfective* or *imperfective* respectively. The imperfective presents a situation with specific reference to its internal temporal constituency, attempting to divide the situation up into various individual phases that make up the action of entry. The perfective, in contrast, presents totality of a situation as a single, un-analyzable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one. It views the situation from outside without necessarily distinguishing its internal structure. Givón (1984, 276), supports Comrie by saying that, “An event is *perfective* if at the time axis it is represented as *completed, terminated, or accomplished*”.

Comrie (1991, 27-28) initially depicts habitual aspect as marking a situation as characteristic of an extended period that we consider such recurrence as intended, and a typical facet of a whole period. Comrie (1991, 35) then adds that the imperfective has other categories like the progressive, that is, a “combination of progressive-ness and non-stative-ness that signals on-goingness”. The other kinds of the imperfective identified by Payne (1997, 240-41) are inceptive aspect, expressing the starting point of an event; and iterative aspect, denoting punctuality in events occurring successively.

2.1.3 Mode

Mode here refers to what some linguists prefer to call *mood* or *modality*. For this write-up, I adopt the use of mode as an indeterminate/cover term for both notions.

According to Palmer (1986, 21), the term mood is by tradition restricted to the category expressed by verbal morphology, while modality includes all the non-verbal modal categories. He says that while in modality, speaker attitude and opinion are involved- like in ‘hearsay’, with mood, the semantic notion does not necessarily relate to the verb but to the entire phrase. He adds that a language can mark mode within or out of the verb. Palmer is however quick to add an attempt to distinguish between modality and mood is like distinguishing tense from time or gender from sex.

Payne (1997, 244), on his part, says that though some linguists attempt distinguishing between the three terms *mode*, *mood*, and *modality*, he uses them rather interchangeably as describing a speaker’s attitude towards a situation, his belief in its actuality, likelihood or an estimation of the relevance of the situation to himself.

Chung and Timberlake (1985, 241), define mode as “what characterizes the actuality of an event by comparing the event world(s) to a reference world” adding that, while an event can only be actual or not, if less real, that can be in several ways.

Lyons (1968) on his part, as cited in Abangma (1987, 10) says,

“Mood, as a grammatical category, is used in two senses. First, it refers to the speaker’s communicative options that serve to identify the speech act in a given clause. The speaker’s communicative options might be to inform, to request information, or to command. These options give what has been traditionally recognized as the indicative (declarative), interrogative, and imperative moods...

Second, mood refers to the speaker’s attitude toward what he is saying (Lyons 1968, 307). He may express doubt, desire, or wish. He may indicate that an event is conditioned in its occurrence, and so on. Some linguists would reserve the term *modality* for this second meaning of *mood*.

From the above, it is clear that languages use mode for either of the three functions, as designating speech acts such as commanding, informing, requesting, et cetera; distinguishing possible worlds between the factual and non-factual plus speaker commitment to a proposition; or denoting propositional evidentiality.

Lastly, Bybee and Fleischman (1995, 2) separate mood from modality by saying that mood refers to the set of distinctive forms that signals modality. They then limit the term ‘modality’ for the facet of illocutionary force marked by grammatical devices expressing an illocutionary point, that is, the general intent of a speaker or his degree of commitment to a proposition’s believability, obligatoriness, desirability, or reality.

2.2 Lugwere TAM encoding strategies

There are five strategies to encode TAM categories: verbal inflections, auxiliaries and verbal particles that precede the central constituent of the verb phrase; reduplication at verb word or verb-phrase level; morphemes that precede other enclitics in the pre-subject slot; supra-segmentals; and sentence-level serialized verbs.

Lugwere encodes TAM notions mostly on the verb. A prototypical Lugwere verbal form consists of certain obligatory and optional elements as shown by the bracketing that indicates optional elements and vice versa as follows.

$$V \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Neg} \\ \text{Md} \end{array} \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Sub} \\ \text{Inf} \end{array} \right\} (\text{Tm}) (\text{Obj}) (\text{IObj}) \text{Vst} (\text{Asp}) (\text{Md})$$

As in the illustration above, a verb in Lugwere consists of the following obligatory elements: a verb stem (Vst) and either a subject concord morpheme (Sub) or an infinitive verbal marker (Inf), suggesting a non-finite-ness, unmarked for person, tense, aspect, mode, and noun class. Optional constituents are negative morphemes (Neg) or modal markers (Md) that come verb-initially, for some modes are marked verb-finally and the two cannot co-occur in the same verb; tense morphemes (Tm); object pronouns (Obj); indirect object (IObj) pronouns, aspectual markers (Asp); and verb-final modal markers.

CHAPTER THREE: TENSE IN LUGWERE

3.0 Preamble

In the previous chapter, we ended the literature review on tense by adopting Comrie's interpretation of tense as 'grammaticalized location in time'. We also observed in a general statement that the Lugwere tense system is deictic, for it differentiates two kinds of reference points, the 'here and now' and the 'there and then'. We interpreted 'here' and 'now' as the location in time at, versus the location before or after the deictic centre; also, that location of time relative to another point in time distant from the deictic centre-- 'there' and 'then' is referred to as relative tense.

In Lugwere, locating of situations in time relative to a reference point, as pointed out in the definition, is simply an abstract idea such that specificity or boundedness in denoting the different degrees of remoteness in time is not that precise, e.g., 'now' and 'today', so lexically indistinguishable, aren't easy to separate into each exact meaning.

Nonetheless, the idea of relative reference of location in time helps in marking out the distinctive grammatical time locations. In this way, Lugwere splits two groups of expressions for locating in time, lexical expressions, and grammatical time markers. The lexical time expressions (time words) include *atyanu* 'now' or 'today', *izo* 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow', and *izuuli* 'the day before yesterday' or 'the day after tomorrow', *lumo* 'once', and *iira* 'long time ago/to come'. Because these lexical time adverbials have dual meanings, which time dimension is implied is only distinguishable from speech context.

The grammaticalized expressions of location in time are represented in terms of location at the deictic center, before, or after it. In this manner, punctual situations are located as points along the time axis, relative to the deictic center, and in line with their specific deictic distances (temporal location points) from the center. With the center the 'now' or moment of speaking, all situations or events that are simultaneous with the 'now' are marked as being in the present tense. Similarly, situations located prior to the 'now' are in the past, while situations or events in a time after 'now' are in the future.

Besides, Lugwere tense system, which is metrical, tells apart definite intervals of time inside the major time location within which situations occur-- also called degrees of remoteness. In such, the location of that situation will be marked inside the time span allotted to the major time division in which it occurred as shown in Figure 1 below. Thus, the remote situation inevitably occupies a time span grammatically marked as a punctual interval in the main time line within which it falls.

Lugwere distinguishes seven punctual locations in time (pure tenses). Notional past situations, for example are divided into the following points in time, Remote Past (A), Recent Past (B), Hesternal Past (C), Hodiernal Past, and Immediate Past (E). Similarly, notional future situations are distinguished into, Immediate Future (E), and Remote Future (G). If we represent time on a straight line, with Past to the left, Future to the right, and Present at the point labeled O, the tenses are as follows.

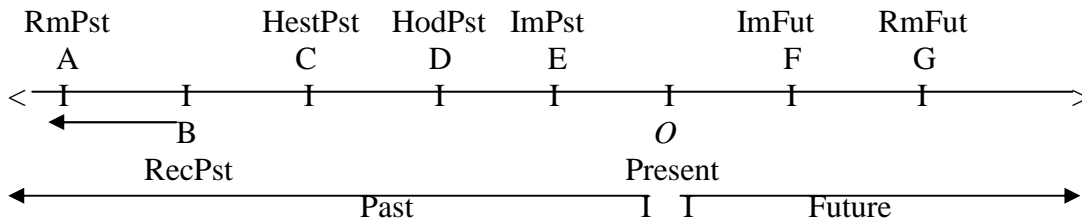


Figure 1: Representation of Lugwere locations in time along the time axis

In Figure 1, situations that occurred in the past are diagrammatically located left of O. We also notice that on this part of the axis, there are several situations in which situation A precedes situation B, situation C follows situation B, and it is also followed by situation D. Situation D is followed by situation E. Nonetheless, all of these situations occur wholly within the Past. Similarly, situations that will occur after point O are diagrammatically located to the right of the O, for example, situation F, followed by situation G, although all of them will occur within the Future time facet.

Besides the absolute tense described above, Lugwere uses relative tense, except, only the elderly speakers use it, for it is archaic. In relative tense, encoding situation-time is done relative to a secondary reference time. While the basic system for measuring and reckoning time in the absolute tense is the cycle of ‘day’ of 24 hours counted as from dawn--7 a.m. to next dawn, relative tense is based on seasons deemed as customary such as planting seasons, rainy season, or events such as death of prominent persons in society, natural disasters, et cetera.

Until now, we have described how Lugwere conceive the notion of tense and its structures, speaking of it as a grammatical category; however, we did not explain what is grammatical about it; the issue we now delve to, to find out how Lugwere marks the individual partite locations in time.

Recall we earlier noted that the language uses several ways: either on the verb by morphemes within the morphology of the verb, by grammatical words adjoining to the verb such as auxiliaries, and with sentential tense particles. The first technique agrees with Nurse’s description in Hinnebusch et al (1981, 204). The second and third techniques attest to Comrie’s (1985, 12) claim that tense is a category of the whole sentence or the whole proposition for there are quite a number of non-bound auxiliaries and particles which encode tense alongside the verbal inflectional tense morphemes. This we now turn to in the following sections. We examine each of the major time locations, Present, Past, and the Future, respectively, exploring into the specific temporal or remote deictic intervals introduced above. We explain their distinctions, marking in grammar, and temporal functions.

3.1 Present Tense

Present Tense in Lugwere is the unmarked tense³ and describes situations or events that are literally holding true in the “now” of the speech moment. In its basic form, the tense slot before the verb stem has a zero morpheme (Ø) and bears a characteristic final vowel /a/, for example in (3) below.

³ See details in Hinnebusch *et al*, (1981, 205)

- (3) A- Ø- **gon-** a.
 3S sleep Fv
 'He is sleeping/He sleeps.'

3.1.1 Present Tense temporal functions

The 'Present Tense' form serves a function denoting of a simple present describing a one-off event or situation literally as is and says nothing beyond this. If the speaker meant that the event was in the past or extends beyond the present moment, but uses the formal present tense form, then it is an implicature of context, as in example (3) above and in example (4) as follows

- (4) A- Ø- **baiz-** a n- tebe.
 3S design Fv Nc9 chair.
 'He makes chairs/He is making a chair.'⁴

Secondly, the Present Tense may code present situations spreading over a period that encompasses the current time. This includes the present progressive notions, and situations that are general timeless truths and/or the present habitual situations that, as a habit, are characteristic of all times, as in (5) below, given in the appendix as 4.2.

- (5) Ng'- o- mal- ire, o- Ø- **kuul-** a e- bi- ina ng' o- **kuul-** isy- a o- mwizo
 When 2S finish PERF 2S dig Fv Art Nc8 hole Adv 2S dig Caus Fv Art dagger
 'When you are done with that step, you then dig the holes (while) using a dagger.'

In the above example, the speaker may be describing a situation as one that is right in process at the time of speaking, or as one that occurs continually or habitually. A similar meaning is in example (9), which is a past event but affecting the present time.

A marked Progressive construction, supposedly borrowed from neighboring Lusoga, very popular among younger speakers also expresses present progressive situation. In it, tense is marked on the accompanying copula, but this causes the pronominal pronoun attached onto the copula to lengthen. This is due to the bimoraic nature of the copula verb stem (Mutaka 2000, 83). Examples are in (6) and (7) below,

- (6) Aa- **li** **ku**⁵- **gon-** a.
 3S Cop Inf sleep Fv
 'He is (at) sleeping.'
- (7) Aa- **li** **ku-** **baiz-** a n- tebe.
 3S Cop Inf design Fv Nc9 chair.
 'He is (at) making a chair.'

Third, Present Tense expresses general timeless states of affairs, as in (8).

- (8) A- ba- kali ba- Ø- **tak-** a a- ba- ana.
 Art Nc2 woman 3P love Fv Art Nc2 child
 'Women love children.'

⁴ This could imply now, continuously, or habitually.

⁵ /ku-/ can be an infinitive marker (Noun class 15), a non-finite verb marker, or locative prefix (Noun class 17). In *Kifuliru* (Bantu J 52), it is locative. In Lugwere, either analysis is okay if it befits context.

Fourth, Present Tense expresses states of affairs that arose in the past but continue to affect the present moment, commonly called present perfect situations, as in (9).

- (9) E- i- gambi li- Ø- **gaan-** a o- ku- toola- mu e- ki- da.
 Art Nc5 law 3S refuse Fv Art Inf remove Comp Art Nc7 womb
 'The law prohibits abortion.'

Fifth, Present Tense expresses a historical present where a past event is vividly presented. It is pragmatically motivated. An example is in sentence (10) below

- (10) E- bi- Ø- kwat- a o- ku kw- ira- kwe, a- Ø- **kob-** a aa- ti...
 Art Nc8 touch Fv Art Loc Inf return 3S.Poss 3S say Fv 3S Quot
 'As regards his return, he said that...' (Literally: Regarding his return, he says that...)

Sixth, Present Tense also expresses the imminent future whereby a state of affairs expected to materialize before the end of the day. It extends to cover regularly expected events. This, however, seems to occur only with motion verbs, as in (11).

- (11) O- mu- kuum- e- ku a- Ø- **ir-** a.
 2S 3S.Obj wait Dtv Del 3S return Fv
 'Wait for him (for) he will certainly come back/he is certainly coming back.'

In (11) above, Present Tense is not used here to imply a continuous sense but that the referent's return is expected and is certainly imminent.

3.1.2 Summary

In the foregoing discussion, the crucial claim is that Present Tense in Lugwere encompasses not only situations holding 'now' at the time of speaking, but also where a situation is part of a larger situation occupying more than just the present moment. It includes the time adverbial *atyanu* 'now' or 'today' introduced earlier, but not covered in our definition as a grammaticalized form.

3.2 Past Tenses

Notional past tense locates a situation to the left of that present moment reference point, referring to actions before the moment of speech. Pure past tenses only locate past situations, saying nothing about whether they continue through into the present and future periods. The conversational implicature that situations located in the past tense do not continue to or beyond the present is not always the case until context is established. Speakers can also locate situations in question prior to the present moment as occupying just a single point prior to the present or an extended period prior to the present. Lugwere distinguishes four degrees of remoteness of Past tenses.⁶

3.2.1 Immediate Past Tense

The Immediate Past Tense denotes actions that occurred within the last hour. It is indicated on the verb by a prefix *aka-*⁷ following the subject pronoun and final vowel *-a*. When the tense marker co-occurs with some of the animate pronominal prefixes, it affects them forcing them to change. First person plural pronoun becomes *tw-* from *tu-*. Second

⁶ The term 'Degrees of remoteness' is adopted from and as used by Comrie (1985).

⁷ /aka/ is in free variation with /anka/.

person singular and plural pronouns change from *o-* and *mu-* to *w-* and *mw-*, respectively, while third person singular becomes *y-* from *a-*. If the subject is inanimate, the tense marker affects only third person prefix, and the resultant form varies with the noun-class concord marker, with the resultant pronoun formed by isolating the verb concord's initial consonant, amalgamated onto the tense marker *aka-*, as in (12) and (13), or 1.8 and 1.20 in the text.

- (12) B-à ali ba-**aka-** tambul- a- ku katono kati o- ku- zwa e ika, o- Culi
 3P RmPst Cop 3P ImPst walk Fv Del a little Dem Art Inf from Loc home Art Hare
 'They had just walked a short distance from home (when) Hare..'
- (13) Y-à ali y-**aka-** ir- a, o- Ngo yena n'- a- ir- a.
 3S RmPst Cop 3S ImPst return Fv Art Leopard 3S.Foc Conj 3S return Fv
 'No sooner had he returned than Leopard also came back.'

3.2.2 Hodiernal Past Tense

The Hodiernal Past tense denotes actions that occurred about the moment from over an hour from the time of speaking until earlier in the day (today). It is not marked explicitly in the tense slot of the verb. Instead, a past tense meaning in the event is accomplished within the Perfect aspect marker, the suffix *-ire* or *-ere*, as is conditioned by the phonological environment (see 5.2.1). The subject pronoun, however, does not change, as it does with the Immediate Past. Thus, whenever a verb has a zero morpheme \emptyset - in the verbal tense slot instead of marker *a-*, but also has the Perfect aspect marker *-ire* or *-ere*, then it is obvious that it is in the Hodiernal Past. The marked aspectual meaning thus signals that the situation in question should be viewed as completed, having occurred earlier today, as in (14), (15), (16), and (17); also occurring in the appendix texts as 1.37, 1.41, 2.5, and 2.6.

- (14) O- nanyere e ika n'- a- tandiik-a o- ku- mu- nyonyola e- bi- \emptyset - bba-**ire-** mu
 Art owner Loc home Conj 3S Inch Fv Art Inf 3S.Obj explain Art Nc8 Hod Cop PERF Loc
 'The host then began to describe the gift pack contents.'
- (15) O- lu- gero lw- ange lu- \emptyset - kom- **ere** aawo.
 Art Nc11 story Ag 1S.Poss 3S Hod end PERF there.
 'My story has ended there.'
- (16) Owe- b- à- demb-ang-a o- ku- bina, a- ba- ala nga ba- sal- a e- n- dagala
 Rel 3P RmPst tire Hab Fv Art Inf dance Art Nc2 girl Conj 3P cut Fv Art Nc10 leaf
 'Whenever they got tired of dancing, the girls could chop banana leaves...'
 ni ba- gy- al- a o- ku lu- uga kwonakwona kaisi ni ba- gon- a- ku
 Conj 3P Ag lay Fv Art Loc Nc11 courtyard all over it then Conj 3P sleep Fv Loc
 '...and they spread them all over the courtyard, then they lie down on them...'
 n'- a- ba- isuka, buli moiza ogw- a- \emptyset - lond- **ere** paka o- ku- ceisya.
 with Art Nc2 boy each one Rel 3S Hod choose PERF till Art Inf dawn
 '...with the boys each one with the one she has chosen till dawn.'
- (17) A- ba- ala era ba- let- ang- a e- mi- gaire gy- o- ku- biika o- mw- isuka
 Art 3P girl even 3P bring Hab Fv Art Nc4 linen of Art Inf cover Art Nc1 boy
 'Girls as well often brought linen for covering the boy (from the over night cold)...'

ogw- a- Ø- sun- **ire** o- ku- gona na- iye.
 Rel 3S Hod get PERF Art Inf sleep Conj 3S.Poss
 ‘...whom she has gotten to sleep with.’

At times, phonological conditioning changes the Hodiernal tense marker into forms such as *-ite* and *-ine*.⁸ From the text, examples include sentence 3.2 given below.

- (18) M- Ø- ma- **ite** n- ti o- kuti oo- li mu- yungubali olw’- e- bi- gosi
 1S Hod know PERF 1S.Quot Art lately 2S Cop Nc1 sad due to Art Nc8 trouble
 ‘I have realized that lately, you are so saddened by the difficulties’
 e- by- o- Ø- sanga(n)- **ine**.
 Rel Nc8 2S Hod meet with PERF
 ‘...which you have encountered’.

3.2.3 The Hesternal and Remote Past Tenses

The Hesternal Past denotes actions that occurred within yesterday as the point of reference. The Remote Past, on the other hand, classifies events as having occurred after yesterday dating back into history and are now off-season in the news scene and/or no longer prominent. The reason they are grouped together is that the Hesternal and Remote Past tenses differ only in tone. The morphological shape of both is such that they are marked by the tense morpheme *a-* in the pre-verbal tense slot. This process affects subject pronominal pronouns the same way as in the Immediate Past. The difference, however, is that unlike with the Immediate Past, these changed forms go with a verb-stem whose suffix is the Perfect aspect morpheme *-ire* or *-ere* in the verbal extension slot, functioning to portray the past event as concluded. Concerning the tone difference, in Hesternal Past, the verb bears a high tone on two of the action verb’s vowels, as in (19); in Remote Past, tone is low across the action verb’s syllable vowels except for the vowel of the last syllable, as in (20), or 1.10 in the text.

- (19) **Y- á-** kob- **ére** o- mw- ana- we o- ku- lya e- mere a- mal- e- wo.
 3S HestPst say PERF Art Nc1 child 3S.Poss Art Inf eat Art food 3S finish Dtv Comp
 ‘(Yesterday) she told her child to eat up all the food.’
 (20) **Y- à-** kob- **eré** o- Culi aa- ti, “Kaisi o- oli wa mu- kago musa...
 3S RmPst say PERF Art Hare 3S Quot Then 2S Cop 2S.Poss Nc1 friend good
 ‘(Long ago) she said to Hare, “Then you are such a good a friend...”’

In the two examples above, example (19), which has characteristic high tone implies that the situation described, occurred at a time reference point suggested as ‘yesterday’. In contrast, example (20) suggests that the situation referred to occurred in a remotely placed reference point in the past time.

3.2.4 Recent Past Tense

The Recent Past, so termed for lack of a better word, and also put after the Remote Past, denotes events that occurred of late starting after yesterday backwards indefinitely from the deictic centre until the point-in-time, the speaker deems ‘satisfactorily long enough’ for the event or situation to be regarded the latest thing/issue. This really depends

⁸ I explain these forms in detail in Appendix B2.

on the speaker's own judgment; for the same notion of the Recent Past can be used for events that took place a week, a month, a year, or even several years from 'now' as long as the speaker views them as not too far in historic/time location.

Recent past seems more of a relative tense distinction rather than an absolute tense since it overlaps the Remote Past. Both happen before yesterday; except that Remote past goes far into history while the Recent Past distinction can elapse within merely a week or may last for a year or two. At times it is used for situations/events that are considered as still prominent in the speaker's mind, as the latest observable fact; for example it can be used in locating/describing events that are still of interest or have not been yet superseded by another of such kind or even of greater prominence than them.

However, this interpretation as well does not inclusively explain all the uses of the Recent Past in Lugwere. It is a rather interesting form to exhaustively explain--yet not a problem for native speakers to know when to and when not to use it to imply what.

The marking for Recent Past combines the Immediate Past marker prefix *aka-* or *anka-* and the Progressive aspect marker *-ang* (section 5.1.1), as in (21), (22), and (23).

- (21) A- ba- naKenya ba- **aka-** lond- **ang-** a o- Pulezidenti wa- bwe
 Art Nc2 Kenyans 3P ImPst elect Prog Fv Art President Ag 3P. Poss
 'Kenyans elected their president recently/It is of late that Kenyans elected their president'
- (22) Y- **anka-** byal- **ang-** a a- ba- longo.
 3S ImPst give birth Prog Fv Art Nc2 twin
 'She gave birth to twins in recent times.'
- (23) E- isomero Iya- iswe Iy- **anka-** yombek- **ang-** a e- bi- biina e- bi- yaaka.
 Art school Ag 1P.Poss 3S ImPst build Prog Fv Art Nc8 class Art Nc7 new
 'Our school (NEGST) recently constructed a new classroom block.'

The above examples are not as such an issue of the Immediate Past tense so described earlier in section 3.2.1, as would be implied by the *aka-* prefix. For example in (21), any Kenyan resident or foreigner who is very informed about current affairs aware that the last presidential elections in Kenya took place over a year ago would easily dismiss the speaker as lying! Could it be that the speaker's choice of the Recent Past here is motivated by the fact that no other presidential elections have taken place in Kenya except that which took place in December 2002 even though it is quite long since? Incidentally, to a *Mugwere* hearer, this sentence is not only plausible but also grammatically correct, commonly used, and hearers readily infer the intended meaning.

That is the same case with example (22) in the event that the referent is the only person in the village who, in the recent times, gave birth to twins. What about example (23)? A Lugwere deduces the utterance as meaning several things, one of which may be as explained in the two above.

However, having observed that that is not the only meaning, the other sense may be that the speaker is trying to mention the several recent events that took place at NEGST, one of which was the construction of the new classroom block. Conversely, he could be responding to a question from an alumnus visiting at NEGST and is wondering when the new classroom block was constructed; the reply is 'recently' but how recent is the 'recent' being meant by the speaker is a matter of inference.

3.2.5 Summary

The preceding discussion is a general description of the Past tense temporal distinctions, which I cannot claim are exhaustive. Some of such temporal distinctions may be those that are inherent in the verb, or those merely implied from other facets of meaning contained in the construction.

3.3 Future Tenses

Notional Future tense locates situations in time subsequent to the present moment. It refers to events or states of affairs that occur or will exist after the time of the speech act. Any involved deduction that such a situation is true even in the current moment is a mere implicature of context. There are two grammatical temporal distinctions and four periphrastic (semantic) future tenses as follows.

3.3.1 Immediate Future Tense

The Immediate Future Tense denotes events or states of affairs one expects to happen any time between today and tomorrow, and it is marked by the tense morpheme *a-* in the verbal tense slot, and a verbal final vowel */-a/*. In the second and third person subjects, the tense marker prefix imposes shifts in the pronominal prefix as is with the Immediate Past. The subject pronoun changes follow patterns similar to the Immediate, Hesternal, and Remote Past tenses (see section 4.2.1). Second and third person examples are (24) and (25) below.

- (24) W- *a-* tuuk- *a*
 2S ImFut arrive Fv
 ‘You will arrive (today or tomorrow).’

- (25) Y- *a-* tuuk- *a*
 3S ImFut arrive Fv
 ‘He will arrive (today or tomorrow).’

3.3.2 Remote Future Tense

Remote Future tense denotes events deemed to happen anytime after tomorrow. In the Remote Future, tense marking is by the morpheme *ali-* and the final vowel *-a*. In this future tense shade too, subject pronoun forms of the second and third person undergo the same changes as in the Immediate, Hesternal, Remote Past, and Immediate Future tenses, as in examples (26), and (27), the latter in the text as 3.9.

- (26) Y- *ali-* tuuk- *a*
 3S RmFut arrive Fv
 ‘He will arrive (any time after tomorrow).’

- (27) Ka- tw- eyonger- e o- ku- mu- saba n’- o- ku- mw- esiga olwa’kubba
 JUS 3P Pers Dtv Art Inf 3S.Obj pray Conj Art Inf 3S.Obj trust because
 ‘Let us then persistently continue to pray to Him and to trust Him for...’

 n- kakas- *a* n- ti y- *ali-* tu- wangul- ir- *a*.
 1S be sure Fv 1S that 3S RmFut 3S.Obj prevail Appl Fv
 ‘I am certain that He will prevail on our behalf.’

3.3.3 Periphrastic Future Tense forms

Lugwere has Future tense notions that are circumlocutory periphrastically marked as bearing an Immediate Future time reference as part of their meaning. They include two highly productive, two less common, and one archaic-use form. Of these, the first four derive historically from free general verbs of motion (Payne 1997, 237).

The motion tense verbs take on a simple Present form, inflected for person (subject), and come as auxiliaries before the semantically main verb; the latter is always in an infinitive (non-finite) form. When they are used in this way, the original semantic meaning of the motion verbs is altered, as evidenced by the fact that they can collocate with otherwise semantically incompatible (main) verbs. They are *kwaba* ‘to go’ and *kutaka* ‘to want’ that change semantically to mean ‘to be about to’; and *kwiza* ‘to come’ and *kuzwa* ‘to go away’ or ‘to come from’ which change semantic meaning to imply the sense of ‘be at the point of’. They bear an Immediate Future time reference, not exhaustively expressed by the Immediate Future form in section 4.3.1. Overall, it seems Lugwere also uses the Immediate Future time reference to express varying degrees of conviction and propinquity regarding a future situation.

The fifth periphrastic future form is unusual. It communicates a matchless force of the immediacy of the situation along the future time reference line by a combination of the particle *naku* and the Immediate Future form identified in section 4.3.1, marked on the main verb, thus implying the sense ‘one of these days’ or ‘not very far from now’. This Immediate Future sense differs from the one in section 4.3.1 and those above not only in terms of the constriction in the range of time reference but also in that it expresses a present propensity to a future situation that may easily be blocked by intervening factors. The highly productive periphrastic future forms are:

3.3.3.1 The *aba*-Future

The *aba*-Future denotes a future sense similar to the English ‘to be going to’, used for events that are so certain of happening because their inception is imminent. This Future form occurs as an inflected-for-person, simple Present form of a non-finite verb *kwaba* ‘to go’ preceding an infinitive verb. The form is one of the productive ways for communicating a Future sense, as in (28) and (29) below.

- (28) Nj- **aba** ku- lima.
 1S go Inf dig
 ‘I am going to dig.’

- (29) Nj- **aba** ku- mala o- ku- tunga e- saati- yo.
 1S go Inf finish Art Inf sew Art shirt 2S.Poss
 ‘I am about to finish sewing your shirt.’

3.3.3.2 The *taka*-Future Tense

The *taka*-Future tense form takes on an inflected-for-person verb *kutaka* ‘to want’ followed by an infinitive main verb. Here, we see semantic bleaching occurring in the verb ‘want’ as it loses its desiderative meaning to suggest that one is determined to do the action in question. It functions like the English modal that suggests that the decision to do the thing has been made but its occurrence may or may not be imminent or certain, unlike the case with the “going to” constructions above. An example of the form is (30).

- (30) N– **taka** ku– suna o– mu– kali.
 1S want Inf get Art Nc1 woman
 ‘I intend to get a wife.’

In (30), the lexical form is still *taka* but the semantic meaning is no longer that of ‘want’, rather it expresses a simple future tense. Owing to the semantics of *kusuna* ‘to get’, the certainty of *n-taka* in the construction upgrades to a level of those in section 3.3.3.1, normally implying a higher degree of certainty. Contrast (31) and (32) below:

- (31) N– **taka** ku– gula e– motoka.
 1S want Inf buy Art car
 ‘I will be buying a car.’
- (32) Nj– **aba** ku– gula e– motoka.
 1S go Inf buy Art car
 ‘I am going to buy a car.’

In example (31), the speaker has already made the decision to buy the car but the process of buying it has not yet begun. In (32), not only has he made the decision but also he has secured the money and has already identified the car he hopes to purchase.

The less common periphrastic future tense forms include the following:

3.3.3.3 The *iza*-Future

The *iza*-Future form derives from motion verb *kwiza* ‘to come’ and is more limited in use.⁹ The one in example (33) represents a more recent grammaticalized innovation. The form implies an admonition, often used to counsel someone, warn of an impending situation, or to utter future blessing or prophecy, for example below.

- (33) Ba– **iza** ku– suna e– bi– ntu bi– ngi.
 3P come Inf get Art Nc8 thing Nc8 many
 ‘They will (soon come to) get many things.’

3.3.3.4 The *zwa*-Future

The *zwa*-Future form derives from the motion verb *kwaba* ‘to go’ and is limited in use. Like the *iza* form, the one in example (34) is a recent innovation of Future time. It is also used as an admonition, for warning of an impending situation, or uttering blessing or prophecy, for the example below.

- (34) O– **zwa** ku– gwa o– mu bi– gosi.
 2S come from Inf fall Art Loc Nc8 trouble
 ‘(One of these days) you will get into trouble.’

3.3.3.5 The *naku*-Future

The form *naku* is used in the case where an event is perceived to be on the point of happening unless blocked by an intervening factor. It is an archaic particle often used by the older generation and translates the English ‘not so long from now’ or ‘one of these days’. The underlying inspiration of the form is that some event will happen at an unknown time, supposedly not far from now, which will bring about the state of affairs in

⁹ See explanation on the phonological shifts in the forms in appendix B.

question, usually an undesirable state. The particle comes clause-initially followed by an inflected-for-person Immediate Future verb, as in (35) and (36).

- (35) **Naku** n- a- f- a.
 Any moment 1S ImFut die Fv
 'It will not be long and I will be dead.'
- (36) **Naku** n- a- ku- lek- er- a e- nyumba- yo.
 Any moment 1S ImFut 2S.Obj leave Appl Fv Art house 2S.Poss
 'It won't be long and I leave your house.'

In (35), the particle implies that, deducing from the circumstances, the speaker anticipates he will soon die unless events change. In (36), assuming the speaker is one's spouse, she may be implying that (s)he can not stand the addressee's behavior(s) any longer so she is considering a move out of their house so that she gets some peace. In other words, it is a suggestion that the hearer does something about it as soon as possible before it is too late.

3.4 Summary of Tense in the Grammar

In this chapter, we looked at the different ways in which Lugwere speakers locate situations relative to speaking time, and how such are encoded. We discovered that Lugwere has a metrical tense system. We also analyzed the various time distinctions that fall within the three time boundaries, past, present, and future. We also saw how tense is marked, either morphologically or periphrastically. The tense forms include verbal prefixes, suffixes, and particles.

The present tense, in its basic form, is the only unmarked member of the deictic system. Future and past times are indicated by more than one form.

Past time has the following divisions: Immediate Past tense, marked by modified pronominal pronouns in the second and third person and the tense morpheme *aka-* and a final vowel *-a*. Hodiernal Past tense is the unmarked member in the past time category. Its past meaning, however, is encoded within the Perfect aspect suffix *-ire*, which is in free variation with *-ere*. The Hesternal and Remote Past tenses differ only by tone.

Grammatical Future tense distinguishes the Immediate Future, and Remote Future. There are also several other periphrastically marked Future forms. The Immediate Future is characterized by similar changes in the pronominal subject morphemes as the Immediate Past. Similarly, the Remote Future is marked by a pronominal prefix change, even as in the Remote Past tense except for the additional tense marking prefix *li-*. Moreover, there are some modally modified Future forms, which convey the speaker's anticipation of a future event.

CHAPTER FOUR: ASPECT IN LUGWERE

4.0 Preamble

In section 3.1.2, we discussed the idea of aspects being either bounded or unbounded. Comrie made these terms clear by narrowing them into terms of the Perfective and Imperfective notional divisions, respectively. We defined the Imperfective as presenting a situation by expressly alluding to its internal temporal constituency, which is, attempting to divide the situation up into various individual phases that make up the action of entry. We also defined the Perfective as presenting the totality of the situation as a single, unanalyzable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one. We also learned that of the two aspectual kinds, the Imperfective could be subdivided into Progressive, Habitual, Iterative, and Inceptive.

In Lugwere, Aspect can be marked inflectionally, derivationally, by auxiliaries that accompany the main verb in the clause, or lexically. Incidentally, in Lugwere, aspect and tense are categories that affect each other or quite often conflate. We now turn to the aspects in Lugwere, and their meaning in the clause.

4.1 Imperfective aspects in Lugwere

Imperfectivity (other than iterativity), in its basic meaning, is marked by the Present tense form that, in Lugwere expresses ongoing states of affairs (as described earlier in section 4.1.1). Overall, there are four subtypes of imperfectivity: progressive, habitual, iterative, and persistent, each with a specific dedicated form.

4.1.1 The Progressive

Progressive aspect is used when a speaker wishes to express a past or future situation or event so that the hearer views it as ongoing or as a steady situation, often

called *continuous aspect* when expressing a process, not a state. The form that denotes this aspect is the suffix *-ang* on the verb. This form, however, occurs only with Future, Hesternal, and Far Past tenses that drop Perfect marker *-ire* adopting a final vowel *-a*. In Future progressivity, the final vowel bears a low tone, thus, a high tone clearly implies Past progressivity, as in (37) and (38), or 1.13 and 1.30 in the text.

- (37) O- Ngo y- à- kang- ang- á- yo e ika kaisi ay- ab- a ku- bowa...
 Art Leopard 3S RmPst return PROG Fv Loc Loc home yet 3S go Fv Inf wrap
 'Leopard was returning home but to bundle up (Hare's children)...'

- (38) Y- à- kob- ang- á aa- tyo kaisi t- a- ma- ite e- ki- bba- ire- wo.
 3S RmPst say PROG Fv 3S Dem yet Neg 3S know PERF Rel 3S Cop PERF Ext
 'He was saying so because he wasn't yet aware of what had happened.'

To contrast tones of progressive Immediate Future in (39) and Remote Future in (40),

- (39) Tw- a- ba- lag- ang- á.
 1P RmFut 3P.Obj show PROG Fv
 'We will be showing them.'
- (40) Y- alí- tu- som- ésy- áng- à.
 3S RmFut 1P.Obj read Caus PROG Fv
 'He will be teaching us.'

If the Progressive situation under descriptions is either in the Hodiernal or in Hesternal Past, the Progressive aspect suffix is influenced by Perfect morpheme that is characteristic of these two tenses. In this case, Perfect aspect morpheme precedes the Progressive suffix, but the Perfect marker *-ire* or *-ere* undergoes metathesis such that its last vowel *-e* is moved forward onto the Progressive marker which drops its vowel *-a*, hence the form *-eng*. Final vowel also changes to *-e*, as in (41) and (42).

- (41) A- Ø- tambu(l)- ir- eng- e a- ly- a.
 3S Hod walk PERF PROG Fv 3S eat Fv
 'He has been eating while walking.'
- (42) Y- á- kubb- ir- eng- e o- mw- ana nga t- a- balirir- a.
 3S HestPst beat PERF PROG Fv Art Nc1 child Ag Neg 3S reckon Fv
 'He was beating the child without reckoning (the consequences).'

When supplied with a second (optional) clause as in example (42), the suffix *-eng* marks progressivity in the sense that the events referred to occurred simultaneously.

Lugwere also has a periphrastic Progressive form in the copula *kubba* 'to be', with its phonologically conditioned allomorph */-li/* 'is'. This form derives from the Present form introduced in section 4.1.1, popular among younger speakers. Examples of this form include (43) in the Present, (44) in Hodiernal Past, (45) in Hesternal Past, (46) in Remote Past, (47) in Immediate Future, and (48) in the Remote Future, as follows

- (43) Aa- li ku- lima¹⁰ o- mu mu- siri.
 3S Cop Inf/PROG dig Art Loc Nc3 garden
 'He is (at) digging in the garden.'
- (44) A- bba¹¹- ire a- nooni- a o- n- koko n'- a- gw- a o- mu ki- ina.
 3S Cop PERF 3S search Fv Art Nc9 chicken Conj 3S fall Fv Art Loc Nc7 hole
 'He was searching for the chicken and he fell into a ditch.'
- (45) Ya- á- li¹² ay¹³- ab- a o- kw- e- myeda n'- a- sangaan- a o- m- piri.
 3S HestPst Cop 3S go Fv Art Inf Refl hang Conj 3S encounter Fv Art Nc9 snake
 '(Yesterday) he stumbled upon a snake while going to hang himself.'
- (46) Ya- à- li ay- ab- a o- kw- e- myeda n'- a- sangan- a o- m- piri.
 3S RmPst Cop 3S go Fv Art Inf Refl strangle Conj 3S encounter Fv Art Nc9 snake
 '(Long ago) he stumbled upon a snake as he was going to hang himself.'
- (47) Owe- w- a- tuuk- ir- a e ika y- a- bb- a a- ly- a.
 Rel 2S ImFut arrive Appl Fv Loc home 3S ImFut Cop Fv 3S eat Fv
 'By the time you arrive home, he will be eating.'
- (48) N- ali- bba n- nooni- a o- n- koko ni n- gw- a o- mu ki- ina.
 1S FarFut Cop 1S search Fv Art Nc9 chicken Conj 1S fall Fv Art Loc Nc7 hole
 '(One day) I will fall into a ditch while searching for the chicken.'

¹⁰ The */ku/* in the construction, is often interpreted as the infinitive marker (class 15); but cross- linguistic studies of closely related languages show both locative and progressive interpretations as more likely (see Comrie 1976, 98).

¹¹ Co-occurrence of simple present final vowel */a/* and hodiernal/perfect tense/ aspect marker */ir/* and associated vowel */e/* is likely to be a motivation from the mono-segmental structure of the root */bb/*.

¹² Tone difference on copula and not the main verb or clause distinguishes Hesternal and Remote Past.

¹³ The inserted *y-* is a result of resyllabification.

4.1.2 The Habitual

Notional habitual aspect expresses repetitive events as characteristic or customary of an extended period such that the speaker views them not as an incidental property of a moment but as a characteristic of a period. Bybee *et al*, (1994, 317) say the habitual combines with meanings that signal deictic time of the following categories.

4.1.2.1 The Present Habitual aspect

Present habitual actions, as Bybee *et al*, suggest, are expressed in five ways:

First, the present tense integrates a present usual sense to indicate situations as current, repeated, and spread in time. Refer to section 4.1.1 and the examples there.

Second, by a form analogous with the Progressive aspect marker except that here, the form implies a sense equal to the English ‘*P* always does *X*’. This signals habitual, not frequentness, persistiveness, or continuousness. As Bybee *et al*, (1994, 317) say, the meaning here is that, ‘in a given situation or at a particular event, so-and-so always does such and such’. It is marked, as in (49) below

- (49) A- ba- logo ba- kol- ang- a e- by’- e- m- byone.
 Art Nc2 witch 3P do Hab Fv Art of Art Nc10 evil.
 ‘Witches usually do evil things.’

Third, by reduplication on the main clausal verb root, for example (50) as follows

- (50) A- ba- saiza ba- kubb-a- kubb- a a- ba- kali ba- abwe.
 Art Nc2 man 3P beat Fv Redup(Hab)Fv Art Nc2 woman Ag 3P. Poss
 ‘Men habitually beat their wives.’

Fourth, by a suffix *-iriry* onto the verb stem, as in the (51) below

- (51) A- ba- saiza ba- kubb- iriry- a a- ba- kali ba- abwe.
 Art Nc2 man 3P beat Hab Fv Art Nc2 woman Ag 3P.Poss
 ‘Men habitually beat their wives.’

Fifth, Lugwere has auxiliary verbs that incorporate habitual sense as part of their semantic meaning. They are, *kweneena* ‘to say over and over again’, and *kutera* ‘to regularly do something’. They both come at the clause-initial position, inflect for person, and are followed by a non-finite main verb implied by the fact that the semantically main verb is non-finite, yet only the auxiliary inflects for tense. Of these two auxiliaries, *kweneena* may reduplicate to give extra effect to its meaning, as in example (52). The other form is in example (53) below.

- (52) Ba- mw- eneen- a [bw- eneen- i] o- ku- toola- wo e- n- goye- gye.
 3P 3SObj Hab Fv Nc14 Redup Fv Art Inf remove Loc Art Nc10 cloth 3S.Poss
 ‘He has to repeatedly be told to remove his clothes.’
- (53) Ba- tér- a o- ku- tunda e- n- goye m- pyaka.
 3P Hab Fv Art Inf sell Art Nc10 cloth Ag new
 ‘They often sell brand new clothes/The clothes they sell are often brand new.’

4.1.2.2 The Past Habitual aspect

There are two marked past habitual aspects, Hodiernal, and Remote Past Habitual. The Hodiernal Past habitual denotes past situations that occurred routinely until recently but have now ceased. It is, for example, very common in eulogies. A Past Habitual aspect construction requires the past tense of the copula *kubba* ‘to be’ as the auxiliary and suffix *-ang* on the main verb, as in (54) and (55).

- (54) A- Ø- bba- ire a- tund- ang- a ny- ama.
 3S Hod Cop PERF 3S sell Hab Fv Nc9 meat
 ‘He has been (habitually) selling meat/He (until of recent) was a meat seller.’
- (55) O- mw- ami niiye a- Ø- bba- ire a- sumb- ang- a e- mere
 Art Nc1 chief 1S.Foc 3S Hod Cop PERF 3S cook Hab Fv Art food.
 ‘It is my husband who has been cooking the food.’

The Remote Past Habitual denotes past actions, similar to the English “used to”. It is also marked as in the Progressive, by the suffix *-ang* and high tone on the final vowel. Distinguishing Past Habitual from the Progressive is by the context, as in (56) and (57), or 2.1 and 2.2 in the text.

- (56) E- ira, a- ba- kulu owe- ba- à- f- ang- á, ba- à- by- ang- á
 Art eras ago Art Nc2 bigwig Rel 3P RmPst die Hab Fv 3P RmPst memorialize Hab Fv
 ‘Long ago, whenever a chief died, there used to be commemorating...’
- (57) Buli ki- ire, wa- a- bb- ang- á- wo e- bya- masanyu era
 Every Nc7 night Ext RmPst Cop Hab Fv Loc Art Nc8.Ag festivities even
 ‘In each night, there used to be festivities and even...’
- a- b’- o- ku ki- tundu b’- e- kumbani-ang- á...
 Art 3P Art Loc Nc7 village 3P Refl gather Hab Fv
 ‘...the people of the village used to gather...’

Another Remote Past Habitual form using the stem of the Present Habitual auxiliary *kutera* and a suffix *-ang* with low tone on the final vowel *-a* exists, as in (58) and (59), also 2.4 and 2.7 in the texts.

- (58) A- ba- kaire iibo ba- ter- ang- à kw- e- tyam- ir- a mu ma- nyumba...
 Art Nc2 elder 3P.Foc 3P Hab Hab Fv Inf Refl sit Appl Fv Loc Nc6 house
 ‘The elders quite often took seat in the houses...’
- (59) Aabo a- ba- bb- ang- á n’- e- mi- gaire e- gi- ta- bita- mu e- mpewo
 Those Rel 3P Cop Hab Fv with Art Nc4 linen Rel Ag Neg pass Comp Art cold
 ‘Those (girls) who had thicker (pieces of) linen that were cold proof...’
- niibo a- ba- ter- ang- a o- ku- suna a- b’- o- ku- gona na- ibo.
 3P.Foc Art 3P Hab Hab Fv Art Inf get Rel 3P Art Inf sleep with them
 ‘...are the ones who often attracted the (best boys) to sleep with them over night.’

4.1.2.3 The Future Habitual aspect

The Future Habitual denotes events deemed to occur at some future period. It is marked using a Future verb form and the suffix *-ang*. However, the Future Habitual could easily be taken as the Progressive except for the context, as in (60) and (61).

- (60) Tw- a- ba- let- er- ang- a.
 1P ImFut 2P.Obj bring Appl Hab Fv
 ‘We will (regularly) be bringing for you.’
- (61) Y- ali- tu- som- esy- ang- a.
 3S RmFut 1P.Obj read Caus Hab Fv
 ‘He will (routinely) be teaching us.’

4.1.3 The Iterative

Iterativity expresses repetition of an event or successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation. It is marked by the suffix *-iag* on the verb stem. In a single-argument clause, persistive forms (see section 5.1.4) mark iterativity. In Lugwere, iterativity can be voluntary or involuntary, for example, in (62), the action is kept going intentionally by the agent; in (63) the coughing is involuntary as below.

- (62) O- m- bwa a- lum- iag- ire o- mw- ana.
 Art Nc9 dog 3S bite Iter PERF Art Nc1 child
 ‘The dog kept on biting the child.’
- (63) O- mu- kali a- kolol- iag- a.
 Art Nc1 woman 3S cough Iter Fv
 ‘The woman keeps on coughing.’

4.1.4 The Persistive

The persistive¹⁴ is a type of the imperfective for it denotes situations viewed by the speaker precisely as ongoing or enduring at the time of speech but saying nothing as to how and when the situation in question started or when it will stop. Persistive aspect compares with what Bybee (1994, 317) categorizes as *Excessive Duration*, referring to actions that last longer than expected. It is marked in two ways.

First, it is marked using the defective adverb *kaali* ‘still in a state of’, and it inflects for person. In a clause, this adverb precedes the main verb it qualifies, as in the following examples (64) and (65), also in 1.15 and 3.3 in the appendix texts.

- (64) Nga ba- kaali ba- li o- mu- nzira, o- Ngo e- ngeri egye- ya- a- li
 As 3P Pers 3P Cop Art Loc way Art Leopard Art manner Rel 3S RmPst Cop
 ‘While they were still on the move, Leopard, the manner in which he was...’
 mu- nyw- i w’- e- miindi e- nyonta n’ e- mu- kwat- a.
 Nc1 drink Nom Ag Art pipe Art thirst Conj 3S- 3S.Obj catch Fv
 ‘...a pipe smoker began feeling thirst to smoke.’
- (65) ...o- Kibbumba a- kaali mw- esigwa era t- a- kw- erabi(r)- ire.
 Art God 3S Pers 3S faithful even Neg 3S 2S.Obj forget PERF
 ‘...God is still faithful and He has not disregarded you.’

The second strategy is by use of an inherently persistent auxiliary verb *kweyongera* ‘to carry on’ which, when used, inflects for person and may act as the semantically main verb as in (66) or primarily as an independent adverb, as in example (67) below, also given in the texts as sentences 1.14 and 1.16.

¹⁴ The term persistive is from Hinniesbuch *et al.*, (1981).

- (66) Era ba- tyo ni be- eyongera n' – o- lu- gendo lwa- bwe.
Even 3P in that way Conj 3P Pers with Art Nc11 journey Ag 3P.Poss
'All the same they continued with their journey.'
- (67) Owe- b(a)- eyongera- yo, n' – a- lenger a o- mwosi o- gu- duunya,...
Rel 3P Pers Loc Conj 3S see afar Art smoke Art Ag rise up
'When they continued on, he saw smoke rising up at some distance...'

4.2 Perfective aspects in Lugwere

In contrast with the imperfective, Lugwere has an array of forms that, when used in a clause indicate such meaning that the action under description is terminated, bounded or completed. In statives, the definition of the Perfective is in terms of a complete action, often regarded as *resultative aspect*, indicating the successful completion of a situation. The aspectual notions subsuming the following general semantic headings evident in Lugwere, some of which are identified by Payne (1997, 239-42), include: Perfect, Delimited, Inchoative, Completive, and Cessative aspects.

4.2.1 The Perfect

Perfect aspect in Lugwere expresses a temporal view of an event or state, in whole, as terminated or ended irrespective of the internal structure of the time in which it occurs. Lugwere denotes Perfect aspect by the verbal suffix *-ire*, freely varying with the form *-ere*. The form the marker takes is phonologically conditioned such that it will depend on the last of the vowels of the verb-root. The morpheme */ire/* occurs where the last stem vowel is */a/*, */i/* or */u/*, and */ere/* occurs if the last verb stem vowel is */e/* or */o/*, as in (68), (69) and (70), or 1.21, 1.29, and 4.6 in the texts.

- (68) Owe- y- à- ir- ire, o- Culi nga a- mu- tiika o- mu- gangi.
Rel 3S RmPst return PERF Art Hare Conj 3S 3S.Obj load Art Nc3 gift
'When he returned, Hare loaded him the gift.'
- (69) O- Ngo o- mu- geni y- à- mw- ir- ire-mu mangu aa-ti "O- sumb- e!"
Art Leopard Art Nc1 visitor 3S RmPst 3S.Obj reply PERF hastily 3S Quot 2S cook Dtv
'The visiting Leopard quickly answered him, "Cook!"'
- (70) Eebyo nga o- bi- let- ere, o- sala e- bi- gogo ooba e- bi- loodo...
Those Conj 2S Nc8 bring PERF 2S cut Art Nc8 fiber or Art Nc8 strands
'After you have brought them, cut (banana) fiber or strands...'

Structurally, Perfect aspect has the same morphology as the Applicative marker suffix even though their semantic functions differ. Even the Applicative morpheme undergoes vowel harmony when occurring separately, as is with the Perfect aspect examples just above. In the Applicative too, the last vowel in the root triggers vowel harmony to either */ire/* or */ere/*, such that suffix vowel */i/* only patterns with verbs with last stem vowel */a/*, */i/* or */u/*. If last stem vowel is */e/* or */o/*, the applicative marker, which always goes next to the stem, changes to */ere/*, same trend as in the first case.

However, whenever the analogous Perfect aspect and Applicative morpheme suffixes co-occur, the Perfect aspect morpheme blocks the harmony of the Applicative by making it suffer loss of parts *-re/* of its morpheme, as evidenced in examples (71) and (72) below also in the texts as 1.31 and 1.36

- (71) Owe– b– a– ibul– i(re)– ire, o– Ngo ng’ aa– li mairu– mairu.
 Rel 3P Pst serve Appl PERF Art Leopard Conj 3S Cop greedy greedy
 ‘By the time food was served, Leopard was exceedingly impatient for the meal.’
- (72) Eky– à– mu– kwa(t)–ite¹⁵ ti– kya– mu– teer– e(re)– ire, n’– a– wuluk– a
 Rel RmPst 3S.Obj catch PERF Neg Ag 3S.Obj loose Appl PERF Conj 3S go out Fv
 ‘The haunt didn’t leave him, so moved out and went...’
 n’– ay– aba o– ku– buulya niki dala eki– ba– suumb– ire.
 Conj 3S go Art Inf ask INT exactly Rel 3P cook PERF
 ‘...to ask what exactly had been cooked.’

The examples above show the intertwining of the Applicative and Perfect aspect, vowel harmonization and the blocking of the harmony such that the bracketed morphemes are dropped or deleted.

4.2.2 The Delimited

Delimited aspect expresses a limit or restriction on material or logical quality or quantity of a state or the manner of performing an act. It incorporates the notions Mutaka (2000, 186) categorized as *attenuative aspect* and the *partitive aspect*. According to him, attenuative aspect expresses the manner by which actions are realized, with focus on how the intensity of action weakens such that only part of an entire action is realized. Partitive aspect, on the other hand, denotes limitation in the logical quality and or quantity of a state or an act. In Lugwere, situations can be constrained by time, for example, when the action lasts for a shorter time than would be expected under normal circumstances. Delimited aspect is marked by suffix *–ku* verb-finally, as in texts 1.8, 1.24, and 3.7 given here as (73), (74), and (75).

- (73) Ba– à– li ba– ka– tambul– a– **ku** katono kati o– ku– zwa e ika...
 3P RmPst Cop 3P ImPst walk Fv Del small Dem Art Inf move from Loc home
 ‘They had walked just a short distance from home’
- (74) O– Ngo ti– y– à– tege(r)– ire– **ku** o– Culi eky– a– tegez– a.
 Art Leopard Neg 3S RmPst grasp PERF Del Art Hare Rel 3S imply Fv
 ‘Leopard didn’t understand anything of what Hare meant.’
- (75) A– ba– saiza banu bona ba– bit– ire– **ku** o– mu m– beera e– gi– tyo
 Art Nc2 man these 3P.Foc 3P pass PERF Del Art Loc Nc9 state Art Ag that
 ‘These men also have ever been through situations such as those (that you are facing)...’

In (73), the suffix delimits the part of distance so far covered by the two referents. In (74), the suffix clearly delimits quantity and quality of matter; while (75) is partitive for the referents have at one time faced and thus shared in such circumstances as him.

4.2.3 The Completive

Completive aspect in Lugwere indicates that the situation or action under description must have reached a terminal point, and is now viewed as a single complete whole. The completive is marked by a series of suffixes, such as *–ku*, the most common of all, when occurring on the verb *kumala* ‘to sum up’ thus *kumalaku* means ‘to be complete’. Other

¹⁶The perfect aspect form is a result of metathesis. See appendix B for detailed explanation.

suffixes are *-mu* and *-wo*, and they occur with certain verbs, which then become derivationally completive. Examples include *kumalawo* ‘to use up’, *kwigala* ‘to close in general’ thus *kwigalawo* ‘to shut off’, *kwigula* ‘to open in general’ thus *kwigulawo* ‘to open wide’, *kugeda* ‘to bend’ thus *kugedamu* ‘to coil’, *kunyira* ‘to tear’ thus *kunyiram* ‘to tear all the way through’, *et cetera*. Either of these suffixes stands as the form that logically restricts the semantic range of the verb, which was previously atelic, and now turned telic denoting a telic situation, meaning that the situation described attained a terminal point or completeness both in process and in achievement of the goal (Comrie 1976, 46). Examples are sentence 3.7 and 4.4 in the appendix texts, here given as (76) and (77). See also (78).

- (76) A–ba–saiza banu bona ba–bit–ire–ku o–mu m–beera e–gi–tyo
 Art Nc2 man 3P.Dem 3P.Foc 3P pass PERF Del Art Loc Nc9 state Art Ag Dem
 ‘These men too ever went through such situations as these...’

e–gi–te–ebereka era nga ba–wo–ire–**mu** e–isuubi naye...
 Rel Ag Neg certain even Conj 3P sap PERF Comp Art hope but
 ‘...situations such as those that they utterly lost hope but...’

- (77) ...o–gi–leet–e o–sib–isy–e e–ki tempe paka ow–o–mala–**ku**.
 2S 3S bring Dtv Art tie Caus Dtv Art Nc7 wall until Rel 2S finish Comp
 ‘...bring them and make tether up the wall frame till it is complete.’

- (78) A–mal–ire–**wo** e–mere.
 3S finish PERF Comp Art food
 ‘He has eaten up (all) the food.’

4.2.4 The Cessative

Cessative aspect denotes an end of a situation, event, or state. Lugwere has two auxiliaries that explicitly express this aspectual notion, *kulekera* ‘to discontinue’ denoting a temporal cessation, and *kukomya* ‘to cease’, for permanent termination. Both auxiliaries inflect for person, number, tense, and mode. The temporal cessation auxiliary *kulekera* occurs with either of the spatial deictic particles *aawo* ‘there’ and *aanu* ‘here’ whose semantic function is to mark points of cessation in time or space. They precede the semantically main verb, often an infinitive, as in (79) and (80).

- (79) Y–à–**leke(r)**–ire **aawo** o–ku–kubba o–mu–kali–we.
 3S RmPst Cess PERF there Art Inf beat Art Nc1 woman 3S.Poss
 ‘He stopped beating his wife (though he could resume any moment).’

- (80) Y–à–**kom(y)**–erye¹⁶ o–ku–kubba o–mu–kali–we.
 3S RmPst Cess PERF Art Inf beat Art Nc1 woman 3S.Poss
 ‘He has (permanently) ceased from beating his wife.’

4.2.5 The inchoative

Inchoative aspect expresses the beginning of an event, also called *inceptive*. Inchoativity is marked by an auxiliary *kutandiika* ‘to begin’, which inflects for person, number, tense, and mode. It precedes the main verb, usually an infinitive, as in the text sentences 1.35 and 1.37, here below given as (81) and (82)

¹⁶ The /y/ that was formerly on the verb stem shifts onto the Perfect aspect marker /ire/ by metathesis.

- (81) Aawo o- Ngo n'- a- **tandiik**-a o- kw- ewunya lwaki o- Culi a- deeberer-a kinu
 There Art Leopard Conj 3S Inch Fv Art Inf wonder INT Art Hare 3S repeat Fv Dem
 '...thus, Leopard started wondering as to why Hare was overemphasizing this.'
- (82) O- nanyere e ika n'- a- **tandiik**-a o- ku- mu- nyonyol-a e- bi- bba- ire- mu.
 Art owner Loc home Conj 3S Inch Fv Art Inf 3S.Obj explain Fv Art Nc8 Cop PERF Loc
 'The host then began to describe the contents of the gift pack.'

4.3 Summary of Aspect in the Grammar

In this chapter, we discussed the aspectual meanings allowing speakers to classify situations as telic or atelic. It also explored how deictic notion like the present and hodiernal past tenses act together with situation types to allow speakers to relate a situation to time by locating them relative to time of speaking, and to portray their internal temporal shape. We also saw how Lugwere grammar reflects these choices and the aspectual interpretations they denote. We also observed how aspects in Lugwere, except the Perfect, do not relate situations to others, so they are non-deictic.

Nine different aspectual notions were distinguished: the Habitual, Progressive, Iterative, Persistent, Perfect, Delimited, Cessative, Completive, and Inchoative.

In Lugwere, classification of aspects is dependent on their domain of operation within the verb or phrase; thus, Habitual, Progressive, Iterative, Perfect, Delimited, and the Completive typically operate within the verbal morphology, while Inchoative, Persistent, and Cessative aspects are inherently marked, thus expressing the temporal constituency of the entire phrasal event. All the same, all these grammatical aspects denote subsequences in the phasic structure of situations or events.

Some of the productive encoding features of aspects include verbal inflections, stem reduplication, verbal auxiliaries, and lexical means. In Lugwere, tense and aspect are mutually dependent, so we rather consider them alongside each other.

Charting the different tense and aspect forms to highlight the formal characteristics that distinguish them, we see that all the aspects can co-occur with all time references in declarative mode. We also saw that the boundary between Present and Imperfective meaning is fuzzy, a commonly held a priori in the literature perhaps because Present tense is the unmarked time reference member. All the tense and aspect forms and their permissible co-occurrences are shown in the table below.

TENSE ASPECT	Remote & Hesternal pst	Hodiernal past	Immediate past	Present	Immediate Future	Remote Future
Progressive	#- à-Vst- ang-a	#-Ø- bba - ire + Pres V		#-Ø- Vst-a	#- a- Vst - a	#-ali- Vst-a
	#- à- bba -ire + Pres V	#- Ø-Vst - ir -eng -e		#- Ø- Vst -ang -a	#- a- Vst -ang -a	#- ali- Vst -ang -a
	#- à- li + Pres V			#- Ø- li + Inf V	#- a- bba + Pres V	#-ali- bba +Pres V
Habitual	#-à-Vst- ang -a			#- Ø- Vst -ang -a	#- a- Vst -ang -a	#- ali- Vst -ang -a
				#- Ø- bba #-Ø- Vst-a		
Persistive	#- à- ali #-kaali +Pres v	#-Ø-bba - ire #-kaali + Pres V		#-kaali #-Ø- Vst-a	#- a- bba #- kaali +Pres V	#- ali- bba #- kaali +Pres V
Iterative	#- à- Vst - iag -ire	#- Ø- Vst -iag -ire	#- aka- Vst -iag -a	#- Ø- Vst -iag -a	#- a- Vst -iag -a	#- ali- Vst -iag -a
Perfect	#- à- Vst - ire	#- Ø- Vst -ire	#- aka- Vst -a	#-Ø- bba+ #- Ø- Vst -ire	#-a -bba #- Ø- Vst - ire	#- ali- bba #- Vst - ire
	#- à- bba -ire + Hod verb	#-Ø-bba - ire + #- Vst - ire	#-aka-Vst- a			
	#- à- ali + Hod verb					
Delimited	#-à-Vst- ire- ku	#-Ø-Vst- ire -ku	#- aka- Vst -a -ku	#-Ø- Vst-a- -ku	#-a-Vst-a- ku	#-ali Vst-a-ku
Compleitive	#-à-mal- ire-ku	#-Ø-mal- ire -ku	#- aka- mal -a -ku	#-Ø- mal-a-ku	#-a-mal-a- ku	#-ali- mal-a -ku
Inchoative	#-à- tandik -ire + Inf V	#-Ø- tandik -ire + Inf V	#- aka- tandiik -a + Inf V	#-Ø- tandik -a +Inf V	#-a-tandik -a + Inf V	#- ali- tandik -a + Inf V
Cessative	#- à- leke- ire aawo +Inf V	#- Ø- leke- ire aawo + Inf V	#- aka- leker -a aawo + Inf V	#- Ø- leker -a aawo + Inf V	#- a- leker -a aawo + Inf V	#-ali- leker -a aawo + Inf V
	#- à-kom - erye + Inf V	#-ø-kome- rye+ Inf V	#-aka- komy -a + Inf V	#- Ø- li + kukomya + Inf V	#- a- komy -a + Inf V	#- li- komy -a + Inf V

Table 1: Summary of the Lugwere Tense and Aspect Markers

CHAPTER FIVE: MODE

5.0 Preamble

In our discussion in section 3.1.3, we alluded to the notion of mode as being the same as *mood* or *modality*. Nonetheless, we observed that while some linguists use the words interchangeably, others like Palmer (1986), and Bybee and Fleischman (1995) differentiate them. Palmer, for example, restricts the term *mood* to the category expressed by verbal morphology, and *modality* for all the non-verbal modal categories. I use *mode* as a cover term for all modal meanings expressed either way.

In the discussion, it was also made apparent that languages use mode for either of the three functions, as designating speech acts such as commanding, informing, requesting, *et cetera*; distinguishing between possible worlds, factual and non-factual and speaker commitment to proposition; or as denoting propositional evidentiality.

In view of the above observation and the language under analysis, mode in Lugwere is a sentence level notion by which a speaker expresses varying degrees of propositional attitude; distinguish between factual and non-factual, and designate speech acts. At times, more than one category conflates to denote one modal meaning.

5.1 Modes in the Grammar

Over all, Lugwere distinguishes four modal notions, Subjunctive, Alethic, Deontic, and Epistemic modes, of which there are several precise subcategories, as follows:

5.1.1 Subjunctive Mode

The Subjunctive is the commonest of the irrealis category that is widely used in the language to signal uncertainty. It is marked by the particle *amo* ‘perhaps’ or ‘maybe’ and expresses neutral uncertainty about the expressed proposition. At times, the particle, if used alone in response to polar interrogatives, explicitly expresses the speaker’s reservation about the truth claim of the proposition the questioner seeks to ascertain. It comes clause-initially and signals that the speaker judges the proposition as logically distant but probable, as in (82) and (83), also in the texts as 3.5.

- (82) **Amo** a– ba– geni ba– iz– a lw– atyanu.
Sjv Art Nc2 visitor 3P come Fv of today
‘Perhaps the visitors are coming today.’

- (83) O– yinza o– ku– bba nga o– lowooza oo– ti **amo** a– kw– erabi(r)– ire
2S Ded Art Inf Cop Adv 2S think 2S Quot Sjv 3S 2S.Obj forget PERF
‘You may be imagining that perhaps He has forgotten you...’

naye n– ku– kakasa n– ti ti– niikyo.
but 1S 2S.Obj assure 1S Quot Neg 3S.Rel.Pron
‘...but I assure you that that is not the case.’

5.1.2 Alethic Mode

Alethic mode connotes a speaker’s estimation of the logical attainability of the proposition expressed by his utterance. It is marked on the verb by the suffix */-ikik/*¹⁷, which comes right after the verb stem and means that the proposition expressed is relevant

¹⁷ Found in free variation with */-ik/*

as a judgment that an action in the verb is logically doable, as in examples (84) and (85), also in sentence 4.10 in the appendix texts.

- (84) O– mu– tyere te– gu– lim– **ikik**– a.
 Art Nc3 rice Neg 3S dig Alc Fv
 ‘Rice growing is so difficult/ task-some.’
- (85) Owe– bba nga ey– ingir– **ikik**– a aawo nga wey– ingir– ir– a ibuye– lyo.
 Rel Cop Adv 3S enter Alc Fv there Conj 2S enter Appl Fv hut 2S.Poss
 ‘If you feel it is agreeable to live in, you are then ready to move into your hut.’

5.1.3 Deontic Mode

This mode connotes a speaker’s degree of requirement of, obligation to, desire for, or commitment to the realization of the proposition expressed by the utterance. Palmer (1986, 96) describes deontic modality as being essentially performative by which, using a deontic modal, a speaker gives permission ‘may’ or ‘can’, lays an obligation ‘must’, makes a promise or lays a threat ‘shall’. He adds that it concerns actions, by others and by the speaker himself. In Lugwere, it uses agree with Blakemore (1992, 111-2) in saying that, in addition to commands, it is used to advise, grant permission, issue threats and dares, good wishes, and in audience-less speech situations like speaking to oneself. Apart from prohibitions, the other uses are morphologically marked alike, with few additions. Deontic mode is marked on a present verb form by *deontic* vowel (Dtv) *–e* word-finally. The Lugwere deontic system distinguishes the following types.

5.1.3.1 Directives

Directives are a deontic mode implying a hearer’s degree of requirement of conformity to the proposition expressed by an utterance. Extending this use beyond a discussion of solely grammaticalized means of expression makes it almost synonymous with directive illocutionary point. Directives are of the following forms.

5.1.3.1.1 The Imperative

An imperative is a speech act that specifically tries to get the hearer to do something, at times extended to signal permission. Lugwere imperatives are usually a present verb, inflect for person and number, and are either a command or prohibition.

Suffixing deontic vowel *–e* verb-finally on a simple present verb stem inflected for person, marks commands. This form is then relevant to the hearer as a directive imposing or proposing that some course of action be carried out or that a certain pattern of behavior be followed now or soon after. Commands are always in the second person, as in text sentences 1.29 and 1.34 herein given as (86) and (87).

- (86) O– Ngo o– mu–geni y– à– mw– ir– ire– mu mangu aa–ti, “O–sumb–**e**!”
 Art Leopard Art Nc1 visitor 3S RmPst 3S.Obj reply PERF hastily 3S Quot 2S cook Dtv
 ‘The visiting Leopard quickly answered him, “Cook!”’
- (87) “...O– lum– **e** kusa demba n’– o– bba nga o– lum– a igumba– lyo.”
 2S bite Dtv well Imptv Conj 2S Cop Adv 2S bite Fv bone 2S.Poss
 ‘Bite carefully for you could be biting of your own’

Conversely, prohibitions, also called *prohibitive mode*, use a negated declarative form with a negative marker prefix *ti-*, freely varying with *te-*, which comes before the verbal subject prefix, and then a final vowel *-a* on the verb, as in (88) and (89).

- (88) **Ti-** wa- sumb- **a** e- m- ere
Neg 2S cook Fv Art Nc9 food
'Do not cook (the) food!'

- (89) **Ti-** wa- lum- **a**
Neg 2S bite Fv
'Do not bite!'

5.1.3.1.2 The Deliberative

Deliberatives signal a speaker's appeal for instruction from the addressee, whether to do the proposition expressed in an utterance. They have a form similar to imperatives in morphological respects except for intonation. Deliberatives derive from changing the illocutionary force of an imperative clause into a polar interrogative by floating intonation consequent of tone spreading which drastically falls clause-finally, specifically on the last syllable. A superimposed clause-initial and middle high tone followed by a low tone clause-finally, usually in first and third person implies an appeal for instruction by the speaker. Examples of the Deliberative mode in Lugwere are given in sentences (90) and (91) below.

- (90) *Nsumbé émére túlye?*
N- sumb- e e- m- ere tu- ly- e
1S cook Dtv Art Nc9 food 1P eat Dtv
'Should I cook food (and) we eat?'

- (91) *Tuleké ábaaná bágone?*
Tu- lek- e a- ba- ana ba- gon- e
1P leave Dtv Art Nc2 child 3P sleep Dtv
'Should/can we leave the children to sleep/Should we let the children go on sleeping?'

5.1.3.1.3 The Jussive

This mode signals a speaker's concurrence, permission, or consent that the proposition in the utterance be brought about. Although Jussiveness is expressed in all subject person categories, explicit morphological marking is only with the first and third person using a preverbal prefix *ka-* preceding the subject marker on the main clausal verb, and then the deontic vowel suffix *-e* verb-finally, as in (92), also 3.9 in the texts. For extra effects, the Lugwere affirmative particle *kale* 'all right' is put in the clause-initial position but it is optional, as in (93) below.

- (92) **Ka-** tw- eyonger- **e** o- ku- mu- saba n'- o- ku- mw- esiga
JUS 1P Pers Dtv Art Inf 3S.Obj pray Conj Art Inf 3S.Obj trust
'Let us then persistently continue to pray and to trust Him...'

- (93) **Kale, ka-** tu- suumb- **e** e- m- ere.
Well, JUS 1P cook Dtv Art Nc9 food
'All right, let us then cook some food.'

When Jussive meaning is with a second person subject, an imperative verb form having a distinct intonation is indicative of the speaker's act as giving permission, and should be interpreted as permission highlighted as a gesture of graciousness, and not a command. This is the marking for jussiveness, also called permissive mode.

5.1.3.1.4 The Precative

The Precative is a directive deontic mode that implies the speaker's utterance is a request. Lugwere expresses a precative by deontic vowel *-e* followed by the suffix *-ku* verb-finally. This marking in a clause implies that the utterance is a polite plea to the hearer to carry out the action stated by the verb. Precatives are predominantly in second and third person, as in text sentences 1.5 and 1.11 here given as (94) and (95).

- (94) Lumo, o– Ngo n'– a– teesa aa– ti o– Culi a– mw– erek– **e– ku**
 One day Art Leopard Conj 3S propose 3S Quot Art Hare 3S 3S.Obj escort Dtv Ptv
 'One day, Leopard proposed (to Hare) that he accompanies him...'

e wa mu– ganda– we o– ku– kyala.
 Loc of Nc1 brother 3S.Poss Art Inf visit
 '...to his brother's home for a visit.'

- (95) "Aale o– n– kuum– ir– **e– ku** aanu nj– ab– e n– det– e o– mu– gangi."
 So then 2S 2S wait Appl Dtv Ptv here 1S go Dtv 1S bring Dtv Art Nc3 gift
 'So then please wait for me here (so that) I go and bring the gift.'

5.1.3.1.5 The Obligative

The Obligative labels the Lugwere modal notion that signals that the speaker estimates that the expressed proposition is inevitable and has to be brought about, hence implying a degree of eventuality by obligation. It is marked by a form whose semantic force derives from a conjugation of two separate morphemes, an inflected-for-person copula */-li/* 'is', an allomorph of the copula *kubba* 'to be', followed by the preposition *na-* 'with', which is often a prefix on the subsequent infinitive main verb. The compounded meaning then becomes 'to be with a duty of'. The form, thus, conveys a sense of a compulsion on the addressee, an explicit obligation to a propositional claim eliminating whatsoever doubt, as in (96) and (97) also in 4.9.

- (96) Oo– **li** n (a)'– o– ku– kola nga owe– n– ku– kob– ere.
 2S Cop with Art Inf do (Obl) Adv Rel 1S 2S.Obj say PERF
 'You must do as I told you.'

- (97) Ow– o– mala, oo– **li** n (a)'– o– ku– kol– esery– a– mu o– lwigi...
 Rel 2S finish 2S Cop with Art Inf do Caus Fv Loc (Obl) Art door
 'When you are done with that step, you should then have the door (for the hut) made...'

5.1.3.2 Volitives

The Volitive is another category of deontic modal categories, which, in Lugwere, is specifically used to express speaker attitude of hope, wish, or fear concerning the proposition so expressed. This category splits into the following:

5.1.3.2.1 The Imprecative

Imprecative is an attitudinal deontic mode that signals that the speaker supposes that an unfavorable situation will come about if the prevailing state of affairs persists. In

Lugwere, the particle *demba* loosely translated as ‘lest’ or ‘might’ plus a negative, mark imprecativeness. The particle primarily expresses caution about a risk or possibility of unexpected and undesired results. In a clause, the Imprecative particle comes preceding the predicted negative situation or event, which is often supplied in the clause itself, as in (98) and one from the texts, 1.34 here below given as (99).

- (98) O– bis– e e– ki– sumuluzo o– mu n– sawo **demba** ki– got– a
 2S keep Dtv Art Nc7 key Art Loc Nc9 pocket Imptv Nc7 stray Fv
 ‘You better keep the key in the pocket lest it gets lost.’
- (99) ...“O– lum–e kusa **demba** n– o– bba nga o– lum– a igumba– lyo.”
 2S bite Dtv well Imptv Conj 2S Cop Adv 2S bite Fv bone 2S.Poss
 ‘Bite carefully lest you be (actually) biting the bone of your very own.’

5.1.3.2.2 The Conditional

Conditions describe restrictive and hypothetical situations. Conditional mode thus expresses an idea viewed as consequent of the first in that the second idea can only take place if the first one does. Lugwere marks conditions by a particle *singa* ‘if’ which comes in the protasis clause. In example (100), since focus is on reading hard, the essential state for passing the exam, the particle follows *nabita ebigezo* ‘I will pass the exams’, compared with example (101) that follows below.

- (100) N– a– bita e– bi– gezo binu **singa** n– soma n’– a– maani.
 1S ImFut pass Art Nc8 exam Dem Cond 1S read Conj Art strength
 ‘If I read/work hard, I will pass these exams.’
- (101) **Singa** o– nkendi a– toonya, ti– n– a– ab– e o– mu ki– buga.
 Cond Art rain Art drip Neg 1S ImFut go Dtv Art Loc Nc7 town
 ‘I will not go to town if it rains.’

5.1.3.2.3 The Optative

Optative signal wishing or hoping. Lugwere has three ways to mark the optative. First, is by a combination of either the emphatic negative particle *kadi* ‘not at all’, or the confirmatory particle *kale*, with the conditional particle *singa* ‘if’. Whenever this blend of particles occurs in a clause, each of them loses its original semantic meaning taking on a new sense as a compound, implying a wish. In the clause, the combination comes initially with apparently no restriction to which one occurs in a specified context, rather it is individual choice; otherwise, all of them impart similar logical quantities of semantic modal grams, as in the forms in (102) and (103) below.

- (102) **Kadi singa** o– ku– fa ku– bula– wo a– ba– ntu ni ba– caka– a.
 Neg if (OPT) Art Inf die 3S lack Ext Art Nc2 person Conj 3P relish Fv
 ‘I wish there was no death so that people can relish life.’
- (103) **Kale singa** n– sun– a o– mu– saiza a– n– twal– a!
 OPT 1S get Fv Art Nc1 man Rel 1S.Obj take Fv
 ‘I wish I would find a man who would marry me!’

The second option is the combination of the conditional particle *singa* ‘if’ clause-initially and a prefix *anka–* next to the stem of the verb specifying the desired situation. The form is as productive as the others are. Examples are below.

- (104) **Singa** n– sun– ire e– sente n– **anka**– gul– ire e– motoka.
 If 1S get PERF Art money 1S OPT buy PERF Art car
 ‘If only I had gotten money, I would have bought a car.’
- (105) **Singa** ti– mu– lwa(l)– ire, ti– y– **anka**– mir– ire a– ma– kerenda.
 If Neg 3S fall sick PERF Neg 3S OPT swallow PERF Art Nc6 drug
 ‘If he had not been sick, he would not have swallowed the tablets.’

There is also a phrase in a deontic copula *kubba* ‘to be’ and a demonstrative particle *kuti* ‘as this time’. It forms a phrase *kubbe kuti* ‘may it be so someday’ and precedes the phrase of the desired aspiration in perfect or progressive aspect to imply a remote hope or a wish that a situation, positive or negative comes about, as below.

- (106) **Ku– bb– e kuti** o– sun– ire a– ga– sente.
 3S Cop Dtv like this (OPT) 2S get PERF Art Nc21 money
 ‘May it be so someday (a day as today) that you will have (gotten) lots of money.’
- (107) **Ku– bb– e kuti** o– f– ire.
 3S Cop Dtv like this (OPT) Art die PERF
 ‘May it be so/come to pass someday that you are dead’

5.1.4 Epistemic Mode

Epistemic mode covers not only the modal systems that include all the notions of possibility and necessity but also the commitment by the speaker to what he says. It thus incorporates such meanings of evidentials such as ‘hearsay’, ‘report’ and the evidence of the senses. It shows how much certainty or evidence a speaker has about his proposition. In Lugwere, Epistemic modes include:

5.1.4.1 Evidentials

Evidentiality is the epistemic mode category that connotes a speaker’s assessment of the evidence for his utterance. An evidential is a grammatical form, such as a verbal affix or a lexical item that expresses a speaker’s commitment. Lugwere distinguishes two types of evidentiality, Quotative evidential and Sensory evidential.

5.1.4.1.1 Quotative Evidential

Quotative evidential marking signals that someone else, other than the speaker, is the source of the information (or proposition). Lugwere grammar has two ways of indicating commitment to the truth claim expressed in a proposition, the particles *–ti* and *nambu*. The former inflects for person while the latter does not. Both usually mark reported speech, direct or indirect, and the attitude or thought behind the report, as in sentences 1.5 and 1.10, given as (108) and (109) here below.

- (106) **Ku– bb– e kuti** o– sun– ire a– ga– sente.
 3S Cop Dtv like this (OPT) 2S get PERF Art Nc21 money
 ‘May it be so someday (a day as today) that you will have (gotten) lots of money.’
- (107) **Ku– bb– e kuti** o– f– ire.
 3S Cop Dtv like this (OPT) Art die PERF
 ‘May it be so/come to pass someday that you are dead’

The examples above are neutral reporting whereby the reporter, by choosing to use the particle *–ti* suggests that in his evaluation, the information is true and thus demands

that the hearer believes it too. If he wished to depict an attitude of negative commitment to the truth of the information, he would use *nambu*, as in (110) below.

- (110) **Nambu** ba- kw- onge(r)- ire o- mu- saala.
 Quot 3P 2S.Obj add on PERF Art Nc3 salary
 ‘(I hear) that your salary had been increased.’

5.1.4.1.2 Sensory Evidential

A Sensory evidential denotes that the speaker’s evidence for the truth of his proposition derives from his own sensory experience. Lugwere distinguishes two kinds of sensory evidential, visual and non-visual.

In visual evidentiality, the speaker’s evidence for the truth of his proposition derives from his own sight. The marking of this feature is by an inherently modal lexical reflexive *kweboneraku* ‘to be witness to’, and inflects for person, as in (111).

- (111) N- ee- **bone**(r)- ire- ku a- ba- ibb- i b’- e- n- koko
 1S Refl Sens PERF Del Art Nc2 steal Nom of Art Nc9 chicken
 ‘I personally witnessed the chicken thieves.’

In non-visual evidentiality, the speaker’s evidence for the truth of his proposition derives from the sensory processes other than sight. In Lugwere non-visual evidentiality, a speaker’s evidence for the truth of his statement is expressed as based on what is ‘heard’ even when it is by the other senses of feeling, smelling, and tasting. This is because, the marker of non-visual evidentiality is the modal verb *kuwulira* ‘to hear’, which, when used for communicating modal meaning takes on, in its semantic range, all the senses other than ‘seeing’. It inflects for a subject, as in (112) and (113).

- (112) N- a- **wuli**(r)- ire a- ba- ibb- i nga ba- iruk- a.
 1S Hest Sens PERF Art Nc2 thief Nom Adv 3P run Fv
 ‘I heard the thieves run (away).’

- (113) Tu- **wuli**(r)- ire e- mere nga e- funy- a.
 1P Sens PERF Art food Adv 3S smell Fv
 ‘We (clearly) smelled the food when it was burning.’

5.1.4.2 Judgmentals

Judgmentals are the mode category, which denotes a speaker’s strength of inference be it speculative or deductive, or degree of confidence in the reality of the proposition in his utterance. Lugwere distinguishes Judgmental modes as follows.

5.1.4.2.1 The Deductive

Deductive is a mode, which indicates that a speaker judges from certain and other facts that the proposition expressed by his utterance is probably true. In Lugwere, deductive incorporates the *assumptive*, *dubitative* and *speculative* modal meanings, so distinguished by some languages. The *assumptive* signals a speaker’s belief that his proposition derives from facts about what is usually the case in such circumstances. The *dubitative* implies a speaker’s reservation about the accuracy of his or her statement, while the *speculative* signals that the speaker judges from available facts that the proposition expressed by his or her utterance is possibly true.

Lugwere marks the deductive mode in two ways, first, the auxiliary *kiboneka* ‘to seem’, as in examples (114) and (115) below.

- (114) E- nyumba- ye nj- igul- e; **kiboneka** a- li- mu.
 Art house 3S.Poss 3S.Obj open Nom Ded 3S Cop Exist
 ‘His house is open, it seems he is inside.’
- (115) E- bi- reri by- e- kumbani- a; **kiboneka** ga- tonya.
 Art Nc8 cloud 3P Refl gather Fv Ded 3S drip
 ‘The clouds are gathering; it seems it will rain.’

Second, Lugwere uses an inherently modal auxiliary *-yinza* ‘may/might’, varying freely with *-ezya*, inflecting for subject pronoun, and always precedes an infinitive main verb. It is the commonest of all, mainly in young speakers. It stresses potentiality, probability, or prediction, as in examples (116), (117), (118), (119), and (120) or 3.4 in the texts.

- (116) A- ba- geni ba- **yinza** kw- iza lu- naku lw- atyanu.
 Art Nc2 visitor 3P Ded Inf come Nc11 day of today
 ‘The visitors might come today.’
- (117) Tu- **yinza** o- ku- suna a- ba- geni o- lu- naku lwa’- tyanu.
 1P Ded Art Inf receive Art Nc2 visitor Art Nc11 day of today
 ‘We might receive visitors today.’
- (118) O- kuum- e a- ma- ta ga- **yinza** o- ku- susuka o- mu musyo.
 2S watch Dtv Art Nc6 milk Ag Ded Art Inf pour Art Loc fire
 ‘The milk may spill/pour into the fire.’

In (116), the underlying context is that the speaker expects guests who did not indicate when exactly they are coming. Thus, he predicts their coming as possibly today. In (117) and (118), the particle expresses potentiality. In past tense deductions, as in (119) and (120), the infinitive immediately precedes the copula, and this gives the meaning ‘may already have been’, as in examples (119) and (120) below.

- (119) A- ma- ta ga- **yinza** o- ku- bba nga ga- f- ire.
 Art Nc6 milk Ag Ded Art Inf Cop Adv Ag die PERF
 ‘The milk might have gone bad.’
- (120) O- **yinza** o- ku- bba nga o- lowooz- a oo- ti amo a- kw- erabi(r)- ire
 2S Ded Art Inf Cop Conj 2S think Fv 2S Quot Sjn 3S 2S.Obj forget PERF
 ‘You could be imagining that perhaps He has forgotten you...’
- naye n- ku- kakas- a n- ti ti- niikyo.
 but 1S 2S.Obj assure Fv 1S that Neg 3S.Rel.Pron
 ‘...but I assure you that that is not the case.’

The propositions in the above examples could imply any of three meanings as the only logical thing possible, the expected, the obvious, or the most probable in that circumstance; only context aids in deducing the most applicable to a speech situation.

5.1.4.2.2 The Declarative

In Lugwere, Declarative mode signals the proposition expressed by a speaker as an unqualified statement of fact. Declarative use, in a narrow sense, is synonym to the indicative, which, in its broad usage, is approximately equivalent in meaning to the realis mode connoting factuality of a proposition. Declarative (also indicative) mode is the default mode and is *semantically unmarked*, a term used by Palmer (1986, 28).

5.1.4.2.3 The Hypothetical

Hypothetical mode indicates a speaker's evaluation of a proposition as counterfactual, but otherwise possible. Lugwere marks it by an auxiliary *kubbuuca* 'to a point of', coming pre-verbally, and inflecting for person, as in (121) and (122).

- (121) Y- à- sek- ere n'- a- **bbuuca** o- ku- fa.
 3S RmPst laugh PERF Conj 3S Hyp Art Inf die
 'He laughed to the point of/almost to death.'
- (122) Ba- mu- kubb- ire ni ba- **bbuuca** ku- mw - ita.
 3P 3S.Obj beat PERF Conj 3P Hyp Inf 3S.Obj kill
 'He was beaten nearly to death.'

5.1.4.2.4 The Interrogative

An interrogative signals that the speaker wishes to elicit information from the addressee. Lugwere has two types, polar and content interrogatives. Polar interrogatives are marked by intonation change on a declarative clause-- high floating intonation which drastically falls clause-finally due to tone spreading, as in (123).

- (123) *Okeedi akúúmâ?*
 O- Keedi a- kuum- a
 Art PN 3S wait Fv
 'Does Keedi wait?'

In contrast, content interrogation uses two question pronouns, *naani* 'who?', *niki* 'what?', and three neutral question forms, *lwaki* 'why?', *di* 'when?', and *-ki* 'which one?' in that they can be used for both human and neuter referents. Overall, all forms request for details about an issue supposed as being in the addressee's knowledge.

The interrogative pronouns, *naani* 'who', and *niki* 'what' work with a declarative clause by replacing the subject of that clause. Each of these occurs in a context: *naani* 'who' occurs when the thing about which details are elicited is estimated to be limited within a human subject's manipulation. The second pronoun *niki* 'what', used with a relativized dependent clause derives the mode, and is used where the probable subject is non-human or cannot be guessed from context, as below

- (124) **Naani** a- kubb- ire o- mw- ana?
 INT 3S beat PERF Art Nc1 child
 'Who beat the child?'
- (125) **Niki** e- ki- kubb- ire o- mw- ana?
 INT Rel 3S beat PERF Art Nc1 child
 'What hit the child?'

In (124), because of choice of *naani*, it is accessible to the speaker by a priori inference that the subject of the verb 'beat' is human. In (125), the case is different, for it is hard to tell if the agent is human or not. Since the possible scope of options is wide, using a non-human pronoun implies there are no apt guesses whatsoever.

In contrast, the neutral question forms, *lwaki* 'why?' and *di* 'when?' mostly occur independently although they can also co-occur in a clause, and this has to be an echo of a previous propositional clause or event. If *lwaki* is used in a clause, it comes clause-initially, as in (126) that follows.

- (126) **Lwaki** o– kubb– ire o– mw– ana?
 INT 2S beat PERF Art Nc1 child
 ‘Why did you beat the child?’

If *di* is used in a clause, it occurs clause-medially before the clausal verb and after the referent of the clause, as in (127).

- (127) Y– a– kubb– ire **di** o– mw– ana?
 3S Hest beat PERF INT Art Nc1 child
 ‘At what point in time did he beat the child?’

The third question interrogative form, *-ki* ‘which one?’ is a rather peculiar one compared to the others. Though also echoic, it isolates only the noun phrase of the referent (subject) of the previous declarative upon which it becomes suffixed onto, therefore it cannot stand alone, as in (128).

- (128) Mw– ana– **ki**?
 Nc1 child INT
 ‘Which child (was beaten)?’

5.2 Summary of Mode in the Grammar

From this chapter, it is clear that Lugwere has four major modal distinctions, the subjunctive, alethic, deontic, and epistemic. These major modal distinctions semantically subdivide into several other modal sub categories underlying the main categories each signaling a rather specific though related modal meaning in that main category. A summary of these divisions and sub divisions is given in the table that follows below:

Modal category	Sub-category	Marker(s)
Subjunctive mode		<i>Amo</i>
Alethic mode		<i>-ikik</i>
Deontic modes	Directives: Imperative Deliberative Jussive Precative Obligative Volitives: Imprecative Conditional Optative	<i>-e</i> <i>-e + intonation</i> <i>ka- + -e</i> <i>-e + -ku</i> <i>-li + na-</i> <i>demba</i> <i>singa</i> <i>kale singa, kadi singa, kubbe kuti</i>
Epistemic modes	Evidentials: Quotative Sensory Judgmentals: Deductive Declarative Hypothetical Interrogative	<i>-ti and nambu</i> <i>kweboneraku and kuwulira</i> <i>kiboneka, -yinza + Infinitive verb</i> \emptyset <i>kubbuuca</i> <i>intonation (Polar interr)</i> <i>naani, niki, lwaki, di -ki (Content interr)</i>

Table 2: Summary of Lugwere Mode Marker

CHAPTER SIX: TENSE, ASPECT, AND MODE IN LUGWERE DISCOURSE

6.0 Preamble

The term discourse covers two linguistic concerns: analysis of dialogue, interactive discourse involving many interlocutors participating actively; and analysis of monologue, a one-person discourse (Longacre 1990, 6). Monologues can be narrative, procedural, expository, or hortatory. There are similarities between them.

Longacre (1990, 10) proposes four parameters for distinguishing among discourse types. These are contingent temporal succession, agent orientation, projection, and tension. Contingent temporal succession implies a structure within which an event is contingent on a previous event. Agent orientation implies an orientation towards agents with a rather partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse. Projection concerns a situation or action contemplated or anticipated but not realized. Tension refers to whether a discourse reflects a struggle or schism of some sort.

6.1 Tense, Aspect, and Mode in discourse

In every discourse, choice of the tense, aspect, or mode is motivated by the nature of discourse. Such choice is dependent on the inherent syntactic properties of the particular tense, aspect, or mode in question. Thus, TAMs are one of the resources available in languages for ordering discourse grounding and unity. A debate about whether tense, aspect, and mode are syntactic or discourse properties continues.

Smith (1983, 480) says aspect is a property of the sentence. The relation between aspect and discourse is through sentence meaning contributing to the meaning of the text that is the discourse. This link makes discourse a recipient of aspectual meaning.

Other works, such as those of Hopper (1979), (1982a), and (1982b), suggest that aspects obtain their principal meanings from their textual functions. Their point of view on the subject opposes that of Smith. For instance, Hopper (1979, 213) says, discourse motivates choice and use of aspects. To sum up the opposite views, the first argues that aspect is a property of the sentence; the second one argues that aspect is a property of the discourse. In my opinion, the two views do not conflict but are rather complementary. I suppose choice of aspect is motivated by discourse, based on a given aspect's inherent semantic properties. Thus, in discourse, a sentence is a linear sequence of words as spoken or written in line with a language's grammatical rules.

Longacre (1996) stresses the locus of tense and aspect in discourse structure in terms of the foregrounding and backgrounding distinction. Similarly, Jones and Jones (1984, 24), also claim that the function of tense/aspect/mode morphemes in connected discourse is in terms of foregrounded and backgrounded information.

6.2 Grounding in discourse

Grounding, universal to all genres, takes two forms, foreground, and background. Foreground includes the more important events of the storyline, the more important steps of a procedure, the central points of the exposition, and the main characters involved in an episode. In contrast, background includes events of lesser weight, auxiliary procedures, explanations, amplifications, digressions, and minor characters.

Speakers of a language are often required to design their utterances in harmony with their communicative goals in light of their listener's needs. Thus, some of what the

speaker says is more relevant and some less. Whatever is said, yet not crucially contributing to the speaker's goal but only aiding to amplify it, is background. The material supplying the main points of the discourse is the foreground, hence a dichotomy, at least in Lugwere, rather than a continuum as Longacre (1996) suggests.

6.3 Major Units of Lugwere discourse

Lugwere written discourse is a reflection of spoken discourse, marked by pauses and intonation differences. These thus determine the punctuation marking points and at times signal what the topic, comment, or focus of the sentence is. In this analysis, the term 'paragraph' denotes clause(s) that explain the same topic or subtopic marked syntactically as a separate unit from adjacent units with similar structures. A classic Lugwere discourse may consist of a single sentence or a series of sentences making a paragraph, but episodes are according to lexical content, not time setting.

A paragraph opens up actions that follow each other closely in time with no interruption in the cohesion of the scene. If time elapses between two paragraphs, to state explicitly a new time setting, a new paragraph begins, by a relative clause. At times, a new paragraph starts with a new location, though change seems more significant only when time elapses while the participants of the story are changing their place of action. Paragraphing, therefore, is primarily based, first, on time marked by a new time location, second, according to time linkage whenever the event line is interrupted by an interval in which time passes with no main event line shift forward; and third, according to the establishment of a different focal character as the theme.

From the discussion, it is apparent that explicit mention of change in time setting in narratives is very necessary for it indicates that Lugwere speakers know when to start a new paragraph according to cultural assumptions that hold automatically.

6.4 Methodology of research

The texts studied are narrative, expository, hortatory, and procedural monologues. First, each text is split into clauses, coded for temporal structures of tense and aspect, and then mode. Second, texts are observed for major discourse coherence components in terms of introduction, main body, conclusion; arrangement of paragraphs within each section; relations in clauses and in paragraphs that distinguish between nuclear and supportive material. Third, I discuss section paragraphs in terms of distribution of tense, aspect, and mode in terms of where and why they are used differently in the sections depending on discourse type. Fourth, I discuss grounding based on nuclear versus non-nuclear material per genre. Fifthly, I look at the distribution of tense, aspect, and mode in the foreground and background material in all discourse genres.

6.5 Tense, Aspect, and Mode in Narrative discourse

In Lugwere narratives, descriptions of experiences can contain both sequential and non-sequential material. The sequentially ordered events constitute the backbone of a narration. In Lugwere narrative sequencing, the close of one event implies start of the subsequent event, thus the connection between perfective aspect and past tense.

6.5.1 Narrative data corpus

In this section is a narrative 'Leopard and Hare' (appendix B1), an oral text told by an elderly man of about 67 years of age. It concerns two great friends, Leopard and Hare. In the first episode, they engage in a heated squabble as to who of them is wiser. After this,

Leopard is offended so she plans to teach Hare a lesson, take Hare's children to her sister as a gift when they go visiting. In episode 2, as they go to sister's home, Hare uncovers the secret as Leopard is away; she upends the trick in her favor by returning her children, packs Leopard's children, and returns before Leopard is back. Episode 3 highlights the receiver of the gift puzzled by the gift but the sister remains numb to Hare's fraud. In episode 4, she learns of the swindle but Hare is nowhere in sight so she returns lamenting having missed the trick and her young ones.

To allow enough space for main topic of study, for the non-focal yet vital examples of aspects on this discussion, I will be referring to the texts in appendix C.

6.5.2 Structure of Lugwere Narratives

Lugwere narratives divide naturally into three main parts: introduction, body, and conclusion. Going by Longacre's (1996) classification, the introduction includes the title, aperture, and stage. The body consists of pre-peak episode, and the peak, further made up of several paragraphs, and of incidents. The conclusion equals the closure and finis. The general structure is as follows:

The title is usually a short phrase citing the discourse referent(s) and is characterized by being, as a rule, at the beginning of a story, and the referent(s) being agentive or who is responsible for causing the events constituting the storyline, being referred to more often than other characters, and participating in more than one scene.

The aperture is a formulaic introductory phrase *Eira* 'Long time ago' (only) at the beginning of the story, in the first sentence that introduces the key protagonist(s) of the story or episode. It calls for the hearer's attention to the narration (as in line B1.1).

The stage is the paragraph in which the participants and setting of the discourse are introduced and described in detail. See this phenomenon in sentences 1.1 to 1.3.

The pre-peak episode is a paragraph unit marking a transition to a second level (embedded) discourse. Traditionally, a time horizon marker, *Lumo* 'once/one day', introduces this unit. The peak is usually a series of paragraphs that mark plot climax. Narratives can also have multiple plots and peaks. The plot is clearer in lines 1.7–1.12, then the pre-peak and peak in sentences 1.13–1.19 having the following features:

There are lengthened sentence units due to serialized verbs, faster pace, transitioning by conjunctions and juxtaposition. The stage is also so crowded, with heightened vividness, participants identified specifically by nouns if combining or by linearly clear pronouns in sequence if scene is dominated by one participant. There is also concentration of pronouns, tense and aspect shift, as in 1.15, and 1.19, change in vantage point where story focuses on one actor at a time, dialogue in monologue, underlying rhetorical echoing as in 1.22, and 1.23 (see appendix B1).

There is a closure, or a finis, or both. The closure can be a signal that the story has ended; the finis may be an avowal, or an advice giving the intended moral value. If the closure and finis co-occur, the closure precedes the finis phrase, as in 1.40–1.41.

6.5.3 Tense and Aspect in Narrative Grounding

The story is told in the past time where the temporal frame is given in the setting, and every temporal reference within the story takes its orientation from that. The temporal setting is the distant past, a temporal setting often used in folktales, a time reference in most of the background and some of the foreground-embedded speeches.

Backgrounding, where pieces of supportive discourse meant to prepare the hearer for the information in the foreground (in bold), is articulated with past tense nonfinite verb

forms and both perfect and imperfect aspects. It uses conventional forms in terms of introduction and closure, and the past deictic apparatus, for example in lines 1.7, 1.16, and 1.21 in the narrative text; here below gives as (129), (130), and (131).

- (129) **O– lu– naku owe– lw– à– tuuk– ire,** ba– w– ine mu lu– gendo
 Art NB11 day Rel Ag RmPst arrive PERF 3P be early PERF Loc NB11 trip
 ‘**When the (set) day came,** they were so early for the journey...’
- (130) **Owe– b– eyongera– yo,** n’– a– lenger– a o– mwosi o– gu– duuny– a...
 Rel 3P Pers Loc Conj 3S see afar Fv Art smoke Art Ag rise up Fv
 ‘**When they continue on,** he saw smoke rising up at some distance...’
- (131) **Owe– y– à– ir– ire,** o– Culi nga a– mu– tiik– a o– mu– gangi.
 Rel 3S RmPst return PERF Art Hare Conj 3S 3S.Obj load Fv Art Nc3 gift
 ‘**When he returned,** Hare loaded him the gift.’

Background information does not only portray sequenced occurrence of events leading to, but also those concurrent with the main events, and at times the temporal situations related to the main events, as in (129) above. See also line 1.17 in the texts.

Foreground is articulated with finite verb forms in the historic present tense, it also carries the topic of the discourse. In lines 1.5, 1.16, and 1.17 of the narrative text, here below given as examples (132), (133), and (134) focus is on the journey.

- (132) Lumo, o– Ngo **n’– a– tees– a aa– ti o– Culi a– mw– erek– e– ku**
 One day Art Leopard Conj 3S propose Fv 3S Quot Art Hare 3S 3S.Obj escort Dtv Ptv
 ‘One day, **Leopard proposes that Hare accompany her...**’
 e wa mu– ganda– we o– ku– kyala.
 Loc of NB1 sister 3S.Poss Art Inf visit
 ‘...to her sister’s home for a visit.’
- (133) **Owe– b– eyongera– yo, n’– a– lenger– a o– mwosi o– gu– duuny– a...**
 Rel 3P Pers Loc Conj 3S sees afar Fv Art smoke Art Ag rises up Fv
 ‘When they continue on, **she sees smoke rising up at some distance...**’
- (134) Nga a– yab– a, **o– Culi n’– a– seeg– a o– ku– sanukula– ku o– mu– gangi**
 As 3S go Fv Art Hare Conj 3S think Fv Art Inf open Del Art Nc3 gift
 ‘While she (Leopard) was going, **Hare thinks of opening the gift...**’

It is in the foregrounded clauses that the story is really narrated. Main events are described by finite verbs implying that the narrator shifts his point of view; from narrating as though he were far off or removed from the scene of the events to presenting the events from inside the story through his own eyes. Main participants are promptly referred to either by proper nouns or pronouns so that they are accessible to the hearer. Events are chronologically conjoined so that hearers decipher event order for optimal relevance, as in (135) and (136); also in 1.18 and 1.19 in the texts.

- (135) ...n’– a– seeg– a mangu, n’– a– kaniamb– a o– kw– e– tiika e– ki– ibo,
 Conj 3S think Fv quickly Conj 3S struggle Fv Art Inf Refl load Art Nc7 basket
 ‘She gets a quick idea, and with great effort loads the gift onto her head...’
 n’– a– iruk– a n’– a– bis– a a– ba– ana– be
 Conj 3S run Fv Conj 3S hide Fv Art 3P child 3S.Poss
 ‘...and she runs and hides her children.’

- (136) Kaisi n'– ay– ab– a o– mwa Ngo n'– a– kwat– a a– ba– ana...
 Then Conj 3S go Fv Art Loc.of Leopard Conj 3S catch Fv Art Nc2 child
 'Then she goes into Leopard's house and catches the children...'
- ba Ngo n'– a– ba– teek– a o– mu ki– ibo, n'– a– saanikir– a– ku
 of Leopard Conj 3S 3P put Fv Art Loc Nc7 basket, Conj 3S cover Fv Comp
 '...of Leopard, and puts them in the basket, and covers it...'
- kusa, ni y– e– tiik– a, n'– a– iruk– a n'– a– ir– a.
 well, Conj 3S Repl load Fv Conj 3S run Fv Conj 3S return Fv
 '...properly, and loads it (onto the head), and returns.'

6.5.4 Tense-Aspect-Mode distribution in Narrative stages

In Lugwere, the verbal word is the smallest surface unit that carries a distinctive tense-aspect. As earlier said, a single utterance can constitute discourse, thus a simple predicate verb can give an action, and if expanded gives more than one description. When an action clause, intransitive or transitive, is involved, tense or aspect is definitely involved, by verbal affixes, auxiliaries, or lexemes.

Since, in Lugwere, the concept of tense is the points in time in relation to the speaker - either before the time of speaking, at the time of speaking, or after speaking, in narrated events where setting and background are vital facet of monologues, tense and aspect function differently. Tense can move events along quickly, hold an event from moving into a new one, and highlight events, while aspect provides the behavioral part of the setting, or shows how closely related events are in logical sequence.

In the event-line of Lugwere narratives, the first event that centrally starts the story line is always in the past tense, for example sentence 1.7 in our narrative text. Once the general time is established, the speaker uses a combination of the past and present tenses, and the progressive or persistive aspects for the rest of the narrative.

Past tense moves a series of events along the story line in quick sequence as in the event series in which a character moves to a new location. In the 'Leopard and Hare' story, e.g., participants are introduced with the phrase *wabbairwo...* 'there was...'. In sentence 1.4, at some point, *they argued...*

When the narrator desires to slow down the event pace of events to highlight some of them, past tense sequence is broken and present tense and progressive or persistive aspect rules. Present tense with its implied progressiveness functions here to hold the sequence of events from going forward. A present tense next to a past tense amplifies a previous event before going on to a new event. The speaker, by dwelling on a particular event, thus highlights a particular event as key to the entire discourse.

Event series in which a villain or trickster carries out a villainous act such as playing a trick before the other character arrives on the scene are frequently in the present tense. In 'Leopard and Hare' story, we see a predominance of the present tense and (so to say) progressive or persistive aspect at the pre-peak and peak episode stages in lines 1.8 to 1.19 and only two of past tense-perfect aspect, in 1.10 and 1.12.

The present-progressive-persistive tense-aspects also introduce dialogue when used with the verbs of saying. As long as dialogue is still going on, event sequence is put at a standstill, for example in 1.8-1.11, 1.22-1.23, and 1.34.

Progressive and Persistive aspects, in any tense closely relate in time sequence to a previous clause most likely the one deemed to be the logical result of a prior clause. In the narrative text, the following examples are seen, the result clause superscripted: 1.11^{1.13}, 1.33^{1.34}, 1.37^{1.39}, and 1.19^{1.40} given below as (137), (138), (139), and (140).

- (137) O– Ngo y– à– kang– **ang**– a– yo e ika kaisi ay– ab– a ku– bowa
 Art Leopard 3S RmPst go back PROG Fv Loc Loc home yet 3S go Fv Inf wrap
 ‘Leopard was returning home but to wrap...’
 ba– ana ba– Culi nga a– teek– a mu ki– ibo nga a– sanikir– a– ku
 3P child of Hare Conj 3S put Fv Loc Nc7 basket Conj 3S cover Fv Comp
 ‘Hare’s children, put them in a basket, covered it...’
- (138) O– Culi yena y– (à)e– ef– **ang**– á– ku ku– mu– kob– a aa– ti,
 Art Hare 3S.Foc 3S RmPst strive PROG Fv Del Inf 3S.Obj tell Fv 3S Quot
 ‘Hare too kept emphasizing to her that...’
 “O– lum–e kusa demba n’– o– bb– a nga o– lum– a igumba– lyo.”
 2S bite Dtv well Imptv Conj 2S Cop Fv Adv 2S bite Fv bone 2S.Poss
 ‘Bite carefully for you might (actually) be biting of your own”’
- (139) O– Ngo y– à– kang– **ang**– á– yo e wuwe a– kuung–a era
 Art Leopard 3S RmPst go back PROG Fv Loc Loc 3S.Poss 3S cry Fv even so
 ‘Leopard thus returned to her home crying; even so...’
 n’– o– mu– kago gw– abwe ni gu– f– a gu– tyo.
 Conj Art Nc3 friendship Ag 3P.Poss Conj 3S die Fv Ag in that way
 ‘...their friendship ended that way.’
- (140) Nabuti o– Ngo a– **kaali** a– nooni– a o– Culi n’– a– ba– ana– be a– sasul– e
 To date Art Leopard 3S Pers 3S seek Fv Art Hare Conj Art Nc2 child 3Poss 3S pay Dtv
 To this day, Leopard still seeks after Hare and her children to take revenge.’

The progressive or persistive aspects also give the behavioral part of a setting when used there rather than as part of the event sequence. Often, backgrounding in narratives is done by the past-perfective tense-aspect, but when a new scene begins with characters in the middle of an action as the curtain rolls up, the progressive or persistive aspect is used to highlight the setting within which the character is to do the next event. These function as story line gear shifters, as in 1.15, 1.16, 1.17, here as (141), (142), and (143).

- (141) Nga ba– **kaali** ba– li o– mu nzira, o– Ngo e– ngeri egi– ya– à– li
 While 3P Pers 3P Cop Art Loc way Art Leopard Art manner Rel 3S RmPst Cop
 ‘As they are still on their way, Leopard, the manner in which she was...’
 mu– nyw– i w’– e– miindi e– nyonta n’– e– mu– kwat– a
 NB1 drink Nom of Art pipe Art thirst Conj 3S 3S.Obj catch Fv
 ‘...a pipe smoker began feeling thirst to smoke.’
- (142) Owe– b(a)– **eyongera**– yo, n’– a– lenger a o– mwosi o– gu– duuny– a
 Rel 3P Pers Loc Conj 3S see afar Art smoke Art Ag rise up Fv
 ‘When they continued on, she saw smoke rising up at some distance so...’
- (143) Nga ay– **ab– a**, o– Culi n’– a– seeg– a o– ku– sanukula– ku o– mu– gangi
 As 3S go Fv Art Hare Conj 3S think F Art Inf open Del Art Nc3 gift
 ‘While she was going (away), Hare thought of opening the gift (pack)...’

This data also suggests that the progressive and persistive are used for statements that are concurrent in the background arena of narratives. In (141), Leopard starts to feel thirsty as they journeyed along. In (142), seeing the smoke happened as they walked past. In (143), Hare does the thinking as Leopard is moving away. Recall that we said in section

4.1.1 that a simple Present in Lugwere also indicates progressiveness of an event. The background that splits up by time or setting is in past-perfect tense-aspect.

Regarding mode, the pertinent modes in narratives are the judgmental declarative, quotative evidential epistemic, the imperative and precative deontic modes. At the deep-structure level, only the declarative and quotative epistemic modes relate to the narrative genre. The imperative and precative deontic modes are surface features.

The declarative deontic mode distinguishes itself as the narrative mode, for it is by far the commonest of all modes. It functions to state facts, give information and reports, and ask questions of fact. In narratives, it is also employed to obtain the hearer's commitment to the propositional properties in the events of the storyline.

The quotative is used where a narrator wishes to replay the idea(s) or words of the one to whom the statement is attributed, as in 1.5 and 1.16 given as (144) and (145).

- (144) Lumo, o- Ngo n'- a- tees- a aa- **ti** o- Culi a- mw- erek- e- ku
One day Art Leopard Conj 3S propose Fv 3S Quot Art Hare 3S 3S.Obj escort Dtv Ptv
'One day, Leopard proposed that Hare accompany her...'

- (145) ...n'- a- kob- a o- Culi aa- **ti** a- mu- tiikul- e o- mu- gangi ay- ab- e
Conj 3S tell Fv Art Hare 3S Quot 3S 3S.Obj unload Dtv Art Nc3 gift 3S go Dtv
'...and asked Hare that she unloads her of the gift so she may go
a- nooni- e o- musyo, yena n'- a- mu- tiikul- a.
3S seek Dtv Art fire 3S.Foc Conj 3S 3S.Obj unload Fv
'...to search for the fire and she too did unload her.'

The quotative signals the truth conditionality of the full story as opposed to hearsay. The less common but usual modes in narratives are the imperative and precative deontic modes. These modes are a characteristic feature of dialogue in monologue used together with the quotative mode. When the characters on the stage engage in dialogue whereby one actor tries to get the other to do something, the narrator, in reporting the dialogue, uses either of these two deontic modes, as in lines 1.11, 1.29, and 1.34 given below as examples (146), (147), and (148) below.

- (146) "Aale o- n- kuum- ir- e- **ku** aanu nj- ab- e n- det- e o- mu- gangi."
So 2S 2S wait Appl Dtv Ptv here 1S go Dtv 1S bring Dtv Art Nc3 gift
'So then please wait for me here (so that) I go and bring the gift.'
- (147) O- Ngo o- mu- geni y- à- mw- ir- ire- mu mangu aa-ti, "O- sumb- e!"
Art Leopard Art NB1 guest 3S RmPst 3S.Obj reply PERF Loc hastily 3S Quot 2S cook **Dtv**
'The visiting Leopard quickly answered her, "Cook!"'
- (148) ... "O- lum- e kusa demba n'- o- bba nga o- lum- a igumba- lyo."
2S bite Dtv well Imptv Conj 2S Cop Adv 2S bite Fv bone 2S.Poss
' "Bite carefully for you might (actually) be biting the bone of your very own"'

Notable, however, is that in narratives, deontic modes serve to spell out the next event(s) as they are intended to flow down the storyline by the actors. It directs the behavior of the character that is on stage in the specific episode. That is why they are characteristic of scenes of dialogue involving deliberation by character(s) on stage.

The above analysis makes it manifest that in any extended text of Lugwere narrative discourse, explicit contrast is made between the speech of the real story line and the speech of the supporting matter that does not itself recount the main events. Tense, aspect,

and mode also help mark out or even determine actor-roles, even how accounts in scenes, episodes, or paragraphs down the story line should be understood.

6.6 Tense, Aspect, and Mode in Expository discourse

Lugwere Expository discourse is mainly explanatory, not chronological, and behaves in two ways. In past event exposition, the structure is as in Narratives but for current event expositions, the structure is as in Procedural discourse. In this case, just as in the other genres, background may have both sequential and non-sequential categories while foreground may have categories that do not express sequentiality.

The aspect in foreground is primarily Habitual. Only this distinguishes expository genre from the other discourse types. In the expository text (appendix B2), the perfective occurs only six times but three of Perfect and Completive, all in foreground. At times, they co-occur with the habitual, as in 2.8 and 2.9 given here as (149) and (150).

- (149) O– mu kuca, buli moiza y– à– kang– **ang**– á–yo e wa– abwe; paka ku– wa– **k u**.
 Art Loc dawn each one 3S RmPst return Hab Fv Loc Loc Ag 3P.Poss till Inf end Comp
 ‘At dawn, each one would then return home, (and they did this) until the last day’

- (150) A– ba– ala a– b(a)–à– mal– **ang**– á– **ku** o– lu– mbe nga ti– ba– sun– ire
 Art 3P girl Rel 3P RmPst finish Hab Fv Comp Art NB11 rites Conj Neg 3P get PERF
 ‘The girls who would get to the end without conceiving’

e– bi– da niibo a– b– à– fumbirw– **ang**– á kuba ba–bb– **ang**– á niibo
 Art Nc8 womb 3P.Foc Rel 3P RmPst be married Hab Fv since 3P Cop Hab Fv 3P.Foc
 ‘...were the ones eligible for (honorable) marriage for they were (considered)...’

a– ba– teereri, era nga ba– tuky– a a– ba– byaire ba– abwe o– ku– lya
 Art 3P upright even Conj 3P reach Fv Art 3P parents Ag 3P..Poss Art Inf eat
 ‘...morally upright, and would qualify their parents to take (a special)...’

e– ki– gwaizuli kuba owe– b– à– fumbirw– **ang**– á, a– ba– saiza ba– ba– gily– **ang**– á
 Art Nc7 goat-gift since Rel 3P RmPst be married Hab Fv Art Nc2 man 3P 3P meet Hab Fv
 ‘...goat-gift, for when they got married, husbands would find them still virgins.’

In terms of tense, it is apparent that despite the grounding, expository discourse overall has a neutral tense structure, not in other genres. Tense does not vary between foreground and background, implying that expositions can be past, present, or future.

In respect to mode, the expository line is expounded mainly by declaratives both in the deep and surface structures. Use of the mode is logical because expository genre details descriptions or explanations since it states *what is* (see text B2).

Summarily, in terms of tense, aspect, and mode, the explanatory characteristic of the expository discourse calls for neutrality in tense with minimal variations in the aspects and modes. In other words, the tense that introduces the explanation is maintained throughout the discourse, even across the boundaries of grounding.

6.7 Tense, Aspect, and Mode in Hortatory discourse

Lugwere Hortatory discourse is behavioral, for it purposes to alter the conduct of the addressee. Its characteristic is a series of exhortations-- inherently modal, urging that an action be done, besides several others that back up the exhortation. Event sequencing is not vital, and foreground shows a very rich mix of TAM categories.

6.7.1 Structure of Lugwere Hortatory discourse

The data for this section is a text (appendix B3), an encouragement to a brother who remains childless-- a sensitive issue in an African family context. The text, like any other Lugwere hortatory discourse, contains a statement of the problem at the beginning, sentences 3.1 and 3.2, some sort of motivation in the middle unit, from 3.3 to 3.8, and the real exhortation lastly, in sentence 3.9. See details of this phenomenon in the discourse flow of the hortatory discourse text in appendix.

6.7.2 Tense, Aspect, and Mode in Hortatory discourse

As noted earlier, a hortatory discourse does not distinguish between sequenced and non-sequenced events; hence, in terms of tense, it may be comprised of past, present, and future. This is because Lugwere can express exhortations with either imperfective or perfective verbs. No definite structure is expected of the speaker. He may use a range of tense-aspect combinations in one or more, but linked clauses, as in lines 3.2, 3.3, and 3.9 given below as examples (151), (152), and (153), respectively.

- (151) M– ma– **ite** nti o– kuti oo– li mu– yungubali olw’– e– bi– gosi...
 1S know PERF 1S.Quot Art lately 2S Cop Nc1 saddened due to Art Nc8 hardship
 ‘I infer that of late you are so saddened by the hardships...’
 e– by– o– sanga(n)– **ine**.
 Rel Nc8 2S meet with PERF
 ‘...which you are facing.’
- (152) Naye n– **taka** ku– kw– ewukirya n– ti mu byonabyona, o– Kibbumba
 But 1S want.Fut Inf 2Obj remind 1S Quot Loc everything Art God
 ‘But I intend to remind you that in all circumstances, God is still faithful’
 a– **kaali** mw– esigwa era t– a– kw– erabi(r)– **ire**.
 3S Pers 3S faithful even Neg 3S 2S.Obj forget PERF
 ‘...and He has not disregarded you.’
- (153) **Ka**– tw– **eyonger**– e o– ku– mu– saba n’ o– ku– mw– esiga olwa’kubba
 JUS 1P Pers Dtv Art Inf 3S.Obj pray Conj Art Inf 3S.Obj trust because
 ‘Let us then persistently continue to pray and to trust Him for...’
 n– **kakas**– a n– ti y– ali– tu– wangul– ir– a.
 1S be sure Fv 1S Quot 3S RmFut 3S prevail Appl Fv
 ‘I am certain that He will come through for us.’

6.8 Tense, Aspect, and Mode in Procedural discourse

Lugwere procedural discourse is comprised of a string of paragraphs each with some subordinate follow-on or conditional clause(s) followed by a main clause. Procedural discourse has two kinds of paragraphs, the section paragraphs detailing the ‘what-to-have’ describing the needed prerequisites for the procedure, followed by the ‘what-to-do’ paragraphs that describe the real procedure. Introductions, opening and closing statements, and conclusion are not obligatory. The subject is in second person.

6.8.1 Data & Structure of Lugwere Procedural discourse

This section is based on a text written by a 46-year-old man in a writer’s contest describes how to construct a local village hut, herein referred to as the ‘HUT’ text.

There is a structure dominating in this text; sequential clauses highlighting the result of the previous step, followed by the main (next step) clauses, with or without elaborations-- apparently typical of Lugwere procedural genre. A paragraph consists of morphosyntactically-marked groups of clauses together describing a topic, and each procedural step describes a subtopic. A 'paragraph' in this genre, refers to both main and resultant clause(s). Overall, procedural discourse structure is as follows.

First, there is an introduction highlighting the topic of the text. Next, comes the procedure, the most complex, and may be composed of two parts. Where there are two parts, the first part describes the main necessary equipment for the process and the second part describes the steps. Most of them, however, have only the second part. In case there is a first part, a discourse will have an optional opening statement followed by an obligatory listing of the necessary equipment for the process. Where there is no listing of equipment, as in our 'HUT' text, the first paragraph of the steps section is adapted to carry the opening function. Throughout the discourse, homogenous strings of resultant clauses marking transition to the subsequent steps form discourse paragraphs in sequence to the last step highlighting the end product.

6.8.2 Grounding in Procedural discourse

In Lugwere procedural discourse, backgrounding and foregrounding is maintained. A speaker has to indicate in the next procedure that some step has already occurred before the one in question; thus, the step in question depends on the previous one(s). Since the verbs in the previous step of each text, the initiators of the process, may not have any special sequential marking, this function is done by backgrounding and foregrounding conditional or subordinate clauses, followed by a main clause.

6.8.3 Tense-Aspect-Mode, and grounding in Procedural discourse

The introduction usually uses non-finite verb forms unmarked for either of TAM grammatical categories. An example is C4.0, *okuluka eibuye* 'constructing a hut'.

The opening statement echoes the form in the introduction, usually in a simple present, inchoative aspect, and/or imperative deontic mode as in 4.1 given as (154).

- (154) O- ku- luka e- ibuye, o- sook- e o- ger- e o- bu- galami...
 Art Inf construct Art hut 2S launch Dtv 2S measure Dtv Art NB14 length
 'To construct a hut, commence with measuring the desired length...'

The background consists of mainly the hodiernal past, perfect or completive aspects, and the indicative mode. Foreground is strictly by present tense verb forms, any aspect other than the perfect, and the indicative or imperative deontic modes. As foreground, an event must be in Present tense, as in line 4.2 and 4.9 given here as (155) and (156).

- (155) Ng'- o- mal- ire, o- **kuul- a** e- bi- ina nga o- **kuul- isy- a** o- mwizo
 When 2S finish PERF 2S dig Fv Art Nc8 hole Adv 2S dig Caus Fv Art dagger
 'When done, dig holes using a dagger.'

- (156) Ow- o- mal- a, oo- **li** n'- o- ku- kol- esery- a- mu o- lwigi,
 Rel 2S finish Fv 2S Cop with Art Inf do Caus Fv Loc Obl Art door
 'When you are done, you then have to order the door for the hut made, then...'

o- teemp- e, o- kubb- e a nsi kusa olwo kasi n'- o- **sun- a**
 2S mud Dtv 2S beat Dtv Loc down well so then Conj 2S get Fv
 '...mud the wall, beat to harden the floor too, after which you find some...'

e- bi- sisye, n'- o- **puuy- isy-** a mwonamwona.
 Art Nc7 cow dung Conj 2S daub Caus Fv all through
 '...cow dung and use it to plaster both the walls and the floor.'

In this analysis, considering that sequentiality is a central element in procedural discourse, it is clear that there are elements whose typical function is to mark sequentiality. Perfective aspects dominate in the background marking chronological event flow. In the imperfectives, (especially the Progressive--except in relativized clauses) dominate in the foreground; thus, they are not event-chronology (background) markers. Instead, they serve to introduce the next focal event(s) down the procedure. Perfectives are thus not good markers of foreground in Procedural discourse. The apparent dominance of Perfectives in background is due to two factors: first, in the text, many background explanations are expressed with perfective verbs in subordinated conditional clauses. Secondly, preludes and finishes, all background material, contain many perfective verbs. Notable of the modes in the procedural genre are the indicative epistemic and imperative deontic modes. While the function of the indicative is as simple as obvious, the imperative purposely functions not only to encode injunctions concerning the apt patterns of action but also to indicate speaker-hearer relationship.

6.9 Summary of Tense, Aspect, and Mode in Lugwere discourse

In the analysis, we ascertained that not perfectivity by itself, but rather a combination of sequential components from four aspectual types, Perfect, Progressive, Habitual, and Persistent correlate with discourse grounding. The study also ascertains the correlation between tense and grounding in all the four types. Both tense and aspect help mark even chronology/sequence, a key feature in differentiating discourse genres, one of the useful temporal factors by which foreground is told apart from the background. In temporal structures, foreground properties of Narrative and Procedural genres often include the simple Present-Imperfective tense-aspect forms, as contrasted with the Past-Perfective tense-aspect forms, which are restricted to marking event chronology. Background properties, thus, include all the other tenses and aspects other than the Present-Progressive-Persistent. With respect to the attitudinal notion of mode, the study has revealed certain notions of the use of modes in Lugwere discourse. One is that some modal categories are associated with certain discourse genres. Then, there is realization of how modes relate in phrases, clauses and in extended texts of different types.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

7.0 Preamble

This paper has attempted an analysis of the temporal categories of tense and aspect as well as the attitudinal concepts of mode in Lugwere grammar and discourse. In the foregoing chapters, focus was mainly on discovering the structural forms, morphology, and syntax of TAM in the grammar, the distribution, and use in discourse, with examples, and the findings summed up at each chapter end.

7.1 Observations & recommendations

In the investigation, it is noticeable that the marking of some TAM notions in the language have the same form and could easily be confused. They include *-ang* in habitual and progressive aspects, and *-ku* in delimited (also partitive) and completive aspects, and the precative mood. Others are the Perfect aspect and Applicative markers *-ire* or *-ere*, as well as their final vowel *-e*, used both in some past tenses and deontic modes--referred to as the *deontic vowel*, which is a default marking for deontic modes; and the particle *singa* 'if', as used in conditional and optative modes.

Secondly, some tenses and aspectual notions exhibit a conflation that really proved difficult at the onset to draw the separating line in determining which of them is being meant. Examples include between the hodiernal past and perfective aspect, and the delimited (also partitive) and completive aspects. Context thus plays a big role of disambiguation and need to be taken seriously to decipher speaker-intended meaning. This also applies to forms with multiple senses, or those whose senses may be dissimilar when combined and/or undergo any inter-clausal word order changes.

Third, we realize that in Lugwere, aspect stands as the basic grammatical category upon which the semantics of tense is built while mode almost stands independent of the other two. This affirms the maxim that languages tend not to conform exclusively to one morphological type, but tend to hold their place in a continuum.

Fourth, it has been interesting to learn about the number of tense, aspect, and modal auxiliaries so ordinary in use as natural speech markers and correct syntactic and grammatical constructions, yet with such concealed and subconscious semantic weight, whose functions are pivotal in accomplishing certain communication goals. Nonetheless, we also saw that some of this information is grammaticalized and therefore obligatory such that in any speech context, speakers assume calculation of meaning by their hearers. Other information is encoded by particles.

Lastly, we described discourse structures in terms of discourse information they contain. For example, we discovered that discourse parts do not play equivalent roles. Some are climactic while others are not, let alone the subconscious tense and aspect rationing in both the surface, and embedded structures of discourse.

At this point, I hope the study has given an elaborate account of Lugwere TAM systems and marks the first step in the right direction. Being aware from textual linguistics that mere explanatory statements of categories are inadequate, I suggest further investigations into the functions of tense, aspect, and mode in diagnostically shaping the structures of discourse genres, or to verify how Lugwere grammar influences discourse or vice versa. The door is open for anyone willing to contribute to this work by way of corrections, or building on it, and as such, may confirm, clarify, or contradict the findings herein, for I cannot claim that my treatment is exhaustive.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Morphophonemics

The morphophonemic changes observed in Lugwere are as follows.

A1. Word-internal changes at morpheme boundaries

a) Neutralization

There is evidence of neutralization between phonemes, such as between /β/ and /b/, which contrast in identical environment, as below.

/kwa:βá/ 'to go'

/kwa:bá/ 'to collect a necessity from a place of abundance'

However, the contrast is neutralized following a nasal, as in

/kuβóná/ 'to see' > /mbóna/ 'I see'

/kuβegá/ 'to spy' > /mbéga/ 'I spy'

Hence the rule: /β/ > /b/ /m__

Further, neutralization is demonstrated in the following word

/aβóna/	>	a- βona	/ambóna/	>	a- m- bona
		3S see			3S 1S.Obj see
		'he sees'			'he sees me'

b) Consonant strengthening

In Lugwere, the verb structure is such that there must be a subject prefix. The first person singular marker *n-* influences the amount of closure the adjacent segment will take on thereby changing the form of the resultant segment. For example,

/ku- limá/

Pfx dig 'to dig'

Comparing first and third person singular forms of the word below shows this:

/n- díma/

1S dig 'I dig'

/a- lima/

3S dig 'He digs'

Hence the rule: /l/ > d/ n__

c) Nasal assimilation

There is nasal assimilation whereby a nasal conforms to the place of articulation of the following consonant in all prenasalized consonants as in the examples below.

/^mpále/ 'trouser'

/^mbagá/ 'party'

/^mfúko/ 'mole'

/^mvi/ 'grey hair'

/ⁿsigó/ 'seed'

/ⁿdége/ 'aircraft'

/kumⁿcá/ 'humor'

/ⁿjagí/ 'egg plant'

^hkimá/ ‘monkey’

^hgo/ ‘Leopard’

The morphophonemic rule describing the above phenomena is as follows

/n/ > /m/ /__p,b/

/ɲ/ /__c,j/

/ŋ/ /__k,g/

Alternatively:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ [+Nas] \end{array} > [\infty \text{ POA}] / _ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} -\text{Son} \\ \infty \text{ POA} \end{array} \right) \end{array}$$

d) Resyllabification

This is a inter-syllable non-vowel-sequence structural process by which, one vowel either, becomes a consonant or there is infixing of a consonant to prohibit internal vowel sequences, in that

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} + \text{rd} \\ + \text{bk} \end{array} \right) \end{array} > \text{w/} _ \text{a}$$

Similary,

$$\emptyset > \text{y/\#a_a}$$

These phenomena are illustrated in the following singular-plural comparisons, whereby the ‘lexical’ rule applies in the singular case but not in the plural case.

mu– ana > /mwana/
NB1 child ‘child’

but not in

ba– ana > /baana/
Nc2 child ‘children’

And

a– aba > /ayaba/
3S go ‘He is going’

but not in

ba– aba > /baaba/
3S go ‘They are going’

e) Flapping

This is illustrated by the following rule and the word below

/l/ > /r/ /i,e__ thus /ile/ and /ele/ > /ire/ and /ere/ respectively

a– twa(l)– ire

3S take Hod/PERF

‘He has taken’ [involves metathesis: see B2 (b)]

Compare with the same word in the present tense as follows

a– twala

3S take ‘He takes/ he is taking.’

A2. Word-internal changes conditioned by syllable structure

These include deletion and metathesis and arise in a context of normal syllables in contact. They appear not to be entirely accounted for by the motivation to preserve or restore a

syllable or word pattern that is acceptable within the phonotactics of the language alone as Burquest (2001, 169,175) suggests. They are as follows:

a) Deletion

This occurs when the applicative marker /ir/ and the hodiernal past/perfect aspect marker /ir/ are affixed in the same verb-word,

a- lim- ire
3S dig PERF 'He has dug'

Compared with

a- mu- lim- i(Ø)- ire
3S 3S.IObj dig Appl Perf 'He has dug for him'

Here, the [r] of the Lugwere applicative morpheme /ir/, is deleted, being in contact with another /ir/ morpheme which is for the perfect tense, hence the rule

$r > \emptyset / _ ir$

b) Metathesis

The process of metathesis occurs in the Hodiernal/Perfect tense-aspect with some verbs often involving deletion as well. The process begins with the deletion of [r] from the Hodiernal/Perfect tense-aspect marker /i□/, then the [i] is moved forward into the root of the verb to form a glide with root vowel. In case the root has a long vowel, it is shortened. The consonant in the final syllable then receives the vowel of the perfect aspect /e/. This is observable in verbs whose final syllables have consonants [m], [n], [l], [t], and [ɲ] and gives us the following rules, which precede metathesis:

$r > \emptyset / m _$	$r > \emptyset / t _$
$r > \emptyset / n _$	$r > \emptyset / ɲ _$
$r > \emptyset / l _$	

For example, taking the verb /kugaana/ 'to refuse', we observe the following

a- gaana
3S refuse 'He refuses'

Adding the hodiernal past and perfect aspect marker DOES NOT give

a- gaan- ire > */agaanire/
3S refuse Perf

BUT

a- ga- ine
3S refuse Hod/Perf 'He has refused.'

In the above example, we deduced that metathesis works in the following ways: first, [n] movement (metathesis), as in

a- gaa(Ø)- inre

Then secondly, [r] deletion, as in

a- gaa- in(Ø)e

Then lastly followed by vowel shortening as in

A- ga(Ø)- ine > /againē/

Appendix B: The texts

B1. Narrative text: ONgo n’oCuli ‘Leopard and Hare’

- 1.1 Eira wa–bba–**ire**– wo o– Ngo nga aa–li n’– o– mu–kagwa–we
 Long ago Ext Cop **PERF** Loc Art Leopard Adv 3S Cop with Art Nc1 friend 3S.Poss
 ‘Long ago there was a Leopard who had a friend...’
 ogu–b(a)e–eta o– Culi.
 Rel 3P call Art Hare.
 ‘...whom they call Hare.’
- 1.2 Ba–à– li ba mu–kago iino era nga buli eki–ba–kol–a
 3P **RmPst** Cop of Nc1 friendship very even Conj every Rel 3P do Fv
 ‘They were so great friends such that in whatever they did...’
 ba–ki– kol–er– a aamo; nga buli o– Ngo eky–a–ly–a
 3P 3S.Obj do Appl Fv together Conj every Art Leopard Rel 3S eat Fv
 ‘...they always did it together and whatever Leopard ate...’
 a–bis–ir– a–**ku** o–Culi, n’– o– Culi yena a–tyo.
 3S keep Appl Fv **Del** Art Hare Conj- Art Hare 3S.Foc 3S likewise
 ‘...she would keep some of it for Hare; Hare too did likewise.’
- 1.3 O– Ngo n’– o– Culi ba–à– li n’– a– ba–ana buli moiza.
 Art Leopard Conj Art Hare 3P **RmPst** Cop with Art Nc2 child each one
 ‘Both Leopard and Hare each had children.’
- 1.4 Lumo ni ba–akana ba–**ti naani** a–sing– a–**ku** o–mw–inaye a–malabuki
 One day conj 3P argue 3P **Quot INT** 3S exceed Fv **Del** Art Nc1 other Art wisdom
 ‘One day they argued as to who is wiser than the other...’
 olwo o– Ngo n’– a–sal–a malabuki ga ku–twal–ir– a
 so Art Leopard conj 3P cut Fv wisdom of Inf take Appl Fv
 ‘...so Leopard sought for a way she could take for her sister’
 mu–ganda–we ba–ana ba Culi naye n’– a–kay–a e–ngeri.
 Nc1 brother 3SPoss Nc2 child of Hare but conj 3S fail Fv Art way
 ‘Hare’s children but he couldn’t find any.’
- 1.5 Lumo, o– Ngo n’– a–tees– a aa–**ti** o– Culi a–mw–erek–e–**ku**
 One day Art Leopard conj 3S propose Fv 3S **Quot** Art Hare 3S 3S.Obj escort **Dtv Ptv**
 ‘One day, Leopard proposed that Hare accompany her...’
 e wa mu–ganda–we o– ku–caala.
 to of Nc1 brother 3S.Poss Art Inf visit
 ‘...to her sister’s home for a visit.’
- 1.6 O– Culi yena ti– y–à– ga(an)–**ine** naye ba–ger–**ere** lu–naku
 Art Hare 3S.Foc Neg 3S **RmPst** refuse **PERF** instead 3P set **PERF** Nc11 day
 ‘Hare didn’t object instead they set the day...’
 na ki–seera kya ku–simbuk–ir– a–ku
 Conj Nc7 time of Inf set-off Appl Fv Loc
 ‘...and set-off time.’

- 1.7 O– lu– naku owe– lw– à– tuuk– ire ba– wu(un)– ine mu lu– gendo
 Art Nc11 day Rel Ag **RmPst** arrive **PERF** 3P be early **PERF** Loc Nc11 journey
 ‘When the (set) day came, they were so early for the journey...’
 ba– ter– e ba– tuuk– e kaisi b(a)– ezy– e o– kw– ir– ir– a– wo
 3P **Hab Dtv** 3P arrive **Dtv** then 3P manage **Dtv** Art Inf return Appl Fv **Comp**
 ‘...to be there on time so that they are able to return the same day.’
- 1.8 Ba– à– li ba– ka– tambula– ku katono kati o– ku– zwa e ika o– Culi
 3P **RmPst** Cop 3P **ImPst** walk **Del** small Dem Art Inf from Art home Art Hare
 ‘They had just walked a short distance from home...’
 n’– a– buuly– a o– Ngo aa– ti, “Ow– o– caal– ir– a o– mu– ganda– wo
 conj 3S ask Fv Art Leopard 3S **Quot** Rel 2S visit Appl Fv Art Nc1 brother 2S.Poss
 ‘...then Hare asks Leopard, “When visiting your sister...’
 t– o– mu– sib– ir– a– ku o– mu– gangi?”
 Neg 2S 3S.Obj tie Appl Fv **Ptv** Art Nc3 gift?
 ‘...don’t you at least take her a gift?’”
- 1.9 O– Ngo mudi n’– a– kob– a aa– ti, “Ki– n– kwati(r)– ire– ku!”
 Art Leopard Ext conj 3S say Fv 3S **Quot** 3S 1S catch **PERF Comp**
 ‘Leopard remarked in her heart, “It has turned out to my advantage.”’
- 1.10 Y– à– kob– ere o– Culi aa– ti, “Kaisi oo– li wa mu– kago musa
 3P **RmPst** say **PERF** Art Hare 3S **Quot** Then 2S Cop of Nc1 friend good
 ‘He then said to Hare, “Therefore you are such a good friend’
 o– ku– nj– ewukirya kinu.”
 Art Inf 1S remind Dem
 ‘...to remind me of this.’”
- 1.11 “Aale o– n– kuum– ir– e– ku aanu nj– ab– e n– det– e o– mu– gangi.”
 So 2S 2S wait Appl **Dtv Ptv** here 1S go **Dtv** 1S bring **Dtv** Art Nc3 gift
 “So then please wait for me here (so that) I go and bring the gift.”
- 1.12 O– Culi yena ti– y– à– ga(an)– ine.
 Art Hare 3S.Foc Neg 3S **RmPst** refuse **PERF**
 ‘Hare too did not object.’
- 1.13 O– Ngo y– à– kang– ang– á– yo e ika kaisi ay– ab– a ku– bowa
 Art Leopard 3S **RmPst** return **PROG** Fv Loc Loc home yet 3S go Fv Inf wrap
 ‘Leopard was returning home but to wrap...’
 ba– ana ba Culi nga a– teek– a mu ki– ibo nga a– sanikir– a– ku
 3P child of Hare Conj 3S put Fv Loc Nc7 basket Conj 3S cover Fv **Comp**
 ‘Hare’s children, put them in a basket, covers it...’
 kusa, nga y(a)– e– etiika, nga a– ir– a.
 well Conj 3S Refl load Conj 3S return Fv
 ‘...well, loads it onto her head, and returns.’
- 1.14 Era ba– tyo ni be– eyongera n’– o– lu– gendo lwa– bwe.
 Even 3P in that way conj 3P **Pers** with Art Nc11 journey Ag 3P.Poss
 ‘All the same they continued with their journey.’
- 1.15 Nga ba– kaali ba– li o– mu nzira, o– Ngo e– ngeri egi– y– à– ali
 As 3P **Pers** 3P Cop Art Loc road Art Leopard Art manner Rel 3S **RmPst** Cop
 ‘While they were still on the move, Leopard, the manner in which she was...’

- mu- nyw- i w'-e- miindi e- nyonta n'- e- mu- kwat- a
Nc1 drink Nom of Art pipe Art thirst Conj 3S 3S.Obj catch Fv
'...a pipe smoker, she begun feeling thirst to smoke.'
- 1.16 Owe- b- **eyongera**- yo, n'- a- lenger- a o- mwosi o- gu- duuny- a, aawo
Rel 3P **Pers** Loc Conj 3S see afar Fv Art smoke Art Ag rise up Fv then
'When they continued on, she saw smoke rising up at some distance so...'
n'- a- kob- a o- Culi aa- **ti** a- mu- tiikul- e o- mu- gangi ay- ab- e
Conj 3S tell Fv Art Hare 3S **Quot** 3S 3S.Obj unload **Dtv** Art Nc3 gift 3S go **Dtv**
'...and asked Hare that she unloads her of the gift so she may go...'
- a- nooni- e o- musyo, yena n'- a- mu- tiikul- a.
3S seek **Dtv** Art fire 3S.Foc Conj 3S 3S.Obj unload Fv
'...to search for the fire and she too did unload her.'
- 1.17 Nga ay- ab- a, o- Culi n'- a- seeg- a o- ku- sanukula- **ku** o- mu- gangi
As 3S go Fv Art Hare Conj 3S think Fv Art Inf open **Del** Art Nc3 gift
'While she went, Hare thought of opening the gift...'
a- bon- e **niki** e- ki- ri- mu olwa'kubba **kiboneka** gw- à- li mu- zito
3S see **Dtv INT** Art Nc7 Cop Ext because **Ded** Ag **RmPst** Cop Nc3 heavy
'...to see what its contents were for it looked so heavy.'
- 1.18 Ay- ab- a o- ku- bona nga mu- li- mu ba- ana- be. Yena aawo
3S go Fv Art Inf see while Loc Cop Ext Nc2 child 3S.Poss 3S.Foc there
'On opening the gift pack, she found it contained her very own children.'
n'- a- seeg- a mangu, n'- a- kaniamb- a o- kw- e- tiika e- ki- ibo,
Conj 3S think Fv quickly Conj 3S struggle Fv Art Inf Refl load Art Nc7 basket
'She got a swift idea, and with great effort loaded the gift pack onto her head'
n'- a- iruk- a n'- a- bis- a a- ba- ana- be
Conj 3S run Fv Conj 3S hide Fv Art 3P child 3S.Poss
'...and she ran and hid her children.'
- 1.19 Kaisi n'- ay- ab- a o- mwa Ngo, n'- a- kwat- a a- ba- ana
Then Conj 3S go Fv Art in of Leopard Conj 3S catch Fv Art Nc2 child
'Then she went into Leopard's house and caught the children...'
ba Ngo n'- a- ba- teek- a o- mu ki- ibo, n'- a- saanikir- a- **ku**
of Leopard Conj 3S 3P put Fv Art Loc Nc7 basket, Conj 3S cover Fv **Comp**
'...of Leopard, put them in the basket, covered it...'
kusa, ni y- e- tiik- a, n'- a- iruk- a n'- a- ir- a.
well, Conj 3S Refl load Fv Conj 3S run Fv Conj 3S return Fv
'...properly, carried it and returned.'
- 1.20 Y- à- agi(ry)- **irye** o- Ngo a- **kaali** o- kw- ira. Ya- à- li
3S **RmPst** find **PERF** Art Leopard 3S **Pers** Art Inf return 3S **RmPst** Cop
'She found when Leopard had not yet returned. No sooner had she...'
ya- **ka**- ira, o- Ngo yena n'- a- ir- a.
3S **ImPst** return Art Leopard 3S.Foc Conj 3S return Fv
'...just returned than Leopard also returned.'
- 1.21 Owe- y- à- ir- **ire**, o- Culi nga a- mu- tiik- a o- mu- gangi.
Rel 3S **RmPst** return **PERF** Art Hare Conj 3S 3S.Obj load Fv Art Nc3 gift
'When she returned, Hare loaded on him the gift.'

- 1.22 O– Ngo y– à– wul–ire– mu nga o– mu– gangi gu–zitow– ere iino,
 Art Leopard 3S **RmPst** feel **PERF** Ext Adv Art Nc3 gift Ag be weighty **PERF** very
 ‘Leopard felt like the gift had become much heavier (than it he had felt previously)...’
 aawo n’– a– kob– a o– Culi aa–ti, “Leero owe–tu–ta– bi– ly– e
 then Conj 3S tell FV Art Hare 3S **Quot** This time Rel 1P Neg 3P.Obj eat **Dtv**
 ‘...so she said to Hare, “This time, we are going to feast (at our host’s home)...’
 koizi ka– a– bba katabula!
 unless 3S **ImFut** Cop hard luck
 ‘...unless it will be hard luck.’
- 1.23 O– Culi yena n’– a– mw– iramu aati, “Tu– lya– nga by– e– tu– lya.”
 Art Hare 3S.Foc Conj 3S 3S.Obj reply that, 1P eat Hab 3P Refl 1P eat
 ‘Hare too answered her that, “We usually enjoy other (nice) things but not this time”.’
- 1.24 O– Ngo ti– y– à– tege(r)–ire– ku o– Culi eky– a– tegez– a.
 Art Leopard Neg 3S **RmPst** grasp **PERF** Del Art Hare Rel 3S mean Fv
 ‘Leopard didn’t understand what Hare means.’
- 1.25 Kaalikaali ni ba– tuuk– a.
 Sooner than so Conj 3P arrive Fv
 ‘Shortly after, they reached their destination.’
- 1.26 A– b’– e ika ba– ba– sangaali (r)–ire iino kimo era n’– o– mu– gangi
 Art of Loc home 3P 3P.Obj welcome **PERF** very real even Conj Art Nc3 gift
 ‘Those of Leopard’s sister’s home cheerfully received them and the gift pack’
 ni ba– gu– twal– a o– mw– ifumbiro.
 Conj 3P Ag take Fv Art Loc kitchen
 ‘...was taken into the kitchen.’
- 1.27 Olwo o– nanyere e ika nga a– saanukul– a o– mu– gangi a– suumb– ir– e
 So Art owner Loc home Conj 3S open Fv Art Nc3 gift 3S cook Appl **Dtv**
 ‘Then the host opened the gift so she may cook some of it for...’
 a– ba– geni nga a– bon– a bi– ntu e– bi– faanana ooti ba– ana ba Ngo.
 Art Nc2 guest Conj 3S see Fv Nc8 thing Rel Nc8 similar like Nc2 child of Leopard
 ‘...the visitors, only to see the contents resembled a Leopard’s young ones.’
- 1.28 Aawo nga a– iz– a o– mu nyumba y’– a– ba– geni nga a– buuly– a ooba
 There Conj 3S come Fv Art Loc house of Art Nc2 visitor Conj 3S ask Fv whether
 ‘Then she came to the visitor’s house and asked whether...’
 o– mu– gangi ba– gu– sumb– ea.
 Art Nc3 gift 3P.Psv Ag cook **Dtv**
 ‘...the gift was for cooking/to be cooked.’
- 1.29 O– Ngo o– mu– geni y– à– mw– ir– ire– mu mangu aa–ti, “O–sumb–e!”
 Art Leopard Art Nc1 guest 3S **RmPst** 3S.Obj reply **PERF** Loc hastily 3S **Quot** 2S cook **Dtv**
 ‘The guest-Leopard quickly answered her, “Cook!”’
- 1.30 Y– à– kob– ang– á aa–tyo kaisi t– a– ma– ite e– ki– bba– ire– wo
 3S **RmPst** say **PROG** Fv 3S that yet Neg 3S know **PERF** Rel 3S Cop **PERF** Loc
 ‘He was so because he wasn’t yet aware of what had happened.’
- 1.31 Owe– b– à– ibul– i(r)– ire, o– Ngo nga aa– li mairu mairu.
 Rel 3P **RmPst** serve Appl **PERF** Art Leopard Conj 3S Cop greedy greedy
 ‘By the time food was served, Leopard was exceedingly impatient for the meal.’

- 1.32 Neso ka-à- li kameka?
In any case 3S **RmPst** Cop how long?
'In any case, it wasn't very long.'
- 1.33 Kaalikaali n'- a- guzul- a o- mu- noki o- ku- lumirirya o- Culi.
In no time Conj 3S bite Fv Art Nc3 hunk of meat Art Inf offend Art Hare
'Rather soon, she (greedily) bit a huge chunk of meat so as to offend Hare.'
- 1.34 O- Culi yena y- e- ef- ang- à- ku ku- mu- koba aa- ti,
Art Hare 3S.Foc 3S **RmPst** strive **PROG** Fv **Del** Inf 3S.Obj tell 3S **Quot**,
'Hare too kept emphasizing to her that...'
"O- lum- e kusa demba n'- o- bba nga o- lum- a igumba- lyo."
2S bite **Dtv** well **Imptv** Conj 2S Cop Adv 2S bite Fv bone 2S.Poss
'Bite carefully for you might (actually) be biting of your very own'
- 1.35 Kinu nate n'- a- ki- iramu e- mi- rundi e- gyera kaisi aawo o- Ngo
Dem again Conj 3S 3S repeat Art Nc4 times Art several then there Art Leopard
'She repeated this several times thus Leopard'
n'- a- tandiika o- kw- ewunya lwaki o- Culi a- deeberer- a kinu.
Conj 3S **Inch** Art Inf wonder why Art Hare 3S over repeat Fv Dem
'...and she started wondering why Hare was over-emphasizing this.'
- 1.36 Eky- à- mu- kwa- ite ti- kya- mu- teer- e(r)- ire, n'- a- wuluk- a
Rel **RmPst** 3S.Obj catch **PERF** Neg Ag 3S.Obj loose Appl **PERF** Conj 3S go out Fv
'The haunt didn't leave her, so she moved out and went...'
n'- ay- ab- a o- ku- buulya niki dala eki- ba- suumb- ire.
Conj 3S go Fv Art Inf ask **INT** exactly Rel 3P cook **PERF**
'...to ask what exactly had been cooked.'
- 1.37 O- nyere e ika n'- a- tandiika o- ku- mu- nyonyola e- bi- bba- ire- mu.
Art owner Loc home Conj 3S **Inch** Art Inf 3S.Obj explain Art Nc8 Cop **PERF** Loc
'The host then began to describe the gift pack contents.'
- 1.38 O- Culi owe- y- à- wuli- ire eki- ba- à- li ba- tumul- a- ku,
Art Hare Rel 3S **RmPst** hear **PERF** Rel 3P **RmPst** Cop 3P talk Fv **Del**
'Hare, when she heard what they were talking about...'
owe- y- à- wuluk- ire o- mu nyumba y'- a ba- geni
Rel 3S **RmPst** go out **PERF** Art Loc house of Art Nc2 visitor
'...when she moved out of the visitor's house...'
ti- y- à- bonek- ere- ku nate, nabuti.
Neg 3S **RmPst** appear **PERF Del** again till now
'...she was not seen again until now.'
- 1.39 O- Ngo y- à- kang- a- nga- yo e wuwe a- kuung- a, era
Art Leopard 3S **RmPst** return Fv **PROG** Loc Loc 3S.Poss 3S cry Fv even
'Leopard thus returned to her home crying; even...'
n'- o- mu- kago gw- abwe ni gu- f- a gu- tyo.
Conj Art Nc3 friendship Ag 3P.Poss Conj 3S die Fv Ag likewise
'...their friendship so ended that way.'

1.40 Nabuti o- Ngo a-**kaali** a- nooni- a o- Culi n'- a- ba- ana- be a- sasul-e
 Till now Art Leopard 3S **Pers** 3S seek Fv Art Hare Conj Art Nc2 child 3Poss 3S pay **Dtv**
 'To this day, Leopard still searches for Hare and her children to take revenge.'

1.41 O- lu- gero lw- ange lu- kom- **ere** aawo.
 Art Nc11 story Ag 1S.Poss 3S end **PERF** there.
 'There ends my story.'

Long ago, a Leopard had a friend called Hare. They were great friends and always did everything together. At some occasion, they had an argument as to who is wiser after which Leopard sought to trick Hare by taking her children for her sister at some point but in vain. One day, Leopard proposed that Hare accompanies him to her sister's home for a visit. Hare did not object, instead they just set the day and set-off time. When the (set) day came, they were so early for the journey to be there on time so that they are able to return the same day. After they had just walked a short distance from home, Hare asked Leopard, "When visiting your sister don't you at least take him a gift?" Leopard then remarked in his heart, "It has turned out to my advantage" so he said to Hare, "You are such a good friend to remind me of this. Please wait for me here and I go to fetch the gift." Hare did not refuse. Unknown to Hare, Leopard returned home but to wrap Hare's children, put them in a basket, covered it well, loaded it, and returned. So they continued with the journey. While still on the move, Leopard, a pipe smoker, felt thirst to smoke. As they continued on, she saw whirling smoke at a distance. So, she asked Hare to unload her of the gift to go and collect fire. Hare did unload her. As she went, Hare thought checking out what the contents of the gift pack were, for it looked so heavy. On opening, she sees her own children! So she thinks swiftly, and with great effort loads the basket, runs and hides her children. Then she goes to Leopard's house, packs Leopard's children into the basket, covers it well, and carries it back only to find Leopard not yet back. No sooner had she returned than Leopard did. So Hare loaded Leopard the gift she but felt it much heavier than previously. Then she said to Hare, "Today is feast day unless it is just hard luck". Hare answered, "We have always been feasting but not this time". Leopard did not understand what Hare meant. Shortly after, they reach their destination. The hosts cheerfully received them and the gift was carried to the kitchen. When the host opened of the gift so she cooks some of it for the visitors, she saw stuff like a Leopard's young. So she came and asked if she should go ahead and cook of the gift. Leopard quickly replied, "Please Cook!" but she was not aware of what had transpired. By mealtime, Leopard was exceedingly impatient. In no time, she greedily bit a huge chunk of meat to offend Hare. But Hare kept on teasing her, "Bite carefully lest you bite your very own bone". She said this repeatedly until Leopard wondered why she was saying that. Full of haunt she moved out to ask what exactly had been cooked. The host described the contents. When Hare overheard their discussion, she sneaked out of the visitor's house and was nowhere again. Leopard returned home crying; and the friendship ended that way. Until now, Leopard still seeks Hare and her children to revenge. That is the end of the story.

B2. Expository text: Okusuna oMbago ‘Betrothing among the Gwere people’

2.1 E- ira, a- ba- kulu owe- ba- à- f- **ang-á**, ba- à- by- **ang- á**
 Art ages ago Art Nc2 bigwig Rel 3P **RmPst** die **Hab** Fv 3P **RmPst** memorialize **Hab** Fv
 ‘Long ago, whenever an important person died, there used to be commemorating’

o- lumbe o- ku- mal- a- **ku** e- myeri ooti mi- satu.
 Art funeral rites Art Inf finish Fv **Comp** Art months about Nc4 three
 ‘...funeral rites lasting over three months.’

2.2 Buli ki- ire, wa- a- bb- **ang- á**- wo e- by- amasanyu, era
 Every Nc7 night Ext **RmPst** Cop **Hab** Fv Loc Art Nc8 festivities even
 ‘In each night, there used to be festivities and even...’

a- b’- o- ku- ki- tundu b’- ekumbani- **ang- á** o- ku- zwa o- kumpi
 Art 3P Art Loc Nc7 village 3P gather **Hab** Fv Art Inf come from Art near
 ‘...the people of the village used to gather coming from both near...’

n’- e- yala o- kw- iza o- ku lumbe ba- gon- e- wo ku- zweru kimo kanaigulo
 Conj Art far Art Inf come Art Loc funeral 3P sleep **Dtv** Loc Inf start exact at dusk
 ‘...and far places to come and so they sleep at the funeral place right from dusk.’

2.3 A- wa- nyere aawo a- ba- ala a- b’- o- ku kyaalo o- kwo niiwo
 Art Loc actual there Art Nc2 girl Art of Art Loc village Art Loc Foc
 ‘At those functions, that is the very place teen girls of the village...’

a- we - be- kumbaniry- **ang- á** o- ku- suna e- mbago gy- abwe.
 Rel Loc 3P gather **Hab** Fv Art Inf get Art partners Ag 3P.Poss
 ‘...used to gather (so as) to obtain marriage partners.’

2.4 A- ba- kaire iibo ba- **ter- ang- á** kw- e- tyam- ir- a mu ma- nyumba
 Art Nc2 elder them 3P **Hab Hab** Fv Inf Refl sit Appl Fv Loc Nc6 house
 ‘The elders quite often took seat in the houses...’

kw- e - nyw- er- a n’- a- ba- vubuka ba- li e nza o- mu ma- bina.
 Inf Refl drink Appl Fv Conj Art 3P youth 3P Cop Loc outside Art Loc Nc6 dance
 ‘...drinking (alcohol) while the teens are busy outside dancing (to tunes).’

2.5 Owe- b- à- demb- **ang- á** o- ku- bina, a- ba- ala nga ba- sal- a e- n- dagala
 Rel 3P **RmPst** tire **Hab** Fv Art Inf dance Art Nc2 girl Conj 3P cut Fv Art Nc10 leaf
 ‘Whenever they got too tired to dance, the girls could chop banana leaves...’

ni ba- gy- ala o- ku lu- uga kwonakwona kaisi ni ba- gon- a- ku
 Conj 3P Ag lay Art on Nc11 courtyard all over then Conj 3P sleep Fv Loc
 ‘...and they spread them all over the courtyard and then they sleep on them...’

n’- a- ba- isuka, buli moiza ogw- a- lond- **ere** paka o- ku- ceisya.
 with Art Nc2 boy each one Rel 3S choose **PERF** till Art Inf dawn
 ‘...with the boys each one with whom she has chosen till dawn.’

2.6 A- ba- ala era ba- let- **ang- á** e- mi- gaire gy’- o- ku- biika o- mw- isuka
 Art 3P girl even 3P bring **Hab** Fv Art Nc4 linen of Art Inf cover Art Nc1 boy
 ‘Girls also often brought linen for covering the boy (from the over night cold)...’

ogw- a- sun- **ire** o- ku- gona na- iye.
 Rel 3S find **PERF** Art Inf sleep with 3S.Poss
 ‘...whom she will have gotten to sleep with.’

- 2.7 Aabo a- ba- bb- **ang- á** n’- e- mi- gaire e- gi- ta- bita- mu e- mpewo
 Those Rel 3P Cop **Hab** Fv with Art Nc4 linen Rel Ag Neg pass in Art air
 ‘Those (girls) who had thicker linen which were cold-proof...’

niibo a- ba- à- li ba- **tera** o- ku- suna a- b’- o- ku- gona na- ibo.
 Foc Art 3P **RmPst** Cop 3P **Hab** Art Inf get Rel 3P Art Inf sleep with them
 ‘...are the ones who often attracted the (best boys) to sleep with then over night.’

- 2.8 O- mu kuca, buli moiza y- à- kang- **ang- á**-yo e wa- abwe; paka ku- wa- **ku**
 Art in dawn each one 3S **RmPst** return **Hab** Fv Loc Loc of 3P.Poss till Inf end **Comp**
 ‘At dawn, each one would then return home, (and they did this) until the last day’

- 2.9 A- ba- ala a- ba- mal- **ang- á**- **ku** o- lu- mbe nga ti- ba- sun- **ire**
 Art 3P girl Rel 3P finish **Hab** Fv **Comp** Art Nc11 rites Conj Neg 3P get **PERF**
 ‘The girls who would get to the end without conceiving’

e- bi- da niibo a- ba- fumbirw- **ang- á** kuba ba- bb- **ang- á** niibo
 Art Nc8 womb Foc Rel 3P be married **Hab** Fv since 3P Cop **Hab** Fv Foc
 ‘...were the ones eligible for (honorable) marriage for they were...’

a- ba- teereri, era nga ba- tuky- a a- ba- byaire ba- abwe o- ku- lya
 Art 3P upright even Conj 3P reach Fv Art 3P parents Nc2 3P.Poss Art Inf eat
 ‘...morally upright, and would qualify their parents to take (a special)...’

e- ki- gwaizuli kuba owe- b- a- fumbirirw- **ang- á**, a- ba- saiza ba- ba- gily- **ang- á**.
 Art Nc7 goat-gift since Rel 3P **RmPst** be married **Hab** Fv Art Nc2 man 3P 3P meet **Hab** Fv
 ‘...goat-gift for when they got married, husbands would find them still virgins.’

- 2.10 Aabo a- ba- sun- **ang- á** e- bi- da ba- b’- et- **ang- á** ba- Naluunje
 Those Rel 3P get **Hab** Fv Art Nc8 wombs 3P 3P.Obj call **Hab** Fv 3P Easy-goers
 ‘Those who conceived were considered easy-goers even outcasts...’

era nga te- ba- li- ir- a e- mere awamo n’- a- ba- inaabwe.
 even Conj Neg 3P eat Appl Fv Art food together with Art 3P colleagues
 ‘...and could not even eat (in same dish) of the same food with their colleagues.’

Long ago, whenever an important person died, there used to be commemoration of funeral rites lasting over three months. In each night, there used to be festivities and the people of the village used to gather coming from both near and far places to come and so they sleep at the funeral place right from dusk.

At those functions, that is the very place teen-girls of the village used to gather (so as) to obtain marriage partners. The elders quite often took seat in the houses drinking (alcohol) while the teens are busy outside dancing (to tunes).

Whenever they got too tired to dance, the girls could chop banana leaves, spread them all over the courtyard, and then sleep on them with the boys, each one with the one she has chosen, until dawn. Girls also often brought linen for covering the boy (from the over night cold) whom she will have gotten to sleep with. Those (girls) who had thicker cold proof linen are the ones who often attracted the (best boys) to sleep with then over night. At dawn, each one would then go home, until the last day.

The girls who would get to the end without conceiving were the ones eligible for (honorable) marriage for they were (considered) morally upright, and would qualify their parents to take (a special goat-gift, for when they got married, husbands would find them still virgins. Those who conceived were considered easy-goers even outcasts and could not even eat (in same dish) of the same food with their colleagues.

B3. Hortatory text

3.1 Eri o- mu- nange o- Keefa,
Toward Art Nc1 comrade Art PN
'To my comrade Cephas.'

3.2 M-ma- **ite** nti o- kuti oo-li mu-yungubali olw'- e- bi- gosi
1S know **PERF** that Art lately 2S Cop Nc1 sad because of Art Nc8 trouble
'I infer that of late you are so saddened by the difficulties'
e- by- o- sanga(n)- **ine**.
Rel Nc8 2S meet with **PERF**
'...which you are met with.'

3.3 Naye n- **taka** ku- kw- ewukirya n- ti mu byonabyona, o- Kibbumba
But 1S want Inf 2Obj remind 1S that Loc everything Art God
'But I intend to remind you that in all circumstances, God is still faithful'
a- **kaali** mw- esigwa, era t- a- kw- erabi(r)- **ire**.
3S **Pers** 3S faithful even Neg 3S 2S.Obj forget **PERF**
'...and He has not disregarded you.'

3.4 Iiye niiye o- nanyere o- bwezye era a- tu - faa- ku
3SPron Rel.Pron Art owner Art ability even 3S 1P.Obj care Loc
'He alone has the authority and He cares about us'
o- ku- kira- **ku** o- we- tw- e- lowoz- er - a.
Art Inf outdo **Del** Art how 3P.Obj Refl think Appl Fv
'...even more than we imagine.'

3.5 O- **yinza** o- ku- bba nga o- lowooza oo- ti **amo** a- kw- erabi(r)- **ire**
2S **Sjv** Art Inf Cop Adv 2S think 2S that **Sjv** 3S 2S.Obj forget **PERF**
'You may be imagining that perhaps He has forgotten you'
naye n- ku- kakasa n- ti ti- niikyo.
but 1S 2S.Obj assure 1S that Neg 3S.Rel.Pron
'...but I assure you that that is not the case.'

3.6 Oy- ebukiry- **e** a- ba- naiswe a- be- tu- soma- **ku** o- mu Baibuli
2S recall **Dtv** Art Nc2 comrades Rel 3P 1P.Obj read **Del** Art Loc Bible
'Call to mind our comrades whom we read about in the Bible...'
nga o- zeiza waiswe o- Ibulaimu, aaba o- Zakaliya ow'- o- mu Luuka.
as Art grandpa 1P.Poss Art Abraham albeit Art Zachariah 3.Poss Art Loc Luke
'...like our grandfather Abraham, or else, Zachariah in (the gospel of) Luke.'

3.7 A- ba- saiza banu bona ba- bit- **ire- ku** o- mu m- beera e- gi- tyo
Art Nc2 man 3P.Dem 3P.Foc 3P pass **PERF Del** Art Loc Nc9 state Art Ag likewise
'These men too ever went through such situations as these...'

e- gi- te- ebereka era nga ba- wa- **ire- mu** n'- e - isuubi naye
 Rel Ag Neg certain even Conj 3P sap **PERF Comp** even Art hope but
 '...so uncertain that they almost lost hope but...'

O- Kibbumba n'- a- be- ewukirya o- mu m- beera gya- bwe.
 Art God Conj 3S 3P.Obj remember Art Loc Nc9 state Ag 3P.Poss
 '...God remembered them in their very circumstances.'

3.8 Nankabaire nga gya- **à-** li gi- bitiri(r)- **ire** o- mu buntu, o-Kibbumba
 Even though Adv 3P **RmPst** Cop 3P surpass **PERF** Art Loc humanily Art God
 'Though they seemed like they were beyond human comprehension, God...'

o- nyere y- **à-** gy- ez(y)- **erye**.
 Art owner 3S **RmPst** 3P.Obj manage **PERF**
 '...himself (intervened and) dealt with them to their good.'

3.9 **Ka-** tw- **eyonger-** e o- ku-mu- saba n' o- ku-mw- esiga olwa'kubba
JUS 1P Pers Dtv Art Inf 3S.Obj pray Conj Art Inf 3S.Obj trust because
 'Let us then persistently continue to pray and to trust Him for...'

n- **kakasa** n- ti y- **ali-** tu- wangul- ir- a.
 IS be sure 1S that 3S **RmFut** 3S prevail Appl Fv
 'I am certain that He will overcome on our behalf.'

To my comrade Cephas,
 I infer that of late you are so saddened by the difficulties that you are met with. I, however, intend to remind you that in all circumstances, God is still faithful and He has not disregarded you. He alone has the authority and He cares about us even more than we imagine. You may be imagining that perhaps He has forgotten you but I assure you that that is not the case. Call to mind the comrades we read about in the Bible such as our grandfather Abraham, or else, Zachariah in (the gospel of) Luke. These men too ever went through such situations as these, so uncertain that they almost lost hope, but God remembered them in their very circumstances. Though they seemed to be beyond human comprehension, God himself (intervened and) dealt with them to their good. Let us then, persistently pray and trust Him, for I am certain that He will come through for us.

B4. Procedural text: Okuluka eIbuye 'How to construct a local village hut'

4.1 O- ku- luka e- ibuye, o- sook- **e** o- ger- **e** o- bu- galami
 Art Inf construct Art hut 2S launch **Dtv** 2S measure **Dtv** Art Nc14 length
 'To construct a hut, begin with measuring the length...'

ow'- o- tak- a ng'- o- pim- isy- a e- bi- gere o- kw- etoolola.
 Rel 2S want Fv Adv 2S measure Caus Fv Art Nc8 foot Art Inf go round
 '...that you desire using the feet going round.'

4.2 Ng'- o- mal- **ire**, o- kuul- a e- bi- ina nga o- kuul- isy- a o- mwizo
 When 2S finish **PERF** 2S dig Fv Art Nc8 hole while 2S dig Caus Fv Art dagger
 'When done, dig holes using a dagger.'

4.3 Kaisi n'- oy- ab- a o- mu ki- tera n'- o- tem- a e- bi- saale
 Then Conj 2S go Fv Art Loc Nc7 woodland Conj 2S cut Fv Art Nc8 pole
 'Then go to the woodland and cut poles...'

e- bi- kakati n'- o- bi- teek- a o- mu bi- ina eby- o- kw- **ire** kaisi
 Art Nc8 mature Conj 2S 3P put Fv Art Loc Nc8 hole Rel 2S dig **PERF** then
 '...those mature enough (and) put them in the holes that you dug then...'

n'- o- bi- sinyir- a- mu kusa- kusani.
 Conj 2S 3S fix firm Fv Loc well Redup
 '...and fix them very firmly.'

- 4.4 Ow- o- mal- a, nate o- kang- e- yo o- mu bi- saka o- sonzol- e
 Rel 2S finish Fv again 2S return **Dtv** Loc Art Loc Nc8 shrub 2S trim **Dtv**
 'When you are through with that, go again to the woodland and trim sticks...'

e- nsaale gya kapanga egi- mala, o- gi- leet- e o- sib- isy- e
 Art sticks of brushwood Rel finish 2S 3S bring **Dtv** Art tie Caus **Dtv**
 '...of brushwood species that are enough and bring them for making...'

e- ki- tempe paka obw- o- mal- a- **ku** .
 Art Nc7 wall until Rel 2S finish Fv **Comp**
 'the wall until it is complete.'

- 4.5 Ng'- o- mal- **ire**, o- kaang- a- yo o- mu ki- tera n'- o- tem- a e- bi- saale
 Adv 2S finish **PERF** 2S return Fv Loc Art Loc Nc7 woods Conj 2S cut Fv Art Nc8 pole
 'When done, you get back to the woodland and cut other poles...'

e- bi- ndi e- bi- teremperi e- by'- o- ku- sood- er- a e- ki- sooto.
 Art Nc8 other Art Nc8 straight Art of Art Inf weave Appl Fv Art Nc7 roof
 '...that are sufficiently straight to use for weaving the roof.'

Ba- **tera** ku- sood- esy- a mi- sambya ooba mi- lera.
 3P **Hab** Inf weave Caus Fv Nc4 PN or Nc4 PN
 'It is usually the *Misambya* and *Milera* species that are used.'

- 4.6 Eebyo nga o- bi- let- **ere**, o- sal- a e- bi- gogo ooba e- bi- loodo
 Dem Adv 2S Nc8 bring **PERF** 2S cut Fv Art Nc8 fiber or Art Nc8 strands
 'After you have brought them, cut (banana) fiber or strands...'

by'- e- mi- gaire n'- o- kaamb- a e- mpotolwa n'- o- kaad- isy- a e- ki- sooto.
 of Art Nc4 PN Conj 2S fasten Fv Art straps Conj 2sg truss Caus Fv Art Nc7 roof
 '...of bark-tree species, do up into straps and use it to weave the roof.'

- 4.7 Ow- o- mala, o- kob- a a- ba- inawo ba- ku- ging- isy- e- **ku**
 Rel 2S finish 2S tell Fv Art 3P comrade 3P 2S.Obj carry Caus **Dtv Ptv**
 'After that, ask your colleagues so they help you carry up...'

e- ki- sooto mu- ki- teek- e o- ku ki- tempe eky- o- sib- **ire**.
 Art Nc7 roof 2P 3S.Obj put **Dtv** Art Loc Nc7 wall Rel 2S tie **PERF**
 '...the roof so you put it onto the wall structure you fixed (earlier on).'

- 4.8 Aawo n'- o- sib- a e- ki- zizi kaisi n'- o- kuum- a o- n- kendi
 There Conj 2S tie Fv Art Nc7 rim then Conj 2S wait Fv Art Nc9 rain
 'Then fix the roof perimeter/edge then you wait for the rain...'

olu- y- a- toony- er- a n'- o- iy- a e- ibbeembe,
 Rel 3S **ImFut** trickle Appl Fv Conj 2S uproot Fv Art thatch grass
 '...whenever it will rain then you uproot thatch grass...'

n'– o– serek– er– a e– ki– sooto.
 Conj 2S thatch Appl Fv Art Nc7 roof
 '...and you cover the roof.'

- 4.9 Ow– o– mal– a, oo– **li** n'– o– ku– kol– esery– a– mu o– lwiggi kaisi
 Rel 2S finish Fv 2S Cop with 2S Inf do Caus Fv Loc [**Obl**] Art door then
 'When finished, you have to have the door for the hut made, then...'

o– teemp–e, kaisi o– kubbb– **e** a nsi kusa olwo kasi n'– o– sun– a
 2S mud Dtv then 2S beat **Dtv** Loc down well so then Conj 2S get Fv
 '...mud the wall, beat to harden the floor too, after which you find some...'

e– bi– sisye, n'– o– puuy– isy– a mwonamwona.
 Art Nc7 cow dung Conj 2S daub Caus Fv all through
 '...cow dung and use it to plaster both the walls and the floor.'

- 4.10 Owe– bba nga e– yingir– **ikik**– a, iiwe nga w–e– yingir– ir– a ibuye– lyo.
 Rel Cop Adv 3S enter **Alc** Fv 2S.Foc Conj 2S Refl enter Appl Fv hut 2S.Poss
 'If you feel it is worth living in, you are then ready to move into your hut.'

To construct a traditional hut, start with measuring the desired coverage (of the house) using the feet going round. When done, dig holes using a dagger. Then go to the woodland and cut poles that are mature enough and put them in the holes that you dug, and then fix them very firmly. When you are through with that, go again to the woodland and trim sticks of brushwood species that are enough and bring them for making the wall until it is complete. When done, you get back to the woodland and cut other poles that are sufficiently straight to use for weaving the roof. It is *Misambya* and *Milera* species usually used. After you have brought them, cut (banana) fiber or strands of bark tree species, do them up into straps, and use them to weave the roof. After that, ask your colleagues so they help you carry up the roof so you put it onto the wall structure you fixed (earlier on). Then fix the roof perimeter/edge then you wait for the rain whenever it will rain then you uproot thatch grass and you cover the roof. When finished, you have to have the door for the hut made, then mud the wall, beat to harden the floor too, after which you find some cow dung and use it to plaster both the walls and the floor. If you feel it is worth living in, you are then ready to move into your hut.