A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF THREE PAST TAM FORMS IN VWANJI

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This paper presents data from Vwanji, an under-documented Bantu language spoken by approximately 28,000 people in southwestern Tanzania. Bantu languages are well known for having multiple degrees of past time reference grammaticalized in their TAM systems, and Vwanji is a good example of such a language, but one with some interesting typological differences from certain general TAM trends in Bantu languages noted in Nurse (2008). Three past TAM forms, in particular, are the focus of the research: P/Anterior sm-vb-ile, P2 sm-a-vb-a, and the Near Past Habitual sm-a-vb-agya. The analysis of data from a corpus of narrative and non-narrative texts (both written and oral) reveals that these three TAM forms have multiple discourse functions which do not necessarily follow in expected ways from their places in the TAM system as a whole. Comparing the Vwanji findings with those of neighbouring languages suggests some possible directions in which the verb forms in Vwanji may be changing functionally or being lost. The goal of this investigation is to increase understanding of a typologically interesting language which has not been well described and for which there is very little published data. The paper also shows the importance of taking natural discourse data into account when considering TAM functions in a language. Relying on elicited data alone may hide interesting complexities and variation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The diachronic shift from anterior to past is well attested cross-linguistically (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 81).1 The anterior signals a past action with present relevance; it shifts to the past by losing its present relevance requirement.2 Bybee et al. (1994: 86–87) theorize that this change comes about through language use. A speaker uses an anterior in order to present the situation referenced in his/her utterance as relevant to the current situation, even though it may not be. Framing utterances as relevant in this way “more often than would be strictly necessary for the communication of the propositional content” (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 86–87) weakens...

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2 Following Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) and in keeping with other TAM descriptions of Bantu languages, the term “anterior” is used throughout this paper for the aspect category referred to as “perfect” in other traditions.
the present relevance requirement, leading to its eventual loss and the establishment of the former anterior as a past.

Bantu languages can provide a rich source of data for the shift from anterior to past, as they typically encode multiple degrees of past reference, most commonly two or three (Nurse 2008: 89). Vwanji (ˈβʷaːᶮɟi/; G66, ISO 639-3: wbi) is a Bantu language spoken by approximately 28,000 people (Krüger 2003: 2) in the Kipengere Mountains in Makete District, Njombe Region, southwestern Tanzania. It is a typologically interesting language in relation to past tense categories for two reasons. Firstly, it recognises four degrees of past, a pattern which is attested in only 10 percent of the sample of 100 Bantu languages used by Nurse in his comparative study. Secondly, the time ranges for the nearer past forms do not match up with the common pattern for Bantu languages with four past tenses, whereby \( P_1 \) covers the immediate past and \( P_2 \) is a hodiernal past (Nurse 2008: 91). Instead, in Vwanji, as will be explored in Section 2, \( P_1 \) covers both immediate and hodiernal time reference, and also functions as an anterior, which is not a system described by Nurse. Vwanji also stands out in another typological way in contrast to its immediate neighbours as it is not a tone language, but rather has a system of predictable stress placement based on mora count.

In this paper I focus on three past tense verb forms in Vwanji: \( P_1 \) and \( P_2 \), which are both perfectives, and a form which is the habitual equivalent of these verb forms. Firstly, I describe these verb forms in the context of the Vwanji TAM system as a whole, using some elicited data to explain the categories which have been assigned to the verb forms in question. I then turn to the findings from a corpus of text data, which shed further light on how the three verb forms behave in natural discourse contexts. Finally, I summarize the patterns observed in the Vwanji data and briefly compare them with those of neighbouring Bantu languages which have structurally similar forms, noting some points of similarity and difference. None of these languages has the same system as Vwanji, but there are some phenomena which can be seen as a later stage of the current situation in Vwanji.

The main goal of the research presented here is to supplement our understanding of the Vwanji TAM system by paying close attention to what can be observed in natural discourse data. In addition, the findings contribute further examples of how a Bantu language may organize its TAM system in relation to levels of past, and, more broadly, how the categories of anterior and past may be related in languages. It is suggested that the Anterior verb form in Vwanji has developed into a past tense covering both immediate and hodiernal past reference, and the \( P_2 \) and Near Past Habitual verb forms have developed the additional function of narrating a story in an informal style.

### 2. VWANJI PAST TENSES: SYSTEM AND SEMANTICS

Before looking in more detail at the three verb forms which are the focus of this paper (\( P_1 \)/Anterior, \( P_2 \), and the Near Past Habitual), it is helpful to see the place of these verb forms in the Vwanji past time reference system as a whole, as shown in Table 1.³

³ See Eaton (2019) for further detail on the Vwanji past tenses described here and how the perfectivity/imperfectivity distinction and other aspectual categories are manifested in present and future tenses.
Of the five forms categorized as Perfectives, the Narrative is exceptional in that it overlaps in time reference with two of the other four, namely P4 and P3. That is, the Narrative narrates events which occur in a time range which can also be expressed by P4 or P3. Typically the Narrative carries the main event line of a story and as such often follows a scene-setting introduction in which either P4 or P3 predominates, as in (1), where ‘(he) married’ (P4) is followed in the next clause by ‘he told’ (Narrative):4

(1) ʊ-mʊ-ˈɣoːsi		 ɟʊˈ-moːᵑɡa
   a-lʲaˈ-tol-ile
AUP-1-man NCP1-one SM1-PST4-marry-PFV AUP-1-wife

   a-ka-mˈboː:l-a ‘o-ŋ-dala ˈyːaːke ˈkuːti
SM1-NAR-O1.tell-FV AUP-1-wife AC1.3SG.POSS 15.say

‘A certain man married a wife. He told his wife that […].’

Although this pattern is typical, it is not necessary for the first occurrence of the Narrative to be preceded by an establishing tense. As the Narrative is thus not dependent on another tense, following Longacre (1990: 109), it is analysed as a Narrative rather than as a Consecutive.

There are two further possible options for narrating perfective events in Vwanji. If the narrative is set in what is considered the recent past (especially in contrast with a different narrative line that is set further back in the past), it is appropriate to use P2 to narrate the sequences of events. If the events took place on the day of the time of reference, P1 is used, as illustrated in example (2) below.

With the exception of P1, the past form with the nearest past tense reference, the four degrees of past time reference in Vwanji are best described as flexible rather than rigid. P2 is most commonly described as being used for expressing a situation which occurred earlier than the day of the time of reference, up to around a month ago. P3 expresses situations which occur further back, but not as far back as what would be considered remote past and therefore expressed

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4 /ka-/ is glossed according to its function as PST3 in the P3 verb form and as NAR elsewhere.
5 In the transcription of the sentence examples, stress is marked in words of more than one syllable. Vowel length (which typically only occurs in the penultimate syllable) is indicated by IPA length mark (ː). Vwanji has seven phonemic vowel qualities (i ɪ e a o ʊ u). The language also has prenasalized consonants (ᵐb ⁿd ɲ ɟɡ), syllabic nasals (m ̩n ̩ɲ ̩ŋ), and aspirated nasals (mʰ nʰ ŋʰ).
with P₂. It remains to be investigated how clear-cut the dividing line is between P₂ and P₃ and between P₃ and P₄, and to what extent, if any, its placement depends on contextual factors.

In contrast to the past tenses with more remote time references, the use of P₁/Anterior as a past tense is restricted to situations occurring on the same day as the time of reference. Some elicited examples suggest that the Vwanji consider the end of one day and the start of the next as the time of going to sleep.⁶ Therefore, for example, if a tree falls down at 11:30 pm one night, the appropriate tense to describe the event to someone on the following day would be P₁, assuming that the speaker had already gone to bed and was woken up by the sound.

The Perfective forms of the four past tenses and the Narrative include either the Perfective morpheme /-ile/ or the final vowel /-a/ and represent the situation expressed by the verb as a single whole. The contrasting Habitual verb forms contain the Imperfective morpheme /-ay/. As Table 1 illustrates, each of the two Habitual past tense verb forms covers a time reference range which corresponds to two equivalent Perfective forms. The Far Past Habitual is the Habitual counterpart of P₃, P₄, and the Narrative (and thus covers the same time range as the Narrative), leaving the Near Past Habitual as the Habitual counterpart of the nearer pasts, P₁/Anterior and P₂. However, as will be seen in Section 3.3, no examples have been found of the Near Past Habitual with a hodiernal past tense reference, so it remains to be seen whether it is appropriate to consider it as including the full time range of the P₁/Anterior. (A non-habitual imperfective meaning, such as progressive, is normally expressed periphrastically in non-present tenses.)

Systematically, P₁ must be counted as a Past, as it is used for describing a past situation which took place on the day of reference:

(2) ʊmʊˈsʲʊːɣʊ paˈlʷakɪlo nɪ-ˈlʊt-ile  ko=mo-yo=da  ni pɪːle
    today    morning  1SG.SM-go-PFV 17.LOC=3-field  1SG.SM.weed.PFV

‘Today I went to the field and weeded.’ (Elicited example)

This same verb form also acts as an Anterior, when the lexical aspect of the verb and the discourse context support this interpretation, and in such uses the event itself need not have a hodiernal time reference:

(3) ɪn-ˈtol-ile
    1SG.SM-married-PFV

‘I am married. / I got married (today).’ (Elicited example)

(4) ɪˈkal-ile  ko-la a-ˈyal-ile
    sm1.sit-PFV NCP17-DIST.DEM  sm1-be_drunk-PFV

‘He has sat down over there, he’s drunk. / He sat over there and got drunk (today).’
(Elicited example)

In both examples, in the absence of further discourse context, the first gloss is the most natural, given that the lexical aspect of the verbs is inchoative (encoding both the change and the resultant state) and favours an anterior interpretation. However, given an appropriate discourse context, the verbs can be interpreted as P₁ and the second glosses are possible. In the case of (4), the two events are interpreted as occurring sequentially, earlier on the same day as the time of reference, as in (2).

⁶ See Dahl (2008) for a discussion of the relationship between the start of “today” and sleeping time.
The preceding three examples show how one verb form, *sm-vb-ile*, fills two roles in the Vwanji tense system. When *sm-vb-ile* functions as an anterior, the same-day restriction on its time reference no longer applies, as in the first gloss for (2), where the action of getting married took place earlier than today, but (crucially) the state of being married continues to hold into the present. *sm-vb-ile* as an anterior also implies no narrative progression, as in the first gloss of (4), where the two events causing the situations being described (sitting, being drunk) did not necessarily occur in the order in which the verbs are presented. In contrast, when *sm-vb-ile* functions as a hodiernal past, the time reference is limited to the same day and it may be used for narrative progression, as in the second gloss of (4). The interpretation of *sm-vb-ile* as either an anterior or a hodiernal past depends on contextual clues, either from the real world setting of the utterance or from the wider discourse context. The lexical aspect of the verb, as for example in (3), can also weight the interpretation in one particular way. In the discussions below, *sm-vb-ile* will be referred to as P\(_1\)/Anterior.

In summary, the Vwanji past tense system distinguishes four levels of past in perfective verb forms and two in imperfective verb forms. Of the seven verb forms described in this section, five forms have been categorized as Perfectives and two as Imperfectives, both of which are Habituals. Four of the Perfectives match up with the four levels of past recognised in the system. The remaining verb form is the Narrative, which covers two of these past levels, P\(_3\) and P\(_4\). Finally, it is argued that the P\(_1\) verb form also functions in the aspectual system as an Anterior.

### 3. FINDINGS FROM THE TEXT CORPUS

In order not to rely on the intuitions of speakers regarding elicited sentences, it is important to look at natural text data. The findings I present below come from a text corpus of 2,480 clauses. The corpus comprises written narratives, transcribed oral narratives, and written non-narrative texts (mainly hortatory or expository in nature). The narrative corpus includes both traditional folktales and real-life stories. None of the texts in the corpus is a translation from another language, but I will also make some observations about some relevant examples from additional texts which are translations from Swahili. The corpus contains examples of all seven verb forms given in Table 1, but I will restrict my comments to the three past tense forms closest to the speech time, namely P\(_1\)/Anterior (*sm-vb-ile*), P\(_2\) (*sm-a-vb-a*), and the Near Past Habitual (*sm-a-vb-ay-a*).\(^7\)

The first observation which can be made is that there is great disparity in the frequency of occurrence of the three forms: P\(_1\)/Anterior occurs 338 times, P\(_2\) 13 times, and the Near Past Habitual 26 times. Table 2 categorizes the results according to text genre and separates narration clauses (Nar) from speech clauses (Sp) and main clauses (Main) from subordinate clauses (Sub).

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\(^7\) The most frequent verb form in the text corpus is the Narrative, which carries the main event line of a story.
I will now take each of the three verb forms in turn.

### 3.1 P₁/Anterior

In narratives (both written and oral), P₁/Anterior occurs most commonly in temporal relative clauses, where it expresses the completion of an event before that of the main clause on which it depends. As such its time reference is not restricted to the hodiernal past and is instead determined by the time reference of the main clause:

\[ \text{‘The birds agreed to gather together.} \]

\[ \text{After they gathered together, they asked each other saying [...]’ (Hasty Bird 4–5) } \]

In the second sentence of this example, the main clause event is described with a Narrative, which covers the P₃–P₄ time range. Therefore the verb in the clause before it also describes an event in that time range, even though the verb is P₁/Anterior. As the hodiernal past time reference does not apply in this use of P₁/Anterior, the verb is analysed here as Anterior rather than as P₁.

Further support for this position comes from the fact that the other commonly occurring verb form in the /je/ temporal relative clause is also a non-past verb form, the Present or Progressive SM-i-Vb-a, which is used when the event in the dependent clause occurs simultaneously with that of the main clause on which it depends.

In the corpus, the use of P₁/Anterior in a temporal relative clause typically downplays the situation it describes. In (5) the gathering of the birds is the next event in sequence after the birds agree to gather, and immediately precedes them starting to ask each other questions. It is not presented with a Narrative verb form, as the preceding and following events are, since this is pragmatically predictable from the preceding event. The narrator therefore chooses to
downplay the event of gathering together by presenting it in a temporal relative clause with a P₁/Anterior verb.

110 out of 118 examples of P₁/Anterior in non-speech clauses in the written narratives are found in subordinate clauses, such as the type shown in (5). The remaining eight examples have the marked discourse function of narrating climactic events. In the following example, a succession of events are related with the Narrative (‘lifted up’, ‘took’, ‘thrust down’, ‘cut’) and then the last event is repeated using P₁/Anterior in order to convey additional information regarding what is cut:

(6)  
loˈkeloke  a-ˈkinul-a  α-ˈlo-ˈłoabo  ˈlaːke
slowly  SM1-NAR.lift_up-FV  AUP-11-hand  ACP11.3SG.Poss
‘Slowly he lifted up his hand,

a-ka-ˈloːl-a  i-ˈse:ˈgo  a-kiˈhoːt-a  a-ˈka-tem-a
SM1-NAR.take-FV  AUP-9.sickle  SM1-NAR.thrust_down-FV  SM1-NAR-cut-FV
took the sickle, thrust (it) down and cut.

ˈhɪːᵐbe  a-ˈtem-ile  α-ˈloːyolo  ˈlaːke  ˈjowo
INTERJ  SM1-cut-PFV  AUP-11-leg  ACP11.3SG.Poss  1.EMPH.PRO
Oh, he has cut his own leg!’ (Cow Buyer 16–17)

The narrative from which example (6) comes is set in the P₁ time range. That is, the situations and events of the story are presented mainly with the Narrative (for the main event line) or with P₄ (for backgrounded events and situations as well as scene-setting). Therefore, the use of P₁/Anterior is marked. Using P₁/Anterior here to reiterate and expand upon an event in the main event line shows that the narrator wishes to draw attention to this event. As such we typically find interjections, such as /ˈhɪːᵐbe/ ‘oh’, in examples of this kind.

As (6) does not advance the action along the chronological time line, the final clause is not part of the main event line, but the text corpus contains similar examples in which the clause containing the P₁/Anterior verb is part of the main event line:

(7)  
a-ka-ˈmʊ-lek-a  α-ˈmʷaːna  ˈi-ɣon-a
SM1-NAR.om1-leave-FV  AUP-1.child  SM1.NPST-sleep-FV
[...] she left the child sleeping.

ˈhɪːᵐbe  α-ˈmʷaːna  lo-ˈmʷaɣ-ile  ˈa-ˈla
INTERJ  AUP-1.child  SM11-OM1.get-PFV  AUP-ACP11.CON  15-be_restless-FV
Oh, the child has become restless (lit. ‘a state of restlessness has got the child’),

a-ka-ˈbʊːk-a  pa=ˈbʊ-ɣono  ˈi-hʊm-a  ˈkʊːɲɟi
SM1-NAR.leave-FV  16.LOC=14-bed  SM1.NPST-GO_OUT-FV  Outside
he got out of bed and went outside.’ (Parents 11–12)

The leaving of the child and the child getting out of bed are events which are both expressed using the Narrative, but in between these two events the child becoming restless uses P₁/Anterior. As in (6), the clause is further highlighted by means of an interjection expressing surprise.
The use of $P_1$/Anterior in highlighting events in a narrative which otherwise uses verbs belonging to the $P_2$–$P_4$ time reference range is more common in oral narratives than in written ones, but is judged by speakers to be acceptable in both.

In speech and non-narrative texts, the interpretation of $P_1$/Anterior depends on the discourse context as well as on the lexical aspect of the verbs. For example, dynamic verbs can be interpreted as expressing an immediate or hodiernal past (8) or anterior aspect (9), depending on the expectation created by the preceding discourse:

(8) ‘$ˈkɪkɪ$mʊ-m̩-ˈbud-ile ə-mʷɑːna ˈɣʷiːnu’

‘Why did you kill/have you killed your child?’ (Parents 25)

(9) ‘$βa$-ˈmoːᵑɡa$βa$-ˈɣʊl-ile a-ma-ˈɡaːle ncp2-one sm2-buy-pfv aup-6-car’

‘Others have bought cars.’ (Agriculture 17)

Example (8) is spoken by people who hear the commotion when the parents accidentally kill their child, and come running. It is therefore clear that very little time has passed and the $P_1$/Anterior can be interpreted as expressing immediate past. However, the presence of the child’s body at the scene when the question is asked fulfils the requirement for present relevance (as a “perfect of recent past”, Comrie 1976: 60) and therefore an anterior reading is also possible here. In contrast, (9) is an example of an anterior which cannot in context be interpreted as an immediate or hodiernal past. This example is from a description of how people have done well by owning cows and have spent the money they earned on different things. It does not imply that the people bought their cars on the day of the time of reference, but that they continue to own the cars they bought at an earlier time, and this shows how well they are prospering today (a “perfect of result”, Comrie 1976: 56). Thus, the $P_1$/Anterior expresses anterior aspect and not immediate or hodiernal past time reference.

If the discourse clues are not decisive, the lexical aspect of the verb can favour a particular interpretation. Thus, inchoative verbs default to a resultative interpretation:

(10) ‘$mʷe$ ˈβaːnʰu βa=kɪ-ˈkaːɟa ˈkʲaːᵑɡo mʊ-kaˈɡʷiːle’

‘You people of my village (have come to) know […]’ (Education 5)

When an auxiliary and a main verb are both $P_1$/Anterior, the auxiliary is analysed as past tense and the main verb as anterior aspect, as this follows the pattern whereby the auxiliary provides the tense and the main verb provides the aspect:

(11) ‘$a$-fic:le a-s/e milue ku- di:ː-d-a o-mo-ˈlːaːɡo’

‘She had (just now) forgotten to close the door.’ (Parents 13)

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8 This is the most natural interpretation in the context of the text as a whole, but it is also possible to understand that the people were able to buy cars in the past, but no longer own them. In this case, a more appropriate English translation would be “others bought cars”, and this example could be categorized as Comrie’s “experiential perfect” (1976: 58).
The main verbs in the preceding and following clauses are Narratives and constitute the main event line. The clause in (11) breaks off from the main event line to flash back to a prior situation which becomes relevant at this point in the narrative. This example lends additional support to the analysis of P₁/Anterior as filling two roles in the TAM system of Vwanji, that is, as being a tense form and, separately, an aspect form. Thus it is possible for an auxiliary and a main verb in combination to both be examples of the P₁/Anterior verb form, as each has a separate role, the first in providing the tense information and the second in providing the aspect information.

3.2 P₂

In contrast to P₁/Anterior, P₂ occurs very infrequently in the text corpus. There are only two examples (in adjacent clauses of one sentence) of P₂ functioning as a near past:

(12) ˈɪ-mʰola ˈɪɟio na-ˈpʊlɪk-a aup-
AUP-9.news NCP9_REF.DEM 1SG.SM.PST2-hear-FV
i-ˈfi-ɣono ndafiˈlɪːᵑɡi ˈfʲa-kil-a aup-
8-day NCP8.REL.PRO SM8.PST2-pass-FV
‘I heard this news several days ago (lit. which passed).’ (Marriage 12)

This example is from a hortatory text in which a person writes to a friend who has decided to marry and gives him some advice. The main clause verbs in this text are mostly Anteriors and Presents, but the text contains some narrative portions as scene setting information, such as the one above, which explicitly gives the time reference as Near Past.

With one exception, the other occurrences of P₂ in the text corpus all come from a single oral narrative, where together they function as an informal alternative to the Narrative and express the main event line, as in (13):

(13) a-βa=kʊ=ˈkaːɟa ˈβasi-a pi-kʊ-mʊ-ˈloːⁿd-a ˈβiːti aup-acp2.con=17.LOC=home sm2.pst2.start-FV 15-15-om1-look_for-fv10 sm2.npst.say
‘The people from home started to look for him, saying […].’ (Cow Man 20)

The events of this narrative do not happen in the recent past with respect to the reference time. That is, the narrative begins with several clauses containing P₄ verbs in order to set the scene in the remote past, but instead of then beginning the event line with the Narrative verb form, as would be expected, the storyteller uses a combination of P₂ and the Near Past Habitual (see Section 3.3 below). Vwanji speakers I have asked consider this storytelling style a good one in oral narratives, where they feel it is appropriate to be less formal, but not for written narratives.

If we turn to a corpus of translated text examples, we find further examples of the type shown in (12), where P₂ has its expected function of near past time reference. Most commonly, when

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9 One text contains an instance of /ˈnapela/ ‘I beseech (you)’, which has the structure of P₂, but is not a regular verb. It is a shortened form of /kupeleˈpesia/ ‘to beseech.’ No other irregular P₂ forms of this kind have been observed.

10 The class 15 nominal prefix has two forms: /ku-/ (which surfaces as [kʊ-] before an object and in certain other contexts) and /pi-/. In this example, /ku-/ occurs because of the following object and /pi-/ is the nominal prefix. The choice between the two forms of the nominal prefix is dependent on the location of the situation being expressed by the verb: /pi-/ is used when the event being expressed takes place at the deictic centre of the narrative and /ku-/ when it takes place away from it.
P₂ is used in this way, it occurs together with other past tenses in order to establish multiple degrees of past time reference, relative to the time of reference, as in the following example:

(14)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ni-mʊ-ˈlet-ile} & \text{ko=ˈloːfe} & \text{o-ˈmuːnʰu} & \text{ˈojo} \\
1\text{sg.sm-om1-bring-pfv} & 17.\text{LOC}=2\text{sg.pro} & \text{aup-1.person} & \text{ncp1.prox.dem} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I have brought’ this person to you,

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{a-ka-koˈlilue} & \text{na=βa-ˈjahudi} & \text{βa- loːd-ay-ə} & \text{pi-ko-ˈm-bud-a} \\
\text{sm1-pst3-catch.pass.pfv} & \text{com}=2\text{jew} & \text{sm2.pst2-want-ipfv-fv} & \text{15-15-om1-kill-fv} \\
\end{array}
\]

he was caught by the Jews, they were wanting to kill him.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ˈneke} & \text{na-lʊt-a} & \text{na=βa-ˈsikali} & \text{ˈβaːᵑgo} & \text{na-ˈm-pok-a} \\
\text{but 1sg.sm.pst2-go-fv} & \text{com}=2\text{soldier acp2.1sg.poss} & \text{1sg.sm.pst2-om1-rescue-fv} \\
\end{array}
\]

but I went with my soldiers and rescued him.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{oˈləkoβa} & \text{na- kagol-a} & \text{ˈkuːti} & \text{ˈoˈmʷeːne} & \text{mo-ˈloːma} \\
\text{because 1sg.sm.pst2-know-fv} & \text{15.say 3sg.contr.pro} & \text{1-roman} \\
\end{array}
\]

because I knew that he was a Roman.’ (Acts 23:27)\(^{11}\)

Leaving aside the Near Past Habitual ‘they were wanting to kill him’ (which will be discussed in Section 3.3), there are five verbs to consider. ‘I have brought’ is P₁/Anterior, ‘he was caught’ is P₃, and ‘I went,’ ‘I rescued’, and ‘I knew’ are P₂. The first event in the timeline is ‘he was caught’, expressed by P₃, and is followed chronologically by two of the P₂ verbs, ‘I went’ and ‘I rescued’. The P₁/Anterior verb expresses the final event in the sequence. The presentation of the events out of chronological order (D – A – B – C) is possible because the three verb forms used express three distinct levels of past time reference, relative to each other.

Example (14) comes from a letter which is a narrative episode contained within a larger narrative. The larger narrative uses the Narrative for the main event line and P₄ for backgrounded material, but the events it describes (such as the writing of the letter) have a different narrator (third person and not first person) and a different temporal reference point, so the location of these events in time is not more remote relative to that of the events in the letter narrative.

It was mentioned in Section 2 that, with the exception of P₁/Anterior, which is restricted in its past tense use to immediate or hodiernal past tense reference, the time reference of the past tense forms is flexible rather than rigid. However, although the absolute time reference is flexible, the relative time reference is not, and when two or more of the perfective verb forms P₂, P₃, and P₄ are contrasted in main clauses in a single discourse context, P₄ will always have a more remote time reference than P₃, and P₃ will in turn always have a more remote time reference than P₂. When P₁/Anterior is included, this pattern does not hold so strictly because when P₁/Anterior functions as an anterior rather than an immediate or hodiernal past tense, the situation it expresses may have occurred prior to the same day as the time of reference, and thus possibly prior to the time reference of P₂.

The three examples of P₂ in the second sentence of (14) are interesting because the three verbs are not equal in discourse function. The first two verbs (in main clauses) express consecu-
tive events (‘I went’, ‘I rescued’), but the third (in a dependent clause) expresses a background situation (‘I knew’) which held before these two events. The context, the distinction between the main and the dependent clause, the conjunction ‘because’, and the lexical aspect of the verb ‘know’ all contribute to the interpretation of the sequence $P_2$–$P_2$–$P_2$ as two consecutive events and one backgrounded situation,\(^{12}\) rather than as three consecutive events.

If the second sentence of (14) were narrated as happening in the far past from the perspective of the narrator, the following verb choices were suggested by the Vwanji speakers I worked with as being appropriate for the time setting:

(15) ˈneke ni-ˈka-lot-a na=βa-ˈsikali ˈβaːᵑgo ni-ka-ˈm-pok-a
but 1SG.SM-NAR-GO-FV COM=2-soldier ACP2.1SG.POSS 1SG.SM-NAR-OM1-REScue-FV

‘But I went with my soldiers and rescued him,

oˈlakoβa ni-la-kaˈqːiːle ˈkuːti oˈmːene moˈloːma
because 1SG.SM-PST4-KNOW.PFV 15.SAY 3SG.CONTR.PRO 1-Roman

because I knew that he was a Roman.’ (Acts 23:27b, revised)

Note that the sequence $P_2$–$P_2$–$P_2$ from the original example has been revised to NAR–NAR–$P_4$. That is, the different discourse status of the third verb is explicit in the TAM choice when the narrative is related as happening in the far past. The Narrative is used for the main event line and $P_4$ for backgrounded material.

3.3 Near Past Habitual

When viewed as part of the system of tense and aspect categories in Vwanji, the Near Past Habitual verb form, sm-*$a$-$vb$-$ay$-$a$, is the habitual equivalent of the perfective verb forms $P_1$/Anterior and $P_2$, as shown in Table 1 above. However, in the text corpus, it occurs most frequently with a more remote past time reference and without a habitual interpretation, in apparent contradiction of its place in the system. For example, in the following extract, both ‘got tired’ and ‘let go’ describe perfective events in a story which is set in the remote past:\(^{13}\)

(16) ˈɣʷoːpe ˈkʊᵐbele a-kaˈtal-aɣ-a aˈma-βoko
3SG.ADD.PRO later SM1.PST2-tire-IPFV-FV AUP-6-hand

‘And later even (his) hands got tired.

a-kaˈtiːle a-ˈma-βoko a-lekeˈsːaɣ-a
SM1-tire.PFV AUP-6-hand SM1.PST2-LET.GO-IPFV-FV

His hands tired, he let go.’ (Cow Man 15–16)\(^{14}\)

This example comes from the same oral narrative where we find example (13) and which provides most of the examples of the Near Past Habitual in the corpus. It is not clear why the narrator sometimes uses $P_2$ and sometimes the Near Past Habitual in this text. The examples

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\(^{12}\) The situation of ‘knowing’ can be said to stem from an earlier event of ‘discovering’, which occurred before the ‘going’ and ‘rescuing’ events of the previous clause.

\(^{13}\) The story begins with a scene setting section using $P_4$.

\(^{14}\) In a more formal, careful style, the first clause of the second sentence would be rendered in a temporal subordinate clause, ‘When his hands tired [...]’.
do not suggest that a difference in aspect is the deciding factor as the Near Past Habitual does not correspond to a habitual aspect interpretation, as illustrated in (16), where both formally habitual verbs (‘got tired’, ‘let go’) are functionally perfective. As mentioned in Section 3.2, using a combination of P$_2$ and the Near Past Habitual is considered a possible style for informal oral storytelling.

If we include translated texts, we find many examples of the Near Past Habitual in speech describing habitual situations in a time range where perfective events would be expressed with P$_2$:

(17) na-ˈboᵐb-aɣ-a ˈsoːni ˈisio ko-ka-βa-ˈβon-i-a ˈkuːti
1sg.sm.pst2-do-ipfv-fv ACP10.all NCP10.REF.DEM 15-15-om2-see-caus-fv 15.say
'I was doing all these things to show you that [...].' (Acts 20:35a)

It is not clear whether this is due to the more formal context of a translated text or whether it is a result of the particular examples of translated texts investigated containing more complex narratives with more levels of past distinguished than those in the non-translated text corpus.

No examples have been found in any text, whether translated or non-translated, in which the Near Past Habitual refers to a hodiernal past (i.e. equivalent to P$_1$). The lack of examples may be because it would be unusual to have a habitual situation which was restricted to a single day. Vwanji has other imperfective options for a hodiernal past situation, including a progressive and a persitve. It may therefore be more appropriate to consider the Near Past Habitual as the habitual equivalent of P$_2$ only and not also of P$_1$.

It is clear that the division between the Far Past Habitual sm-ka-vb-ay-α and the Near Past Habitual sm-α-vb-ay-α is more flexible than Table 1 may make it appear. The Near Past Habitual does not correspond rigidly to the P$_1$–P$_2$ time range, nor does the Far Past Habitual correspond rigidly to the P$_3$–P$_4$ time range. When a narrative uses P$_3$, it is possible for either of the two habitual forms to occur (see example (14) in Section 3.2 for an example of P$_3$ and the Near Past Habitual), depending on the other past tenses in use and the number of past time distinctions the narrator wishes to make.

4. SUMMARY AND COMPARISON WITH NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

The discourse functions of P$_1$/Anterior, P$_2$, and the Near Past Habitual in Vwanji, as explored in Section 3, are summarized in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb form</th>
<th>Discourse function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P$_1$/Anterior/SM-VB-ιλε</td>
<td>Hodiernal and immediate past tense reference</td>
<td>(2), (3), (4), (8), (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anterior aspect</td>
<td>(3), (4), (8), (9), (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Completed situations in temporal relative clauses</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Climactic events in past tense narratives</td>
<td>(6), (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P$_2$/SM-α-VB-α</td>
<td>Near past perfective</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal narration of narratives set in far past</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distinguishing multiple degrees of past in narration</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Past Habitual/SM-α-VB-ay-α</td>
<td>Near past habitual (not necessarily covering the same time range as P$_1$)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal narration of narratives set in far past</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
P₁/Anterior in particular has a broad range of functions. It fits into the tense system as the most immediate of the four degrees of past which are recognised, but often occurs in temporal relative clauses in which its past time reference is instead determined by the tense of the main clause. It also clearly functions within the aspectual system as an anterior and can therefore refer to a past more remote than hodiernal if the situation described has present relevance. As an extension of this, P₁/Anterior can refer to climactic events in past tense narratives, in which the narrator chooses to highlight a situation by presenting it as having present relevance in the narrative context. A clear illustration of the tense and aspect functions of P₁/Anterior comes when an auxiliary and main verb in combination are both P₁/Anterior and the auxiliary functions as a tense and the main verb as an aspect (see example (11) in Section 3.1).

P₂ and the Near Past Habitual are found in texts with two main functions. One is the expected expression of past time reference which is pre-hodiernal, but not considered to be as far back as what would be appropriate for P₁ or the Far Past Habitual in the context. The second function of P₂ and the Near Past Habitual is to achieve an informal, engaging narrative style for oral stories. In this use, the expected habitual interpretation of the Near Past Habitual does not hold; it is not yet clear what distinguishes the two verb forms when they are used in this way.

The Vwanji findings relating to these three verb forms can be compared with those for structurally similar ones in neighbouring languages (Table 4).¹⁵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb Form 1</th>
<th>Verb Form 2</th>
<th>Verb Form 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vwanji (G66, ISO 639-3: wbi)</td>
<td>P₁/Anterior</td>
<td>P₂</td>
<td>Near Past Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinga (G65, ISO 639-3: zga) (Schadeberg 1973)</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Durative Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena (G63, ISO 639-3: bez) (Morrison 2011)</td>
<td>P₂ Perfective</td>
<td>P₂ Anterior</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangu (G61, ISO 639-3: sbp) (Kaajan 2012)</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>Perfective Present (or Hodiernal Past)¹⁷</td>
<td>Near Past¹⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safwa (M25, ISO 639-3: sbk) (Voorhoeve 1973)</td>
<td>Recent Perfect</td>
<td>Recent Consecutive</td>
<td>Recent Consecutive + Continuative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are several interesting points of similarity and difference. All six languages have the form sm-vb-ile, which is analysed as a Perfect or an Anterior (i.e. as the same aspectually), with the

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¹⁵ Kinga, Bena, Sangu, and Safwa are (restricted) tone languages (unlike Vwanji, which is not a tone language). The tonal differences between the verb forms in the table are not considered here, but tone is discussed in all four source documents.


¹⁷ Kaajan (2012: 114–115) discusses both possible analyses and states a preference for the Perfective Present.

¹⁸ Kaajan (2012: 137–138) describes how some Sangu speakers use the Near Past for hesternal past up to the far past, whereas others use it for hesternal past up to the point at which they instead use a separate far past form (sm-a-vb-ile).
exception of Nyakyusa, where it is analysed as a Present Perfective. However, the functions of this verb form in Nyakyusa, as described by Persohn (Persohn 2017: 161–165), overlap with those of the Vwanji P₁/Anterior. Specifically, the default interpretation of inchoative verbs in the Nyakyusa Present Perfective is resultative (as in the first interpretations of the Vwanji examples (3) and (4) in Section 2) and the verb form may be used to relate a sequence of events (as seen in Vwanji in example (2) and in the second interpretation of (4) in Section 2).

The verb form sm-vb-ile fills both a Perfective and Anterior slot in the Bena TAM system, according to Morrison (2011: 250), which in this respect shows some similarity with Vwanji, although in Bena both the Perfective and Anterior are analysed as P₂ rather than as P₁ as in Vwanji. In all the languages except Safwa, sm-vb-ile is used for temporal relative clauses in a parallel way to that described for Vwanji in Section 3.1. For Safwa, sm-a-vb-a is instead used in temporal relative clauses.

Neither Kinga nor Bena, which are considered linguistically close to Vwanji, has an equivalent to P₁ sm-a-vb-a in Vwanji. In Sangu, sm-a-vb-a allows for two possible analyses with respect to tense, which both have a time reference closer to the reference time than in Vwanji. sm-a-vb-a in Safwa shows some similarity to Vwanji in that it is both a recent past and can be used to narrate consecutive events. sm-a-vb-a in Nyakyusa is analysed as a Subsecutive and is also used for narration, but it does not differ from Nyakyusa’s other narrative marker with respect to tense, and often occurs together with it (Persohn 2017: 237). However, one point of similarity with Vwanji is that it is associated with an oral rather than a written style (Persohn 2017: 160).

All six languages have an equivalent of sm-a-vb-ay-a, which in all languages but Sangu carries some type of imperfective aspect meaning. Safwa and Sangu pattern with Vwanji in using sm-a-vb-ay-a for near past time reference, but Bena associates it with the most remote degree of past (Morrison 2011: 250). In Sangu, the /ay/ morpheme in this verb form is a marker of past tense rather than imperfective aspect (Kaajan 2012: 137), which is particularly interesting as we saw in Section 3.3, in relation to example (16), that in some uses Vwanji sm-a-vb-ay-a also does not have imperfective aspect.

This brief cross-linguistic comparison can help us to understand the Vwanji TAM system better if we consider the possibility that the five neighbouring languages might in some ways parallel Vwanji at a later stage of language change. With respect to sm-vb-ile, the existence of the well-attested path from anterior to past (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 81) suggests that Vwanji (and also Bena) has reached a stage in which the same verb form has both functions and is perhaps splitting into two homophonous forms, whereas Nyakyusa may have gone further, as Persohn (2017: 163) states that the structurally equivalent Present Perfective “neither necessarily brings about a persistent result, nor does it feature a strong relevance component”. The lack of sm-a-vb-a in Kinga, which is linguistically the closest to Vwanji of the five neighbouring languages considered in Table 4, could be interpreted as the stage towards which Vwanji is heading, as sm-a-vb-a occurs very infrequently in the text corpus, although it does have a particular function in informal storytelling (where the P₂ time reference requirement no longer holds). However, the infrequent occurrence of this verb form in the Vwanji corpus may simply be an artefact of the preponderance of narratives set in the remote past, and the absence of conversational data beyond what is contained in the narratives. For the third verb form in Table 4, sm-a-vb-ay-a, it is the Sangu data which provide a possible clue to the Vwanji system, as the association of imperfective aspect with /ay/ in Sangu has been lost, just as it has in at least some instances of the equivalent verb form in Vwanji.
A more detailed comparison of the Vwanji data with those of the other languages is needed to investigate the possible diachronic relationships more thoroughly, but the brief assessment given above suggests that this is a worthwhile direction for further research. It should also be borne in mind that the labelling of TAM forms by different researchers may be based on different theoretical assumptions and therefore the overview in Table 4 may obscure further similarities or differences. Care should also be taken in cross-linguistic comparisons to consider whether an analysis is a systematic one or one which also takes into account the possibility of different distribution patterns in discourse data.

The Vwanji research presented here has shown that a single verb form may have apparently contradictory functions. The verb form sm-a-va-by-a, for example, can function as either a Near Past Habitual or as a Far Past (Perfective) Narrative. The attested instances of the former come from written non-narrative texts and translated narrative texts, whereas those of the latter come from transcribed oral texts. It remains to be investigated to what extent text genre and register are factors in the interpretation of this verb form, but the co-existence of two very different functions is clear. A greater breadth of data, such as written texts describing recent events or transcriptions of oral non-narrative texts, would be helpful in understanding this particular issue. The different functions of this verb form, and of others discussed in this paper, indicate that the place of a verb form in a TAM system as suggested by elicited data may not correspond in expected ways to its discourse functions when natural text data is taken into account. A variety of data is necessary in order to make progress in adequately understanding the range of functions a single verb form may express.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACP</td>
<td>agreement class prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT</td>
<td>anterior</td>
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<tr>
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<td>augment</td>
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REFERENCES