The System of Tense and Aspect in the Bantik Language

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1. Overview of Bantik Morphology concerning tense and aspect

1.1. Non-past and Past tense forms

Bantik verbs have either non-past or past tense forms which are expressed by voice-indicating affixes[1]. Table 1 shows the paradigm of Bantik verbs. They are morphologically categorized into three groups according to the affix attached to its Actor Voice form. The first group of verbs take the infix *-um-/-im-*, the second ones take the prefix ma-/na-, and the third ones take maN-/naN-[2]. The ones on the left indicate non-past tense and those on the right indicate past tense. As for the two Undergoer Voice forms in Bantik, all the verbs behave similarly. There are no specific affixes for non-past tense, but for past tense, the prefix ni- should be attached.

Table 1

	Base	Actor Voice	Goal Voice	Conveaynce Voice	Meaning
Non-past Past	*tontoŋ*	*t-**um**-ontoŋ* *t-**im**-ontoŋ*	*tontoŋ-an* ***ni**-tontoŋ-an*	* *	to watch
Non-past Past	*kiso*	***ma**-kiso* ***na**-kiso*	*kiso-n* *	* ***ni**-kiso*	to rub
Non-past Past	*bihei*	***ma**-mihei* ***na**-mihei*	*bih-an* ***ni**-bih-an*	*bihei* ***ni**-bihei*	to give

In Bantik, non-past tense is considered to be a more unmarked tense because of the following reasons. First, generic sentences are expressed in non-past tense. Second, verbs in habitual aspect is always in non-past tense. Third, verbs in iterative aspect and abilitative verbs are overwhelmingly in non-past tense whereas there are cases where past tense is required for these verbs, which will be treated later.

The reference point for tense selection is, in principle, the point of utterance. As for complex sentence, the time of the main clause is usually the reference point of subordinate clauses. This will be dealt with in section 4.

Negative sentences can both be in non-past and past tenses.

1.2. Progressive forms

Progressive aspect can be expressed in three different ways in Bantik. One of them is used for every verb: basic[3] or derivational, Actor Voice or Undergoer Voice. It is formed by *kahagasa*, which means 'now' if used alone, plus the linker *nu* and a verb (NOT a base).

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[1] The Bantik verbs are, by definition, have tense opposition. Adjectives and verbs are distinguished by this factor; adjectives do not have tense opposition.

[2] /N/ in *maN-/naN-* (and *kapaN-* which appear in section 1.2) stands for nasalization or insertion of a homo-organic nasal which is widely observed in West Malayo-Polynesian languages.

[3] I use 'basic verbs' to refer to verbs which have no derivational affixes attached.

Kahagasa ma-neno is the progressive form of *ma-neno* ('to bathe', Actor Voice, basic verb), *kahagasa paki-ɾampaŋ* is the progressive form of *paki-rampaŋ*('to be made walk', Conveyance Voice, derivational verb). Examples are shown in (1) and (2).

(1) *toumata   kahagasa   nu   ma-ŋaɾimuʔ baɾei*
　　　people　　now　　　　NU　　MA-make　　house
　　　'People are/were building a house'

(2) *salana   kahagasa   nu   paki-pedekeʔ   ni-linda   si-hili*
　　　trousers　now　　　　NU　　PAKI-short　　NI-Linda　SI-Hilly
　　　'The trousers are being shortened by Hilly who follows Linda's order'

The second form, which requires one of the following prefixes *ka-*, *kapa-* or *kapaN-*, and the suffix *-ne* to be attached to the base, expresses the basic verb meaning, and it is considered to be in Actor Voice. *Kapa-neno-ne* is the progressive form of ma-neno (Actor Voice, basic verb), and *ka-ɾampaŋ*-ne is that of *ɾ-um-ampaŋ*. (3) and (4) are the examples.

(3) *kapaɾa   ka-tagoŋ-ne*
　　　boat　　　KA-sink-NE
　　　'The boat is/was sinking'

(4) *i-terok   kapa-suba-ne   su-gaheda*
　　　I-Terok　KAPA-pray-NE　SU-church
　　　'Terok is/was praying in the church'

he last form employs reduplication of the first consonant, and the onset and the nucleus of the second syllable, as shown in the following example.

(5) *tipasaʔ   tudo-tudo   su-timbonan=ne*
　　　sago.palm.juice　RED-drop　　SU-head=NI.3sg
　　　'Sago palm juice is dropping on his head'

The difference in meaning and usage among the above three forms has not been studied so far. The first one can be used with any verb in any voice, but the second and the third ones can only be used for basic verbs in Actor Voice.

1.3. Habitual and iterative: forms with partial reduplication

Two forms of partial reduplication are found in the Bantik morphology. First, the first consonant of the base is reduplicated followed by an inserted vowel /a/. I will show this form with the formula 'C1+/a/+Base'. When this form is applied to a verb base, it expresses either 'plurality of ACTOR (= subject of the clause, since this form is interpreted as to be Actor Voice)' (example 6) or 'habitual aspect' (example 7). The former is used both in non-past and past tense while the latter is only used in non-past tense. The habitual aspect usually expresses constantly repeated action which relates to the occupation of the actor. This habitual form could be a noun form which is used only for expressing occupation.

(6) *i-pasko   bo   i-stenli   na-n-a-nekosoʔ   manuʔ=ku*
　　　I-Vasco　and　I-Stenly　NA-RED-steal　　chicken=NI.1sg
　　　'Vasco and Stenly stole my chickens'

(7) *I-pasko   ma-ŋ-a-ŋopasaʔ*
　　　I-Vasco　MA-RED-fish
　　　'Vasco fishes constantly = Vasco is a fisherman'

The second reduplication pattern is expressed by the formula 'σ1+C2V2+Base'. The first syllable and the onset and the nucleus of the second syllable are reduplicated before a base. The coda of the second syllable, if any, will not be reduplicated. If this reduplication pattern is used to express aspect, it indicates 'iterative aspect', that is, the repeated action or behavior.

This aspect is normally in non-past tense irrespective of the actual time in which the repeated action happened as in example 8.

(8) *i-santi   ma-oyo-oyou   su   ake bagai   ie   ada   kokonioʔ=ken*
     I-Santy   MA-RED-swim   SU   river   this   when   small=CONT
     'Santy used to swim in this river when (he was) small'

However, there are cases where past tense is required for iterative aspect. They are treated later.

1.4. TE and KEN: aspectual particles

Te and *ken* are particles which can be placed after verbs, adjectives, nouns and pronouns. Only cases where they are posited after verbs will be treated in the following description. When placed after a verb, *te* denotes completive aspect (see examples 9 and 10) while *ken* denotes continuative aspect (see examples 11 and 12). However, these two particles may add somewhat different meaning, and will be treated later in this paper.

(9) *sene=te   ka   iaʔ   m-ako=te* (TB)
     there=TE   because   I.1sg   MA-go=TE
     '(Stay) there because I'm going' ('Going' action will surely be done in very near future)

(10) *i-boheŋ   na-bei=te,   yo   kudiʔ   isie   na-dandiʔ=te* (TB)
     I-monkey   NA-return=TE   and   be.said   I.3sg   NA-sing=TE
     'The monkey returned and sang, they say'

(11) *abiʔ-ai=ken   nao   busaʔ=ku   e   boheŋ* (TB)
     climb-IMP=KEN   upwards   banana=I.1sg   DP   monkey
     'Climb my banana tree upwards, please, monkey'

(12) *isie   ma-hiŋa=ken   ka   i-maʔ=ne   aya   ma-bei*
     I.3sg   MA-cook=KEN   because   I-mother=NI.3sg   not   MA-return
     'She is still cooking because her mother hasn't come back'

2. Lexical aspects of Bantik verbs

The categorization of verbs according to their lexical aspect (or aktionsart) is important for the following description. In Bantik, the following seven categories of verbs can be posited from semantic and aspectual points of view.

1. instantaneous verbs (or achievement verbs, which denotes events done in an instant). These verbs cannot take progressive aspect.
2. accomplishment verbs (which denotes events done in a certain duration of time and have clear endpoint)
3. activity verbs I (which denotes events done in a certain duration of time with no clear endpoint)
4. activity verbs II (which have the same features as activity I verbs apparently)
5. stative verbs (which denote events with no clear start point or endpoint
6. iterative verbs (which denote actions done repeatedly)
7. abilitative verbs (which denote ability of doing an action)

From the perspective of non-past versus past tense opposition, the above seven categories are grouped into three. First, 1 (instantaneous verbs) and 3 (activity verbs I) are grouped together so as to consist group I. 2 (Accomplishment verbs), 4 (activity verbs II) and 5 (stative verbs) consist group II. The rest, 6 (iterative verbs) and 7 (abilitative verbs) consist group III. They will be described in detail in sections 2.2 to 2.4.

2.1. An overview of the usages of non-past and past tenses

The following rule is valid for most Bantik verbs; non-past tense is not used for past activities or states, while past tense is not used for future events. The only exception to this rule is observed in sentences with 6 (iterative) and 7 (abilitative) verbs. They are normally in non-past tense even if there is a clear indication within the linguistic or non-linguistic context that the event occurred in the past.

The ongoing events, or events occurring at the time of utterance may be in non-past tense for some verbs, but they should be in past tense for other verbs. The three groups are distinguished by the morphological tense a verb takes when it expresses an ongoing event.

The below categorization may change since a verb can take different lexical aspect according to the context. Compare examples (13)and (14).

(13) *isie*   *ɾ-um-ampaŋ*   *su-daɾen*   *ene* (non-past tense)
  I.3sg   UM-walk   SU-road   that
  'He (usually) walks on that road/ He is walking on that road (watching his action)'
(14) *anaʔ*   *kokonioʔ*   *ene*   *ɾ-im-ampaŋ=te* (past tense)
  child   small   that   IM-walk=TE
  'That small child walked/ That small child is already able to walk (watching the kid walking)'

2.2. Group I

Group I includes instantaneous verbs and activity verbs I. These verbs take non-past tense for the events not yet to occur, but take past tense for those which has started to occur. In other words, non-past tense is used up to the point when the action starts. Past tense should be selected once the action has started. This is shown in figure 1 below.

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Figure 1

	start point		end point	
non-past		past		past

</div>

This rule seems to be quite natural for instantaneous verbs. An action expressed by an instantaneous verb has very limited duration of time, so it is hard to observe an 'ongoing' action. The non-past tense is used before it is done, and past tense is used after it is done. Examples are shown in (15) and (16).

(15) a. *i-mari*   *ma-nabo*   *bua*   *nu-hahompoŋan*
   I-Mary   MA-fall   from   NU-chair
   'Mary will surely fall from the chair'
  b. *i-mari*   *na-nabo*   *bua*   *nu-hahompoŋan*
   I-Mary   NA-fall   from   NU-chair
   'Mary fell from the chair'
(16) a. *i-maʔ=ku ma-iraŋ*
   I-mother=NI.1sg   MA-die
   'My mother is dying'
  b. *i-maʔ=ku*   *na-iraŋ*
   I-mother=NI.1sg   NA-die
   'My mother died'

However, it is not clear why some of the activity verbs follow this rule. Some of them, like *ma-nosoʔ* 'to smoke' and *mam-beɾe* 'to work' take past tense form once the action has begun. More examples are shown in (17), (18), (19), (20).

(17) a. *anaʔ=ku   ma-neno*
      child=NI.1sg   MA-bathe
      'My child is bathing'
(18) A: *iaʔ   ma-ki-deno   anaʔ=nu*
      I.1sg   MA-CAUS-bathe   child=NI.2sg
      'I'll let your kid take a bath'
   B: *anaʔ=ku   ma-neno*
      child=NI.1sg   MA-bathe
      'My child is bathing/ My child is now bathing'
(19) a. *i-boŋkoɾo   ma-nosoʔ=te   soso?=nu*
      I-Bonkoro   MA-smoke=TE   cigerette=NI.2sg
      'Bonkoro is about to smoke your cigerette now!'
    b. *i-boŋkoɾo   na-nosoʔ   soso?=nu*
      I-Bonkoro   MA-smoke   cigerette=NI.2sg
      'Bonkoro started to smoke your cigerette/ Bonkoro smoked your cigerette'
(20) a. *side   mam-beɾe   su-saŋkoi   n-side*
      I.3pl   MAN-work   SU-field   NU-3pl
      'They will work in their field.'
    b. *side   nam-beɾe   su-saŋkoi   n-side*
      I.3pl   NAN-work   SU-field   NU-3pl
      'They are working in their field (looking at the people working in front of the speaker)/ They worked in their field (at certain point in the past)'

2.3. Group II

Group II includes Accomplishment verbs, stative verbs, and activity verbs II (those which are not included in Group I). These verbs take non-past tense until the events end; that is, ongoing events are expressed in non-past tense. They denote events which require relatively long duration. Figure 2 illustrates the usages of non-past and past tenses of these verbs.

Figure 2

	start point		**end point**	
non-past		non-past		past

In example (21), (22) and (24) (*ɾ-um-apa*, *ma-mosadaʔ*), activity verbs II are found. Stative verbs are found in example (23) and (24) (*ma-upiʔ*). Examples (23) and (24) are taken from the texts which are told in past tense in principle.

(21) a. *i-pasko   ma-haɾaʔ   otoʔ*
      I-Vasco   MA-wait   car
      'Vasco is waiting for a car/ Vasco will wait for a car'
    b. *i-pasko   na-haɾaʔ   otoʔ*
      I-Vasco   NA-wait   car
      'Vasco was waiting for a car/ Vasco waited for a car'
(22) a. *isie   ma-tihoʔ   m-iɾipiʔ   e*
      I.3sg   MA-know   MA-dive   DP
      'S/he knows how to dive'
    b. *isie   na-tihoʔ   n-iɾipiʔ   e*
      I.3sg   NA-know   NA-dive   DP
      'S/he knew how to dive'

(23) *yo   kudiʔ   toumata na-ka-bua   si-side, ma-hahi ka   kohasaʔ bo ureʔ* (KU)
     then be.said people   NA-KA-see SI-3pl MA-run because Iguana and snake
     'Then, they say, people saw them (=Iguana and Snake) and ran because of Iguana and Snake'

(24) *diɾa   ni-kapuna   ɾ-im-oaŋ=te.*
     tongue   NI-dog   IM-be.out=TE
     yo ene i-kapuna   ma-dou=te   bo   ma-hutuŋ=te.
     then   I-dog   MA-thirsty=TE   and   MA-hungry=TE
     i-kapuna   ɾ-um-apa=te,   tou kan   su   huaŋ   nu-teriŋ
     I-dog   UM-get.near=TE but food SU   inside NU-bamboo.
     bo   isie   ma-upiʔ   ka   i-bahoa   ma-mosadaʔ   si-sie. (KB)
     and   I.3sg   MA-angry because I-heron   MA-revenge   SI-3sg
     'Dog's tongue stuck out, that means Dog is already thirsty and hungry. Dog got near, but the food was in the bamboo. And he was angry because Heron revenged on him.'

2.4. Group III

Verbs in iterative aspect and abilitative verbs consist Group III. These verbs normally take non-past tense as in examples (25) and (26). The verbs which denote habitual meaning are also categorized in Group III. As shown in (27)a, the habitual action is normally stated in non-past tense even it is the habit in the past. If past tense is used as in (27)b, it just denote an action (not a habit) occurred in the past.

(25) a. *iaʔ   ma-ka-abiʔ   baŋo   huntia   n-ɾou*
        I.1sg   MA-ABL-climb   coconut.tree every   NU-day
        'I can climb a coconut tree every day'

   b. *iaʔ   na-ka-abiʔ   baŋo   ene   tou   ie   aya=te*
        I.1sg   NA-ABL-climb   coconut.tree that but   now   not=TE
        'I could climb that coconut tree, but not anymore'

(26) a. *iaʔ   ma-hiŋa-hiŋaʔ   ada   ma-bei=te   su-banua*
        I-1sg   MA-RED-cook   if   MA-return=TE   SU-village
        'I always cook when I return to my village'

   b. *iaʔ   na-hiŋa-hiŋaʔ   ada   ma-ŋuda=ken*
        I-1sg   MA-RED-cook   if   MA-young=KEN
        'I used to cook when I was young'

(27) a. *isie   pona   ma-nosoʔ   tou   ie   aya=te*
        I.3sg   before MAN-smoke but   now   not=TE
        'S/he smoked before, but not any more'

   b. *isie   na-nosoʔ   kabaini*
        I.3sg   NAN-smoke just.now
        'S/he smoked just now'

(28) a. *apa   kudiʔ,   i-kohasa nu-datehe=ne,   bo   i-ureʔ   nu   kantaŋ=ne.*
        what   be.said I-iguana NU-plain=NI.3sg and   I-snake   NU   mountain=NI.3sg
        kudiʔ   side   dua   ɾ-um-ampa-ɾampaŋ   ka-no=ne   na-hisabu. (KU)
        be.said I.3pl   two   UM-RED-walk   KA-long=NE   NA-meet
        'They say, Iguana was in his plain, and the snake was in his mountain. It is said that the two was walking around for a long time and (then) met (each other)'

(28) b. *su-ɾapa nu-ake   saŋkoi n-side, pai panenonenon ni-iaŋkuŋ n-tou   koɾano.*
        SU-near NU-water   field   NU-3pl exist bathing.place NI-spouse NI-PRO king
        i-aŋkuŋ n-tou   koɾano kudiʔ m-ako   ma-neno-neno su-sene,   ɾ-um-impa
        I-spouse NI-PRO king   be.said MA-go   MA-RED-bathe SU-there UM-go.through

su=saŋkoi (KU)
SU-field
'There was a bathing place of the king's wife near their (Iguana and Snake's) field. The king's wife was said to go bathing their, went through their field'

Sometimes both tenses are allowed as in example (29) below.

(29) a. *iaʔ   man-dea-ndeaʔ   dompet=ku   tou   aya   ni-ka-deaʔ*
    I.1sg   MAN-RED-search purse=NI.1sg but not NI-ABL-search
    'I looked and looked for my purse, but could not find (it)'
  b. *iaʔ   nan-dea-ndeaʔ   dompet=ku   tou   aya   ni-ka-deaʔ*
    I.1sg NAN-RED-search purse=NI.1sg but not NI-ABL-search
    'I looked and looked for my purse, but could not find (it)'

There are, however, cases where past tense form is preferred for Group III verbs. If the action was repeated for limited times, only past tense is allowed (see example 31). If the past event is denoted, even abilitative verbs should take past tense as in example (32). When repeated action has specific object as in example (33) and (34), only past tense is adequate.

(31) a. **baŋo*   ie   pona   ka-abiʔ=ku   ka-dua*
    coconut this before KA-climg=NI.1sg KA-two
  b. *baŋo   ie   pona   ni-ka-abiʔ=ku   ka-dua*
    coconut this before NI-KA-climg=NI.1sg KA-two
    'This coconut tree, I climbed twice'

(32) a. **iaʔ   ma-ka-sukun   r-um-ampaŋ   puro   ŋ-kilo   kanehabaʔ*
    I.1sg MA-ABL-be.able UM-walk ten NU-kilometer yesterday
  b. *iaʔ   na-ka-sukun   r-im-ampaŋ   puro   ŋ-kilo   kanehabaʔ*
    I.1sg NA-ABL-be.able IM-walk ten NU-kilometer yesterday
    'I was able to walk ten kilometers yesterday'

(33) a. **iaʔ   ma-hiŋa-hiŋaʔ   ureʔ   pona   tou   ie   aya=te*
    I.1sg MA-RED-cook snake before but now not=TE
  b. *iaʔ   na-hiŋa-hiŋaʔ   ureʔ   pona   tou   ie   aya=te*
    I.1sg MA-RED-cook snake before but now not=TE
    'I used to cook snakes, but not any longer'

(34) a. **pona   iaʔ   k-um-a-k-um-an   babi   tou   ie   aya=te   kuari*
    before I.1sg UM-RED-eat pig but now not=TE able
  b. *pona   iaʔ   k-im-a-k-im-an   babi   tou   ie   aya=te   kuari*
    before I.1sg UM-RED-eat pig but now not=TE able
    'I used to eat pork before, but I can't eat it any more'

The below examples are taken from Bantik texts. Repeated actions in examples (35) to (37) are described by verbs in past tense and iterative aspect. The actions are limited in length (example 35), or have limited goal (example 36 and 37).

(35)   '*iaʔ   m-ako   nu-banua   ramoʔ   gareʔ   iaʔ*'
    I.1sg MA-go NU-village big only I.1sg
    indoʔ=ne,   bo   isie   k-im-ompo-kompoʔ   n-ako   nu-banua   ramoʔ (TBR)
    answer=NI.3sg and I.1sg IM-RED-jump NA-go NU-village big
    '"I will go to the town by myself", he answered, and he went to the town jumping'

(36)   *terpaksa,   i-kasimbahaʔ   r-im-ampaŋ   ni-diŋan=ne   anaʔ* (K)
    be.forced I-Kasimbaha IM-waok NI-take=NI.3sg child
    man-deaʔ   ada   su-sunte=te   i-maʔ   nu-anaʔ.
    MAN-search if SU-where=TE I-mother NU-child

ɾ-im-ampa-ɾampaŋ   isie   na-i-ako   ni-tou   gagudaŋ.
IM-RED-walk   I-3sg   NA-I-go   NI-PRO   elder.person
'Kasimbaha was forced to walk with his child, looking for the mother of the child. He walked and walked until he met an old man'

(37)   *posoʔ papondo bo   p-in-atiŋka-riŋku-riŋkunan=ne   su-huaŋ=ne   e* (K)
        put   basket   and   IN-PA-TINGKA-RED-coil=NI.3sg SU-inside=NI.3sg DP
        'The basket was put down and he was made to coil repeatedly inside the basket'

3. Generic sentences

As already stated in section 1.1, generic sentences are stated in non-past tense.

(38)   *manuʔ   ŋ-kotoʔ ŋ-kayu t-um-araʔ*
        bird   NU-top NU-tree UM-fly
        'Birds fly' (*Lit.* Birds of the tree (as opposed to chickens, which is also denoted by *manuʔ*) fly)

(39)   *ana-anaʔ iŋkaʔ   nu-gagudaŋ*
        children   order   NU-parent
        'Children are given orders by their parents'

(40)   *toumata   ma-iɾaŋ*
        people   MA-die
        'Man is mortal'

4. Tense selection within the subordinate clauses

As stated in section 1.1, the reference point of the tense selection or tense locus within a subordinate clause is its main clause. ('*naiʔ*' in example (41) is an irregular verb; *naiʔ* is non-past form and *si-naiʔ* is past form).

(41) a. *isie   ma-hiŋaʔ kanen hibi   ka   sinage naiʔ*
      I.3sg   MA-cook food   evening because people come
      'S/he will cook dinner because the guests are coming'
   b. *isie   ma-hiŋaʔ kanen hibi   ka   sinage si-naiʔ*
      I.3sg   MA-cook food   evening because people PAST-come
      'S/he will cook dinner because the guests came'
   c. *isie   na-hiŋaʔ kanen hibi   ka   sinage naiʔ*
      I.3sg   NA-cook food   evening because people come
      'S/he cooked dinner because the guests would come'
   d. *isie   na-hiŋaʔ kanen hibi   ka   sinage si-naiʔ*
      I.3sg   NA-cook food   evening because people PAST-come
      'S/he cooked dinner because the guests had come'

(42) a. *isie   nam-beɾe   ka ene nu   aya   h-um-utuŋ*
      I.3sg   NAN-work in.order.that not   UM-hungry
      'S/he worked in order not to get starved'
   b. *isie   nam-beɾe   ka ene bo   aya   h-im-utuŋ*
      I.3sg   NAN-work so.that   not   UM-hungry
      'S/he worked, so that s/he was not starved'

If the two clauses are equivalent, both cluases are supposed to have the point of utterance as the tense locus. *Ni-kauman* (which is in Conveyance Voice, Active Voice counterpart is *ma-kauman*) is categorized in Group I (take past tense for an ongoing action), and its meaning changes according to the tense of the verb in the main clause.

(43) a. *isie   ma-nekosoʔ   pona   si-siaʔ   tou   ni-kauman*
      I.1sg   MAN-steal   before   SI-1sg   but   NI-witness
      'S/he tried to steal something from me before, but was found before doing so'
   b. *isie   na-nekosoʔ   pona   si-siaʔ   tou   ni-kauman*
      I.1sg   NAN-steal   before   SI-1sg   but   NI-witness
      'S/he stole something from me before, but was witnessed doing so'

5. Summary of tense selection in Bantik

As Bantik verbs are categorized in three groups according to their selection of tense. It is not very clear why some activity verbs are take non-past tense for an ongoing event while the others take past tense. I just stated that it is the lexical aspect that divides activity verbs into two. Further study is required to search for the factor which is responsible for the division.

If we look at Group II and Group III verbs, which take non-past tense for ongoing events and select past tense for events which has finished, 'imperfective' and 'perfective' seem to be the adequate terms for the morphological opposition that concerns time: thus the opposition is not that of tense but of aspect. However, Group I verbs, especially activity verbs require the opposition to be that of tense: non-past versus past.

6. Aspectual particles

I have pointed out that there are two particles, *te* and *ken*, which add aspectual meanings to verbs and adjectives in Bantik. The same particle has different aspectual meaning according to the type of verbs to which it attaches. In this section, we are going to see what aspect these particles show when they attach to verbs of each group. First, usages of *te* and *ken* are presented, then the variations of their aspectual meanings are treated.

6.1. *Te* and *Ken*

Te, as a completive particle, indicates high probability of the event when it is attached to non-past tense verb as in (44), but sometimes it shows that the event has occurred as in (45). The difference is caused by the lexical aspect of the verb.

(44)   *iaʔ   ma-mokei=te   si-heis*
      I.1sg   MAN-call=TE   SI-Heis
      'I'm going to call Heis (right now)'
(45)   *iaʔ   ma-tuɾau=te   su-buha*
      I.1sg   NA-live=TE   SU-Buha
      'I (started to) live in Buha (the name of the village in which Bantik is spoken)'

When it is attached to a past tense verb, it shows that the event has occurred. For stative verbs (which is included in Group II), it can show the current situation as shown in (47)a. When *te* is not attached, a stative verb in past tense show the past situation. In example (48), It can show that the event denoted by *te*-attached verb has occurred before another event.

(46)   *isie   na-baŋon=te*
      I.3sg   NA-wake.up=TE
      'He woke up (so he is awake now)'
(47) a. *iaʔ   na-biahaʔ=te   k-im-an   su-pakabiŋan*
      I.1sg   NA-alive=TE   IM-eat   SU-wedding.party
      'I am full (after) eating at the wedding party.'
   b. *iaʔ   na-biahaʔ   k-im-an   su-pakabiŋan   kahibi*
      I.1sg   NA-alive   IM-eat   SU-wedding.party   yesterday
      'I was full (after) eating at the wedding party yesterday'

(48) *iaʔ na-mokei=te si-heis bo na-haraʔ si-sie*
I.1sg NAN-call=TE SI-heis and NA-wait.for SI-3sg
'I called Heis and waited for him'

Ken is called 'continuative' particle. When it is attached to a verb, it may have three somewhat different meanings. First, it shows that the event will be done before something else as in (49), or after a little while. Second, it may mean that the event is still going on as in (50). Third, it sometimes indicates that the event will be repeated again.

(49) *i-stenli ma-neno=ken buhu m-ako nu-benaŋ*
I-Stenly MAN-bathe=KEN new MA-go NU-port
'Stenly will bathe first then go to Benang (=Manado city)'
(50) *i-heis na-nosoʔ=ken*
I-Heis NAN-smoke=KEN
'Heis still smokes'
(51) *i-stefi ma-baŋon=ken*
I-Stevy MA-wake.up=KEN
'Stevy will wake up again.'

6.2. *Te* with verbs

Te can be said to add 'completive aspect', but its aspect may vary. When it is attached to Group I verb, which take non-past tense for future events and past tense for ongoing and past events, it adds meaning that 'the event is **surely** be done' or 'the event will be done in **very near future**'. The below examples have Group I verb in non-past tense with *te*.

(52) a. *iaʔ s-um-uʔ=te sikora ene, aya ma-mikihiʔ bari-ne*
I.1sg UM-enter=TE school that not MAN-think other-NE
'I'm going to enter that school, I won't change my mind'
   b. **iaʔ s-um-uʔ sikora ene, aya ma-mikihiʔ bari-ne*
I.1sg UM-enter school that not MAN-think other-NE
(53) *isie ma-hiŋa=te ka i-maʔ=ne aya ma-bei*
I.3sg MA-cook=TE because I-mother=NI.3sg not MA-return
'S/he will surely cook because her/his mother will not return'
(54) *isie ma-iraŋ=te*
I.3sg MA-die=TE
'S/he is dying'
(55) *na-ka-suei tamai na-hiŋaʔ, kapuna na-mokei=te si-manuʔ bahoa*
NA-KA-finish DIR NA-cook, dog NA-call=TE SI-bird heron
ka k-um-an=te (KB)
because UM-eat=TE
'After finishing cooking, Dog called Heron to eat'

When instantaneous verbs (Group I) are in the past tense, *te* means either the event **has occurred** or the event **has started**. It is quite often the case that *te* is added to show the event happened before another event, as in (56). As for activity verbs I (Group I), *te*, together with a past tense verb, may express that the event **has begun**, and the entity denoted by a subject NP is **still doing the action**. In (57), *na-bei=te* (returned=TE) describes the 'returning' action has begun. The two verbs which follow it describes what happened during the returning action. Example (58) has two verbs that explain the state of a banana tree. *Te* is added after Group I verb in past tense to denote ongoing event.

(56) *i-mari   na-nabo=te   bua   nu-hahompoŋan   buhu   iaʔ   na-bei*
      I-Mary   NA-fall=TE   from   NU-chair   new   I.1sg   NA-return
      'Mary fell from the chair, and (after that) I returned'

(57) *isie   na-ŋaraʔ   bo   ni-diŋan   n-ako   nu   baɾei,*
      I.3pl   NAN-take   and   NI-take   NA-go   NU   house,
      isie   na-bei=te   n-ako   nu   baɾei,   ni-diŋan=ne (KU)
      I.3pl   NA-return=TE   NA-go   NU   house   NI-take=NI.3sg
      'She took (a banana) and (the banana) was taken to her home, she returned home, (the banana) was taken by her'

(58) *yo   busaʔ   ma-bua=te,   aya   na-tahaŋ   yo   na-bua=te,   bo*
      then   banana   MA-fruit=TE   not   NA-long   then   NA-bruit=te, and
      ɾ-um-oŋkoŋ=te   busaʔ   e. (TB)
      UM-get.fat=TE   banana   DP
      'Then the banana (tree) was about to bear fruites, before long it bore fruits, and the bananas got fat.'

When *te* is attached to Group II and Group III verbs in non-psat tense, it shows that the event **has occurred**, and the event is currently observed. (59) has a stative verb, (60) has an activity verb II, and (61) has an abilitative verb.

(59) *uai   ene   ma-tasaʔ=te*
      mango   that   MA-get.ripe=TE
      'That mango is already ripe'

(60) *side   ɾ-um-ampaŋ=te   su-daɾen   ene*
      I.3pl   UM-waok=TE   SU-road   that
      'The are walking on the road'

(61) *iaʔ   ma-ka-abiʔ=te   baŋo*
      I.1sg   MA-ABL-climb=TE   coconut
      'I am already able to climg a coconut tree'

When Group II and III verbs are in past tense with *te*, it emphasizes that the event has **already occurred** (example 62), or the state **has begun** (example 63).

(62) *side   ɾ-im-ampaŋ=te   su-daɾen   ene   buhu   otoʔ   si-naiʔ*
      I.3pl   IM-walk=TE   SU-road   that   new   car   PAST-come
      'They were walking on the road and then the car came'

(63) *ni-ka-hibi-an=te   be   yo   gaɾe   na-ka-hompaʔ=te   be*
      NI-ABL-night-AN=TE   DP   then   only   NA-ABL-encounter=TE   DP
      hohian   insauʔ. (K)
      hut   one
      'The night had come, then (they) only encountered one hut.'

6.3. *Ken* with verbs

Ken has three meanings as already explained in 6.1. When Group I verbs in non-past tense take *ken*, it means that the event **will be done after a while** (not immediate future), as in examples (64) and (65), and **before another event**, as in (49) above. When the context requires, it can mean that the event will be done '**again**', as in (66).

(64) *iaʔ   ma-tiki=ken   su-sini   kainapa   bo   hibi=te* (K)
      I.1sg   MA-sleep=KEN   SU-here   because   and   evening=TE
      'I will sleep before long because it is already evening'

(65)   *iaʔ*   *maŋ-kedeʔ=ken*   *ma-nosoʔ*   *ka*   *sokoɾ-an*
         I.1sg   MAN-stop=KEN   MAN-smoke   because cough-AN
         'I will stop smoke after a while because of coughing.'

(66)   *anaʔ*   *sikoɾa*   *ene* *ma-kinaʔ=ken*
         child   school   that MA-ask=KEN
         'That student will ask again'

When Group I verbs take past tense, *ken* adds the meaning that the event **has begun**, and the event **has not been finished** as in (67). It also means that the event occurred before some other event(s) as in (68). It can mean that the event happened again as in (69).

(67)   *isie*   *naŋ-kedeʔ=ken*   *na-nosoʔ*
         I.3sg   NAN-stop=KEN   NAN-smoke
         'He has stopped smoking (recently)'

(68)   *side*   *nam-beɾe=ken*   *buhu*   *k-im-an*
         I.3pl   NAN-work=KEN   new   IM-eat
         'The worked, and then ate (lunch)'

(69)   *ɾumanai*   *mai ie,*   *na-nahiti=ken*
         afternoon DP   this   NAN-rain=KEN
         'This afternoon, it rained again.'

When Group II and III verbs in non-past tense take *ken*, it means that the event **is going on** at the tense locus (see examples 69 and 70).

(70)   *iaʔ*   *ma-tihoʔ=ken*   *m-iɾipiʔ*   *e*
         I.1sg   MA-know=KEN   MA-dive   DP
         'I still know how to dive'

(71)   *iaʔ*   *ma-hiŋa-hiŋaʔ=ken*   *huntia*   *ɾou*
         I.1sg   MA-RED-cook=KEN   every   day
         'I still cooks every day'

If Group II and III verbs are in past tense, ken indicates that the event or state **has continued** at the tense locus.

(72)   *i-pasko* *na-haɾaʔ=ken*   *otoʔ*   *manen*   *hibi*
         I-Vasco   NA-wait=KEN   car   although   evening
         'Vasco was still waiting for a car although it was already dark'

(73)   *iaʔ*   *na-tihoʔ=ken*   *m-iɾipiʔ*   *e*   *taon*   *insauʔ*
         I.1sg   NA-know=KEN   MA-dive   DP   year   one
         'I knew how to dive last year'

(74)   *uai*   *ene*   *na-tasaʔ=ken*   *buhu* *side*   *k-im-an*
         mango   that   NA-ripe=KEN   new   I.3sg   IM-eat
         'That mango was ripe when then ate it'

6.4. Aspectual particles and type of verbs

The below table summarizes the meanings of aspectual particles when they attach to.

Verbs		only verbs	with *te*	with *ken*
Group I	non-past	future action	highly probable future action	action which will occur in a while, action which will occur before other action
	past	ongoing action, past action	the action has occurred, the action is still going on	the action has begun, the action has not been finished
Group II	non-past	future event, ongoing event	the event has begun	the event still continues
	past	past event	the event has started and still continues	the event continued until the tense locus
Group III	non-past	iterative event, or ability in future, present, and past	the event has begun	the event still continues
	past	limited event	the event has started and still continues	the event continued until the tense locus

7. Summary

The system of tense and aspect in the Bantik language is not simple. Morphologically, non-past and past tenses are distinguished for verbs. Lexical aspect of each verb affects the interpretation of each tense.

The start point of the event is crucial for Group I verbs. Non-past tense is selected before the start point, and past tense is required once the event has started. This group include instantaneous verbs and some of the activity verbs (activity verbs I).

In contrast, the end point is crucial for Group II verbs. Non-past tense is selected for future event as well as present event. Past tense is for already finished event. Group II include stative verbs, accomplishment verbs, and some of the activity verbs (activity verbs II). So far, the factor that distinguishes two groups of activity verbs is not known.

Group III verbs, in principle, take non-past tense. Only limited event (limited in time of occurrence, has limited object, etc) in the past is expressed by past tense form.

Aspectual particles *te* and *ken* also play an important role in expressing an aspect of each verb in a sentence.

Abbreviation

ABL   Abilitative prefix *ka-*
-AN   Suffix –AN, which indicates Goal Voice
I-   Noun marker for subject NPs (for singular human)
NI-   Noun marker for genitive NPs (for singular human)
NI-   Past tense marker for Undergoer Voices
NU-   Noun marker for genitive NPs (for plural human and non-human)
NU   Linker, Genitive marker, Complementizer
SI-   Noun marker for object NPs (for singular human)
SU-   Noun marker for object NPs (for plural human and non-human)
SU   Locative marker

PRO   Pronoun for third person singular (both human and non-human)
DP   Discourse paticle
(KU)   Sentences taken from 'Biou ni-kohasaʔ bo i-uɾeʔ (Story of an Iguana and Snake)
(TB)   Sentences taken from 'Biou ni-timpunu bo i-boheŋ (Story of a Turtle and a Monkey)
(KB)   Sentences taken from 'Biou ni-Kapuna bo I-bagau' (Story of a dog and a heron bird)
(K)   Sentences taken from 'Kasimbahaʔ' (Story of the man who married an angel)
(TBR)   Sentences taken from 'Tumpeɾe m-ako nu banua ɾamoʔ'(Story of the frog who went to a big town)

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