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. 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-. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Actor Voice</th>
<th>Goal Voice</th>
<th>Conveaynce Voice</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-past</td>
<td>tonton</td>
<td>t-um-onton t-im-onton</td>
<td>tonton-an ni-tonton-an</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>to watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-past</td>
<td>kiso</td>
<td>ma-kiso na-kiso</td>
<td>kiso-n</td>
<td>* ni-kiso</td>
<td>to rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-past</td>
<td>bihei</td>
<td>ma-mihei na-mihei</td>
<td>bih-an ni-bih-an</td>
<td>bihei</td>
<td>to give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
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</table>

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 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-rampañ is the progressive form of paki-rampañ (‘to be made walk’, Conveyance Voice, derivational verb). Examples are shown in (1) and (2).

(1) toumata kahagasa nu ma-ŋaɾ baɾei
people now NU MA-make house
‘People are/were building a house’

(2) salana kahagasa nu paki-ɾampañ 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-ɾampa-ne is that of ɾ-um-ampañ. (3) and (4) are the examples.

(3) kapara ka-taŋ-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’

The 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-ooy-ooyou su ake bagai ie ada kokonio?=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: aspecialtial 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 ia? 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-bohe na-bei=te, yo kudi? isie na-dandi?=te (TB)  
I-monkey NA-return=TE and be.said I.3sg NA-sing=TE  
‘The monkey returned and sang, they say’

(11)  
abi?-ai=ken nao busa?=ku e bohe (TB)  
climb-IMP=KEN upwards banana=I.1sg DP monkey  
‘Climb my banana tree upwards, please, monkey’

(12)  
isie ma-hiJA=ken ka i-ma?=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 aspecual 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-daren 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.

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-iraj
   I-mother=N.I.1sg MA-die
   ‘My mother is dying’

   b. i-maʔ=ku na-iraj
   I-mother=N.I.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-bere ‘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-bonkoro ma-nosoʔ = te sosoʔ = nu
   I-Bonkoro MA-smoke=TE cigerette=NI.2sg
   ‘Bonkoro is about to smoke your cigerette now!’

     b. i-bonkoro na-nosoʔ sosoʔ = nu
   I-Bonkoro MA-smoke cigerette=NI.2sg
   ‘Bonkoro started to smoke your cigerette/ Bonkoro smoked your cigerette’

(20) a. side mam-bere su-saŋkoi n-side
   I.3pl MAN-work SU-field NU-3pl
   ‘They will work in their field.’

     b. side nam-bere 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>start point</th>
<th>end point</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>non-past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example (21), (22) and (24) (r-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-haraʔ otoʔ
   I-Vasco MA-wait car
   ‘Vasco is waiting for a car/ Vasco will wait for a car’

     b. i-pasko na-haraʔ otoʔ
   I-Vasco NA-wait car
   ‘Vasco was waiting for a car/ Vasco waited for a car’

(22) a. isie ma-tihoʔ m-iripiʔ e
   I.3sg MA-know MA-dive DP
   ‘S/he knows how to dive’

     b. isie na-tihoʔ n-iripiʔ e
   I.3sg NA-know NA-dive DP
   ‘S/he knew how to dive’
Then, they say, people saw them (=Iguana and Snake) and ran because of Iguana and Snake.'

(24) **dira ni-kapuna r-im-oap=te.**

tongue NI-dog IM-be.out=TE

Then I-dog MA-thirsty=TE and MA-hungry=TE

I-dog UM-get.near=TE but food SU inside NU-bamboo.

'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.


1.1sg MA-ABL-climb coconut.tree every NU-day

'I can climb a coconut tree every day'

b. **ia? na-ka-abi? bago ene tou ie aya=te**

1.1sg NA-ABL-climb coconut.tree that but now not=TE

'I could climb that coconut tree, but not anymore'

(26) a. **ia? ma-hiña-hiña? ada ma-bei=te su-banua**

1.1sg MA-RED-cook if MA-return=TE SU-village

'I always cook when I return to my village'

b. **ia? na-hiña-hiña? ada ma-ŋuda=ken**

1.1sg MA-RED-cook if MA-young=KEN

'I used to cook when I was young'

(27) a. **isie pona ma-noso? tou ie aya=te**

I.3sg before MAN-smoke but now not=TE

'S/he smoked before, but not any more'

b. **isie na-noso? kabaini**

I.3sg NAN-smoke just.now

'S/he smoked just now'

(28) a. **apa kudi?, i-kohasa nu-datehe=ne, bo i-ure? nu kantŋ=ne.**

what be.said I-iguana NU-plain=NI.3sg and I-snake NU mountain=NI.3sg

kudi? side dua r-um-ampa-rampaŋ ka-no=ne na-hisabu. (KU)

be.said 1.3pl 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-rapa mu-ake sanŋoi n-side, pai panenonenon ni-iŋkŋuŋ n-tou korano.**

SU-near NU-water field NU-3pl exist bathing.place NI-spouse NI-PRO king

i-ŋkŋuŋ n-tou korano kudi? m-ako ma-neno-neno su-sene, r-um-impə

I-spouse NI-PRO king be.said MA-go MA-RED-bathe SU-there UM-go.through

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34
su=sangkoi (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. ia? man-dea-ndaea? dompet=ku tou aya ni-ka-dea?
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. ia? nan-dea-ndaea? dompet=ku tou aya ni-ka-dea?
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. *bayo ie pona ka-abi?=ku ka-dua
coconut this before KA-climb=NI.1sg KA-two
b. bayo ie pona ni-ka-abi?=ku ka-dua
coconut this before NI-KA-climb=NI.1sg KA-two
‘This coconut tree, I climbed twice’

(32)a. *ia? ma-ka-sukun r-um-ampaŋ puro η-kilo kanehaba?
I.1sg MA-ABL-be.able UM-walk ten NU-kilometer yesterday
b. ia? na-ka-sukun r-im-ampaŋ puro η-kilo kanehaba?
I.1sg NA-ABL-be.able IM-walk ten NU-kilometer yesterday
‘I was able to walk ten kilometers yesterday’

(33)a. *ia? ma-hiŋa-hiŋa? ure? pona tou ie aya=te
I.1sg MA-RED-cook snake before but now not=TE
b. ia? na-hiŋa-hiŋa? ure? 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 ia? 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 ia? 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).

I.1sg MA-go NU-village big only I.1sg
indo?=ne, bo isie k-im-ompoo-kompo? n-ako nu-banua ramo? (TBR)
answer=NI.3sg and 1.1sg 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-kasimbaha? r-im-ampaŋ ni-diyan=ne ana? (K)
be.forced I-Kasimbaha IM-waok NI-take=NI.3sg child
man-dea? ada su-sunte=te i-ma? nu-ana?
MAN-search if SU-where=TE I-mother NU-child
3. Generic sentences

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

(38)  "manuʔ ŋ-kotoʔ ŋ-kayu ʔ-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 ʔy̱ŋkaʔ nu-gagudañ
children order NU-parent
‘Children are given orders by their parents’

(40)  "toumata ma-iʔailihan
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-hiʔaʔ ʔkänen ʔhibi ʔka ʔsinage naiʔ?
I.3sg MA-cook food evening because people come
‘S/he will cook dinner because the guests are coming’
b.  "isie ma-hiʔaʔ ʔkänen ʔhibi ʔka ʔsinage si-naiʔ?
I.3sg MA-cook food evening because people PAST-come
‘S/he will cook dinner because the guests came’
c.  "isie na-hiʔaʔ ʔkänen ʔhibi ʔka ʔsinage naiʔ?
I.3sg NA-cook food evening because people come
‘S/he cooked dinner because the guests would come’
d.  "isie na-hiʔaʔ ʔkänen ʔhibi ʔka ʔsinage 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-bere ka ene nu ʔaya ʔh-um-utuŋ
I.3sg NAN-work in.order.that not UM-hungry
‘S/he worked in order not to get starved’
b.  "isie nam-bere ka ene bo ʔaya ʔh-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 clauses 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.
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) ia? ma-mokei=te si-heis
I.1sg MAN-call=TE SI-Heis
‘I’m going to call Heis (right now)’

(45) ia? ma-turai=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-bajon=te
I.3sg NA-wake.up=TE
‘He woke up (so he is awake now)’

(47) a. ia? na-biha?=te k-im-an su-pakabigan
I.1sg NA-alive=TE IM-eat SU-wedding.party
‘I am full (after) eating at the wedding party.’

b. ia? na-biha? k-im-an su-pakabigan kahibi
I.1sg NA-alive IM-eat SU-wedding.party yesterday
‘I was full (after) eating at the wedding party yesterday’
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-benay
I-Stenly MAN-bathe=KEN new MA-go NU-port
‘Stenly will bathe first then go to Benang (=Manado city)’

(50) i-heis na-noso=ken
I-Heis NAN-smoke=KEN
‘Heis still smokes’

(51) i-stefi ma-banjon=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.

(52a) ia? s-um-u?=te siko ene, aya ma-mikihi? 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. *ia? s-um-u? siko ene, aya ma-mikihi? bari-ne
I.1sg UM-enter school that not MAN-think other-NE

(53) isie ma-hiña=te ka i-ma?=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-iraj=te
I.3sg MA-die=TE
‘S/he is dying’

(55) na-ka-suei tamai na-hiña?, kapuna na-mokei=te si-manu? baho
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 ia? 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-ŋara? bo ni-diŋan n-ako nu barei,*
   I.3pl NAN-take and NI-take NA-go NU house,
   *isie na-bei=te n-ako nu barei, 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-daren ene*
   I.3pl UM-waok=TE SU-road that
   ‘The are walking on the road’

(61) *iaʔ ma-ka-abiʔ=te bayo*
   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-daren ene buhu otoʔ si-nai?*
   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 gare na-ka-hompaʔ=te be*
   NI-ABL-night-AN=TE be yo gare 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’
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 na-n₃₃-kede?=ken na-noso?**
I.3sg NAN-stop=KEN NAN-smoke
‘He has stopped smoking (recently)’

(68) **side nam-₃₃-bere?=ken buhu k-im-an**
I.3pl NAN-work=KEN new IM-eat
‘The worked, and then ate (lunch)’

(69) **ramanai 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) **ia? ma-tiho?=ken m-i₃₃-ripi? e**
I.1sg MA-know=KEN MA-dive DP
‘I still know how to dive’

(71) **ia? ma-hi₃₃-hi₃₃?=ken huntia rou**
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-hara?=ken oto? manen hibi**
I-Vasco NA-wait=KEN car although evening
‘Vasco was still waiting for a car although it was already dark’

(73) **ia? na-tiho?=ken m-ripi? e taon insau?**
I.1sg NA-know=KEN MA-dive DP year one
‘I knew how to dive last year’

(74) **uai ene na-tasa?=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.

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

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
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PRO Pronoun for third person singular (both human and non-human)
DP Discourse particle
(KU) Sentences taken from ‘Biou ni-kohasa? bo i-uɾeʔ (Story of an Iguana and Snake)
(TB) Sentences taken from ‘Biou ni-timpunu bo i-bohej (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 banuaɾamoʔ’(Story of the frog who went to a big town)

References


