The System of Tense and Aspect in the Bantik Language

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The Bantik language, which belongs to the Sangiric micro-group (cf. Sneddon 1993) within the Philippine group, has two morphologically indicated tense oppositions—the non-past tense and the past tense. In addition, the language includes progressive, habitual, and iterative aspects.

This paper aims, first, to present an overview of the tense and aspect systems in the Bantik language. Although Philippine languages are normally described as not having tenses but, rather, as having aspect, a group of Bantik verbs seem to show a tense opposition. Second, it focuses on the classification of Bantik verbs with respect to the meanings they express by their tense forms. In short, stative verbs express a current event by using the non-past tense, while achievement verbs express a future event by using the non-past tense. Activity verbs are categorized into two groups; the first group uses the non-past tense to express a current event, while the second group expresses a future event. Abilitative verbs, in contrast to the other verbs, use the non-past form to refer to a past event.

1. Overview of Bantik Morphology concerning tense and aspect

1.1 Overview of tense and aspect in Philippine type languages

In much of the literature on the Philippine type languages which are found across the Philippines and from North to Central Sulawesi, verbs are described as having aspect, but not tense. Most of those languages are claimed to have moods as well. For example, Himmelmann (2005:363) shows that the Tagalog verb paradigm has both a perfective/imperfective aspect opposition and a non-realis/realis mood opposition. These result in four distinct combinations: non-realis/perfective, non-realis/imperfective, realis/perfective, and realis/imperfective. Hirano (2012) describes Tagalog as having five different morphological aspects distinguished. These are Neutral, Imperative, Perfective, Imperfective, and Inceptive. Pendau, a language spoken in Central Sulawesi, is also described by Quick (2007) as having grammaticalised aspect and mood similar to Tagalog, but not tense.

On the other hand, Cebuano, which is closely related with the languages of North Sulawesi, is sometimes described as having grammaticalised tense. Tanangkingsing (2011: 34-35) claims that Cebuano has two tenses: future, which is marked by the prefix m-; and Non-future which is marked by the prefix n-. Rääsänen & Rääsänen (2007:149) also posit present (marked by mi-), and past (marked by ni-) tenses.

The Bantik verbs show the following oppositions. On one hand, the infix <um>, the prefix ma-, the prefix maN- form one group that shows some aspect or tense. On the other hand, the infix <im>, the prefix na-, the prefix naN-, form another group. I describe the former group as the non-past tense and the latter as the past tense, because a group of verbs behave in a way that perfectly fits the notion of a non-past vs past opposition when those affixes are attached. This group of verbs will be described as Group II verbs in section 2.3. They take non-past tense for ongoing events and future events, while taking past tense for events that occurred in the past. However, there are other types of verbs, namely Group III in section 2.4, which behave in a way that the
notion of imperfective/perfective aspect opposition pleasantly fits. Group I verbs exhibit more or less a non-future/ future opposition.

Preceding literature on Bantik such as Bawole (1993) and Danie et al (1991/1992) have not discussed the tense and aspect system in Bantik clearly. Bantik verbs in the non-past tense are translated into Indonesian as ‘akan + verb’, and those in the past tense are translated as ‘sudah + verb’. Although the Indonesian translations suggest that they regard the former as future tense and the latter as perfective aspect, I will label this morphological opposition of verbs a non-past/past tense opposition, since it seems to be the easiest label to use for understanding their actual usage.

1.2. Non-past and past tense forms

Bantik verbs have either non-past or past tense forms that 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 their Actor Voice form. The first group of verbs takes the infix *um*/im*, the second group uses the prefix ma-/na-, and the third group takes maN-/naN. The first and second affixes of each pair indicate non-past and past tenses, respectively. As for the two Undergoer Voice forms in Bantik, all the verbs behave similarly; no specific affixes are used for the non-past tense, but for the past tense, the prefix ni-, or its free variation form, the infix -in-, should be attached.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Actor Voice</th>
<th>Goal Voice</th>
<th>Conveyance Voice</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-past tonton</td>
<td>t&lt;um&gt;tonton</td>
<td>tonton-an</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>to watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>t&lt;im&gt;tonton</td>
<td>ni-tonton-an</td>
<td>/ *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-past kiso</td>
<td>ma-kiso</td>
<td>kiso-n</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>to rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>na-kiso</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>ni-kiso/k-in-iso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-past bihei</td>
<td>ma-mihei</td>
<td>bih-an</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>to give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>na-mihei</td>
<td>ni-bih-an/ b-in-ih-an</td>
<td>ni-bihei/ b-in-ihei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Paradigm of Bantik verbs

In Bantik, the non-past tense is considered to be a more unmarked tense for the following reasons. First, generic sentences are expressed in the non-past tense. Second, verbs in the habitual aspect are always in the non-past tense. Third, verbs in the iterative aspect and abilitative verbs are overwhelmingly in the non-past tense. Nevertheless, some cases require the past tense for iterative aspect and abilitative verbs. These cases will be investigated in comparison with their non-past tense counterparts later in this paper.

The reference point for tense selection is, in principle, the point of utterance. In complex sentences, the time of the main clause is usually the reference point of subordinate clauses. This will be discussed in section 4. Negative sentences can be in both non-past and past tenses.

1 The Bantik verbs, by definition, show a tense opposition, whereas adjectives do not.
2 N in maN-/naN- (and kapaN-), which appear in section 1.2 stands for nasalization or insertion of a homorganic nasal, which is widely observed in other western Malayo-Polynesian languages.
1.3. Progressive forms

The progressive aspect can be expressed in three different ways in Bantik. One progressive aspect marker is used for every verb: basic\(^3\) or derivational, Actor Voice or Undergoer Voice. This aspect is formed by using kahagasa, which means ‘now’ if used alone, plus the linker nu and in the non-past tense (NOT a base). Kahagasa nu ma-neno is the progressive form of ma-neno (‘to bathe’, Actor Voice, basic verb), and kahagasa nu paki-rampay is the progressive form of paki-rampay (‘to be made to walk’, Conveyance Voice, derivational verb). Other examples are shown in (1) and (2).

1. **toumata kahagasa nu ma-narimu? barei**
   - People are/were building a house

2. **salana kahagasa nu paki-pedeke? ni-linda si-hili**
   - The trousers are being shortened by Hilly who follows Linda’s order

The second form requires one of the following prefixes ka-, kapa-, or kapaN-, as well as the suffix -ne attached to the base. This form expresses the basic verb meaning, and is considered to be in Actor Voice. Kapa-neno-ne is the progressive form of ma-neno (Actor Voice, basic verb), and ka-rampay-ne is that of r<um>rampay. Examples (3) and (4) demonstrate this form.

3. **kapara ka-tagoy=ne**
   - The boat is/was sinking

4. **i-terok kapa-suba=ne su gaheda**
   - Terok is/was praying in the church

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

5. **tipasa? tudo-tudo su timbonan=ne**
   - 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 third forms can only be used for basic verbs in Actor Voice.

1.4. Habitual and iterative: forms with partial reduplication

Two forms of partial reduplication are found in the Bantik morphology. In one form, 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 used in Actor Voice) (example 6) or ‘habitual aspect’ (example 7). The former, which will be called a ‘plurational’ morpheme and glossed as PLUAC, is used both in the non-past and the past tense, while the latter, that shows ‘habitual’ aspect, is used only in the non-past tense. The habitual aspect usually expresses constantly repeated action that

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\(^3\) I use the term ‘basic verbs’ to refer to verbs that have no derivational affixes attached.
relates to the occupation of the actor. This habitual form can also be interpreted as an adjective form that is used only for expressing occupation.

(6) \textit{i-pasko} bo \textit{i-stenli}
\text{NOM-Vasco} \text{ and NOM-Stenly}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{ma-n-a-nekoso?} / \textit{na-n-a-nekoso?} & \textit{manu?=ku} \\
\text{AV.NPST-PLAC~/a/-steal/ AV.PST- PLAC~/a/-steal} & \text{chicken=GEN.1sg} \\
\text{‘Vasco and Stenly will steal/stole my chickens’}
\end{tabular}

(7) \textit{i-pasko} ma-\eta-a-\etaopasa? / * na-\eta-a-\etaopasa?
\text{NOM-Vasco} AV.NPST-HAB~/a/-fish/ AV.PST-HAB~/a/-fish

\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{‘Vasco fishes constantly = Vasco is a fisherman’}
\end{tabular}

The plural usage of the above ‘C1 + /a/ + base’ has the same lexical aspect as a non-reduplicated (=basic) verb; therefore, it will not be discussed separately. The habitual form of the verb, however, has features different from those of a basic verb. It will be a focus in the following discussion.

The second reduplication pattern is expressed by the formula ‘\sigma1 + C2V2 + Base.’ The first syllable (\sigma1) and the onset and nucleus of the second syllable (C2V2) 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 the iterative aspect, that is, the repeated action or behavior. This aspect is normally used in the non-past tense, irrespective of the actual time in which the repeated action took place, as in example (8).

(8) \textit{i-santi} ma-ooy-oyou su ake bagai ie
\text{NOM-Santy} AV.NPST-ITER~swim \text{ LOC water big this}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{ada} kokonio?=\textit{ken} \\
when small=\text{CONT}
\end{tabular}

\text{‘Santy used to swim in this river when (he was) small’}

However, in some cases, the past tense is required for iterative aspect. These instances are discussed later.

1.5. \textit{te} and \textit{ken}: aspectual particles

\textit{Te} and \textit{ken} are particles that can be placed after verbs, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns. The following description explains the cases in which they are positioned after verbs. When placed after a verb, \textit{te} denotes completive aspect (see examples 9 and 10, where \textit{te} is glossed as CMPL), while \textit{ken} denotes continuative aspect (see examples 11 and 12, where \textit{ken} is glossed as CNT). However, these two particles may add somewhat different meanings, and will be discussed later in this paper.

(9) \textit{sene=te} ka \textit{ia?} m-ako=\textit{te} (TB)
\text{there=\text{COMPL} because NOM.1sg AV.NPST-go=\text{COMPL}}

\text{‘(Stay) there because I’m going’ (‘Going’ action will surely be done in the very near future)}

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4 This habitual form can also be interpreted as an adjective form used only for expressing occupation since it lacks the non-past vs. past tense opposition. I categorize this form as a verb of the habitual aspect because this form does not take derivational forms of adjectives.
(10) *i-boheŋ na-bei=te, yo kudiʔ isie*
   NOM-momken AV.PST-return=COMPL then be.said NOM.3sg

   *na-dandiʔ=te* (TB)
   AV.PST-sing=COMPL
   ‘The monkey returned and sang, they say’

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

(12) *isie ma-hiŋa=ken ka i-maʔ=ne*
    NOM.3sg AV.NPST-cook=CONT because NOM-mother=GEN.3sg

    *aya ma-bei*
    not AV.NPST-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 six categories of verbs can be posited from a semantic and aspectual viewpoint. Vendler (1957), Comrie (1976), and Chung and Timberlake (1985) are referred to for the below categorization.

1) Instantaneous verbs (or achievement verbs), which denote actions done in an instant. These verbs cannot take the progressive aspect.
2) Accomplishment verbs, which denote actions done in a certain duration of time and have a clear endpoint. The progressive form denotes an ongoing action.
3) Activity verbs, which denote actions done over a certain duration of time with no clear endpoint. The progressive form denotes an ongoing action.
4) Stative verbs, which denote events with no clear starting or ending point.
5) Iterative verbs, which denote actions done repeatedly.
6) Abilitative verbs, which denote the ability to perform an action.

From the perspective of the non-past versus past tense opposition, the above six categories are classified into three major groups—the instantaneous (1) and accomplishment (2) verbs form Group I; the activity (3) and stative (4) verbs form Group II; and the iterative (5) and abilitative (6) verbs form Group III. These will be described in detail in sections 2.2 to 2.4.

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

The following rule is valid for most Bantik verbs: the non-past tense is not used for past events, while the past tense is not used for future events. The only exception to this rule is observed in sentences with Group III verbs, that is, 5 (iterative) and 6 (abilitative) verbs. They are normally used in the non-past tense even if there is a clear indication within the linguistic or non-linguistic context that the event occurred in the past.

Ongoing events, or events occurring at the time of utterance, may be in the non-past tense for some verbs, but in the past tense for other verbs. The three groups are distinguished by the morphological tense a verb takes when it expresses an ongoing event.
The following categorization may change since a verb can take a different lexical aspect according to the context, as seen in examples (13) and (14). The verb \( r<\text{um}>\text{ampa} \) ‘walk’ (non-past tense) in example (13) and \( r<\text{im}>\text{ampa} \) ‘walk’ (past tense) in example (14) with the former interpretation is used as an activity verb (Group I), whereas \( r<\text{im}>\text{ampa} \) ‘walk’ (past tense) in example (14) with the latter interpretation is categorized as an accomplishment verb that belongs to Group II. The endpoint of \( r<\text{um}>\text{ampa} \) in (13) and \( r<\text{im}>\text{ampa} \) in the former interpretation of (14) is not clear, but the endpoint of \( r<\text{im}>\text{ampa} \) in (14) with the latter interpretation is clear; the stage when the baby starts to walk is the endpoint.

(13) \textit{isie r<\text{um}>\text{ampa} su daren ene} (the non-past tense)  
\text{NOM.3sg <um>walk LOC road that}  
‘He (usually) walks on that road/He is walking on that road (watching his action).’

(14) \textit{ana? kokonio? ene r<\text{im}>\text{ampa}=te} (the past tense)  
\text{child small that <im>walk=COMPL}  
‘That small child walked/That small child is already able to walk (watching the child walking).’

2.2. Group I

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

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

\textbf{Figure 1. Non-past and past tenses with instantaneous and accomplishment verbs}

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

(15) a. \textit{i-mari ma-nabo bua nu hahomponjan}  
\text{NOM-Mary AV.NPST-fall from LK chair}  
‘Mary will surely fall from the chair’

b. \textit{i-mari na-nabo bua nu hahomponjan}  
\text{NOM-Mary AV.PST-fall from LK chair}  
‘Mary fell from the chair’

(16) a. \textit{i-ma?=ku ma-iraj}  
\text{NOM-mother=GEN.1sg AV.NPST-die}  
‘My mother is dying’

b. \textit{i-ma?=ku na-iraj}  
\text{NOM-mother=GEN.1sg AV.PST-die}  
‘My mother died’
Accomplishment verbs like ma-noso? ‘to smoke’ and mam-bere ‘to work’ take the past tense form once the action has begun. The endpoint of ma-noso? is the time when the smoking action ends. The endpoint of mam-bere is also clear; the work has to end at a certain point. More examples are shown in (17), (18), (19), and (20).

(17) ana?=ku ma-neno
     child=GEN.1sg AV.NPST-bathe
     ‘My child will bathe’
(18) a: ia? ma-ki-denoana?=nu
     NOM.1sg AV.NPST-CAUS-bathe child=GEN.2sg
     ‘I’ll let your kid take a bath’
     b: ana?=ku na-neno
     child=GEN.1sg AV.PST-bathe
     ‘My child is bathing/My child bathed’
(19) a. i-bonkoro ma-noso?=te soso?=nu
     NOM-Bonkoro AV.NPST-smoke=COMPL cigarette=GEN.2sg
     ‘Bonkoro is about to smoke your cigarette now!’
     b. i-bonkoro na-noso? soso?=nu
     NOM-Bonkoro AV.NPST-smoke cigarette=GEN.2sg
     ‘Bonkoro started to smoke your cigarette/Bonkoro smoked your cigarette’
(20) a. side mam-bere su saŋkoi n-side
     NOM.3pl AV.NPST-work LOC field GEN-3pl
     ‘They will work in their field’
     b. side nam-bere su saŋkoi n-side
     NOM.3pl AV.PST-work LOC field GEN-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 stative and activity verbs. These verbs take the non-past tense until the events end; that is, ongoing events are expressed in non-past tense. They denote events that require relatively long duration. Figure 2 illustrates the usages of the 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>

**Figure 2. Non-past and past tenses with stative and activity verbs**

In examples (21) and (22), the activity verbs m-hahi ‘to run,’ r<um>apa y ‘to walk’ and ma-mosada? ‘to revenge’ are illustrated. The stative verbs ma-hara? ‘to wait’ and ma-tiho? ‘to know’ are found in example (23) and (24). Examples (21) and (22) are taken from oral texts that are predominantly told in the past tense.

(21) yo kudi? toumata na-ka-bua si-side, ma-hahi ka
     then be.told people AV.PST-ABL-see OBJ-3pl AV.NPST-run because
kohasa? bo ure? (KU)
Iguana and snake
‘Then, they say, people saw them (=Iguana and Snake) and ran because of Iguana and Snake.’

(22) dira ni-kapuna r<im>oŋ=te.
tongue GEN-dog <im>be.out=COMPL

yo ene i-kapuna ma-dou=te bo
then that NOM-dog AV.NPST-thirsty=COMPL and

ma-hutuŋ=te.
AV.NPST-hungry=COMPL

i-kapuna r<um>apa=te, tou kan su huŋ
NOM-dog <um>get.near=COMPL but food LOC inside

nu teriŋ.
LK bamboo.

bo isie ma-upiʔ kai-bahoa
and NOM.3sg AV.NPST-angry because NOM-heron

ma-mosadaʔ si-sie. (KB)
AV.NPST-revenge OBJ-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 got revenge on him’

(23) a. i-pasko ma-haraʔ otoʔ
NOM-Vasco AV.NPST-wait car?
‘Vasco is waiting for a car/ Vasco will wait for a car’

b. i-pasko na-haraʔ otoʔ
NOM-Vasco AV.PST-wait car
‘Vasco was waiting for a car/ Vasco waited for a car’

(24) a. isie ma-tihoʔ m-iiriʔ e
NOM.3sg AV.NPST-know AV.NPST-dive DP
‘S/he knows how to dive’

isie na-tihoʔ n-iiriʔ e
NOM.3sg AV.PST-know AV.PST-dive DP
‘S/he knew how to dive’

2.4. Group III
Verbs in the iterative aspect and the abilitative verbs comprise Group III. These verbs normally take non-past tense, as in examples (25) and (26). The verbs that 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 if the habit is in the past. If the past tense is used, as in (27)b, it then denotes an action (not a habit) that occurred in the past.

(25) a. iaʔ ma-ka-abiʔ bago huntia n
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-ABL-climb coconut.tree every LK
‘I can climb a coconut tree every day’

b. ia? ma-ka-abi?  bano ene tou
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-ABL-climb coconut.tree that but

ie aya=te
now not=COMPL
‘I could climb that coconut tree, but not anymore’

(26) a. ia? ma-hi=hi-aʔ ada ma-bei=te
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-ITER~cook if AV.NPST-return=COMPL

su banua
LOC village
‘I always cook when I return to my village’

b. ia? ma-hi=hi-aʔ ada ma-ŋuda=ken
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-ITER~cook if ADJVZ-young=CONT
‘I used to cook when I was young’

(27) isie pona ma-nosoʔ tou ie aya=te
NOM.3sg before AV.NPST-smoke but now not=COMPL
‘S/he smoked before, but not anymore’

(28) isie na-nosoʔ kabaini
NOM.3sg AV.PST-smoke just.now
‘S/he smoked just now’

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

(29) a. ia? man-dea-ndeaʔ dompet=ku tou aya
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-ITER~search purse=GEN.1sg but not

 ni-ka-deaʔ
UV.PST-ABL-search
‘I looked and looked for my purse, but could not find (it).’

b. ia? nan-dea-ndeaʔ dompet=ku tou ay
NOM.1sg AV.PST-ITER~search purse=GEN.1sg but not

 ni-ka-deaʔ
UV.PST-ABL-search
‘I looked and looked for my purse, but could not find (it).’

In other cases, however, the past tense form is preferred for Group III verbs. If the action was repeated for a limited number of times, only the past tense is allowed (see example 30). If a past event is described, even abilitative verbs should take the past tense, as in example (31). When a repeated action has a specific object, as in examples (32) and (33), only the past tense is accepted.

(30) a. *bano ie pona ka-abiʔ=ku ka-dua
coconut this before ABL-climb=GEN.1sg KA-two
b. *ia? ma-ka-sukun r<im>ampaŋ puro ʔ kilometer yesterday
   ‘I was able to walk ten kilometers yesterday’

   NOM.1sg AV.NPST-ITER~cook snake before but now not=COMPL
   b. ia? na-hiŋa-hiŋa? ure? pona tou ie aya=te
   NOM.1sg AV.NPST-ITER~cook snake before but now not=COMPL
   ‘I used to cook snakes, but not any longer’

(33) a. *pona ia? k<um>a-k<um>an babi tou ie aya=te kuari
   before NOM.1sg <um>ITER~eat pig but now not=COMPL able
   b. pona ia? k<im>a-k<im>an babi tou ie
   before NOM.1sg <um>ITER~eat pig but now
   aya=te kuari
   not=COMPL able
   ‘I used to eat pork before, but I can’t eat it any more’

The examples below are taken from Bantik texts. The repeated actions in examples (34)
to (36) are described by verbs in the past tense and iterative aspect. The actions are
limited in length (example 35), or have a limited goal (example 36 and 37).

(34) ‘ia? m-ako nu banua ramo? gare? ia?’
   NOM.1sg AV.NPST-go LK village big only
   indo?=ne, bo isie k<im>ompompo? n-ako nu
   answer=GEN.3sg and NOM.1sg <im>ITER~jump AV.PST-go LK
   banua ramo?
   village big
   ‘I will go to the town by myself, he answered, and he went to the town jumping (= he
jumped until he reached the town)’

(35) torpaksa, i-kasimbaha? r<im>ampaŋ ni-dijan=ne
   be.forced NOM-Kasimbaha <im>walk UV.PST-take=GEN.3sg
   ana? man-dea? ada su sunte=te i-ma?
   child AV.NPST-search if LOC where=COMPL NOM-mother
   nu-ana?.
   GEN-child
As already stated in section 1.1, generic sentences are stated using non-past tense. Examples (37), (38), and (39) are generic sentences. Habitual verbs, such as ma-ka-kantar in example (40), can only take non-past tense.

(36) poso? papondo bo p-in-atiŋka-riŋku-riŋkunan=ne put basket and UV.PST-APL-VLT-ITER~coil=GEN.3sg
su huan=ne e LOC inside=GEN.3sg DP
‘The basket was put down and he was made to coil repeatedly inside the basket’

3. Verbs in generic sentences and habitual verbs

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

(37) manu? ŋ-koto? ŋ-kayu t<um> ara? bird GEN-top GEN-tree <um>fly
‘Birds fly. (Lit. Birds of the tree (as opposed to chickens, which are also denoted by manu?)fly.’

(38) ana-ana? iŋka? nu-gagudan children order GEN-parent
‘Children are given orders by their parents’

(39) toumata ma-iraŋ people AV.NPST-die
‘Man is mortal’

(40) i-ama?=ku i-tou ma-k-a-kantar, tou NOM-father=GEN.1sg NOM-PRO AV.NPST-HAB~\/~a~/sing but
na-iraŋ=te AV.PST-die=COMPL
‘He was a singer (=he used to sing), but he died’

3.1. Tense selection within the subordinate clauses

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

(41) a. isie ma-hiŋa? kanen hibi ka sinage nai?
NOM.3sg AV.NPST-cook food evening because people come
‘S/he will cook dinner because the guests are coming’

b. isie ma-hiŋa? kanen hibi ka sinage si-nai?
NOM.3sg AV.NPST-cook food evening because people PST-come
‘S/he will cook dinner because the guests came’

c. isie na-hiŋa? kanen hibi ka sinage nai?
NOM.3sg AV.PST-cook food evening because people come
‘S/he cooked dinner because the guests would come’
that future.

4.1. illustrated.

usages aspect to I

then, seem events

are Bantik

3.2. categorized

events

NOM.3sg AV.PST-cook food evening because people PST-come

‘S/he cooked dinner because the guests had come’

42. a. isie nam-bere ka ene nu aya h<um>utuj

NOM.3sg AV.PST-work because that LK not <um>hungry

‘S/he worked in order not to starve’

b. isie nam-bere ka ene bo aya

h<im>utuj

<um>hungry

‘S/he worked to avoid starving’

In the case of a sentence with two equivalent clauses that denote two consecutive events, the latter event becomes the tense locus. Ni-kauman (which is past tense of the Conveyance Voice, and whose non-past Active Voice counterpart is ma-kauman) is categorized in Group I, that is, verbs that take the past tense for an ongoing action. The meaning of ni-kauman changes according to the verb tense in the main clause.

43. a. isie ma-nekosos ponu si-sia tou ni-kauman

NOM.1sg AV.NPST-steal before OBJ-1sg but UV.PST-witness

‘S/he tried to steal something from me before, but was found before doing so’

b. isie na-nekosos ponu si-sia tou ni-kauman

NOM.1sg AV.PST-steal before OBJ-1sg but UV.PST-witness

‘S/he stole something from me before, but was witnessed doing so’

3.2. Summary of tense selection in Bantik

Bantik verbs are categorized into three groups according to their selection of tense. If we look at the verbs in Groups II and III, which take the non-past tense for ongoing events and the past tense for events which have finished, ‘imperfective’ and ‘perfective’ seem to be the appropriate terms for the morphological opposition that concerns time. Then, this opposition is not related to tense but to aspect. However, Group I verbs, particularly activity verbs, require the opposition to be that of tense: non-past versus past.

4. Aspectual particles

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

4.1. Te and Ken

Te, as a completive particle, indicates a high probability of an event when it is attached to a 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. In example (44), the Group I verb ma-mokei ‘to call’ is used, and te displays an immediate and probable future. In example (45), the Group II verb ma-turai ‘to live’ is used, where te shows that the event is underway.
When it is attached to the past tense verb, it shows that the event has occurred. For stative verbs, it can show a current situation, as in (47)a. When te is not attached, a stative verb in the past tense indicates a past situation. In example (48), it demonstrates that the event denoted by the te-affixed verb occurred before another event.

(44)  iaʔ ma-mokei=te si-heis
      NOM.1sg AV.NPST-call=COMPL OBJ-Heis
‘I’m going to call Heis (right now)’

(45)  iaʔ ma-turau=te su buha
      NOM.1sg AV.PST-live=COMPL LOC Buha
‘I (started to) live in Buha (the name of the village in which Bantik is spoken)’

(46)  isie na-banjon=te
      NOM.3sg AV.PST-wake.up=COMPL
‘He woke up (so he is awake now)’

(47)  a.  iaʔ na-biaha?=te k<im>an su
      NOM.1sg AV.PST-alive=COMPL <im>eat LOC pakabijan
      wedding.party
‘I am full (after) eating at the wedding party’

      b.  iaʔ na-biaha? k<im>an su pakabijan kahibi
      NOM.1sg AV.PST-alive <im>eat LOC wedding.party yesterday
‘I was full (after) eating at the wedding party yesterday’

(48)  iaʔ na-mokei=te si-heis bo
      NOM.1sg AV.PST-call=COMPL OBJ-heis and
      na-hara? si-sie
      AV.PST-wait.for OBJ-3sg
‘I called Heis and waited for him’

Ken is called a ‘continuative’ particle. When it is attached to a verb, it may have three somewhat different meanings. First, it shows that one event will occur 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
      NOM-Stenly AV.NPST-bathe=CONT new AV.NPST-go LK
‘Stenly will bathe first, then go to Benang (=Manado city)’

(50)  i-heis na-noso?=ken
      NOM-Heis AV.PST-smoke=CONT
‘Heis still smokes’

(51)  i-stefi ma-banjon=ken
      NOM-Stevy AV.NPST-wake.up=CONT
‘Stevy will wake up again’
4.2. Te with verbs

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

(52) a. ia? s<um>u?=te sikora ene, aya
   NOM.1sg <um>enter=COMPL school that not
   ma-mikihi? bari-ne
   AV.NPST-think other-NE
   ‘I’m going to enter that school, I won’t change my mind’

b. *ia? s<um>u?= sikora ene, aya ma-mikihi?
   NOM.1sg <um>enter school that not AV.NPST-think
   bari-ne
   other-NE

(53) isie ma-hiŋa=te ka i-ma?=ne
   NOM.3sg AV.NPST-cook=COMPL because NOM-mother=GEN.3sg
   aya ma-bei
   not AV.NPST-return
   ‘S/he will surely cook because her/his mother will not return’

(54) isie ma-iraŋ=te
   NOM.3sg AV.NPST-die=COMPL
   ‘S/he is dying’

(55) na-ka-suei tamai na-hiŋa?, kapuna
   AV.PST-ABL-finish upwards AV.PST-cook, dog
   na-mokei=te si-manu? baho a ka k<um>an=te (KB)
   AV.PST-call=COMPL OBJ-bird heron because <um>eat=COMPL
   ‘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 that one event happened before another event, as in (56). With activity verbs (Group I), *te* in conjunction with the past tense verb may express that the event **has begun**, and the entity denoted by the subject NP is **still doing the action**. In (57), *na-bei=te* (returned=COMPL) describes that the ‘returning’ action has begun. The two verbs that follow it describe what happened during the return action. Example (58) has two verbs that explain the state of a banana tree, and *te* is added after the Group I verb in the past tense to denote an ongoing event.

(56) i-mari na-nabo=te bua nu hahompoŋan
   NOM-Mary AV.PST-fall=COMPL from LK chair
   buhu ia? na-bei
   new NOM.1sg AV.PST-return
   ‘Mary fell from the chair, and (after that) I returned’

(57) isie na-ŋaraʔ bo ni-diŋan n-ako
   NOM.3pl AV.PST-take and UV.PST-take AV.PST-go
nu barei, isie na-bei=te n-ako
LK house, NOM.3pl AV.PST-return=COMPL AV.PST-go

nu barei, ni-dijan=ne
LK house UV.PST-take=GEN.3sg
‘She took (a banana) and (the banana) was taken to her home, she returned home, (the banana) was taken by her’

(58) yo busa? ma-bua=te, aya na-tahan yο
then banana AV.NPST-fruit=COMPL not AV.PST-long then
na-bua=te, bo r<um>ọŋkoŋ=te busa? e. (TB)
AV.PST-bruit=te, and <um>get.fat=COMPL banana DP
‘Then the banana (tree) was about to bear fruits, before long it bore fruits, and the bananas got fat’

When *te* is attached to Group II and Group III verbs in non-past tense, the event has **occurred**, and the event is currently being observed. Example (59) has a stative verb, while (60) demonstrates an activity verb II, and (61) has an abilitative verb.

(59) uai ene ma-tasa?=te
mango that AV.NPST-get.ripe=COMPL
‘That mango is already ripe’

(60) side r<um>ampany=tesu daren ene
NOM.3pl <um>walk=COMPL LOC road that
‘They are walking on the road’

(61) ia? ma-ka-abi?=te banyo
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-ABL-climb=COMPL coconut
‘I am already able to climb a coconut tree’

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

(62) side r<im>ampány=te su daren ene buhu
NOM.3pl <im>walk=COMPL LOC road that new
 oto? si-nai?
car PAST-come
‘They were walking on the road and then the car came’

(63) ni-ka-hiby-an=te be yo gare
UV.PST-ABL-night-GV=COMPL DP then only
 na-ka-hompa?=te be hohian insau?. (K)
AV.PST-ABL-encounter=COMPL DP hut one
‘The night had come, then (they) only encountered one hut’

4.3. *Ken* with verbs

*Ken* has three meanings, as already explained in 6.1. When Group I verbs in the 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), or **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) ia? ma-tiki=ken su sini kainapa bo
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-sleep=CONT LOC here because and
hibi=te (K)
evening=COMPL
‘I will sleep before long because it is already evening’

(65) ia? maŋ-kede=ken ma-noso? ka sokor-an
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-stop=CONT AV.NPST-smoke because cough-GV
‘I will stop smoking after a while because of coughing’

(66) ana? sikora ene ma-kina?=ken
child school that AV.NPST-ask=CONT
‘That student will ask again’

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

(67) isie maŋ-kede=ken na-noso?
NOM.3sg AV.PST-stop=CONT AV.PST-smoke
‘He has stopped smoking (recently)’

(68) side nam-bere=ken buhu k<im>an
NOM.3pl AV.PST-work=CONT new <im>eat
‘They worked, and then ate (lunch)’

(69) rumanai mai ie, na-nahiti=ken
afternoon DP this AV.PST-rain=CONT
‘This afternoon, it rained again’

When Group II and III verbs in the non-past tense are accompanied by ken, the event is going on at the tense locus (see examples 69 and 70).

(70) ia? ma-tiho?=ken m-iripi? e
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-know=CONT AV.NPST-dive DP
‘I still know how to dive’

(71) ia? ma-hiŋa-hiŋa?=ken huntia rou
NOM.1sg AV.NPST-ITER=cook=CONT every day
‘I still cook every day’

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

(72) i-pasko na-hara?=ken oto? manen hibi
NOM-Vasco AV.PST-wait=CONT car although evening
‘Vasco was still waiting for a car although it was already dark’

(73) ia? na-tiho?=ken m-iripi? e taon
NOM.1sg AV.PST-know=CONT AV.NPST-dive DP year
insau?
one
‘I knew how to dive last year’

(74) uai ene na-tasa?=ken buhu side k<im>an
mango that AV.PST-ripe=CONT new NOM.3sg <im>eat
‘That mango was ripe when they ate it’
4.5. Aspectual particles and types of verbs

The following table 2 summarizes the meanings of aspectual particles when they attach to various types of verbs.

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<td>past</td>
<td>ongoing action, past action</td>
<td>the action has occurred, the action is still going on</td>
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<td>Group II</td>
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<td>future event, ongoing event</td>
<td>the event has begun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
<td>past event</td>
<td>the event has started and still continues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group III</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>iterative event, or ability in future, present, and past</td>
<td>the event has begun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
<td>limited event</td>
<td>the event has started and still continues</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Summary of aspectual particles and verb types

5. Summary

The system of tense and aspect in the Bantik language is complex. Morphologically, the non-past and past tenses are distinguished for verbs. The lexical aspect of each verb affects the interpretation of each tense.

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

In contrast, the end point is crucial for Group II verbs. The non-past tense is selected for future events as well as present events. The past tense is used for events already completed. Group II includes stative verbs, accomplishment verbs, and some of the activity verbs (activity verbs II). At present, the factor that distinguishes the two groups of activity verbs is not known.

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

The aspectual particles te and ken also play an important role in expressing the aspect of each verb in a sentence.

More research, especially on the tense usage in the text, is needed on the verbs of the Bantik language.
Abbreviations and other conventions

1sg  First person singular  Iplexc  First person plural
2sg  Second person singular  3sg  Third person singular
3pl  Third person plural  Abil  Abilitative prefix ka-
ADJVZ  Adjectivizing prefix ma-
AV  Active Voice  Caus  Causative prefix paki- or ki-
COMPL  Clitic te, which denotes completive aspect  Cont  Clitic ken, which denotes continuative aspect
DP  Discourse particle  Gen-  Noun marker for genitive NPs
GV  Suffix –AN, which indicates Goal Voice  HAB  Partial reduplication expressing habitual aspect
IMP  Suffix –ai which derives an imperative form  Iter  Partial reduplication expressing iterative aspect
KA  Derivational prefix ka- which attaches to numerals to add the meaning of ’times’, such as ka-dua (KA-two) ‘two times’
LOC  Locative marker  Ne  Enclitic which occur in combination with nominalizing prefix ka-
NOM  Noun marker for subject NPs (for singular human)  Nomz  Nominalizing prefix ka-
NPST  The non-past tense  NVol  Nonvolitional derivational prefix i-
OBJ  Noun marker for object NPs (for singular human)  Plac  Reduplication of the first consonant of the base, followed by /a/, which derives a pluractional verb, and takes an NP or NPs which denote(s) plural actors as subject
PRO  Pronoun for third person singular (both human and non-human)  PST  The past tense
SU  Noun marker for object NPs (for plural human and non-human)  UV.pst  The prefix ni- the past tense marker for Undergoer Voices
VLT  Prefix tinka- which derives a volitional verb

Sources of examples

(K)  From Kasimbaha? ‘Story of the man who married an angel’
(KB)  From Biou ni-kapuna bo i-bagau ‘Story of a dog and a heron’
(KU)  From Biou ni-kohasa? bo i-ure? ‘Story of an Iguana and Snake’
(TB)  From Biou ni-timpunu bo i-bohey ‘Story of a Turtle and a Monkey’
(TBR)  From Tumpere m-ako nu banua camo? ‘Story of the frog who went to a big town’
References


