## Appendix 2

Matrices for some other languages from the larger database

## Kom, Centre (Ring) Grassfields

|  | Perfective | Imperfective <br> na | Progressive REDUPLICATION | Inceptive sü | Repetitive <br> fi | Anterior men |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{4} \\ \text { nünlǽ } \end{gathered}$ | wu nünlǽ yem he sang | wu nünlǽ na yem he used to sing |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text { tí } \end{gathered}$ | wu tí yem he sang | we tí na yem he was singing | wu tí na yěmyěm he was singing | wu tí na sǘ yem he was starting to sing | wu tí fi dzi he cried again | wu tí men gwí he came (completely) |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ & \mathrm{læ} \end{aligned}$ | we læ yem he sang |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text { ni- } \end{gathered}$ | wu ni-yem he sang |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | wu nün yeḿ-á he is singing, he s | he will sing | wu nün yémyěm he is singing (now) | wu sú gwí-a he is starting to come |  | wu gwí men he has come |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ & \text { nì } \end{aligned}$ | wu ńi yem-á he will sing |  | wu ńi na yěmyěm he will be singing |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ & \text { lǽ } \end{aligned}$ | we lǽ yem-á |  | wu lǽ na yěmyěm he will be singing |  |  | wu lǽ gwi men he will have come |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{3} \\ \text { núnlæ } \end{gathered}$ | we núnlæ yem-á | we nǘnlæ na yem he will be singing |  |  |  |  |

## Aghem, Western (Ring) Grassfields

|  | Perfective | Imperfective | Habitual -a tsighà |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text { 'mó } \end{gathered}$ | ò mò bó fághâm she hit (the) mat <br> N : ò káa bó ghâmfò she did not hit ... | ò mò bó-o fíghâm he was hitting ... <br> N: ghé mò bó-o yó ghámfò they were not ... | ghé mò sú'-ú tsíghá fúghâm he used to wash ... <br> N: ò mò sú'-ú tst́gha 'yó ghâmfò |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text { mゝ̀ } \end{gathered}$ | ò mò bò fághâm she hit (the) mat <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ò kàa bó ghâmfò she did not hit ... <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : ò kà bó ghâmfò she did not hit ... | ò mò bò-ó fîghàm he was hitting ... <br> N : ghé mô bò-ó 'yó ghâmfò they were not ... |  |
|  | ò bò fúghâm she has hit (the) mat <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ò káń bó ghâmfò she has not hit yet <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : ò kà bó ghâmfò she did not hit ... | ò bò-ó fıghàm he was hitting ... <br> N : ò bò-ó 'yó ghâmfò he is not ... | ò bò-ó tsìghà ftghàm he hits (the) mat <br> N : ò bó-o ts̀̀ghà yò ghâmfò |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ & \text { s̀̀ } \end{aligned}$ |  | ò sì bò-ó fìghàm she will hit (the) mat <br> N : ghé sit sù-u yò ghâmfò he will not hit |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ & \mathbf{l o}^{\prime} \end{aligned}$ |  | ò ló 'bo-o fìghàm she will hit (the) mat N: ò ló 'bó-o 'yó ghâmfò | ò ló sù-u tsìghà ftghàm he will wash ... regularly |

## A11 (Bà-)londo

|  | Perfective | Imperfective -ak- | Anterior -má- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-mo- } \end{gathered}$ | a-mo-sak-á he sought <br> N: a-sí-mo-sak-a | a-mo-sak-ák-á he sought, was seeking <br> N: a-sí-mo-sak-ak-a |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-mo- } \ldots-\mathrm{i} \end{gathered}$ | a-mo-sak-í <br> N : a-sí-mo-sak-i | (a-mó-sak-ak-a) <br> N : as above |  |
| Non-Past -Ø- | a-Ø-sak-í he sought, he seeks N: a-sá-sák-i | a-Ø-sak-ak-a <br> he seeks, he is seeking, he was seeking (today), he will seek <br> N: a-sá-sak-ak-a | a-má-sak-á has he ever sought? he has (already) sought <br> N: a-sí-sak-í he has not sought (yet) |

## A24 Duala

|  | Perfective | Iterative | Continuous | $\begin{gathered} \text { Progressive } \\ \mathbf{o} \end{gathered}$ | Habitual -bé | Persistive díá | Anterior (?) má- | Inceptive ní- | Completive (?) bóle |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Past | na Ø bol-í I gave <br> na wol-í <br> I am tired <br> N : na-sí-bol-í |  | na tá nà Ø <br> bol-a <br> "I gave" |  | a tâ bé à Ø bol-a he used to give |  | (1) ná tá na <br> má-bol-a <br> I had already given <br> (2) a tá a má-bél-é he had already called | (1) a tá a ní-putè-a he was just seizing <br> (2) na tá ná na ma-bol-a I was just about to give |  |
| Present/ <br> Future | na ma-bol-a <br> I give, will give <br> N : na sí <br> ma-bol-a | na Ø bol-a I give (repeatedly) | ná Ø bol-a I give (constantly) | ne ó bol-a <br> I am giving | na ma-bé ná Ø bol-a <br> I give (habitually) <br> N : na sí ma-bé ... | na díá na ma-bol-a I am still giving | na má-bol-a I have already given <br> N : na sí bol-í I have not given yet | na ní-bol-á <br> I am about to give | na bóle bol-a <br> I have finished <br> with giving <br> N : na si <br> ma-bóle ... |
| (Future) | na mendé bol-a I will give <br> N : na sí <br> mendé bol-a |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

A46 Nomaande

|  | Perfective | Pluractional -vk- | Progressive | Habitual |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{4} \\ -\mathrm{ya} \mathbf{-} \end{gathered}$ | ? | to-ya-só sómb-ák-a we cut, were cutting | (1) tó-ŋa-so bá $0-$-ó-!nyí-a we were eating <br> (2) bá-ŋa-bó bá bá-ŋja-bó nyí-á they were eating | bá-ŋa-bó bá bá-bó nyí-ak-a they used to eat |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text {-ya- } \end{gathered}$ | ú-ŋa bét-á he thought (yesterday) | nó-ŋa-nゝ námb-ak-a you hid, were hiding | (2) nó-ŋa-no bá nó-ŋa-n૭ cəb-a you were going | nó-ŋa-no bá no-anó co-cob-ak-a |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ -\mathrm{na} \mathbf{a} \end{gathered}$ | tu-ŋjé-su ket-i we believed (this morning) <br> N : to-te-ómó-só hít-e we did not take | $\varepsilon$-ŋá-me táŋ-ák-a I talked, was talking | (1) $\varepsilon$-ŋjá-am bá o-o-lát-a I was sewing <br> (2) u-ท̧á-a bá u-ŋ̄á-a fan-a they were reading | u-ŋá-a bá w-aá fan-ak-a he used to read |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-ma- } \end{gathered}$ | غ́-ma-é heŋ-a I (just) replaced | tó-ma-so lón-ok-o we just called, were just calling | (1) ú-má-á bá 0-ว-fán-a he was just reading <br> (2) tó-ma-so bá to-asó fan-ak-a we were just reading |  |
| -па- | u-ŋ̆a-á somb-a he cuts tu-ne-sú két-i we believe <br> N: tu-ti-ŋŋ́-su ket-i |  | bá-bó-ŋa 0-๐-fán-a they are reading | u-na-ya w-aá nyí-ák-a he eats (regularly) |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ -\mathrm{ya}- \end{gathered}$ |  | no-ŋa-nó cákən-ak-a you will play, be playing (this evening) <br> N: u-ti-ŋé-e ket-ik-i we will not measure | (1) to-ŋa-só bá 0-ó-!nyí-á we will be eating <br> (2) bá-ŋa-bó bá bá-bó lat-ak-a they will be sewing | tu-ŋe-bul-asó lón-o we will call (them) (regularly) |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text {-ka- } \end{gathered}$ | o-kó-ś lat-a you will sew <br> N : i-ti-ké-mi búm-e <br> I will not hunt (tomorrow) | u-ká-a námb-ák-a she will prepare (it) | (1) to-ká-so bá $0-0-$ fán-a we will be reading | tu-ké-bul-esú kín-e |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{3} \\ \text {-ka- } \end{gathered}$ |  | u-ka-á kóc-ak-a she will pick (them) | (2) to-ká-so bá to-asô námb-ák-a we will be preparing |  |

## A74 Bulu

|  | Perfective | Imperfective (?) | Progressive (?) | Anterior |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-ngá- } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | mé-ngá-yénə nyě I saw him | bǐ-ngá-bó bǐ-já-1-a we were eating, used to eat |  | bǐ-nga-man- $\varepsilon$ dí we had eaten |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-áté } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | m-áté-tili <br> I wrote, have written |  |  |  |
|  | o-Ø-bò esae jé you do that job? <br> $\mathrm{N}: m \mathrm{~m}$-tı̀-bo I do not work | bé-nع bé-yi-个-i biá they are singing | w-à-bò jé mú <br> what are you doing there? <br> $\mathrm{N}: \mathrm{m}$-ă-ke <br> I am not going | bǐ-man-દya dí we have eaten <br> e-byál-eya he is/was born |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ & -\mathrm{N}- \end{aligned}$ | bi-̀̀-kع we are about to go <br> (?) N: bi-ă-yع-ke we will not go |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text { ée- } \end{gathered}$ | m-é-k $\varepsilon$ ámbam I will go to Ambam |  |  |  |

## B11c Myene (Galwa)

|  | Perfective | Imperfective -a $\mathbf{\gamma}^{-}$ | Imperfective <br> 'be' + VERB |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ -\mathbf{a}-\ldots \text {-í } \end{gathered}$ | a-Ø-уol-í she bought a-Ø-yen-í she saw <br> R: w-á-yen-i who saw | a-Ø-уol-íy-í he used to buy, was buying |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ -\mathrm{a}- \end{gathered}$ | a-Ø-kól-â he bought w-a-kól-â you bought <br> N: eré-kól-l-é he did not buy | w-a-jén-áy-a you used to see | w-a-díwó w-e-bén-a you were cultivating |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ -\mathrm{a}-\ldots-\mathrm{i} \end{gathered}$ | w-a-kól-î you (have) bought | w-a-pósw-ív-i you were falling |  |
| -e- | w-e-kól-a you buy <br> N : w-eré-kol-e | w-e-kól-ay-a you are always buying |  |
| Future -ebe- | w-ebé!-jén-á you will see <br> N : my ézéle-kól-é I will not buy | W-ebé'-jén-áy-á |  |

## B51 Duma

|  | Perfective | Imperfective -anga | Progressive 'be' + LOC | Anterior be- + PASTS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Indef. <br> Past <br> -i | a-Ø-búm-í műtu he killed a person <br> N : ndé kabúm-i ve he did not kill | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { me-Ø-sid-ing-i } \\ & \text { I used to do } \end{aligned}$ |  | me be-nginge me-bon-i I had seen |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ -\mathbf{a}- \end{gathered}$ | besu l-a-sa you did |  |  | besu l-a be l-a-mon-o we had seen (long ago) |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-má- } \end{gathered}$ | ba-má-tom-á nde they (just) sent him |  |  | me-be-nginge mə-ma-mən-ऽ <br> I had seen (recently) |
|  | bésu lí-Ø-bom-a ... we kill, are killing <br> N : besú ka-lí-bom-a | me-Ø-sad-anga <br> I do (always, continually, etc.) | a-Ø-l̄̄1 mû-kén-a he is dancing |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { F } \\ \text {-sáa- } \end{gathered}$ | a-să-yèmb-a he will sing <br> N : me ki-să-ken-á v $\varepsilon$ I will not dance |  |  |  |

## B87 Mbuun

|  | Perfective | Progressive -yé- | Habitual -wú- | Iterative -bé- | Inceptive (?) <br> Anterior (?) -béná- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ -\mathbf{u}- \end{gathered}$ | é-wú-dí-á (ákòn) we ate (bananas) <br> N: ká-é-wú-dí-á |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-me- } \end{gathered}$ | á-mé-dí-á <br> they ate <br> N : ká-bá-mé-dí-á |  |  | é-mé-bé-túm <br> I just sent |  |
|  | bá-Ø-dí-á they eat, are eating <br> N: ká-bá-Ø-dí-à | á-yé-dí-á they are eating | bá-wú-tóm-á they cry (regularly) | bá-bé-tóm-á they are crying again <br> N: ká-bá-bé-tóm-á | á-béná-dí-á <br> he had (has?) already eaten |
| Future -ker- | á-kér-dí-á they will eat <br> N: ká-bá-kér-dí-á |  | á-kér-wú-tóm-á he'll have to cry again | á-kér-bé-dí-á you will eat again |  |

## C101 Babole

|  | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Perfective } \\ (-\mathrm{ak}-) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Imperfective } \\ -\mathbf{0 -}-\ldots \text {-ak- } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Anterior |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-á- } \end{gathered}$ | tw-á'-sál-ak-á we did | tw-á'-ćké-0 - -sál-ak-a we were doing <br> N: to-ká- | tw-á -sál-á we have/had done <br> N: to-ká'-sál-ak-á |
| $\begin{aligned} & P_{1} \\ & -i ́ \end{aligned}$ | to-Ø-sál-ak-í we did <br> N: to-ká-Ø-sál-í |  | to-Ø-sál-í we have done <br> N: to-ká-Ø-sál-í |
|  |  | to-ó'-sál-ak-a we are doing <br> N : to-etí $\mathbf{- o ́ o}^{\text {' }}$-sál-ak-a |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Future } \\ & \text {-pá- / -tá- } \end{aligned}$ | to-pá'-sál-a (or to-tá ${ }^{\prime}$-sál-a) we will work <br> N: to-દtí tě to-pá'-sál-á |  |  |

C53 Li-gesógo

|  | Perfective (?) | (?) | Progressive (?) | Persistive -é- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{P}_{2}$ | tw-á-tóng-ándé ligwa we used to (do) work tw-á-fang-ándé ligwa we began work <br> N : to-tí-tóng-e: |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{P}_{1}$ | tw-e-tóng-éndé ligwa we did work tw-e-fang-éndé ligwa we began work <br> N : to-tí-tóng-e: |  |  |  |
|  |  | tw-á-tóng-á ligwa we are doing work tw-á-fang-á ligwa we have begun work <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : tó-fa-tóng-é <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : to-tí-mo-tóng-á | tw-émo-tóng-á ligwa we are doing work, we will work, we work <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : to-ti-tong-e ligwa <br> (PROGRESSIVE) <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : to-tí-mo-tóng-a <br> (HABITUAL) | tw-é-tóng-a ligwa we still work <br> N: tw-e-tóng-ité we have not worked yet |
| Future | tw-e-tóng-andé we will (do) work <br> N : tó-fa-tóng-é |  |  |  |

## C76 Ómbó

|  | Perfective | Imperfective | Habitual -aka | Anterior (?) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{4}(?) \\ \text {-áka- } . . . \text {-i } \end{gathered}$ | t-áka-kóngol-i we picked up |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{P}_{3}$ | t-ámbo-kóngol-á ... (M) | t-átá-kóngól-á ... (M) we were picking up |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-á- ... -i } \end{gathered}$ | t-á-kóngol-i <br> N : tu-tá-kóngol-i | t-á-kóngol-ak-i |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ -\varnothing-\ldots \text {-í } \end{gathered}$ | to-Ø-kóngol-í we picked up <br> N: fa-t-á-kóngol-i | to-Ø-kóngol-ak-i we were picking up |  |  |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { to-mbó-kongól-á ... (M) } \\ & \text { we pick up (?) } \end{aligned}$ | t-átá-ndá-kóngól-á we are picking up (?) we will pick up <br> N: fa-t-átá-kóngól-á | to-Ø-kóngol-aka we pick up (regularly) |  |
| Future <br> -ákondó- ... -á | t-ákondó-kóngol-á ... (M) we will pick up <br> N : fa-t-á-kóngól-á |  |  |  |

## D27 Ki-bángubángu

|  | Perfective | Imperfective | Anterior |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-bu- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-bu-vúndagany-a we smashed <br> N : nda-tu-bú-vúndagány-á | tu-bw-a mú-u-nim-a or tu-bw-a kú-u-nim-a we were hoeing |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-fu- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-fu-sóbol-a we chose | tu-fw-a mú-u-nim-a we were hoeing |  |
|  | tu-lu-sáhul-a we speak, are speaking | tu-li mu-u-nim-a we are hoeing | t-o-lôndol-a we have spoken |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Future } \\ \text {-a- ... -ángá } \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-vund-agany-ángá we will break |  |  |

## D311 Forest Bira

| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ -\boldsymbol{- \boldsymbol { - }} \mathrm{F} \text {-íí + do } \end{gathered}$ | bi-Ø-támb-íí do we walked (long ago) <br> N: kí-bí-támb-íí |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ -\boldsymbol{\varnothing}-\ldots \mathbf{i n}^{2}+\mathbf{d o} \end{gathered}$ | bi-Ø-támb-í do we walked (recently) <br> N: kí-bí-támb-í we did not walk |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ -\varnothing-\ldots \text {-.. } \end{gathered}$ | bi-Ø-támb-í we (have) walked <br> N: kí-bí-támb-í <br> we have not walked |
| -ka + INFIN | bé-ká támb-á we are walking <br> N: bé-ńnda-ká 'támb-á |
| Future $-\varnothing-\ldots \text {-a + nó }$ | bi-Ø-támb-a nó we will walk <br> N: kí-bí-támb-a nó |

## D43 Ki-nyanga

|  | Perfective | Imperfective -ánge | Habitual -ánga | Anterior ${ }_{1}$ -a- ... -á | Anterior 2 -are- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{4} \\ \text {-a- ... -ángá } \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-tím-ángá we dug <br> N : n-tí-tw-a-tím-ángá |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text {-a- } \ldots \text {-áyò } \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-tím-áyò we dug <br> N: n-tí-tw-a-tím-âyo |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-áku- } \ldots \text {-á } \end{gathered}$ | tw-áku-tím-á we dug <br> N : n-tí-tw-áku-tím-á | w-áku-bése w-eb-ánge he was digging |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-ama- } \ldots \text {-à } \end{gathered}$ | tw-ama-tím-a we dug <br> N : n-tí-tw-ama-tím-a |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | tu-tím-ánge we are digging <br> N : n-tí-tu-tím-ánge | tu-tím-ánga we dig (regularly) <br> N : tu-tá-tím-ánga | tw-a-tím-á we have dug (recently) <br> N: n-tí-tw-a-tím-á | tw-aré-tím-a we have dug (long ago) <br> $\mathrm{N}:$ n-tí-tw-aré-tím-a |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ \text {-ă:- ... -á } \end{gathered}$ | tw-ă:-tím-á we will dig <br> N : tu-tâ-tím-í |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text {-a- } \ldots \text {-áyò } \end{gathered}$ | tw-ă-tím-âyo we will dig <br> N : tu-tâ-tím-íyo |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{3} \\ \text {-a- } \ldots \text {-ayo } \end{gathered}$ | tw-ă-tím-ayo we will dig <br> N : tu-tâ-tím-iyo |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{4} \\ \text {-à̀- } \ldots \text {-ì } \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-tím-i we will dig |  |  |  |  |

D61 Ki-nya-rwanda

|  | Perfective | Habitual -Ø- | $\begin{gathered} \text { Progressive } \\ \text { 'be’ }+ \text {-ho }+-\boldsymbol{\sigma}- \end{gathered}$ | Persistive $-k i-(a-)$ | Anterior -a- ... -ie |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ & \text {-á- } \end{aligned}$ | tu-á-guz-e + COMP <br> tu-á-ra-gúz-e <br> we bought <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-á-guz-e <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-á-guz-e | tu-á-jya tú-gur-a + COMP <br> tu-á-ra-gúr-a <br> tu-á-hora tu-gur-a we used to buy <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-á-jya tú-gur-a $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-á-jya tú-gur-a | tu-á-ri-ho tú-Ø-gur-a + COMP tu-á-ri-ho tú-ra-gur-a we were buying <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-á-ri-ho tú-gur-a $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-á-ri-ho tú-gur-a | tu-á-ri tú-ki-gur-a we were still buying <br> N: ntabwo tu-á-ri tú-ki-gur-a | ```tu-á-ri tú-aa-guz-e + COMP tu-á-ri tu-á-ra-gúz-e we had bought long ago \(\mathrm{N}_{1}\) : ntabwo (tu-á-ri) tu-á-ra-gúz-e \(\mathrm{N}_{2}\) : nti-tu-á-ri tu-á-(ra-)gúz-e``` |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-aa- } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \text { tu-aa-guz-e + COMP } \\ \text { tu-aa-guz-e } \\ \text { we bought } \\ \\ \mathrm{N}_{1} \text { : ntabwo tu-aa-gáz-e } \\ \mathrm{N}_{2} \text { : nti-tu-aa-guz-e } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | tu-aa-jya tú-gur-a + COMP tu-aa-hoze tú-gur-a we were buying <br> $N_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-aa-jya tú-gur-a $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-aa-jya tú-gur-a | tu-aa-ri-ho tú-Ø-gur-a + COMP tu-aa-ri-ho tú-ra-gur-a we were buying <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-aa-ri-ho tú-gur-a $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-aa-ri-ho tú-gur-a | tu-aa-ri tú-ki-gur-a we were still buying <br> N: ntabwo tu-aa-ri tú-ki-gur-a | tu-aa-ri tú-aa-guz-e <br> tu-aa-ri tú-aa-ra-guz-e we had bought <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-aa-ri tú-aa-guz-e $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-aa-ri tú-aa-guz-e |
| -Ø- |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (tu-jya) tú-gur-a + COMP } \\ & \text { tu-ra-gur-a } \\ & \text { we buy regularly } \\ & \text { tu-gur-a + COMP } \\ & \text { tu-ra-gur-a } \\ & \text { we buy (nowadays) } \end{aligned}$ | (tu-ri-hó) tu-Ø-gur-a + COMP <br> (tu-ri-hó) tu-ra-gur-a <br> tu-ri ku-gur-a <br> (also found in some dialect) <br> we are buying <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-rí-ho tu-gur-a <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-rí-ho tú-(ra-)gur-a <br> $\mathrm{N}_{3}$ : ntabwo tu-rí-ku-gur-a <br> $\mathrm{N}_{4}$ : nti-tu-ri-ku-gur-a | tu-ki-gur-a <br> tu-ra-kí-a-gur-a <br> we are still buying <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : nti-tu-ki-gur-a <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : ntabwo tu-ki-gúr-a <br> $\mathrm{N}_{3}$ : ntabwo tu-ráa-gur-a | tu-guz-e + COMP <br> tu-ra-guz-e <br> tú-aa-guz-e <br> tu-aa-ra-guz-e <br> we have bought <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-gúz-e <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-gúz-e |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ \text {-ra- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ra-gur-a we will buy <br> N : ntabwo tu-ra-gur-a | $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo (tu-jya) tu-gur-a <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : ntabwo tu-gur-á <br> $\mathrm{N}_{3}$ : nti-tu-gur-á | tu-ra-ba tú-rí-ho tu-ra-gur-a we will be buying <br> N : ntabwo tu-ra-ba tú-rí-ho tu-ra-gura | tu-ra-ba tú-ki-gur-a we will be still buying <br> N: tu-ra-ba tú-ta-ki-gur-a | tu-ra-ba tu-aa-guz-e <br> tu-ra-ba tú-guz-e we will have bought <br> N : ntabwo tu-ra-ba tu-aa-guz-e |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text {-zaa- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-zaa-gur-a we will buy <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-zaa-gur-a <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-záa-gur-a | tu-zaa-jya tú-gur-a <br> tu-zaa-hora tú-gur-a we will buy <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-záa-jya tú-gur-a $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-záa-jya tú-gur-a | tu-zaa-ba tú-Ø-gur-a <br> tu-zaa-ba tu-ri-ho tu-(ra-)gur-a we will be buying <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-zaa-ba tu-gur-a $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-zaa-ba tu-ri-ho tu-gur-a | tu-zaa-ba tú-ki-gur-a we will be still buying <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-záa-ba tú-ki-gur-a $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-záa-ba tú-ki-gur-a | tu-zaa-ba tú-aa-guz-e <br> tu-zaa-ba tú-aa-ra-guz-e we will have bought <br> $N_{1}$ : ntabwo tu-zaa-ba tú-a-guz-e $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : nti-tu-zaa-ba tú-aa-guz-e |

D65 Ki-hangaza

|  | Perfective | Habitual -ra- | Progressive 'be' + LOC ... -ra- | Persistive -ki- | Anterior -a- ... -ie |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-á- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-á-guz-e (+ COMP) <br> tu-á-ra-guz-e <br> we bought <br> N: nti-tu-á-guz-e | tu-á-gur-a tu-á-ra-gur-a we used to buy <br> N: nti-tu-a-gur-a | tu-á-ri-mwó tu-ra-gur-a we were buying <br> N: nti-tu-á-ri-mwó tu-ra-gur-a | tu-á-ri tú-ki-gur-a we were still buying <br> N: nti-tu-á-ri tú-ki-gur-a | tu-á-ri tu-á-guz-e we had bought <br> N : nti-tu-á-ri tu-a-gúz-e |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-a- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-a-guz-e (+ COMP) <br> tu-á-rá-guz-e <br> we bought <br> N: nti-tu-á-guz-e | tu-ra-gur-a <br> we buy | tu-a-ri-mwo tu-ra-gur-a we were buying <br> N: nti-tu-a-ri-mwo tu-ra-gur-a | tu-a-ri tú-ki-gur-a we were still buying <br> N: nti-tu-a-ri tú-ki-gur-a | tu-a-ri tu-á-guz-e we had bought <br> N : nti-tu-a-ri tu-á-guz-e |
| -Ø- |  | N : nti-tu-ráà-gur-a | tu-ri-mwó tu-ra-gur-a we are buying <br> N: nti-tú-ri-mwó tu-ra-gur-a | tu-ra-cáá-gur-a we are still buying <br> N: nti-tu-ki-gur-a | tu-(r)a-guz-e we have just bought <br> N: nti-tu-a-guz-e |
| Future <br> -zo- | tu-zo-gur-a we will buy <br> N : nti-tú-zo-gur-a | tu-zo-za tu-ra-gur-a we will be buying regularly <br> N: nti-tú-zó-za tu-ra-gur-a | tu-zo-ba tú-ri-mwó <br> tu-ra-gur-a <br> we will be buying <br> N: nti-tú-zó-ba tu-ri-mwo tú-ra-gur-a | tu-zo-ba tú-ki-gur-a we will be still buying <br> N: nti-tú-zó-ba tú-ki-gur-a | tu-zo-ba tu-â-guz-e we will have bought <br> N: nti-tu-zó-ba tu-â-guz-e |

E102 Lu-bwisi

|  | Perfective | Habitual -agha | $\begin{gathered} \text { Progressive } \\ -\varnothing \text { - } \end{gathered}$ | Persistive -na- | Anterior -ie |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Past } \\ \text {-ka- / -a- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ka-ghend-a we went <br> N : ta-tu-ka-ghend-a | tw-a-ghend-agha we used to go <br> n-a-b-agha <br> I was (being) | tw-a-ba-ye n-tu-Ø-ghend-a we were going | tw-a-na-b-agha n-tu-na-li-a we were still eating | tu-ka-b-a tw-a-ghend-ie or tu-Ø-mal-ie ku-ghend-a we had gone <br> tw-a-ghend-ie we went, have just gone |
|  | tu-ku-ghend-a we are going, we will go (NF/realis) <br> n-ku-b-a <br> I am <br> ti-n-di <br> I am not | tu-ku-ghend-agha we go <br> N : ta-tu-ku-ki-bon-agha we do not see it | (n-)tu-Ø-ghend-a we go(ing) | (na-)si-na-liisi-a they are still feeding | a-Ø-hek-ie she is carrying <br> tu-Ø-man-ie we know <br> N : abaana ti-bategheelel-ie children are not listening |
| Future <br> -li- / -la- | tu-li-ghend-a we will go (FF/irrealis) | tu-la-ghend-agha we will always go |  |  |  |

## E11 Ru-nyoro

|  | Perfective | Habitual -Ø- / -aga | $\begin{gathered} \text { Progressive } \\ \mathbf{n ( i ) -} \end{gathered}$ | Persistive (ni-) ... -ki-(aa-) | Anterior -ire |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-ka- / -a- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ka-gúr-a we bought <br> N : tu-ta-gúr-e | tu-a-gur-ága we used to buy <br> N : ti-tu-a-gur-ága | tu-ka-ba ni-tu-gúr-a we were buying <br> N: tu-ka-ba tu-tá-(ru-)ku-gur-a | tu-ka-ba ni-tu-ki-áá-gúr-a we were still buying <br> N: tu-ka-ba tu-ta-ki-gúr-a | tu-ka-ba tu-gúz-ire we had bought <br> N: tu-ka-ba tu-ta-guz-íre |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-ire(-ge) } \end{gathered}$ | tu-guz-iré-ge we bought <br> N : ti-tu-guz-iré-ge |  | tu-ba-ire ni-tu-gúr-a we were buying <br> N: tu-ba-ire tu-tá-(ru-)ku-gur-a | tu-ba-ire ni-tu-ki-áá-gúr-a we were still buying <br> N: tu-ba-ire tu-ta-ki-gúr-a | tu-ba-ire tu-gúz-ire we had bought <br> N : tu-ba-ire tu-ta-guz-íre |
| -Ø- |  | tu-Ø-gúr-a we buy <br> N : ti-tu-gúr-a | ni-tu-gúr-a we are buying <br> N: ti-tú-(r)u-ku-gur-a | ni-tu-ki-áá-gúr-a we are still buying <br> N: ti-tu-ki-gúr-a | tu-guz-íre we have bought tu-a-ba tú-guz-ire we had bought <br> N: ti-tu-guz-íre |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ \text {-ra- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ra-gúr-a we will buy <br> N : ti-tu-gúr-e |  | tu-ra-ba ni-tu-gúr-a we will be buying <br> N: tu-ra-ba tu-tá-(ru-)ku-gur-a | tu-ra-ba ni-tu-ki-áá-gúr-a we will still be buying <br> N: tu-ra-ba tu-ta-ki-gúr-a | tu-ra-ba tú-guz-ire we will have bought <br> N: tu-ra-ba tu-ta-guz-íre |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text {-ri- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ri-gúr-a we will buy <br> N : ti-tu-ri-gúr-a | tu-ra-gur-ága we will buy regularly <br> N : ti-tu-u-gur-ége | tu-ri-ba ni-tu-gúr-a we will be buying <br> N: tu-ri-ba tu-tá-(ru-)ku-gur-a | tu-ri-ba ni-tu-ki-áá-gúr-a we will still be buying <br> N: tu-ri-ba tu-ta-ki-gúr-a | tu-ri-ba tu-gúz-ire we will have bought <br> N : tu-ri-ba tu-ta-guz-íre |

E13 Ru-nyankore

|  | Perfective | $\begin{gathered} \text { Habitual } \\ \text { - }-(\ldots-\text {-aga }) \end{gathered}$ | Progressive ni- | Persistive -ki-(aa-) | Anterior -Ø- ... -ire |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text {-ka- } \end{gathered}$ | tú-ka-gur-a we bought <br> N : ti-tu-rá-guz-ire | tu-ka-bá tú-Ø-gur-a we used to buy | tú-ka-bá ni-tu-gúr-a we were buying <br> N: tu-ka-bá tu-tá-(r)í-ku-gur-a | tú-ka-bá tu-kí-(áá-)gur-a we were still buying <br> N: tú-ka-bá tu-tá-ki-gur-a | tu-ka-bá tú-Ø-guz-ire we had bought <br> N: tu-ka-bá tu-ta-guz-íre |
| $\stackrel{P_{2}}{-\boldsymbol{-}-\ldots \text {-ire }}$ | tu-Ø-guz-íre we bought <br> N: ti-tu-guz-íre |  | tu-Ø-ba-ire ni-tu-gúr-a we were buying <br> N: tu-ba-ire tu-tá-(r)í-ku-gur-a | tu-Ø-ba-ire tu-kí-(áá-)gur-a we were still buying <br> N: tu-ba-ire tu-tá-ki-gur-a | tu-Ø-ba-ire tú-Ø-guz-ire we had bought <br> N: tu-ba-ire tu-ta-guz-íre |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ -\mathbf{a ( a )}- \end{gathered}$ | tu-áá-gur-a we bought <br> N : ti-tu-aa-gur-a |  | tu-aa-ba ni-tu-gúr-a we were buying N: tu-aa-ba tu-tá-(r)í-ku-gur-a | tu-aa-ba tu-kí-(áá-)gur-a we were still buying <br> N: tu-aa-ba tu-tá-ki-gur-a | tu-aa-ba tú-Ø-guz-ire we had bought <br> N : tu-aa-ba tu-ta-guz-íre |
| -Ø- |  | tu-Ø-gúr-a we buy <br> N : ti-tu-gúr-a | ni-tu-gúr-a we are buying <br> N: ti-tú-rí-ku-gur-a | tu-kí-(áá-)gur-a we are still buying <br> N : ti-tú-ki-gur-a | tu-Ø-guz-íre we have bought <br> N : ti-tu-guz-íre |
| $\begin{gathered} F_{1} \\ \text { ni- ... -iža + INF } \end{gathered}$ | ni-tu-ižá ku-gur-a we will buy <br> N: ti-tú-ri-ku-iža ku-gur-a |  | ni-tu-ižá ku-bá ni-tu-gúr-a we will be buying <br> N : tu-ni-tu-ižá ku-bá <br> tu-tá-rí-ku-gur-a | ni-tu-ižá ku-bá tu-kí-(áá-)gur-a we will still be buying <br> N : ni-tu-ižá ku-bá <br> tu-tá-ki-gur-a | ni-tu-ižá ku-bá tú-Ø-guz-ire we will have bought <br> N: ni-tu-ižá ku-bá <br> tu-ta-guz-íre |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ -\mathrm{ri}(\mathbf{a})- \end{gathered}$ | tu-ríá-gur-a we will buy <br> N : ti-tu-rí-gur-a | tu-ríá-gur-aga we will buy (regularly) <br> tu-ri-ba ni-tu-gúr-a | tu-ri-ba ni-tu-gúr-a we will be buying <br> N: tu-ri-ba tu-tá-rí-ku-gur-a | tu-ri-ba tu-kí-(áá-)gur-a we will still be buying <br> N: tu-ri-ba tu-tá-ki-gur-a | tu-ri-ba tú-Ø-guz-íre we will have bought <br> N : tu-ri-ba tu-ta-guz-íre |

## E16 Lu-soga

|  | Perfective | Habitual (-anga) | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Progressive } \\ -\varnothing- \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Persistive -kia- | Anterior -mal- + -ile (-maz-e) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text {-aa- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-aa-gul-a we bought <br> N: ti-tu-aa-gul-a | tu-a-gul-anga we used to buy <br> $\mathrm{N}:$ ti-tu-aa-gul-anga | tu-aa-li tu-gul-a we were buying <br> N : tu-aa-li ti-tu-li ku-gul-a | tu-aa-li tu-kia-gul-a we were still buying <br> N: tu-aa-li te-tu-kia-gul-a | tu-aa-li tu-maz-e o-ku-gul-a we had already bought <br> N: tu-aa-li tu-ka-li ku-gul-a |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-a- ... -ile } \end{gathered}$ | tu-a-guz-e we bought <br> N : ti-tu-a-guz-e |  | (?) we were buying | (?) we were still buying | tu-a-maz-e o-ku-gul-a we had already bought |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-ile } \end{gathered}$ | tu-guz-e we (have) bought <br> N: ti-tu-guz-e |  | tu-ba-ile tu-gul-a we were buying | (?) we were still buying | tu-maz-e o-ku-gul-a we had already bought |
| -Ø- |  | tu-Ø-gul-a we buy <br> N : ti-tu-gul-a | tu-li ku-gul-a we are buying <br> N: ti-tu-li ku-gul-a | tu-kaa-gul-a we are still buying <br> N: ti-tu-kaa-gul-a | tu-maz-e o-ku-gul-a we have bought |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ \text {-ida + INF } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ida ku-gul-a we will buy <br> N : ti-tu-ida ku-gul-a |  | (?) we will be buying | (?) we will be still buying | (?) we will have bought |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text {-li- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-li-gul-a we will buy <br> N: ti-tu-li-gul-a | tu-li-gul-anga we will buy regularly <br> N: ti-tu-li-gul-anga | tu-li-ba tu-gul-a we will be buying <br> N: tu-li-ba ti-tu-li-gul-a | tu-li-ba tu-kia-gul-a we will be still buying <br> N : tu-li-ba te-tu-kia-gul-a | tu-li-ba tu-maz-e oku-gul-a we will have bought <br> $\mathrm{N}: ~ t u-l i-b a$ tu-ka-li ku-gul-a |

Indefinite Future:
A: tu-naa-gul-a
N: ti-tu-naa-gul-a
we will (not) buy
Perfect:

A: tu-aka-gul-a
N : ti-tu-aka-gul-a
N: ti-tu-guz-e
we have just bought
we (have) bought

## E24 Ru-kerebe

|  | Perfective | Habitual -aga | Progressive $\mathbf{n}(\mathbf{i})-/-\mathbf{k u}-$ | Persistive -ki-(aa-) | Anterior -Ø- ... -ile |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ -\mathrm{ka}-/ \\ \text {-a-li-ga } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ka-gul-a we bought <br> N: ti-tu-a-gúz-ile | tu-a-gul-ága we used to buy <br> N : ti-tu-a-gúl-aga | tu-a-li-ga n(í)-tú-gul-á we were buying <br> N: tu-a-li-ga tu-ta-kú-gul-a | tu-a-li-ga tu-kí-gul-a we were still buying <br> N : tu-a-li-ga tu-ta-kí-gul-a | n-ka-ßá n-Ø-gúz-íle I had bought <br> N: n-ka- $\beta$ á n-tá-guz-ilé |
| $\stackrel{P_{2}}{-\boldsymbol{-}-. . \text {-ile }}$ | tu-Ø-guz-ilé we bought <br> N : ti-tu-guz-ílé | $\mathrm{A}_{1}$ : tu-Ø-gul-agá <br> $\mathrm{A}_{2}$ : tu-Ø-gul-á we buy <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : tu-tú-gul-aga <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : ti-tu-gúl-a | tu-ße-ele n(í)-tú-gul-á we were buying <br> N : tu- $\beta \mathrm{e}-$-ele tu-ta-kú-gul-a | tu-ße-ele tu-kí-gul-a we were still buying <br> N : tu-ße-ele tu-ta-kí-gul-a | n- $\beta$-ele n-Ø-gúz-íle I had bought <br> N : n-ße-ele n-tá-guz-ilé |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ -\mathbf{a}- \end{gathered}$ | tu-a-gul-á we bought <br> N: ti-tu-a-gúl-a |  | tu-a-li n(i)-tu-gúl-a we were buying <br> N : tu-a-li tu-ta-kú-gul-a | tu-a-li tu-kí-gul-a we were still buying <br> N: tu-a-li tu-ta-kí-gul-a | n-á-ßá n-Ø-gúz-íle I had bought <br> N: n-á- $\beta$ á n-tá-guz-ilé |
| -Ø- |  |  | tu-kú-gul-a we are buying <br> N: ti-tu-kú-gul-a | tu-caa-gúl-a we are still buying <br> N : ti-tu-kí-gul-a | tu-Ø-guz-ilé we have bought <br> N: ti-tu-guz-ilé |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ \text {-laa- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-laa-gúl-a we will buy <br> N : ti-tú-gul-a |  | tu-laa- $\beta a$ ni-tú-gul-á we will be buying <br> N: tu-laa- $\beta$ a tu-ta-kú-gul-a | tu-laa- $\beta$ a tu-kí-gul-a we will still be buying <br> N : tu-laa- $\beta$ a tu-ta-kí-gul-a | n-daa-ßa n-Ø-gúz-íle I will have bought <br> N : n-daa- $\beta$ a n-tá-guz-ilé |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text {-li- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-li-gul-á we will buy <br> N: ti-tu-li-gúl-a | tu-laa-gul-ága we will buy (regularly) <br> N: ti-tuu-gul-ega | tu-li- $\beta$ a ni-tu-gúl-a we will be buying <br> N: tu-li- $\beta$ a tu-ta-ku-gul-a | tu-li- $\beta$ a tu-kí-gul-a we will still be buying <br> N: tu-li- $\beta$ a tu-ta-kí-gul-a | n-di- $\beta$ a n-Ø-gúz-íle I will have bought <br> N : n-di- $\beta$ a n-tá-guz-íle |

E46 Ki-sonjo (Ki-temi)

|  | Perfective | Imperfective -aga | Anterior -ba- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ -\mathbf{a}- \end{gathered}$ | (n)tw-a-gor- $\varepsilon$ we bought <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : tu-ta-ndi-gol-aga we have never bought <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : n-ta-ndi etem- l -aga I have never cultivated | (n)tw-a-gol-aga we were buying, used to buy <br> N : tu-ta-gol-aga we were not ...ing |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-ba- } \end{gathered}$ | (n)tu-ba-gor-\& we bought <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : tu-ta-ndi-gol(-a) <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : n-ta-ndi-(e)tعm-a <br> I did not cultivate, I have not ... yet | (n)tu-ba-gol-aga we were buying |  |
|  | (n)tu-gol-ate we are buying <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : tu-ti-gol-aga <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : tu-ti-mune-gol(-a) | (n)tu-gol-aga we buy regularly <br> N: tu-ti-gol-et $\varepsilon$ we are not buying | (n)tu-ba-gol-a we have bought |
| Future -ke- | (n)tu-ke-gol-a we will buy <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : tu-ti-gol-ets <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : tu-ti-mune-gol(-a) | tu-ke-gol-aga we will be buying <br> N : n-ti-mune-etem-عl-aga I will never cultivate |  |

E56 Ki-daiso

|  | Perfective | Imperfective (?) | Situative -ki- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ -\mathbf{a}- \end{gathered}$ | n-a-rem-a <br> I cultivated <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ta-ti-ka-rem-a we did not hoe <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : si-ka-rem-a I did not hoe <br> $\mathrm{N}_{3}$ : ta-t-a-vika-(ku-)rem-a <br> we did not hoe, have not hoed, have never hoed |  | t-a-re ti-ki-keta pata we were working |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-raa- } \end{gathered}$ | ma-raa-j-i <br> they went |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1}=\text { Anterior } \\ -\varnothing- \end{gathered}$ | ```ti-Ø-rem-a we (have) hoed ngo-rem-a I (have) hoed \(\mathrm{N}_{1}\) : ta-t-a-rem-a, s-a-rem-a \(\mathrm{N}_{2}\) : si-vika-rem-a I have not hoed yet``` | N: ta-t-a-vika na-ti-rem-a we have not hoed yet = we are still hoeing | ni-ke-re ni-ki-rem-a <br> I was hoeing (when ?) |
|  | u-Ø-keta-cha what are you doing? | na-ti-Ø-rem-a <br> we hoe, are hoeing, will hoe <br> N: ta-ti-rem-a <br> we do not hoe, are not hoeing, will not hoe | ti-ki-doj-a <br> if we buy, when we bought, we buying, and we bought |
| Future -sa- | ti-sa-rem-a we will hoe ni-sa-s-a I will come <br> N: ta-ti-Ø-rem-a, si-Ø-rem-a |  |  |

## E701 Ki-ilwana

|  | Perfective | Habitual -ka- / -ku- | Progressive -( )ku- ... -e:ni | (?) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Past | tu-cek-ie <br> we laughed, have laughed, had laughed <br> u-cek-ie you laughed u-cék-ie he laughed <br> buzi u-f-i:le the goat is dead <br> N: da-tú-cek-íé we did not laugh |  | tw-e:ku-lim-e: <br> we were hoeing (when he arrived) | n-é:-cek-íé <br> I laughed |
|  |  | (niji-)tu-ka-som-a we read regularly <br> tu-ka-som-a we read | ni-muku-lím-é:ni I am cultivating <br> N: da-ni-muku-lím-é:ni |  |
| Future n- ... -aku- | n-a:ko-sóm-á <br> I will read, can read <br> gy-a:kw-á:ban-a <br> it will fall (Cl. 7) <br> N: da-n-a:ko-som-a <br> I will not read |  | tw-a:kw-i:ta tu-ku-lim-e:(ni) we will be hoeing |  |

## E71 Lower Ki-pokomo

|  | Perfective | Situative -ki- | Progressive -aku- ... -ni | Anterior -Ø- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ & -\mathrm{i}- \end{aligned}$ | hw-i-guy-a we bought <br> N: nta-hu-ku-guy-a | hw-i-ki-guy-a we were buying, used to buy /hw-i-w-a hu-ki-guy-a/ | hw-i-w-a hu-guy-a-ni we were buying | hw-i-w-a hu-Ø-guy-a we had bought |
| $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathrm{P}_{1}=\text { Anterior } \\ -\boldsymbol{-}- \end{gathered}$ | hu-Ø-guy-a <br> we have bought = we bought | hu-ka-a hu-ki-guy-a we have been buying | hu-w-a hw-aku-guy-a-ni we were buying |  |
|  | hu-na-gúy-a we buy N: nta-hu-guy-i (or -e) | hu-ki-guy-a we buying, if we buy hu-na-ka-a hu-ki-guy-a we buy (HABITUAL) | hw-aku-guy-a-ni we are buying, will buy (near future) <br> N: nta-hu-kw-aku-guy-a-ni | hu-Ø-guy-a <br> or <br> hu-ma-guy-a <br> or <br> hw-is-a ku-guy-a we have bought <br> N: nta-hu-dza-guy-a we have not bought yet |
| Future <br> -na- | hú-na-guy-á we will buy <br> N : nta-hu-guy-i (or -e) | hu-na-ka-a hu-ki-guy-a we will buy, be buying | hu-na-w-a hw-aku-guy-a-ni we will be buying | hu-na-w-a hu-Ø-guy-a or hu-na-w-a hw-is-a ku-guy-a we will have bought |

E71 Upper Ki-pokomo (Ndera)

|  | Perfective | Situative -ki- | Progressive -a- ... -ni | $\begin{gathered} \text { Anterior }=\text { Past } \\ \text { - } \mathbf{\square}- \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} \text { Past }= & \text { Anterior } \\ & -\varnothing- \end{aligned}$ | hu-Ø-chez-a we (have) played <br> N : nta-hu-ku-chez-a <br> we did not play, have not played <br> hw-is-a ku-chez-a we have just played <br> N: nta-hu-ja-chez-a we have not played yet | hu-w-a hu-ki-chez-a we used to play or as left | hu-w-a h-a-chez-a-ni we were playing (at the moment when, or all day long) <br> or as right | hu-w-a hu-Ø-chez-a we had played <br> hu-w-a hw-is-a ku-chez-a we had just played |
|  | h-a-chez-a we play (regularly) <br> N : as above | hu-ki-chez-a we playing, when we play | h-a-chez-a-ni we are playing <br> h-a-ku-j-a-ni we are coming <br> N : nta-hu-koku-chez-a we are not playing | hu-Ø-chez-a we have played <br> N : nta-hu-ku-chez-a <br> we did not play, have not played <br> hw-is-a ku-chez-a we have just played <br> N: nta-hu-ja-chez-a we have not played yet |
| Future -a- | h-a-chez-a we will play h-a-ku-imb-a we will sing h-a-na-gw-a we will fall <br> N : nta-h-a-chez-a | h-a-ku-w-a hu-ki-chez-a we will play regularly | h-a-ku-w-a h-a-chez-a-ni we will be playing | h-a-ku-w-a hu-Ø-chez-a we will have played |

E74b Saghala (as spoken at Teri in 1984)

|  | Perfective | Progressive -ende- | Habitual -a-...-agha | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Anterior } \\ & \text {-a-...-a } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Inceptive (?) } \\ \text {-a-malila + INF } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Past } \\ \text {-a-...-ile } \end{gathered}$ | t-a-ghul-ile <br> or <br> tanaghulile <br> we bought <br> N: s-ti-Ø-ghúl-íle | t-e-lú-o ti-ke-ghúl-á we were buying <br> N: s-t-e-lú-o ti-ke-ghúl-á |  |  |  |
|  | ti-ø-ghulagha we buy, are buying, will buy <br> Also ti-Ø-ghula ?? <br> N : s-tighulagha | t-ende-ghul(agh)a we are buying, will buy | t-a-na-ghul-agha we buy (every day) | t-a-ghúl-á <br> or <br> t-a-na-ghula we have bought <br> N : s-tighúlíle <br> mwana w-a-velo child has been born | t-a-málíla kughula we have already bought <br> N: t-a-na-ka-ílé kughula we haven't bought yet |

This Saghala, source Gérard Philippson, p.c, differs somewhat from the Saghala in Wray (1894). Saghala seems to have changed in a century.

## F25 Ci-vungu

|  | Perfective | Imperfective $_{1}$ | Imperfective 2 -aya | Persistive -ce-le + | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Anterior (?) } \\ \text {-ile } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{P}_{3}$ | tw-a-kaz-ile we bought | inga to-Ø-kal-a we were buying | inga to-Ø-kal-aya we used to buy |  |  |
| $\mathrm{P}_{2}$ | tw-a-kal-a |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{P}_{1}$ | tw-a-kal-a we just bought |  |  |  |  |
|  | to-ma-kal-a we are buying |  | to-Ø-kal-aya "we buy" | to-ce-le to-Ø-kal-a we are still buying <br> N: to-ce-le to-ta-kal-a we have not bought yet | to-Ø-kaz-ile we have bought, we bought today |
| $\mathrm{F}_{1}$ | to-Ø-kal-a <br> (also tw-izu-kal-a) <br> we will buy |  |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ | to-le-kal- $\varepsilon$ |  | to-le-kal-ay- $\varepsilon$ we will buy (regularly) |  |  |

F34 Bowe (Ki-mbugwe) (1)

|  | Perfective | Progressive -kende- | Habitual -anda- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text {-á- } \ldots \text {-á } \end{gathered}$ | n-áa-rem-á I hoed <br> N : s-á-rem-íe |  | e o-ny-é rusú use to drink beer g to drink beer <br> -a <br> oeing |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-á- ... -íe } \end{gathered}$ | n-áa-rem-íe |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ -\boldsymbol{\text { O- }} . . . \text {-íe } \end{gathered}$ | n-dem-ié <br> I (have) hoed <br> N : si-jé-rém-íe |  |  |
|  | (v-ny-a you drink <br> N: t-ช-ny-a) | o-rem-a ku-kénde we are hoeing | n-ándá-rem-a I (usually) hoe <br> N : si-jé-rém-a I do not hoe often |
| Future INF + 'come’ (-je) | o-ra ko-j-e eat we will <br> o-jé-mó-ra you will eat him <br> $\mathrm{N}:$ te-ko-je-rem-a we will not hoe |  |  |

F34 Bowe (Ki-mbugwe) (2)

|  | Perfective | Progressive -kende- | Habitual -anda- | Anterior ... -íe |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Past -á- | n-áa-rem-á I hoed <br> N: s-á-rem-íe | (n)o-síta á-a-re o-nyé rusú he used to refuse to drink beer he was refusing to drink beer <br> N: s-á-ré-rém-a <br> I was not hoeing |  | n-áa-rem-íe I (have) hoed |
|  | (v-ny-a <br> you drink <br> N: t-u-ny-a) | o-rem-a ku-kénde we are hoeing | n-ándá-rem-a I (usually) hoe <br> N: si-jé-rém-a I do not hoe often | n-dem-íe I (have) hoed N : si-jé-rém-íe |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Future } \\ \text { INF + 'come' (-je) } \end{gathered}$ | o-ra ko-j-e we will eat <br> o-jé-mó-ra you will eat him <br> N: te-ko-je-rem-a we will not hoe |  |  |  |

G11 Chi-kagulu

|  | Perfective | Imperfective -aga | Persistive $-\eta^{h}$ ali | Anterior -Ø-...-a |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Past } \\ \text { ha-...-Ø-, } \\ \text { or -a- } \end{gathered}$ | ha-chi-Ø-luta or (infrequent) ch-a-luta we went N : chi-s-a-luta or chi-s-a-lut-ile | chi-Ø-j-aga we used to come ha-chi-Ø-lut-aga we were going |  |  |
|  | chi-ku-luta we go, are going, will go N : si-chi-ku-luta or chi-si-ku-luta |  | dimudyo di- $\eta^{\mathbf{h}}$ ali di-ku-diika the fruit is still edible | chi-Ø-luta we have gone chi-Ø-kala we are sitting N : si-mu-Ø-lut-ile you haven't gone si-chi-many-ile we don't know |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Future } \\ \text {-o-, or } \\ \text {-ka- (or -ku-) } \end{gathered}$ | ch-o-luta <br> or <br> chi-ka-luta <br> we'll go <br> N : chi-si-ka-luta <br> or <br> si-chi-ka-luta | ch-o-ki-on-aga we will see each other repeatedly |  | chi-Ø-kuwa chi-Ø-lut-ile we'll have gone <br> chi-Ø-kuwa chi-Ø-mala we'll have finished |

This is an interpretation of Petzell 2007. Kagulu also has many auxiliary-based forms.

G20A Mbugu / Ma’a

|  | Perfective | Imperfective, Situative? -kú- | Habitual -tuwáá- or -túwa- | $\begin{gathered} \text { Persistive } \\ \text {-chéri- } \\ \text { (or -ra-/-re-?) } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Anterior -áa-...-a |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2}(?) \\ \text {-áa-...-áa, or } \\ \text {-ée-...-íye } \end{gathered}$ | tw-áa-im-áa tw-ée-kúrú-ye we cultivated,we dug <br> N : te-tw-ée-kúrú-ye | tw-é-kú-íma we used to cultivate, were cultivating <br> N : te-v-éku-vika they weren't putting |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} P_{1}(?) \\ -\boldsymbol{\sigma}-\ldots \text {-íye } \end{gathered}$ | tu-Ø-fum-íye we came from N : tetufumíye |  |  |  |  |
|  | tu-Ø-kúru tu-Ø-ima we dig, are digging <br> N: te-tú-Ø-kúru | té-kú-kúru <br> if we dig, when we dig, 'we digging', etc. <br> $\mathrm{N}: ~ t u-k u-s a-k u r u$ | tu-túwa-ima we cultivate (HAB) <br> N : te-tú-túwa-ima | tu-chéri-ima we are still digging <br> N: té-chéri-kúru he hasn't dug yet <br> é-re-ata i’í he's still here | tw-áa-kúru we have dug <br> tw-áa-kwáha we are tired <br> N : te-tú-na-kúru |
| Future -ne- | tu-ne-kúru tu-ne-ima we will dig, cultivate <br> N : te-tú-ka-kúru te-tú-ka-im-é |  |  |  |  |

This is one interpretation of Mous’ (2003b) material. Main verbs: low-toned -im-a 'cultivate’, high-toned -kúru ‘dig’ with unchanging final vowel. Meanings of many of these forms unclear (Mous 2003b: 121, 'rudimentary semantic analysis'). Negative equivalencies also uncertain in some cases. Many other (modal, discourse) morphemes may occur in the pre-stem position, up to three at a time (e.g hé-né-za-ku-hláwa 'there will be suffering for sure'). Compare this, G22 (especially), and G23.

G22 North Ki-pare (Ki-asu)

|  | Perfective | Imperfective -eki- | Habitual -na- / 'be' + MAIN VERB | Persistive <br> -ra- / -ré- | Experiental -ána- | Anterior |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-é- ... -íe } \end{gathered}$ | tw-é-im-íe we cultivated <br> N: te-tú-im-íe tw-ethí-im-íe | tw-é' $\mathbf{k i}$-im-a we were cultivating <br> N : te-tw-éki-im-a tw-eth-éki-im-a | tw-(é-)na-im-a we used to cultivate <br> N: te-tú-na-im-a tw-ethí-na-im-a | tw-é-ré-im-a we were still cultivating |  | tw-é'kí-im-íe we had cultivated <br> N: te-tw-é'kí-im-íe tw-eth-éki-im-íe |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-é- ... -ie } \end{gathered}$ | tw-é-im-ie we cultivated |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | tu-Ø-im-a we cultivate, are cultivating <br> N : te-tú-Ø-im-a tw-ethí-im-a | tw-ékí-im-a <br> if we cultivate, "we cultivating" <br> N: tw-éki-thá-im-a | tu-Ø-oka tu-Ø-im-a we cultivate regularly <br> N: tu-Ø-oka <br> te-tú-im-a | tu-ra-im-a <br> (or tu-re-hó tu-im-a) we are still cultivating <br> N : te-tú-re-im-a | tw-ána-im-a we once cultivated, we have experience of cultivating <br> N : te-tw-éná-im-a | tw-á-im-á we have cultivated <br> N : te-tú-na-im-á tw-ethí-na-im-á tw-athá-im-a |
| Future -ne- | tu-ne-im-a we will cultivate <br> N: te-tú-ka-im-é tw-ethí-ka-im-é |  | tu-ne-oka-im-a (or tu-ne-tua-im-a) we will regularly | tu-né-ré-im-a we will still be cultivating <br> N: tw-ethí-ka-ré'-im-a |  | $\beta$-éná-im-a (or $\beta$-áná-im-a) they will have cultivated |

## G35 Chi-lugulu

|  | Perfective | Progressive | Habitual -ауа | Persistive -nali + | Anterior -ile |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text { tsa } . . .-\boldsymbol{\varnothing}- \end{gathered}$ | tsa tu-Ø-४ul-a we bought |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ -\boldsymbol{\emptyset} \end{gathered}$ | tu-Ø-४ul-a we bought <br> N : na-tu-gul-ile baye/mbe | tu-yali tu-Ø-уul-a (?) we were buying | tu-yali tu-Ø-уul-aya we used to buy |  |  |
|  | t-o-yul-a we buy, are buying, will buy <br> N : ŋa-t-o-४ul-a baye/mbe |  | tu-yul-aya we buy regularly | tu-ŋali tu-yul-a we are still buying | tu-yul-ile we have bought |
| Future | tu-tso-gul-a we will buy |  | tu-tso-४ul-aya |  |  |

G411 Chi-m(w)i:ni

|  | Perfective | Situative -chi- | Habitual hu- | Progressive -naku- | $\begin{gathered} \text { Anterior = Past } \\ \text {-ile } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Past }=\text { Anterior } \\ \text { (-ile) } \end{gathered}$ | ```sh-tesh-elé we laughed \(\mathrm{N}_{1}\) : nt \({ }^{\mathrm{h}}\) a-sh-ko-olok-a we did not go \(\mathrm{N}_{2}\) : nt \({ }^{\mathrm{h}}\) aasa nt \({ }^{\text {ha }}\) a-sh-ku-tek-a we have not laughed yet``` | shi-chi-tek-a we were laughing, used to laugh <br> chi-wa:liko sh-ch-u:l-a we used to buy, were buying, were there buying (all day or at a specific point) <br> N: nt ${ }^{\text {ha }}$ a-sh-chi-tek-a | as left | si chi-wa:liko chi-naku-ul-a we were buying | (si) chi-wa:liko ch-u:z-i:Le we had bought <br> wa:liko le-ele she was asleep, had fallen asleep <br> chi-wa ha-shk ${ }^{\text {h }}$ a:dir-i we were we not able, we were sick |
|  |  | shi-chi-tek-á we laughing, if we laugh | ```si hu-tek-a we laugh (regularly) N : si ha-sh-tek-i we do not (never) laugh``` | chi-nax-tek-á we are laughing <br> N : nt ${ }^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}$-chi-nax-tek-a | sh-tesh-elé we have laughed |
| Future -ta:ku- | sh-ta:x-tek-a we will laugh <br> sh-ta:ku-j-a we will eat <br> N: ha-sh-ta:ku-j-a |  |  | si sh-taku-wa chi-naku-uL-a we will be buying | si sh-taku-wa ch-uz-iLe we will/would have bought |

G52 Chi-ndamba

|  | Perfective | Imperfective -agha / -aya | Progressive <br> -ku- or -eyi | Anterior <br> -Ø-...-а |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ -\mathbf{a}- \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-telek-ili we cooked (long ago) | tw-a-telek-agha we used to cook, were cooking | tw-a-vel-ili tu-ku-telek-a or tw-a-telek-eyi we were cooking | tw-a-vel-ili tu-Ø-telek-a we had cooked |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-ka- } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ka-telek-ili we cooked | tw-ka-telek-agha we were cooking | tw-ka-vel-ili tu-ku-telek-a or tw-ka-telek-eyi we were cooking | tu-Ø-telek-ili we had cooked <br> Structurally this is the Present Perfective |
| -Ø-, -ku- |  | tu-Ø-telek-agha we usually cook | tu-ku-telek-a we are cooking, will cook | tu-Ø-telek-a we have cooked (often narrative) |
|  |  | tu-ku-telek-agha we usually cook (generic) |  |  |
| Future <br>  | da-tu-Ø-telek-i we'll cook | da-tu-Ø-v-i tu-Ø-telek-agha we'll cook, be cooking | da-tu-Ø-v-i tu-ku-telek-a <br> or <br> da-tu-Ø-telek-eyi <br> we'll be cooking (at specific time) | da-tu-Ø-v-i tu-Ø-telek-a we'll have cooked |

H16 Ki-kongo (Laman)

|  | Perfective | Imperfective |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text {-a- } \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-káng-a we bound <br> N: k-a tw-a-kang-a ko | tw-a-kang-ang-a we were binding, used to bind |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ -\mathbf{a}-\ldots \text {-idi } \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-keng-i we bound tw-a-dimb-idi we praised | tw-a-keng-ing-i |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-idi } \end{gathered}$ | tu-Ø-keng-i we bound, have bound tu-Ø-dimb-idi we praised, have praised | tu-keng-ing-i |
| -Ø- | tu-Ø-kang-a we bind, will bind (near) <br> N: k-a tu-kang-a ko | tu-kang-ang-a we are binding |
| Future <br> -a- | tw-á-kang-a we will bind | tw-à-kang-ang-a |

## K11 Cokwe

|  | Perfective | Anterior hi- ... -vc | Progressive -na- ... -vC | Habitual -ááku- | Persistive ci- / -ci- | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Assertion } \\ \text { ku- } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{4} \\ \text {-á- } \ldots \text {-ile } \end{gathered}$ | n-á-lim-ine I hoed <br> N: c-a-lím-ine |  |  | k-á-pw-ile nyi-ku-lim-a he used to hoe | ci-n-á-lim-ine I still hoed | ku-n-á-lim-ine I definitely hoed |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text {-na-(ka-) } \end{gathered}$ | ngú-na-ka-lim-a <br> N : as above | hi-ngú-ná-lim-i I have (already) hoed |  |  | ci-ngú-na-ka-lim-a | ku-ngú-na-ka-lim-a |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-á- ... -anga } \end{gathered}$ | n-á-lim-anga <br> N : as above |  |  |  | ci-n-á-lim-anga | ku-n-á-lim-anga |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-á- } \end{gathered}$ | n-á-lim-a <br> N : c-a-lim-íne |  |  |  | ci-n-á-lim-a | ku-n-á-lim-a |
|  |  | hi-ngu-Ø-lim-í <br> I have hoed (recently) | ngú-nà-lim-i <br> I am hoeing <br> N: ci-shi-ku-lím-a | n-ááku-lim-a I hoe (habitually) <br> N : ci-cikù-lim-a | mú-ngú-ci-lim-a I am still hoeing <br> N: kandá-ngú-ci-lim-a I have not hoed yet | ku-ngú-nà-lim-i ku-n-ááku-lim-a |
| $\begin{gathered} F_{1} \\ \text { mú- } \ldots . \\ \hline \text {,Ø- } \end{gathered}$ | mú-ngu-Ø-lim-a <br> I will hoe <br> N : ci-ciká-lím-a |  |  |  |  | ku-mú-ngu-Ø-lim-a I will definitely hoe |

## K14 Chi-luvale

|  | Perfective | Habitual AUX ... -anga | Progressive 'be' + na | Anterior <br> -a- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text {-a- } \ldots \text {-ile } \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-mu-vwík-ile we dressed him <br> N: ka-ngw-a-lánj-íle-ko I did not buy |  | ngw-a-pw-íle na ku-tángis-a I was teaching <br> N: ka-ngw-a-pw-île na ku-tángis-á-ko |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ -\mathbf{a -} . . . \text {-anga } \end{gathered}$ | ngw-a-tangis-anga <br> I taught <br> N: ka-ngw-a-mu-tangis-angá-ko I did not teach him |  | ngw-a-pw-anga na ku-tángis-a I was teaching <br> N : ka-ngw-a-pw-anga na ku-tángis-á-ko |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-na- ... -vc } \end{gathered}$ | ngu-na-mu-zûl-u I undressed him <br> N: ka-ngw-a-lanj-ílé-ko I did not buy |  | ngu-ná-p-ú na ku-tángis-a I was teaching <br> N : ka-ngu-na-pw-íé na ku-ángis-á-ko |  |
|  |  | ngw-echi ku-tángis-a-(nga) I teach <br> $\mathrm{N}_{1}$ : ka-ngw-échí ku-tángis-á-(nga-)ko <br> $\mathrm{N}_{2}$ : ka-ngw-a-mu-tángis-á-ko <br> I do not teach him | ngu-(li-)na ku-tángis-a <br> I am teaching <br> N: ka-ngw-échí na ku-tangis-á-ko | ngw-á-ly-a <br> I have eaten <br> N : kandá ngu-ly-é |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ \text { na- } \end{gathered}$ | ná-vá-tángis-a they will teach <br> N: ka-ngw-échi ngu-tangís-é-ko I will not teach |  | ná-ngu-pw-a na ku-tángis-a I will be teaching <br> N: ka-ngw-échí ngu-pw-é na ku-tángis-á-ko |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text { na- } . . \text {-ka- } \end{gathered}$ | na-tu-ka-tángis-a we will teach <br> N : kéchí a-ká-ly-é-ko he will not eat |  | ná-ngu-ká-pw-á na ku-tángis-a I will be teaching <br> N: ka-ngw-échí ngu-ka-pw-é na ku-tángis-á-ko |  |

## K332 Dciriku

|  | Perfective | Progressive | Anterior |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text { - } \mathbf{a}- \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-píng-ire we inherited |  | tw-a-píng-a we (have) inherited |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ -\stackrel{\mathrm{v}}{ } \mathrm{C} \end{gathered}$ | ká-tu-píng-i we inherited | amě kú-ná-jimb-i <br> I was just singing | tu-na-píng-i we have inherited <br> tu-na-júv-u we hear |
|  |  | murúme kú-na-ku-dípag-a the man is killing |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ \text { (kú- ...) -Ø- ... -á } \end{gathered}$ | (kú-)tu-Ø-ping-á we will inherit |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text { ngá- } \ldots \text { - }- \text { - } \ldots \text {-. } \end{gathered}$ | ngá-tu-Ø-píng-a we will/may inherit |  |  |

## K352 Si-mwenyi

|  | Perfective | Habitual -ánga | Progressive -ilé | Persistive -si- | Anterior (?) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mbá na- / -naku- | mbá ná-ni-b-a I gave ní-nakú-mon-á I saw | mbá ná-ni-mon-ánga I used to see |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text { mbá na- ... -vc } \end{gathered}$ | mbá na-ni-mú-mon-ó I saw him <br> N : ká-n-a-mon-íne |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-na- ... -vC } \end{gathered}$ | sí-na-mú-mon-ó I saw him (today) <br> N : ká-n-así-mon-á |  |  |  |  |
|  | n-a-món-a <br> I see | n-á-mon-ánga I see (regularly) <br> N: ká-tu-mon-ángá we do not see | ní-mon-íné I am looking <br> N: ká-tu-mon-íné we are not looking | ní-si-mon-á <br> (?) I still see <br> ní-si-mon-íné <br> I am still seeing |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ \text { mbá ... }- \text { Ø- ... -a } \end{gathered}$ | mbá ni-Ø-mú-b-a <br> I will give him mbá ni-Ø-món-a I will see <br> N: ká-n-akú-mon-á |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text { tambá ... -Ø- ... -e } \end{gathered}$ | tambá ni-Ø-món-e I will see <br> N: ká-ni-mon-ó |  |  |  |  |
| $\stackrel{\mathrm{F}_{3}}{\text { tamba mbá ... -Ø- ... -e }}$ | tamba mbá ni-Ø-món-e I will see <br> N: ka-mba ní-mon-ó $I$ will never see | kúmba mbá ni-Ø-mon-ánga I will see regularly |  |  |  |

L23 Ki-songye, Lu-songye

|  | Perfective | Progressive -Ø- ... -a(ng)a | Persistive -kí- | Inceptive Anterior (?) -ta(:)- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ \text {-bá:- ... -ile } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ba:-sép-ele we hoed (before yesterday), we had hoed | tu-baá-di tu-Ø-dim-a(ng)a we were hoeing | N : tatu-kí-báá-di tu-dim-anga we did not hoe anymore | tú-tá-báá-dím-ine we had already hoed |
| $\stackrel{P_{2}}{-\boldsymbol{-}-\ldots \text {-ilé }}$ | tu-Ø-dim-iné we hoed (yesterday) | tu-Ø-fun-íné tu-Ø-dim-a(ng)a we were hoeing |  | tú-táá-dím-ine we have already hoed |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-bá:- ... -v́c } \end{gathered}$ | tu-ba:-dím-i we (have) just hoed <br> tu-ba:-sép-e we (have) just laughed |  |  |  |
|  | tw-a-dim-ă(ng)á we hoe, are hoeing, were hoeing <br> tw-e-kan-ángá tu-dim-anga we usually hoe | tu-Ø-dim-a(ng)a, tu-Ø-kwěte tu-dim-a(ng)a we are hoeing | tu-ki-dim-anga we still hoe, are still hoeing | tú-táá-dím-ă(ng)á we are already hoeing |
| Future -a:ku- | tw-aku-sep-a we will laugh |  | N: tatu-ky-áku-dim-a |  |

## L31a Cí-luba (Luba Kasayi)

|  | Past | Present |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Perfective | tú-Ø-kwac-ilé we seized | tú-Ø-énz-á we do, are doing |
| Imperfective 'be' + PfV | tú-vú-á tú-Ø-énz-á we were doing, used to do | tú-Ø-dí tú-Ø-énz-á we are doing, will do |
| Habitual $-\mathbf{t u}+\mathbf{P f V}$ | as above? | ú-tú ú-y-a you always go <br> ú-tú w-â-y-a you go regularly |
| Persistive -ci- | tú-ci-vú-á tú-kwat-á we were still holding | n-ci-kwat-á I still hold <br> n-ci-dí n-kwat-á I am still holding |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { "Subsecutive" } \\ \text {-a- } \end{gathered}$ |  | mb-â-kwat-á I hold, held, will hold, that I hold, and I hold, etc. |
| Anterior -a- ... -í |  | tw-â-kwac-í we have seized |
| Itive -ká- |  | tú-ká-kwat-á we are going to hold <br> tú-ká-dí tú-kwat-á we are about to hold |

## L33 Ki-luba-shaba

|  | Perfective | Imperfective -ngá | Persistive -kì- | $\begin{aligned} & \text { "Go to" } \\ & \text {-ká- } \end{aligned}$ | Anterior (?) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{P}_{3}$ <br> -á- ... -ile | n-áá-pááp-ile I carried |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-a- } \ldots \text {-ílé } \end{gathered}$ | w-aa-cip-ílé he swore <br> w-áa-tw-ilé you pounded |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{1} \\ \text {-(b)àá- ... -é / -à } \end{gathered}$ | w-aá-cip-é mú-cip-o he swore, has sworn <br> tú-baá-mon-é we saw, have seen <br> tú-baá-pál-a we (have) paid | w-aá-dya-ngá he has really eaten <br> w-aá-fwa-ngá he is really dead | w-aa-dí u-ki-dy-á he was still eating | ú-baa-ká-di you went to eat |  |
| -Ø- | ng-énd-á <br> I walk <br> N: ké-tu-fík-a-po we do not arrive | m-Ø-póyá-ngá <br> I hunt (regularly) <br> N: n-Ø-ki-tomé-ngá-po I do not drink regularly | ná-ki-sép-á I still laugh |  |  |
| Future -ka- | u-ka-tum-a you will send <br> N: ké-mu-kátóok-á-po you will not purify | n-ká-póyá-ngá <br> I will hunt regularly |  |  |  |

## N14 Su-mpotu

|  | Perfective | Progressive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{3} \\ -\mathbf{a}-\ldots-\text { iti } \end{gathered}$ | t-a-hik-iti we came | t-a-yi-li mu-ku-l-a we were eating |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{P}_{2} \\ \text {-ka- } \ldots \text {-. -iti } \end{gathered}$ | ti-ka-hik-iti we came | ti-ka-yi-li mu-ku-l-a we are been eating |
| $\frac{P_{1}}{-\boldsymbol{-}-\ldots-i t i}$ | ti-Ø-hik-iti we came |  |
|  | ti-Ø-hik-a we come, are coming, will come | ti-Ø-yi-li mu-ku-l-a <br> we are eating |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{1} \\ \text { ya- } \ldots-\text { - } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | ya-ti-Ø-hik-(ay)i <br> we will come very soon |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{2} \\ \text {-ká- } \ldots \text { - } \mathrm{ayi} \end{gathered}$ | ti-ká-hek-ayi we will laugh |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{F}_{3} \\ -\mathbf{a ́}-\ldots \cdot \mathbf{a}(\mathbf{y i}) \end{gathered}$ | t-á-hek-ayi we will laugh | t-á-ayi mu-ku-l-a we will be eating |

## R21 Oshi-kwányáma

|  | Perfective | $\begin{gathered} \text { Habitual } \\ \text { ha-...-Ø-...--VC } \end{gathered}$ | Progressive | Anterior ...-'VC |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'Remote Past' -á-...-ile | o-kw-á-tung-ílé she built <br> N: ka-nd-a-hálúk-ile I was not frightened |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { 'General Past' } \\ -\mathbf{- a}-\ldots-\mathbf{a} \end{gathered}$ | tw-a-fika we arrived <br> N: i-na-mu-Ø-haluka ye were not frightened | o-kw-á-li ha-Ø-end-e she used to go | o-kw-á-li tw-a-til-á we were fearing | tw-á-nyón-ó we've destroyed |
| Non-past tá-/há-...-Ø-'VC -ka-...á | ta-vá-Ø-yól-o they laugh, are laughing, will laugh <br> há-ndí-ká-dénga I will (go and) meet <br> N: i-ta-mú-Ø-haluk-á ye are not frightened <br> i-t-o-ká-món-a you will not (go and) see | o-há-ndi-Ø-énd-e I go (regularly) <br> o-há-vá-ka-lándifa they usually (go and) sell <br> N: i-ha-mú-Ø-haluk-á ye are usually not frightened |  |  |

## S32 Northern Se-sotho

|  | Perfective | Imperfective (‘be’ +) -Ø- | Habitual | Persistive -sa- | $\begin{gathered} \text { Anterior } \\ \text { ('be’ }+ \text { ) -ile } \end{gathered}$ | Conditional ('be’ +) -tlo- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Past |  | re-b-e re-Ø-rek-a <br> I was buying <br> N : re-b-e re-sa-rek-a |  | re-b-e re-sa-rek-a we were still buying <br> N : re-b-e re-sa-hlwe re-rek-a | re-b-e re-rek-ile we had bought <br> N: re-b-e re-se-ka-rek-a | re-b-e re-tlo-rek-a we would have bought <br> N : re-b-e re-sa-tlo-rek-a |
|  | (1) re-rék-á dijo we buy, are buying food <br> (2) re-a-rék-a we buy, are buying <br> N: ga-ré-rék-e we do not buy, are not buying | ré-Ø-rék-a we buy, are buying, if we buy <br> N : ré-sa-rék-e | re-rék-e we buy (HABITUAL) N : ré-se-rék-e | re-sá-rék-a we still buy, are still buying <br> N: ga-ré-sa-rék-a we no longer buy, are no longer buying | re-rék-ile we (have) bought <br> N : ga-ré-a-rék-a or ga-sé-r-a-rék-a |  |
| Future -tlo- / -tla- | re-tlo-rék-a <br> or <br> re-tla-rék-a <br> we will buy <br> N : re-ká-se-rék-e | re-tlo-b-e/-a re-Ø-rek-a we will be buying <br> N: re-tlo-b-e/-a <br> re-sa-rek-e |  | re-sá-tlo-rék-a we will still buy re-tlo-b-e/-a re-sa-rek-a will still be buying <br> N: ga-ré-sá-tlo-rék-a | re-tlo-b-e/-a re-rek-ile we will have bought <br> N: re-tlo-b-a/-e re-se-ka-rek-a |  |

