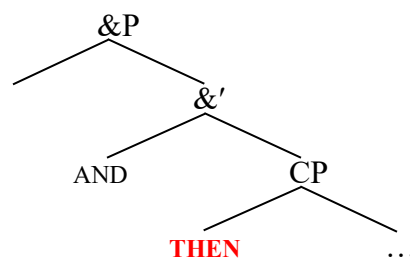


## Sequence and Consequence: The Syntax of Modal Coordination in Crosslinguistic Perspective

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Asymmetric Coordination



Asymmetry predicts two types?

- (a) X and then Y and then Y and then Y. = Biblical Hebrew cf. Swahili
- (b) X and then X and then X and then Y. = Old Babylonian cf. Tibetan



\*CONTRASTS:

ORDERED *ma*

- (#) ilū šarram ul i-škun-ū-**ma** mātum i-ḥliq  
gods king not 3-install.PRET-MPL-**THEN** land 3SG-perish.PRETERITE  
sequence (i) ‘The gods did not install a king, **and so (or and then)** the land perished’  
consequence (ii) ‘**Because** the gods did not install a king, the land perished’  
converbial (iii) ‘The gods **not having installed** a king, the land perished’  
(Huehnegard 2011: 50, bold font original)

UNORDERED *u*

- (#) bītam i-šsur-ū **u** kaspim itti šarrim i-mḥur-ū  
house 3-keep.PRET-MPL **AND** silver with king 3-receive.PRET-MPL  
‘They kept the house and (also) they received silver from the king’  
(Huehnegard 2011: 50)

BOTH *ma u*

- (#) mutum ana aššatim kaspam i-ddim-**ma**  
husband to wife silver 3SG-give.PRETERITE-**THEN**  
**u** mimmê ša bītim ša abim ana aššatim u-šallim  
**AND** property of house of father to wife 3SG-restore.PRETERITE  
‘The husband gave silver to his wife and also restored to his wife property  
of her father’s house’ (Huehnegard 2011: 50)

Study's Contribution:

- Unique compilation with detailed analysis of data from a variety of languages/typologies
- 
- Identification (original apparently) of the *progressive construction* as a pathway to the (realis) consecutive construction (why?!): 3x: Swahili/Bantu, Supyire, Late Egyptian
- Identification of the reanalysis of the *AdvP 'then' in relative-tense systems* as a pathway to the consecutive construction, suggesting how word-order/verb-movement becomes involved
- 
- Counter-intuitive: Subjunctive seems to contribute the marked of the paired consecutives
- 
- Unified treatment w/in MP and DM
- Syntax/features and strictly compositional interpretation of *truth-functional operators*

## 1. Introduction

Many languages, in addition to their core system of tense, mood and aspect (TMA),<sup>1</sup> possess dedicated verbal morphosyntax to express AND THEN: the clause-chaining phenomenon known as the CONSECUTIVE (CONS) or SEQUENTIAL (SEQ) construction. In an “initial” clause, the core TMA obtains, but in subsequent or “non-initial” clauses, we find the CONS structure: *X, and then Y, and then Z, and then W ...*<sup>2</sup> Typically a language has a pair of such CONS constructions in complementary distribution, sensitive to IRREALIS (IRR) mood. Ironically, the nature of this peripheral system ensures that tokens of the CONS verbal forms often outnumber the core verbal forms: wildly so in narrative discourse, hence misleadingly named the “narrative tense” (NARR).<sup>3</sup>

In the typological literature, the CONS barely rates a footnote. Childs (2003) provides just one example from one language: Supyire (Atlantic-Congo). Just one example from one language appears in Heine & Nurse (2000): Tswana (Southern Bantu). Under the rubric of tense, Dahl (1985) mentions in passing the “narrative tense”, offering four examples (table 4.7, p. 113): three Bantu (Kikuyu, Sotho and Zulu) and one Atlantic-Congo (Karaboro). The recurring citation of the Bantu languages is no coincidence since it is claimed that they all have a CONS form.<sup>4</sup> A

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: ACC accusative, ASS associative, AUX auxiliary, BH Biblical Hebrew, CAUS causative, COM comitative, COMP complementizer, COND conditional, CONJ conjunctive (Egyptian/Coptic), CONS consecutive, DES desiderative, DET determiner, FOC focus perfective (Hausa), FUT future, FV final vowel (Bantu), HAB habitual, HOD hodiernal, IMP imperative, IMPF imperfect, INF infinitive, INJ injunctive (Coptic), MID middle, NARR narrative, (N)PST (non-)past, (I)PRF (im)perfect, (I)PFV (im)perfective, POL/Σ polarity, PRS present, PROG progressive, REL relative tense(s), REM remote past, SEQ sequential, SBJV subjunctive, TMA tense/mood/aspect, VOL volitive.

<sup>2</sup> There are two other types of clause-chaining that must not be confused with the CONS. The serial-verb construction (what Comrie 1985 calls “tense neutralization”), found primarily in Kwa (Akan, Nupe) and Benue-Congo (Igbo, Yoruba) languages (Childs 2003: §5.5, pp. 137-141), is often confused with consecution: *Let’s go see! or I’ll go to Toronto, ring up Bob, treat him to dinner*. Only the first verb is marked, the rest are bare stems.

The inverse of the CONS is the converb: *thinking of you, wishing you the best, I bought this amazing get-well card*. In this case, only in the final clause does the core TMA obtain. See further Haspelmath & Könnig (1995) and Völlmin *et al.* (2010).

An interesting twist on the converb is the phenomenon of multiple converbs in e.g. some Cushitic languages (e.g. Beja (Vanhove 2017) and Alaaba (Schneider-Blum 2007)). Vanhove (2017) describes four separate Beja converbs: general, simultaneous, manner, and crucially, “sequential” (§3.2.5). It would be as if in addition to a converb *writing*, there were also converbs *being-written, having-written*, etc. Thus, *having bought some food, I brought it home ~ I bought some food and brought it home* (the dual translations of Alaaba examples in Schneider-Blum 2007: 242f). Hopper & Traugott (2003) point to a similar construction in Lhasa translated *having worked, he ate ~ he worked and ate* (p. 204). In passing, they assert that *all* Tibeto-Burman languages use similar clause chaining, expressing a sequence of events (p. 204).

<sup>3</sup> Narrative is “almost exclusively” in the CONS construction (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 216). DeCaen (1995) offers the range of 3:1 up to 5:1 in biblical narrative (pp. 286, 289). Joosten (2012) counts 17 546 consecutive forms against 19 107 core PST and NPST in Genesis - Kings (note 1, p. 161); however, it’s not clear how many of the latter are in subordinate clauses and so should not be counted.

In Biblical Hebrew, the core system is verb-second (V2), whereas the more frequent consecutive construction is verb-first (V1) through verb-movement into the left periphery (DeCaen 1995, 1999, Cowper & DeCaen 2017). Hence the mistaken conventional wisdom that Biblical Hebrew is VSO / V1 instead of V2.

<sup>4</sup> “While some [features] are local innovations, others are not. Of the latter the most obvious is what is here called consecutive (CONS) ... This [sequencing] is a third Bantu feature. All the languages for which there is adequate data have a form which is used after a time framework has been established” (Nurse 2003: 101).

parade example is Swahili with its “-ka- tense”. Palmer (1986) sees the consecutive phenomenon from the perspective of mood, coining the phrase “coordination with modality” (§5.5.2, pp. 204-207) or better “modal coordination” (DeCaen 1995). He cites data from Fula (Atlantic-Congo) and Maasai (Nilo-Saharan). In addition to the vast sweep of the Niger-Congo languages, we can add with Loprieno (1980) two Afroasiatic languages: Late Egyptian (and Coptic) and Biblical Hebrew (Northwest Semitic). The Chadic branch of Afroasiatic is also represented by Hausa.

The primary reason the CONS is not more widely recognized is the extreme silo effect. The silos are reinforced by a bewildering array of terms for the phenomenon (Hlongwane 1996: 47).<sup>5</sup> There is no telling where in the grammars the phenomenon will be canvassed. The Bantu specialists seem blissfully unaware of the broader context. To take an extreme example, Barnes (1965) declares with respect to Biblical Hebrew that “this strange phenomenon is found in no [other] language on earth” (pp. 4f). While extreme, the sentiment is nonetheless representative of the Hebraist perspective locked in theological isolation. Virtually unique is the Egyptologist Loprieno (1980): “It could be interesting to notice that sequential forms [of Late Egyptian and Biblical Hebrew] are present in Cushitic<sup>6</sup> and Bantu languages ... as evidence that *this verbal category [sequentiality] is very productive*” cross-linguistically (p. 16, italics ours). So noted.

**Transcriptions:** minor modified/regularized for presentation;  
BH = Tiberian w/IPA following Khan; *conventional* Egypt/Copt

**Glossing:** generally following Leipzig standard; massaged from original to *regularize and simplify* for present purposes; glossing original —VD for Swahili, Zulu, Fula, Hausa, Egyptian, Hebrew

**Translations:** as found in sources; biblical citations from King James Version (KJV)

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<sup>5</sup> CONJUNCTION: conjunctive (Egyptian/Coptic), coordination with modality (Palmer), modal coordination (Biblical Hebrew: DeCaen 1995), serial coordination; TENSE: consecutive tense, historical tense, *ka* tense (Swahili), *n* tense (Maasai), narrative tense, null tense (bare stem), past subjunctive (Southern Bantu), preterite, relative tenses, remote past, tense neutralization (serial verb); ASPECT: aorist, *aoriste de récit*, (im)perfect(ive) consecutive, narrative aorist, relative perfective/completive, *aspect zéro* (cf. bare stem as null tense); MOOD: conjunctive mood, consecutive mood, coordination with modality, modal coordination, modal non-initial, past subjunctive, subjunctive, subsecutive (subordination + consecutive); ORDER: consecutive, consecutive tense/aspect, continuative, (im)perfect(ive) consecutive, modal non-initial, non-initial, sequential (sequentiality), serial clauses, serial coordination, subsecutive; DISCOURSE: focus (Hausa relative aspect), foreground(ed); MISC.: conversive (Biblical Hebrew).

<sup>6</sup> Cushitic or Ethio-Semitic is not the consecutive type, but rather the converbial type (see note 2).

## 1.1. Central Claim: The Syntax of the Consecutive

The essence of the consecutive system is summarized in the following tableau (modifying the presentations in Loprieno 1980, 1995). In our view, there are two syntactic features: [IRREALIS] and [THEN] = {CONS, SEQ, CONJ, FOC}; [AND] comes for free w/asymmetric &P

			THEN
IRR	AUX		
	FUT		
	IMP		
	SBJV		
	COND		
	DES		
	INJ		
	INF		

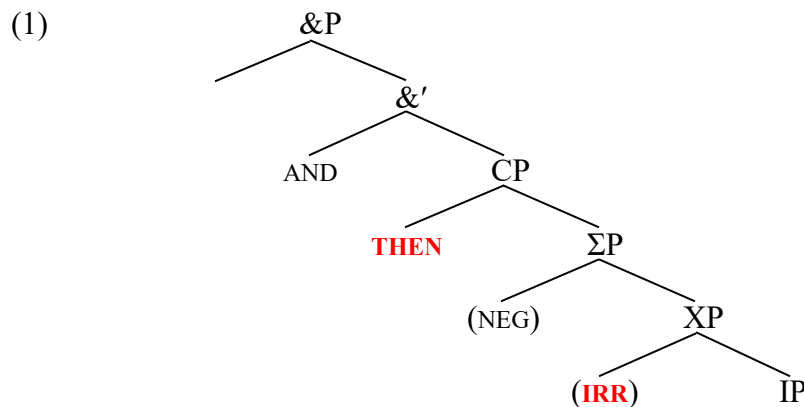
DM: we predict three scenarios/types:

1. only [THEN] is spelled out, there is no separate exponent of [THEN, IRR], though present; re Swahili “The two tenses are quite distinct in Swahili, though many Bantu languages have **only one form for both.**” (Perrott 1950: 50)
2. bifurcation: [THEN, IRR] spelled out; when [THEN] alone, there is an elsewhere/default form:
3. [THEN, IRR] with exponent, but no default realization of [THEN]

Defaulting/defeasible interpretations of the unmarked:

1. [IRREALIS] marked, realis is default
2. [AND] defaults to [AND, THEN]

We claim that the *asymmetric* syntactic structure in (1) is the foundation of these systems, subject to phonological and semantic interpretation.



### **1.3. Theoretical Context and Assumptions**

*going syntactic*: MP, DM + features, etc.

appropriate phonological and semantic interpretations

### **1.4. Outline**

Exploring *at least* those languages

Get data ducks in a row (section 2)

Consider the syntax and look at models (section 3)

## **2. Data**

2.1. The Consecutive in Brief

2.2. Generalized Consecutive

2.2.1. Maasai

2.2.2. Supyire

2.3. A Bantu Taxonomy

2.3.1. Swahili

2.3.2. Digo

2.3.3. Zulu

2.3.4. Chewa, Tumbuka

2.3.5. Sena

2.4. Relative Constructions Paired w/Subjunctive

2.4.1. Hausa

2.4.2. Fula

2.5. Egyptian and Coptic

2.6. Sequence and Consequence in Biblical Hebrew

## **3. Analysis**

## **4. Conclusion**

## **References**

## 2. Data

### 2.1. The Consecutive in Brief

As a rule, some construction is singled out somewhat misleadingly as the “narrative tense” (NARR) because of its overwhelming statistical domination of narrative discourse. It is generally claimed that this narrative tense is strictly “non-initial”, yet as will be seen, instances of “initial” use abound.

To make the CONS phenomenon concrete consider the following data from Biblical Hebrew (BH) and Swahili. The initial clauses are in the PAST tense (PST), defaulting for the PERFECTIVE aspect (PFV) in the sense of Smith (1991). The BH [PST, 3MSG]  $\Leftrightarrow \emptyset$ , but otherwise the parallel is exact.

(#) בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ  
 ba-re:ʃi:θ                      bɔ:ɾɔ:                      ʔelo:hi:m  
 in-beginning                      create.PST.3MSG                      God  
 ʔe:θ haf-ʃɔ:ma:jim                      va-ʔe:θ hɔ:-ʔɔ:res<sup>7</sup>  
 ACC the-heavens                      and-ACC the-earth  
 ‘In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth’ (Genesis 1:1)<sup>8</sup>

(#) hapo mwanzo                      Mungu                      a-li-zi-umb-a                      mbingu na nchi<sup>9</sup>  
 in beginning                      God                      3SG-PST-3SG-create-FV                      heaven and earth  
 ‘In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth’ (Genesis 1:1)

And then the narration continues with the “non-initial” or CONS verb forms interpreted as AND THEN.

(#) וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר וַיְהִי אוֹר  
 va-j-j-ó:mer                      ʔelo:hi:m                      ja-hi: ʔɔ:ɾ                      va:-j-hi: ʔɔ:ɾ  
 AND-THEN-3MSG-say                      God                      3MSG-be.VOL light                      AND.THEN-3MSG-be light  
 ‘And God said, Let there be light: and there was light’ (Genesis 1:3)

(#) Mungu                      a-ka-sem-a                      i-w-e nuru                      i-ka-w-a nuru  
 God                      3SG-THEN-say-FV                      3SG-be-SBJV light                      3SG-THEN-be-FV light  
 ‘And God said, Let there be light: and there was light’ (Genesis 1:3)

The BH consecutive *va-j-jó:mer* ‘and he said’ combines a grammaticalized conjunction and an underspecified consonant realized as gemination. The other CONS ‘and there was’ is modified under syncope *va-j-jé:hi: → va-jhí:*. Crucially, the CONS is identical with the VOLITIVE (VOL) *jé:hi: → jahí:*. Moreover, the syntax is identical: while the simple PST construction is verb-second (V2), the VOL and the CONS are both verb-first (V1) by verb-movement into the left periphery. This complexity and formal identity are taken up below.

<sup>7</sup> The transcription eschews the scholarly convention and adopts instead the IPA and follows the authoritative analysis of Khan (19xx, 19xx, 20xx).

<sup>8</sup> The King James Version is the translation employed throughout.

<sup>9</sup> <<https://www.wordproject.org/bibles/sw/>>

In contrast, the Swahili equivalent is straightforward. One clearly isolated exponent *-ka-* is exclusively employed in the CONS construction. Of interest is that this *-ka-* seems to be derived from *-ka-a* ‘remain, stay’ as an auxiliary (e.g. Loogman 1965: 386). While this example is paratactic, the conjunction *na* ‘and’ might appear. In other words, *-ka-* is not itself a conjunction.

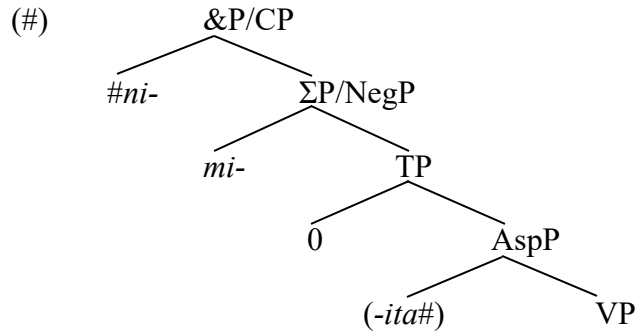
## 2.2. Generalized Consecutive

The simplest CONS system would consist of a grammaticalized conjunction selecting for a zero or unmarked verbal form. In all of the systems that we examine in this study, PROGRESSIVE (PROG) aspect is orthogonal to tense (as is NEGATION (NEG)), and thus the tenses default as in English for the PERFECTIVE (PFV) in the sense of Smith (1991).

The clearest example of a system with one all-purpose conjunctive is Maasai as detailed by Hollis (1905) and Tucker & Mpaayei (1955): the parade example cited by Palmer (1986). Childs (2003) happens to draw attention to a similar CONS system: Supyire (Atlantic-Congo) as analyzed by Carlson (1994). Several layers of complexity hide what is essentially one all-purpose exponent spelling out THEN.

### 2.2.1. Maasai

The essence of the Maasai system is presented in (#). The zero form in a perfective-defaulting system serves as both PRESENT/HABITUAL/FUTURE and SUBJUNCTIVE, as is the case in Maasai. The prefix *ni-* AND of the “*n*-tense” is added thereto. There is no clausal coordinating conjunction, just the *n*-tense.



The first prediction is that an *n*-tense in isolation has no temporal interpretation but does have a defeasible PFV reading. It is wholly dependent on context for temporal interpretation (Tucker & Mpaayei 1995: 62). Such is the case in (#).

- (#) *n*-a-ar<sup>10</sup>  
 AND-1SG-kill  
 ‘Then I killed it’ *or* ‘Then I shall kill it’ (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955: §67, p. 62)

The THEN reading is straightforwardly the default interpretation of a string of PFV-defaulting *n*-tense constructions. That the prefix *ni-* does not itself encode THEN is revealed in the interpretation of the PROG forms. The natural interpretation of (#) is that the guarding took place after the herding, whereas in (#) the two activities are simultaneous.

- (#) e-irrit-*a* nkishu                      *n*-e-rrip  
 3SG-herd-PST cattle                      AND-3SG-guard  
 ‘He herded the cattle and guarded them’  
 (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955: 61; Palmer 1986: 205)

- (#) e-irrit-*ita* nkishu                      *n*-e-rrip-*ita*  
 3SG-herd-PROG cattle                      AND-3SG-guard-PROG  
 ‘He is herding the cattle and guarding them’ (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955: 61)

Palmer (1986) presents the token of simple coordination in (#). Actual narrative proceeds as in (#) in which the *n*-tense need not follow the PST tense. Notice the relative number of tokens of the *n*-tense, especially when subordination is subtracted.

<sup>10</sup> The transcription follows the convention of Tucker & Mpaayei (1955) but omits the vocalic contrast tense/lax and also the diacritics. In the Hollis narrative excerpt, I have massaged his glosses; elsewhere the glosses are mine.

- (#) ki-etuo aŋ                    *ni*-k-irrag  
 1PL-come.PST home    AND-1PL-lay.down  
 ‘We came home and slept’ (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955: 61; Palmer 1986: 205)
- (#) *n*-e-tii ol-murani sidai naleŋ  
 AND-3SG-be the-warrior handsome very  
*n*-e-tum in-doiye uni                    *n*-aa ’ŋ-anashera pokira-uni  
 AND-3SG-get the-girls three                    AND-3PL.be the-sisters all-three  
*n*-e-jo-ki ol-murani ’n-doiye                    kaji ki-pwo a-irag?  
 AND-3SG-say-to the-warrior the-girls where 1PL-go INF-sleep  
*n*-e-jo ’n-doiye                    maa-pe eng-aŋ inyi  
 AND-3PL-say the-girls                    SBJV.1PL-go the-kraal your  
*n*-e-jo ol-murani                    e-lakwa eng-aŋ aŋ  
 AND-3SG-say the-warrior                    3SG-far the-kraal our  
*n*-e-jo ’n-doiye                    inna na-lakwa adde ki-pwo  
 AND-3PL-say the-girls                    this that-far afterwards 1PL-go<sup>11</sup>  
 ‘One of the men, a particularly handsome and well-built fellow, went away with three sisters. On leaving, he asked the girls where they would like to go, and they told him they wished to accompany him to his kraal. He said that it was a long way off, but they replied that it didn’t matter’ (Hollis 1905: 133, 144)

Unlike the systems explored below, the *n*-tense here is insensitive to modal distinctions. The second of two commands e.g. is in the *n*-tense (#)/1. Similarly, the *n*-tense construction may function as an apodosis as in (#)/2. Finally, the *n*-tense may play the role of a gerund with certain verbs e.g. ‘want’ in (#)/3.

- (#)/1 imputa emoti                    *n*-i-pik enkima  
 IMP.SG.fill pot                    AND-2SG-put fire  
 ‘Fill the pot and put it on the fire’ (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955: 61)
- (#)/2 *ten* e-lōtu                    *n*-i-suj  
 COND 3SG-come                    AND-2SG-follow  
 ‘If he comes, follow him’ (Hollis 1905: 59)
- (#)/3 k-a-yieu                    *n*-a-irrag  
 COMP-1SG-want                    AND-1SG-lay.down  
 ‘I want to lie down’ (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955: 61)

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<sup>11</sup> ‘We will go to this kraal which is far away’ (Hollis 1905: n. 2, p. 133)

### 2.2.2. Supyire

Like Maasai, Supyire also has just one all-purpose exponent, but much superficial complexity hides the simple system. The principal difference from Maasai is that the NARR/SEQ auxiliary does apparently encode THEN independent of clausal coordination. The major complication is the switch-reference in which *kà* AND encodes different-subject while *mà* AND encodes same-subject. Another problem is the extreme homophony and allomorphy of auxiliaries at least in the analysis of Carlson (1994). We follow him in distinguishing the NARR/SEQ auxiliary *sí* from the homophonous IPFV *sí* of *shya* ‘go’ and three separate auxiliaries for the SBJV, for the FUT and for the so-called adversative ‘but, as for, on the other hand, while’ (Carlson 1994: 692f).<sup>12</sup> We do however conflate his NARR and SEQ as simply THEN.<sup>13</sup>

Consider the following extended passage in (#)/1 that is cited by Childs (2003: (109), pp. 146f). An example with the orthogonal PROG is added in (#)/2 for completeness.

- (#)/1 Ceèñi wà u *màha* u poo бага yanəgəno **pááré** ...  
 woman certain she PST her husband house bedbugs **scorching**  
*Kà* nòñi *sí* ù pyì ...                      *Kà* u *ú* yírà a kàré sigé e  
 AND husband THEN her tell              AND she THEN get.up to go bush in  
*mà* sà a **pààré**,                                *mà* sà nò cɨnjyèñí wà na,  
 AND go PROG walking                      AND go arrive woman certain at  
*ma-á* ú shyééré.                                *Kà* u *ú* ú yígé ...  
 AND-THEN her greet                        AND she THEN her ask  
 ‘A certain woman was scorching her husband’s house’s bedbugs ... Then her husband told her ... So she got up and went to the bush and was hunting and met an old woman, and greeted her. She (the old woman) asked her ...’ (Carlson 1994: (90), pp. 350f)

- (#)/2 *Kà* wùù *ú* sá fwùñi pyi,                      *ma-á* wù-yé ñcèñí pyi,  
 AND we THEN go greeting do              AND-THEN us-other knowledge do  
*ma-á wá na* ñjyìñi lyì.  
 AND-THEN **be.there** PROG food eat  
 ‘Then we greeted and made each other’s acquaintance, and then we ate’  
 (Carlson 1994: (107), p. 359)

Narrative begins in (#)/1 with the “formal past” auxiliary *màha* which is limited to this “initial” role in folktale and myth (elsewhere *ná* (remote) and *ní* (recent) PST auxiliaries obtain). Unaccountably, the PST auxiliary *màha* is identical to the HAB auxiliary *màha* elsewhere. The narrative is carried forward by the switch-reference conjunctions *kà* and *mà*. In the latter case, *mà* is fused directly with *sí* THEN as *maá*. In (#)/2, the eating is viewed as an activity not as a PFV accomplishment. The copula *wá* ‘be there’ surfaces in this context; Carlson (1994) notes simply that it serves to differentiate the *sí* THEN from the four other *sí*’s (p. 358).

<sup>12</sup> In Carlson’s account, it appears that there are varying degrees of grammaticalization, hence varying morphophonology and syntactic distribution. The CONS/SEQ auxiliary is at the extreme of allomorphy.

<sup>13</sup> The NARR gloss obtains in narrative, the SEQ elsewhere in non-narrative.

An example of procedural discourse in (#) proceeds along the same lines. Note here that the different-subject *kà* of narrative is absent in this case.

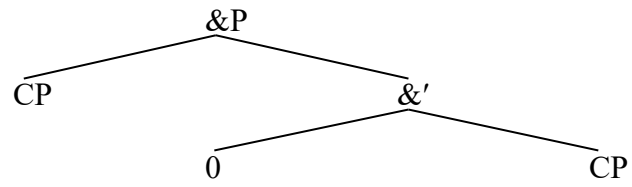
- (#) Wà *gà* òkwù pi *màha* u wuli,  
 someone COND die 3PL HAB 3SG bathe  
*ma-á* ú pwó ná v ààntò wálá cev ààntinji í,  
 AND-THEN 3SG tie with blanket or robe with  
*màhà* síníjé u ntààni na,  
 HAB lie.down.CAUS 3SG courtyard at  
*ma-á* òkàré bàànní i  
 AND-THEN go entrance.house in  
*ma-á* sá sànyí yige *màhà* wyi.  
 AND-THEN go death.announcement take.out HAB whistle  
 ‘When someone dies, the bathe him/her and tie him/her with a blanket ... and lay  
 (him/her) down in his/her courtyard, and go to the entrance house (of the village),  
 and make the formal announcement of the death’ (Carlson 1994: (91), p. 351)

As is the case in Maasai, the Supyire CONS construction appears to be insensitive to any TMA contrasts. The following examples are offered to demonstrate insensitivity to mood, though it is not clear why in the absence of the switch-reference conjunctions these are not cases of the SBJV auxiliary *sí*. Of interest here we see in (#)/1 both the homophonous FUT auxiliary *sí* and also the lexical *shya* → *zhyà* ‘go’ contrasting with the THEN auxiliary *sí*. In (#)/2, *sí* → *í* marks the apodosis. Finally, in (#)/3 the variant *así* → *arì* appears (labelled the “habitual sequential” and said to be the functional equivalent of our *sí* (Carlson 1994: 352)).

- (#)/1 Mii náhá *na sí* zhyà yaare e *sí* mpá  
 1SG be.here PROG FUT go things to THEN come  
 ‘I am going to go relieve myself and come back’ (Carlson 1994: (94), p. 352)
- (#)/2 Pi *ahá* pwooré tàha a kù nì  
 they COND dirt use to it fill  
 pi *í* kwùnni tò fó màha li durugo  
 they THEN grave.mound cover till HAB it go.up.CAUS  
 ‘When they have filled it with dirt, they heap up the grave mound till it is raised’  
 (Carlson 1994: (92), p. 352)
- (#)/3 Ci *ahá* mpá fyîn, pi *arì* wēyi làhà cì nà,  
 they COND come sprout they THEN leaves take.off them on  
*ma-á* kàbìyè cùrùgò mpògíí na ...  
 and-THEN sticks plant mounds on  
 ‘When they (the yams) sprout, they (the farmers) take the leaves off of them,  
 and stick poles into the mounds ...’ (Carlson 1994: (93), p. 352)

We might generalize the Supyire CONS construction by positing a null coordinating conjunction in addition to the two switch-reference conjunctions as in (#).

(#)



### 2.3. A Bantu Taxonomy

It was suggested in the introduction that it is characteristic of all Bantu languages, to the extent there is adequate data, to possess a CONS construction in addition to the core TMA. On the other hand, we see in this section that it is not the same system across the wide swath from northwest all the way around to the south.

There is some important background for the following review. First, the pan-Bantu verb is built on the template SUBJECT-TMA-OBJECT-VERB-FINAL.VOWEL. The grammaticalized TMA occupies a fixed position separate from derivational morphemes that combine to form the verbal stem VERB. Crucially, the FINAL VOWEL (FV) distinguishes the SUBJUNCTIVE (SBJV) *-e#* and the negative *-i#* from the default *-a#* (simply glossed FV below).

Second, most languages share the reflexes of the Bantu PST morphemes *-k(h)a-* (unrelated to the CONS *-ka-*), *-aa-*, *-a-*, and *-ile#*. Of interest is the last *-ile* which does not appear in the TMA slot but rather where a derivational morpheme might appear; moreover, the FV is *-e* not the expected *-a*. Both long *aa* and short *a* may co-occur, though they are “often tonally contrastive, semantically different, and sometimes in languages which have otherwise neutralized the inherited vowel length distinction” (Nurse 2003: 100). The last point is crucial, since tone and length generally do not appear in the orthography.

### 2.3.1. Swahili

The claim is that the essence of the full CONS system is clearly on display in Swahili. The TMA auxiliary *-ka-*<sup>14</sup> always and everywhere expresses THEN (Perrot 1950: 51) independent of the coordinating conjunction *na* AND. In addition, this CONS system bifurcates: the SBJV mood is independently signaled by the FV *-e*. Hence Palmer’s “coordination with modality” (1986: §5.5.2, pp. 204-207) and “modal coordination” in (DeCaen 1995).

#### 2.3.1.1. Realis

Typically, an initial PST auxiliary is followed by the non-initial CONS *-ka-* as in (/1). Multiple clauses can be chained in this fashion (/2).

(#)/1 ni-*li*-kwend-a soko-ni          ni-*ka*-rud-i<sup>15</sup>  
 1SG-PST-go-FV market-to          1SG-THEN-return-FV  
 ‘I went to the market and came back’ (Perrott 1950: 51)

(#)/2 ni-*li*-kwend-a soko-ni          ni-*ka*-nunu-a ndizi sita  
 1SG-PST-go-FV market-to          1SG-THEN-buy-FV bananas six  
 ni-*ka*-l-a tatu                          ni-*ka*-mp-a mwenz-angu tatu  
 1SG-THEN-eat-FV three          1SG-THEN-give-FV companion-my three  
 ‘I went to market, and bought six bananas; I ate three and three I gave to my companion.’  
 (Ashton 1947: 133)

Not infrequently, in all the languages surveyed here, a temporal modifier is the “initial” (/3). Moreover, we find that in all the languages no initial clause is required to anchor the chain of non-initials as is shown in (/4).

(#)/3 bwana a-*li-po*-ingi-a                          wale watu wa-*ka*-simam-a  
 officer 3SG-PST-REL-enter-FV          those men 3PL-THEN-stand.up-FV  
 wa-*ka*-mw-amki-a  
 3PL-THEN-3SG-greet-FV  
 ‘when the officer entered, the men stood up and greeted him’ (Perrott 1950: 141)

(#)/4 lo!          temba wa-*ka*-j-a                          wa-*ka*-u-vunj-a ukuta  
 lo!          elephants 3PL-THEN-come-FV 3PL-THEN-3SG-break-FV wall  
 wa-*ka*-ingi-a                          wa-*ka*-li-haribu shamba lote  
 3PL-THEN-enter-FV                          3PL-THEN-3SG-destroy field whole  
 ‘Lo! elephants came and broke down the fence and got in and destroyed the whole field’  
 (Perrott 1950: 53, 161)

It is incorrect to call this *-ka-* construction a “narrative tense”, since it may appear with other NPST elements of the core TMA system. An example of the PROG *-na-* is presented in (/5). Note here that the overt conjunction *na* AND may co-occur with *-ka-*. The HAB is found in (/6)

<sup>14</sup> Again, this *-ka-* is not the reflex of Bantu PST *-k(h)a-*, rather the morpheme appears to be the grammaticalization of the verb *-ka-a* ‘stay, sit’.

<sup>15</sup> A handful of verbs end in *-i*.

and a token of the FUT in (/7). Apparently FUT *-ta-* is consistent with both the indicative here and the SBJV below (#), and we might correlate the contrast with English *if he come* vs. counterfactual *if he came*.

Iteration of achievement

(#)/5 iwapo mtu mmoja a-*na*-jeng-a            *na* mwenz-ake a-*ka*-bomo-a  
 if man one 3SG-PROG-build-FV            AND companion-his 3SG-THEN-break.down-FV  
 ‘If one man is building and his companion is breaking down ...’ (Perrott 1950: 140)

(#)/6 mimi *hu*-wa-p-a wanadamu embe zangu            wa-*ka*-l-a  
 1SG HAB-3PL-give-FV men mangos my            3PL-THEN-eat-FV  
 ‘I give men my mangoes and they eat them’ (Perrott 1950: 140)

(#)/7 ikiwa mtu a-*ta*-kuj-a            a-*ka*-ku-ambi-a            kama a-na-yo dawa  
 if man 3SG-FUT-come-FV            3SG-THEN-2SG-say.to-FV            that 3SG-have-it medicine  
 ‘If a man shall come and say that he has medicine ...’ (Perrott 1950: 140)

### 2.3.1.2. Irrealis

“

There is also a KA form of the subjunctive which can follow a verb in the imperative or subjunctive” (Perrott 1950: 140)

Class observed across languages examined: **{future, imperative, subjunctive}**; purpose/result

#### Future for sure

(#)/8 ni-*ta*-kwend-a soko-ni            ni-*ka*-nunu-*e* ndizi  
 1SG-FUT-go-FV market-to            1SG-THEN-buy-SBJV bananas  
 ‘I shall go to market and buy some bananas.’ (Ashton 1947: 134)

#### Imperative

(#)/9 nend-a soko-ni            u-*ka*-nunu-*e* ndizi  
 IMP.go-FV market-to            2SG-THEN-buy-SBJV bananas  
 ‘Go to the market and buy some bananas!’ (Ashton: 1947: 134)

#### Subjunctive

(#)/10 a-mw-ogesh-*e* mtoto            a-*ka*-m-fut-*e* kwa kitambaa  
 3SG-3SG-wash-SBJV child            3SG-THEN-3SG-dry-SBJV with cloth  
 ‘Let her wash the child and dry him with a towel’ (Perrott 1950: 141)

#### Summary: simplest exponence in Swahili

		THEN
--	--	------

			<i>-ka- -a</i>
IRR	AUX		<i>-ka- -e</i>
	FUT		
	IMP		
	SBJV		
	COND		
	DES		
	INJ		
	INF		

### 2.3.2. *-ka-* vs. *-chi-* in Digo (Northeast Coast Bantu)

Nicolle (2013) (all with FV *-a*): supplementary consecutive *-chi-*  
Terminology confusing!

*-ka-* “hodiernal past” HOD §5.2.1.3, p. 136: no consideration of homophony

*-ka-* “sequential” SEQ §5.2.2.2, p. 139: any, save past/consecutive *or future -nda-*

*-chi-* “consecutive” CONS §5.2.2.1, p. 138:

only following past tense (“remote past”) *-a-* + floating H

#### CONSECUTIVE

- (#) *Ná*-fik-a skuli                      n-*chi*-a-ambir-a alimu ayangu  
1SG-**PST**-arrive-FV school      1SG-**CONS**-3PL-tell-FV teachers fellows  
‘I arrived at school and told my fellow teachers’ (Nicolle 2013: (341), p. 138)

SEQUENTIAL N.B. generally *na* **COMITATIVE** ‘AND’: not always simple parataxis

See above token ‘and’ *na* w/Swahili progressive

- (#) Mlungu a-*ka*-sikir-a mavoyo gangu                      na a-*ka*-ni-ph-a mwana mlume  
God 3SG-**HOD**-hear-FV prayer my                      COM 3SG-**SEQ**-1SG-give-fv child male  
‘God has heard my prayers and he has given me a son’  
(Nicolle 2013: (345), p. 139)

- (#) Mmwenga *nku*-phand-a                      na wanjina a-*ka*-vun-a  
One **HAB**-plant-FV                      COM other 3SG-**SEQ**-reap-FV  
‘One plants and then another reaps.’ (Nicolle 2013: (344), p. 139)

N.B. esp. after infinitive (INF): see below Coptic

- (#) Mu-ogoph-e-ni                      Mlungu                      ambaye a-na uwezo wa  
2PL-fear-SBJV-PL                      God                      who 3SG-COM power ASS  
*ku*-olag-a mutu                      na badaye a-*ka*-m-tsuph-a moho-ni  
**INF**-kill-FV child                      COM afterwards 3SG-**SEQ**-3SG-throw-FV hell-in  
‘Fear God, who has power to kill a person and afterwards throw him into Hell’  
(Nicolle 2013: (346), p. 139)

x

### 2.3.3. Past and Present Subjunctives (Zulu)

(ISI)ZULU (SOUTHERN BANTU) vs. kiSwahili (Northeast Coast Bantu)

“The sequence of predicates in Zulu is in fact, the sequence of moods and tenses” (ZLT 229)

Remote past vs. past subjunctive: “The tones throughout these tenses differ from those of the remote past of the indicative mood, as also does the length of vowel in the first syllable” (Doke 1947: n. 1, p. 188)

Remote past: *nga:thanda* ‘I loved’ (*a*: sic Doke 1947: §425, pp. 172f); similarly ZLT *-â:-* vs. *-á-*

Narrative tense under “Subjunctive” (Doke 1947: §452, p. 186):

Past subjunctive (Doke 1947: §455, pp. 187f) *ngathanda*

N.B. Nurse (2003) ch. 6, in Nurse & Philippson (2003):

“Most languages surveyed had reflexes of *-ka-*, *-a(a)-*, and *-ile* in past reference. *-a(a)-* is so written because both long and short forms occur, often tonally contrastive, semantically different, and sometimes in languages which have otherwise neutralized the inherited vowel length distinction.” (p. 100)

Meyiwa (1997): only one positive, one negative

Structure: *li+a+phuz+a*, negative *li+a+nga+phuz+a* (versus *-i#*)

Remote past tense /a:/ pp. 15-17, e.g. *ladla = li-a:-dl-a*

p. 25: L : L            sà : wà            L            sà wà  
          H : L            sá : fà            L            sà fà  
          LL : LL          sà : hlàbà        HL          sá hlàbà

Most on Nguni/Sotho languages, as a past tense of the subjunctive

Consecutive and subjunctive in complementary distribution (p. 40)

Neither a past tense, nor subjunctive mood (p. 40)

x

**“NARRATIVE TENSE” = “PAST SUBJUNCTIVE”**

“The rule for the *normal* sequence of verb tenses in [the] consecutive construction is that each tense after the first is expressed in the subjunctive mood” (Doke 1955: 105)

“The subjunctive has a past tense form also which is basically a narrative tense” (Ziervogel, Louw & Taljaard 1981: 149) = “This past tense is mainly employed in consecutive past tenses” (p. 150)

*Zulu has the morpheme -á- here (not to be confused with the past tense -á:-).*  
not simple/remote past, cf. Digo above “I arrived”

**INDEPENDENT**

- (#) N-**a**-hleke-a-ke!  
2PL-**CONS**-laugh-FV-then  
‘And then you laughed!’ (Meyiwa 1997: (16), p. 29)

**SIMPLEST**

- (#) Si-hamb-**ile** s-**a**-buy-a  
1PL-leave-**PST** 1PL-**CONS**-return-FV  
‘We left and came back’ (Meyiwa 1997: (1), p. 26)

**MULTIPLE: CONS + CONS**

- (#) U-sebenz-**e**<sup>16</sup> w-**a**-dl-a w-**a**-hamb-a  
3SG-work-**PST** 3SG-**CONS**-eat-FV 3SG-**CONS**-go.away-FV  
‘He worked, ate and went away’ (Ziervogel, Louw & Taljaard 1981: 150)

**“SITUATIVE MOOD” IF+PAST**

- (#) Uma umfana ez-**ile** w-**a**-dl-a ukudla kwami u-zo-shayw-a  
if boy 3SG.come-**PST** 3SG-**CONS**-eat-FV food my 3SG-FUT-be.beaten-FV  
‘If the boy has come and has eaten my food, he will be given a hiding’  
(Meyiwa 1997: (8), p. 27)

**FOLLOWING REMOTE PAST TENSE: but how tell?!**

- (#) S-**a**-hamb-a s-**a**-buy-a  
1PL-**REM**-leave-FV 1PL-**CONS**-return-FV  
‘We left and returned’ (Meyiwa 1997: (3), p. 26)

Not “present” in -ya-; not subjunctive

---

<sup>16</sup> Not SBJV -e here but the PST -ile → -é (Doke 1955: 105).

## SUBJUNCTIVE:

### FUTURE

- (#) Uthisha u-**zo**-fik-a                      a-sul-**e** ibhodi                      a-bhal-**e** kulo  
teacher 3SG-**FUT**-come-FV      3SG-clean-**SBJV** board                      3SG-write-**SBJV** on.it  
'The teacher will come and clean the board, then write on it.'  
(adapted Hlongwane 1996: (3), p. 47)

### IMPERATIVE

- (#) Yi-dl-a-**ni**,                      bafana,                      ni-qed-**e**  
3SG-eat-FV-**IMP.PL**      boys                      2PL-finish-**SBJV**  
'Eat, boys, and finish' (adapted Ziervogel, Louw & Taljaard 1981: 149)

SUBJUNCTIVE > may/let, add prefix *ma-* or *a-* (Doke 1947: 187)  
*ma-ngithande* 'let me love'

### PURPOSE

- (#) si-fun-a                      ukuba u-hamb-**e** ngomuso  
1PL-want-FV                      that 2SG-go-**SBJV** tomorrow  
'We want you to go tomorrow' (Doke 1947: 187)

### 2.3.4. Chichewa, Citumbuka: Repurposed Infinitive *ku-*

Table 8.1, overall summary:

“consecutive”: Chichewa inf. *ku-*, Citumbuka inf. *ku-*, Cisena *mba-* ~ hab *-mba-*

Suggested all have cons, yet along different pathways: glaring is inf.

Infinitive as unmarked for TMA, picking up interpretation from preceding finite form.

Only examples offered from narrative, in which core pst is *-da-* and *-na-* (first), and *-ka-* (second)

CHI / CHEWA

“At the climax of the story, it is the main verbal marking that is used” (p. 147)

Without tma, “relative tense” vs. absolute

Core past *-da-* ‘remote past’, *-na-* ‘recent past’: morphology

N.B. token of true infinitive? Start/count; Looks like serial verb construction.

- (#) M’nyatat uja a-**da**-teng-a zipatso dengu limodzi  
boy DEM 3SG-PST-take-FV fruits basket one  
**ku**-ika pa-njinga pa-ke ...  
INF-put on-bicycle on-his  
‘The boy took one basket of fruits and put (it) on his bicycle’ (Kiso 2012: 146)

Extended w/initial form

- (#) Aah! madengu anga aja a-li kuti?  
Aah! baskets my DEM 3SG-be where?  
**Ku**-pezek-a kuti madengu pa-li awiri, aah!  
INF-be.found-FV that baskets there-be two, aah!  
**Ku**-yesa madengu anga a-**na**-li-po atatu?  
INF-think baskets my 3SG-PST-be there three?  
**Ku**-yamba **ku**-werenga: aah! A-pit-a kuti?  
INF-start INF-count aah! 3PL-go-FV where?  
‘Aah! Where are my baskets? He finds that there are two baskets, aah!  
Thought my baskets were three, starts counting: aah! Where have they gone?’  
(Kiso 2012: 146f)

CI / TUMBUKA (Lundazi district of Zambia) *-ka-* core pst

N.B. use of conjunction, not conjunction: *na ku-*

- (#) Wa-**ka**-tol-a libwe **na** **ku**-yi-sw-a njoka  
3SG-PST-take-FV stone **and** INF-3SG(OBJ)-throw-FV snake  
‘He took a stone and threw it at the snake’ (Kiso 2012: 188)
- (#) Mbwena ka-**ka**-ghanaghan-a kuti ka-tol-e-po basiketi yimoza  
then 3SG-PST-think-FV that 3SG-take-SBVJ-DEM basket one  
ka-**k**-iba-po chidunga chimoza cha vipambi  
3SG-PST-steal-DEM basket one of fruits  
**na ku**-kwera **mbwe** **na kw**-amba **ku**-luta  
**and** INF-get.on **then** **and** INF-start INF-go  
‘Then he thought that he should take one basket, he stole one basket and put (it) on

his bicycle, got on (it) and started going’ (Kiso 2012: 188)

### 2.3.5. Cisena: consecutive #*mba*- w/out TMA, and habitual -*mba*-

CI / SENA: -*a*-, -*k(h)a*-, -*da*-

Hab -*mba*- but position not TMA, but prefix #*mba*-

Glossed CONS by Kiso (2012)

Suggestion subordinating *mba-ndi-dya* ~ (when) *X eat/ate*

- (#) Ndi-**da**-kwat-a mwala                      **mba**-ndi-i-ponyer-a  
1SG-PST-take-FV stone                      CONS-1SG-3SG-throw-FV  
‘I took a stone and threw it (at the snake)’ (Kiso 2012: 213)

Not just past narrative

- (#) Pontho pa buleki ti-kha-kond-a                      kw-enda muji unango wa Jeke  
also on break 1PL-PST.IPFV-like-FV                      INF-go village certain of Jeke  
**ka**-pick-a manga                      **mba**-ti-dy-a  
PURPOSE-pick-FV                      CONS-1PL-eat-FV  
‘Also during the breaks, we used to go to Jeke village to pick mangoes and eat them’  
(Kiso 2012: 213)

Like Swahili, can independently mark SBJV:

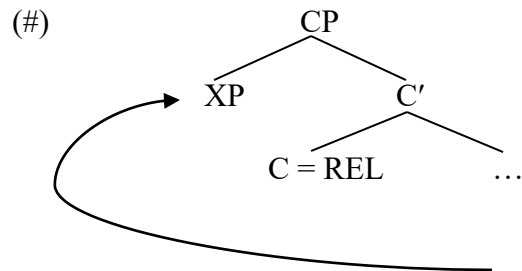
Can occur w/subjunctive -*e*#

- (#) Munt’u **mb**-alim-**e**  
man CONS-3SG-dig-SBJV  
‘Then let the man dig’ (Kiso 2012: 212)

X

## 2.4. Relative Constructions Paired w/Subjunctives (Hausa, Fula)

Movement of some XP to [spec,CP], registered by “relative” tenses  
 ‘then’ is one preverbal adverb, hence connection; reanalyzed as COMP [THEN]



### Summary: w/relative past

			THEN
			REL.PST
IRR	AUX		SBJV
	FUT		
	IMP		
	SBJV		
	COND		
	DES		
	INJ		
	INF		

### 2.4.1. Hausa

#### HAUSA (CHADIC): Relative Aspect, Subjunctive

Cowan & Schuh (1976), Jaggar (2001), Kraft & Kirk-Greene (1973)

#### “Relative” Aspects: C&S, K&K

- “One completive [perfective] and continuative [imperfective] aspect in Hausa are known as *relative* aspects because of the fact that these aspects, not their [non-relative] counterparts, are employed in *relative* constructions ... The meanings of the relative aspects are essentially the same as their non-relative counterparts” (Kraft & Kirk-Greene 1973: 104, italics theirs).
- “When a series of completed actions follow one after the other, the relative completive [perfective] is used in the place of the regular completive.” (C&S 1976: 215)
- Relative constructions triggered by *dà* (COMP) ‘and’ and *sai* ‘and then’
- Relative and **XP movement**: initial adverb; *wh-*; fronting/cleft ‘it is X that’; ... and in narrative
- Focus Perfective / Preterite (FOC): differences in perfectives yet to be worked out (?); “Because the Focus Perfective is used to express specific, punctual events, it is also the main marker of foregrounded material in historical narrative sequences” (Jaggar 2001: 162)

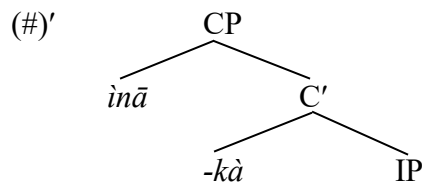
	General		Relative	Negative <i>bà...ba</i>
Perfective/Past	-H	nā, sun	Focus na+0, su- <i>kà</i>	
Imperfective/Nonpast	-nà	i-nà, su+nà	su <i>kè</i>	
Subjunctive	-L	sù + 0	-	kadà sù
Habitual		su <i>kàn</i>		
Potential/Fut II	-HL	sâ		
Future	<i>zā</i>	<i>zân</i> , <i>zā sù</i>		
Allative	<i>zân</i>	<i>zân su</i>		

thus COMP = {*kà*, *kè*}

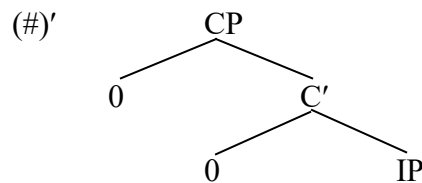
#### 2.4.1.1. RELATIVE PERFECTIVE (REL.PFV = FOC) vs. CORE / NON-RELATIVE (PFV)

Contrasts:

(#) *ìnā a-kà dinkà ta?*  
 where 3SG-FOC sew 3FSG  
 ‘Where was it sewn?’  
 (Cowan & Schuh 1976: 85)

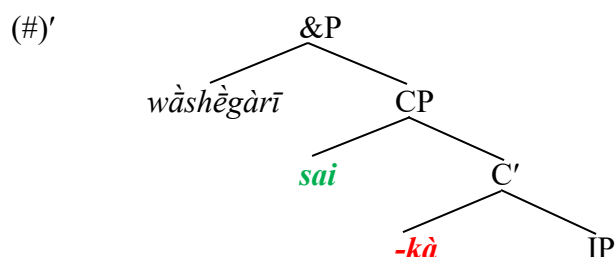


(#) *a-n dinkà ta à Kàtsinà*  
 3SG-PFV sew 3FSG in Katsina  
 ‘It was sewn in Katsina’



(#) lōkàcîn **dà** su-**kà** dāwō      **sai** mu-**kà** gayà musù lābārìn  
 time COMP 3PL-FOC return      then 1PL-FOC tell them news  
 ‘when they returned then we told them the news’ (Jaggar 2001: 163)

(#) wāshègàrī      **sai** su-**kà** tāshì      su-**kà** bar gārìn  
 next.day      then 3PL-FOC get.up      3PL-FOC leave town  
 ‘then the next day they got up and left the town’ (Jaggar 2001: 163)



SIMPLE CONSECUTIVE:

(#) **nā** biyō sāwūn      su-**kà** kùwa zō har gidan Bēti  
 1SG.PFV follow tracks      3PL-FOC those come up.to house Beti  
 ‘I followed the tracks and they led up to Beti’s house’ (C&S: 216)

NARRATIVE: all bells and whistles of relative past/perfective

1. focus on frogs, 2. subordinate, 3. contrast simple past/perfective, 4. **sai** in [spec,CP]

(#) Wadānsu kwādī gūdā biyu      su-**kà** fādā cikin kwaryaŋ madarā  
 certain frogs unit two      3PL-FOC fall in calabash milk  
 2      su-**kà** kāsà fitā.      Su-**nā** ta iyò haŋ daya **ya** gāji,  
 3PL-FOC fail go.out      3PL-IPFV process swim until one 3SG.FOC tired  
 3      **ya** cè      “Yāu kwānā-nā yā kārè!”  
 3SG.FOC say      today day-1SG 3SG.PFV finished  
 4      **Sai ya** bar kòkarī,      **ya** nutsà      **ya** mutù  
 then 3SG.FOC leave.off try      3SG.FOC drown      3SG.FOC die  
 ‘A certain two frogs fell into a calabash of milk and failed to get out.  
 They were swimming away until one got tired, and he said,  
 “Today my days are finished!” Then he quit trying, he went under, and he died.’<sup>17</sup>

Other tenses: NPST = IPFV

(#) i-**nā** zàune i-**nā** kallon talàbijìn      **sai** a-**kà** dāukē manà wutā  
 1SG-IPFV sit 1SG-IPFV watch television      then 3SG-FOC stop for.1PL fire  
 ‘I was sitting watching television, when the lights went out on us’ (Jaggar 2001: 164)

<sup>17</sup> <<http://aflang.humanities.ucla.edu/language-materials/chadic-languages/hausa/hausa-online-grammar/verb-tense/>>

### 2.4.1.2.

#### SUBJUNCTIVE

“In an utterance describing future (or habitual) action and involving several predicate constructions, only the first verb need be preceded by the future (or habitual) p-a [person+aspect] pronouns—the remaining predicates are typically subjunctive.” (Kraft & Kirk-Greene 1973: 169)

“In sentences of a narrative type, when a string of verbs occurs all of which require the future aspect, the first verb is preceded by a future I or II p-a [person+aspect] pronoun and the rest by the appropriate subjunctive aspect p-a pronoun.” (Kraft & Kirk-Greene 1973: 82)

#### W/FUTURE

- (#) Gòbè Mālám Audù **zâi** tâfî ’Yôlà, **yà** budê makarantâ,  
tomorrow Mr. Audu **FUT.3MSG** go Yola 3MSG.**SBJV** open school  
**yà** dāwō, **yà** ci àbinci, **yà** hūtà  
3MSG.**SBJV** return 3MSG.**SBJV** eat food 3MSG.**SBJV** rest  
‘Tomorrow M. Audu will go to Yola, open the school, return, eat and rest.’  
(adapted Kraft & Kirk-Greene 1973: 82)

#### IMPERATIVE w/ subjunctive

- (#) zàuna **kà** shā ruwā  
**IMP.sit.down** 2MSG.**SBJV** drink water  
‘Sit down and drink water’ (Kraft & Kirk-Greene 1973: 63)

SUBJUNCTIVE: ‘let us/him’; 2<sup>nd</sup> person = command

Cf. following e.g. past/perfective = PURPOSE = subjunctive ‘so that’, ‘in order that’

- (#) **yā** jē gidē **yà** kāwō ruwā  
3MSG.**PFV** go home 3MSG.**SBJV** bring water  
‘He went home to bring water’ (Kraft & Kirk-Greene 1973: 63)
- (#) **yā** zō don **yà** tàimàkē mù  
3MSG.**PFV** come in.order.to 3MSG.**SBJV** help 1PL  
‘He came in order to help us.’ (Kraft & Kirk-Greene 1973: 167)

## 2.4.2. Fula (Senegambian)

[Relatives encoding COMP features]

“The term ‘tense sequence’ is used here to refer to the tenses which are found in the successive clauses of serial sentences” (Arnott 1970: 326)

“PAST SEQUENCE”: {general, emphatic, relative, negative} past  
=> RELATIVE PAST

“NON-PAST SEQUENCE”: {general, relative, negative} future, continuous, desiderative, subj.  
=> SUBJUNCTIVE

### 2.4.2.1. Relative Past Tense = [REL]

RELATIVE / ADVERBIAL (§55.4)

(#) 'o-wi' **-ii-**yam            tò Bello yah-**i**  
3SG-say-**PST**-1SG        where Bello go-**REL**  
'He told me where Bello went' (Arnott 1970: 317)

INTERROGATIVE (§55.5)

(#) tò 'o-yah-**i**  
where 3SG-go-**REL**  
'Where did he go?' (Arnott 1970: 317)

“EMPHATIC SENTENCES” (§55.6) = TOPIC/“FOCUS” = XP in [spec,CP]

(#) sheede Bello wadd-**i** sheede (naa nyaamdu)  
money Bello bring-**REL** (not food)  
'Bello brought *money* (not food)' (Arnott 1970: 318)

(#) hannde Bello wadd-**i** sheede ~~hannde~~ (naa keenya)  
today Bello bring-**REL** money (not yesterday)  
'Bello brought money *today* (not yesterday)' (Arnott 1970: 318)

“**RELATIVE PAST**” = **consecutive**: glossed here -CONS/REL-  
 “with or without *nden* or *sey* ‘**and then, next**’, in a ‘narrative series’” (Arnott 1970: 316)  
 We see that spelling out THEN is stylistic?

- (#) Gooto ’umm-**ii**,            tef-**i** datal wuro,            heft-áayi  
 Gooto get.up-**PST**    look-**REL** way home            find-NEG.PST  
 ‘Gooto got up, looked for the way home, didn’t find it’ (Arnott 1970: 293)

#### NARRATIVE W/OUT INITIAL

- (#) njahu-**mi** luumo,            shoodu-**mi** nagge,            kootu-**mi** wuro  
 go-1SG.**REL** market    buy-1SG.**REL** cow            return-1SG.**REL** home  
 ‘I went to market, bought a cow, and returned home.’ (Arnott 1970: 320)

- (#) bíddó dogg-**i**            waddi kiirtaar-**i**  
 child run-**REL**            supper bring-**REL**  
 baaba nyaam-**i**            haar-**i**  
 father eat-**REL**            be.full-**REL**  
 ‘The child ran and brought supper, the father ate and was filled’  
 (adapted Arnott 1970: 327)

### 2.4.2.2. Irrealis consecutive = [SBJV]

“In such circumstances it indicates simply a *subsequent* act in a consecutive series where the reference is future or habitual” (p. 313, italics original)

#### FUTURE

- (#)    janngo mi-yah-**ay**                    mi-foond-**a**-ki                    mi-ndaar-**a**  
tomorrow 1SG-go-**FUT**                    1SG-test-**SBJV**-3SG                    1SG-see-**SBJV**  
‘Tomorrow I will go and test it and see’ (adapted Arnott 1970: 327)

#### IMPERATIVE

- (#)    hoosh-**u** lekki ki’i,                    nduuf-**aa** sedfa,                    mbi’-**aa**-mo  
take-**IMP** medicine this                    pound-2SG.**SBJV** little                    tell-2SG.**SBJV**-3SG  
‘Take this medicine, pound up a little, and tell him ...’ (Arnott 1970: 314)

#### DESIDERATIVE (DES)

- (#)    ’Alla hinn-**o**-mo                    faran-**oo**-mo  
God pity-**DES**-3SG                    forgive-3SG.MID.**SBJV**-3SG  
‘God have pity on him and forgive him.’ (Arnott 1970: 313)

#### SUBJUNCTIVE

- (#)    haa mi-magg-**oo**,                    mi-’itt-**a**,  
let 1SG-climb-MID.**SBJV**                    1SG-pick-**SBJV**  
mi-’ugan-**oo**-’on,                    moobt-**on**  
1SG-throw.down-MID.**SBJV**-you                    collect-2PL.**SBJV**  
‘Let me climb up and pick, and throw down to you, and you collect (them).’  
(Arnott 1970: 313)

#### CF. PURPOSE

- (#)    mi-yah-**ay**                    mi-hoomn-**a** laamdo  
1SG-go-**FUT**                    1SG-pay.respects-**SBJV** chief  
‘I will go to pay my respects to the chief’ (Arnott 1970: 308)

## 2.5. Egyptian and Coptic

Middle Egyptian classical and literary standard

Late Egyptian (LE) in colloquial texts of the New Kingdom: 1600/1300-600

Differs substantially: Burst of periphrasis and grammaticalization: two sequential w/mood

Temptation to reduce realis to narrative

Basic opposition is modality: realis = “Ces caractéristiques fondamentales expliquent pourquoi le séquentiel est statistiquement un temps du récit” (Winand 1992: 443)

“The conjunctive, therefore, appears to be the **modal counterpart** to the temporal *jw=f hr sdm*” (Loprieno 1995: 95)

Essentially inflected conjunctions! “The conjunctive is used to continue the force of a preceding verbal prefix. In a sense, **it is no more than an inflected form of the conjunction ‘and.’** It is especially frequent after a First Future or an Imperative” (Lambdin 1983: 107)

Base *sḏm* ‘hear’, Coptic *sōtm*

			THEN	
			<i>jw-f (hr) sḏm</i> *while-he is (on) hear *PROGRESSIVE	REPLACING: <i>sḏm-n-f</i> ‘he heard’ <i>jry-f sḏm</i> LE ‘he did hear’ COMPLEMENTARY: <i>wn-jn-f hr sḏm</i> <i>wn-jn-</i> ‘was then’/‘alors’
IRR	AUX	<i>sḏm-f</i>	<i>mtw-f sḏm</i> *with-his hearing *COMITATIVE	REPLACING: <i>sḏm-f</i> ‘he will hear’ COMPLEMENTARY: <i>ḥ-nt-f hr sḏm</i> ‘with by-him’
	FUT	<i>jw-f r sḏm</i>		
	IMP	<i>(j)-sḏm</i>		
	SBJV			
	COND			
	DES	<i>jmj sḏm-f</i>		
	PURPOSE	<i>jḥ sḏm-f</i>		
	INJ	<i>jmm sḏm-f</i>		
	INF	<i>r sḏm-t</i>		

Frandsen distinguishes two *jw-f hr sḏm*!

- Past vs. Future (summary table on p. 103)
- After various set phrases too: §52: 91-94
- In other words, not just a narrative tense

	PST	FUT
<i>hr wn-n-f hr sḏm</i>	√	
<i>hr wn-n sw hr sḏm</i>	√	
<i>hr jr sw hr sḏm</i>	√	
<i>jr m-dr sḏm-f</i>	√	
<i>wn-n-f hr sḏm</i>		√
<i>wn-n jw-f hr sḏm</i>		√
<i>ḥft spr t3y.j š’t r-k</i>		√



### 2.5.1. Unmarked Sequential *jw-f hr sdm*

It is not insignificant that the LE sequential derives from a progressive *\*while on hearing*—such is the case e.g. with Swahili *-ka-* ‘stay’— but clearly the LE elements have been grammaticalized. Only the exponent *jw* is now obligatory, hence alone spelling out the features AND THEN. In effect, the SEQ is an inflected conjunction, and it is not without cause that some have suggested an etymological relationship with Semitic *\*wa* ‘and’ (Loprieno 1980: 145). Moreover, as Winand (1992) emphasizes, the syntax and semantics of the particle *jw* are “fort différent” from the SEQ *jw* (pp. 443f). In contrast, the preposition *hr* is now vestigial in this construction, progressively disappearing over the generations as grammaticalized morphemes tend to do. The essence of the construction is instantiated in (#).

- (#) *jw*-j dd n n3 rmt̄ ...                      *jw* w‘ jm-w dd  
 SEQ-1SG say to DET.PL people              SEQ one of-them say  
 ‘et je dis aux gens ... et l’un d’eux dit’ (Winand 1992: 445)

Consider then the following prototypical narrative sequence (Winand’s paragraph) from the basic narrative *Two Brothers*. In the initial clause, the pseudo-verbal marker of the paragraph *wn-jn-* (Winand’s *alors*) is “rubriqué” (Winand 1992: 474). The non-initial SEQ then takes over. For clarity, the vestigial *hr* is glossed ON. Contrast this with the use of the actual preposition *hr* in the last line: *hr drtf* ‘on his hands’. Also in the last line is an instance of the SEQ negated by *tm*.

- (#) *wn-jn-s hr-jnjt* ‘d pdr  
 was-then-3FSG ON-take fat grease  
*jw-s hr-hpr* mj ntj qnqntj n‘d3  
 SEQ-3FS ON-become like who beaten falsely  
*jw* p3y-s h3y *hr-wḥ*‘                      m rwh3 m p3y-f shḥ  
 SEQ DET.MSG-3FSG husband ON-return              in evening in DET.MSG-3MSG habit  
*jw-f hr-spr* r p3y-f pr  
 SEQ-3MSG ON-arrive at DET.MSG-3MSG house  
*jw-f hr-gmjt*                      t3y-f hmt sdr̄tj mrtj n‘d3  
 SEQ-3SFG ON-find              DET.FSG-3MSG wife lying.down being.ill falsely  
*jw-s hr-tm-djt*                      mw *hr drt-f*                      m p3y-s shḥ  
 SEQ-3FSG ON-NEG-pour              water on hand-3MSG              in DET.MSG-3FSG habit  
 ‘Then she took fat and grease and she became as if she had been beaten ...  
 Her husband returned in the evening according to his daily habit; he reached his house  
 and found his wife lying down as if she was ill; she didn’t pour water on his hands  
 according to her habit ...’ (Loprieno 1994: (187), p. 226)

It is important to emphasize that SEQ is not exclusively a narrative/past tense.

ALSO NOT JUST A NARRATIVE TENSE: see chart above

#### **WNN-F (HR) SDM**

- √ (#) *wnn* t3y-j š‘t spr r-k  
 when DET.FSG-1SG letter reach to-2MSG  
*jw-k* ‘r‘r wpwt nb shn nb jnk

**and**-2MSG accomplish errand all commission all mine  
'When my letter reaches you, you shall accomplish all errands and commissions of mine'  
(Frandsen 1974: ex. 15, p. 99)

**WNN JW-F (HR) SDM**

√ (#) **wnn jw**-k ptr t3 hryt n p3 ym  
**when and**-2MSG look.upon DET.FSG terror of DET.MSG sea  
**jw**-k ptr t3y-j h'-j  
**and**-2MSG look.upon DET.FSG-1SG body-1SG  
'If you look upon the terror of the sea, you will look upon my own'  
(Frandsen 1974: ex. 18, p. 100)

### 2.5.2. MTW-F SDM

“L’origine du conjonctif est une question qui a fait couler beaucoup d’encre” (Winand 1992: 457)

< \**hn* ‘*nt*- ‘with x’

NOT INITIAL = YOU ARE TO VERB

√ (#) *mtw*-t ptr n3 ‘*ddw šrjw*

**CONJ**-2FG look.after DET.PL children little

‘You are to look after the children’ (Frandsen 1974: ex. 1, p. 147)

RAD 54:8-12 “Non-Narrative” Conjunctive; RAD = Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents

IMPERATIVE

√ (#) *j*-šm rhrj      *mtw*-tn nwy n3y-tn ḥ‘w      *mtw*-tn ḥtm n3y-tn sb3w  
**IMP**-go up      **CONJ**-2PL gather DET.PL-2PL tools      **CONJ**-2PL seal DET.PL-2PL doors

2 *mtw*-tn jnj n3y-tn ḥmwt n3y-tn ḥrdw  
**CONJ**-2PL take DET.PL-2PL wife DET.PL-2PL children

3 *mtw*-j šm rh3t-tn r t3-ḥwt A  
**CONJ**-1SG go in.front-2PL to DET.FSG-temple A

4 *mtw*-j djt ḥms-tn jm m-dw3w  
**CONJ**-1SG cause settle-2PL there in-morning

‘Go up, gather your tools, seal your doors, take your wives and children, and I will go before you to the temple of A and cause you to settle there tomorrow’

(Loprieno 1995: (188), p. 226; Frandsen 1974 has ‘collect’ for ‘gather’, p. 114)

JUSSIVE

√ (#) imm ḥn A      *mtw*-f šsp-w jrm n3 ḥntjw  
let go A      **CONJ**-3MSG receive-3PL together.with DET.PL foremen

*mtw*-w *tm jth*-w m w ‘*jpt* ‘3

**CONJ**-3PL **NEG** draw-3PL with one oipe big

‘Let A go and receive them together with the foremen, but do not let them draw it out with a large oipe-measure’ (Frandsen 1974: ex. 1, p. 114)

CONDITIONAL

√ (#) *jrjw* ky jyt      *mtw*-f s‘ḥ‘-k      jry-j  
**if** come another      **CONJ**-3MSG accuse-2MSG      act-FUT.1SG

‘If another comes and accuses you, I will act’ (Frandsen 1974: ex. 1, p. 127)

INFINITIVE

√ (#) nn jjr-f ḥn-k n p3y ḥry mnš ḏrḏr  
NEG COND-3MSG entrust-2MSG to DET.MSG captain ship barbarian

r rdy-*t* ḥdb-f tw      *mtw*-w ḥ3‘-k r p3 jm

to cause-**INF** kill-3MSG 2MSG      **CONJ**-3PL throw-2MSG into DET.MSG water

‘Was it for the purpose of having you killed and thrown into the water that he entrusted you to this captain of a barbarian ship?’ (Frandsen 1974: ex. 1, p. 117)

### 2.5.3. Coptic Conjunctive (CONJ) *n-te-*

Conventional transcription w/Lamdin adequate to our purpose. For further description and analysis, see e.g. Reintges (2004: Unit 1).

Can be negated by *tm* ‘not’

“The conjunctive is used to continue the force of a preceding verbal prefix. In a sense, **it is no more than an inflected form of the conjunction ‘and.’** It is especially frequent after a First Future or an Imperative” (Lambdin 1983: 107)

“It may be used to continue the force of virtually any preceding verbal prefix **except that of the affirmative First Perfect**, but even this restriction does not hold in [108] in the relative forms.” (Lambdin 1983: 108) [no example of the relative forms offered]

“[conjunction] *awo* **often appears redundantly** before the Conjunctive” (Lambdin 1983: 142) “particularly common” (Reintges 2004: 302)

the conjunctive “occupies a special position in the Coptic conjugation system, since it has no inherent temporal, aspectual or modal features of its own\*, but receives its semantic interpretation from a preceding verbal tense. **As the most underspecified member** of the Coptic conjugation system, the Conjunctive may indicate a broad [296] spectrum of structural relations between clauses, crossing the traditional distinction between coordination and subordination.” (Reintges 2004: 295f) \*except when it does, and does have feature [THEN] ex hypothesi  
Doesn’t appear without head...? (p. 297)

#### IN PASSING: STRUCTURE OF NARRATIVE

(#) *a-f-hmo’os* (awō) *a-f-rime*  
PST-3MSG-sit.down (and) PST-3MSG-weep  
‘He sat down and wept’ (Lambdin 1983: 27)

#### ‘THEN’ APODOSIS: conditional construction

(#) awō en-*šan*-i ebol e-p-tow et-hi-bol  
and 1PL-COND-come out to-DET.FSG-mountain COMP-on-outside  
*nt-n-sunage mn ne-cnēw*  
CONJ-1PL-receive.eucharist with DET.PL-brothers  
hm p-sabbaton mn t-kuriakē  
on DET.MSG-Saturday and DET-FSG-Sunday  
‘Whenever we came out to the outer mountain, we celebrated the Eucharist with the brothers on Saturday and Sunday’ (Reintges 2004: 307f)

#### HEADLESS:

“Yet there are a few counterexamples to this [non-initial] positional restriction, where a Conjunctive occurs clause-initial position” (Reintges 2004: 303)

(#) anok hō *ta-agōnize mn ne-iudai n-ke-kwi*  
1SG self CONJ.1SG-fight with the-Jews during-more-little  
‘I myself, I will fight with the Jews a little more’ (Reintges 2004: 303)

N.B. allomorph in first person: *nt-a-* → *ta-*

Considerable allomorphy in forms: e.g. 3msg *n-te-f* always *n-f*, ditto 2msg *n-k*, 3fsg *n-s*,

#### W/ CONJUNCTION: not itself a conjunction! something else, now grammaticalized!

(#) šōpe nmma-i *awō n-g-sōtm ero-i mpow*  
IMP.be with-1SG and CONJ-2MSG-hear to-1SG today  
‘be with me and hear me today’ (Reintges 2004: 302)

## FUTURE

- (#) **ti-na-bōk**      **nt-a-šage** nmma-f  
 1SG-FUT-go    CONJ-1SG-say with-3MSG  
 ‘I shall go and speak with him’ (Lambdin 1983: 107)
- (#)    mnsōs on f-na-’ale egn u-še n-stawros  
 afterwards also 3SG-FUT-ascend on a-wood of-cross  
**n-f-mu** ha p-tēr-f  
 CONJ-3MSG-die for the DET.MSG-all-3MSG  
**n-f-tōwn** m-pefmehšomnt n-how                      **n-f-šōl** n-amnte  
 CONJ-3MSG-rise on-third of-day                      CONJ-3MSG-destroy ACC-underworld  
**n-f-fī** tēr-s n-t-mntrōme n-to’ot-f m-p-ğage  
 CONJ-3MSG-take all-3FSG of-DET.3FS-humanity from-hand-3MSG of-DET.MSG-enemy  
 ‘after that he (Jesus Christ) will ascend on a cross and will die for the whole (world)  
 and rise on the third day and destroy Hell and take all humanity away from the hands  
 of the enemy’ (Reintges 2004: 297)

## HABITUAL, note NEG

- (#)    **šare** p-refrnobe ġi eġō-f                      **n-f-tm-ta**’a-w<sup>18</sup>  
 HAB DET.MSG-sinner take for-3MSG    CONJ-3MSG-NEG-give-3PL  
 ‘The wicked borroweth, and payeth not again’ (Ps 37:21 KJV)

## IMPERATIVE

- (#)    ani n-ğō’ōme                      **n-tetn-ta**’a-w na-f  
 IMP.bring DET.PL-book                      CONJ-2PL-give-3PL to-3MSG  
 ‘Bring the books and give them to him’ (Lambdin 1983: 107)

## SUBJUNCTIVE: INJUNCTIVE / OPTATIVE ‘let’ / ‘may’

- (#)    **mar-n-wōm**    **nt-n-sō**                      ġe tn-na-mu gar n-raste<sup>19</sup>  
 INJ-1PL-eat    CONJ-1PL-drink                      COMP 1PL-FUT-die since on-morrow  
 ‘let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die’ (1 Corinthians 15:32 KJV)

<sup>18</sup> Reintges (2010: (14), p. 169; typo Ps 36).

<sup>19</sup> Reintges (2010: (13), p. 169).

INFLECTED INFINITIVE: as in LE; see Digo above; cf. result below *tare*

- (#) haps ero-n **e-tre**-n-bōk                      **nt**-n-šage nmma-f  
necessary to-us to-**INF**-1PL-go              **CONJ**-1PL-speak with-3MSG  
'It is necessary that we go and speak with him' (Lambdin 1983: 108)

Cf. PURPOSE/RESULT

- (#) ani-f ero-i                                      **nt**-a-naw ero-f  
**IMP**.bring-3MSG to-1SG              **CONJ**-1SG-see to-3MSG  
'Bring him to me so that I may see him' (Lambdin 1983: 108)

“FUTURE CONJUNCTIVE OF RESULT” = “FINALIS” *tare*- and **n-tare**- cf. *tre* infinitive

“The Future Conjunctive is basically a result clause; it is especially frequent after an Imperative”

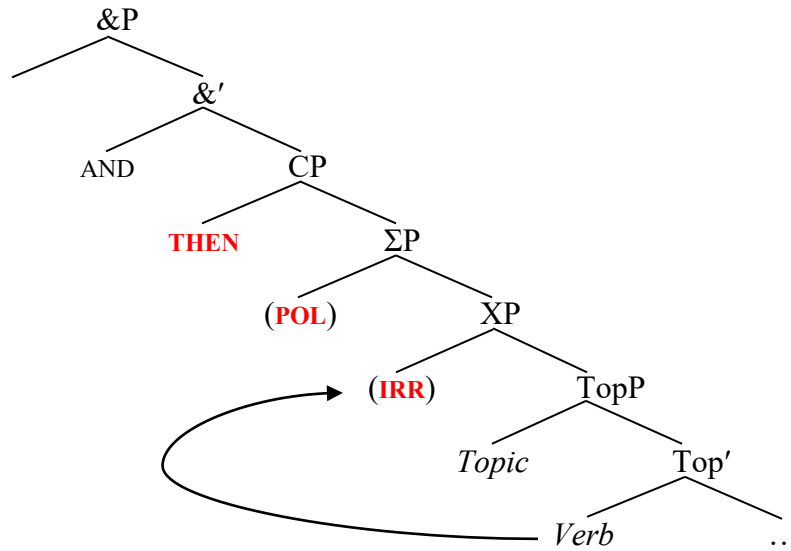
(135) “Although the Conjunctive itself may occasionally have the [136] value of a result/purpose clause after an Imperative, the Future Conjunctive always has this meaning” (135f)

- (#) sōtm ero-i                                      **n-tare**-k-r-sabe  
**IMP**.listen to-1SG              **CONJ-RESULT**-2MSG-act-wise  
'Listen to me so as to become wise' (Lambdin 1983: 135)

X

2.6. Sequence [and then] and Consequence [if then] in Biblical Hebrew  
 (DeCaen 1995, 1999, Cowper & DeCaen 2017)  
 Enigma (McFall 1982)

~ (1)



Begin w/table: the mystery is the volitive *jé:hi:* ~ realis consecutive *wa-j-jé:hi:*

PST	AUX	VOL	√HYH	√QWM	√KTB	IF THEN	AND THEN
		X	<i>jé:hi:</i>	<i>jɔ:qo:m</i>	<i>jiχto:v</i>		<i>jiχto:v</i>
			∅	<i>jɔ:qu:m</i>			
	X		<i>ji:hyé:</i>			<i>jiχto:v</i>	
X			<i>hɔ:jɔ:</i>	<i>qɔ:m</i>	<i>kɔ:θɔ:v</i>		
X	X					<i>kɔ:θɔ:v</i>	<i>kɔ:θɔ:v</i>

Paying attention to “zeros” and defaulting

Generalize [VOL] > any [F] w/movement into left periphery

Prefixed past tense: prefixed tense has been realized as = zero; only *defaults* for nonpast.

Consecutives = *grammaticalized* conjunction vs. simple clitic, hence variant phonology

X

### Progressive (PROG):

Like Swahili or English, *aspect is orthogonal* to tense:

Swahili progressive<sup>20</sup> is marked *-na-* vs. *-a-*; and English *-ing*

Like both, *perfective is default* (in sense Smith 1991).

“The participle, both as an attribute and as a predicate, usually indicates a continuing action, one in progress, and is best translated with the English progressive tenses.” (Lamdin 1971: 19; cf. on the predicative participle Joosten 1989, 2012: ch. 7)

Il forms attested? Check which in fact; cf. Joosten

Word order: volitive V1, thus also consecutives; else V2, but pseudo-V1

Morphophonology of the consecutive: irrealis (IRR) is marked, so is *kɔ:θɔ:v*

“Conversive” counterintuitive: [THEN] looks like volitive, [THEN, IRR] looks like past

But consider English tense/mood:

*if he be/is* vs. *if he were/was*

*if he come(s), I will go* vs. *if he came, I would go*

Converse blocked by NEG/POL!

Dresher will hate this: oh, yeah, OT!

Stress-shifters in non-pausal: incorporating conjunction, subject to optimization as others

- *va-*[jɔ:qó:m] but consecutive [*vâ-j-jɔ:*][qó:m] ~ [*va-j-jó:*][qɔm]
- *va-* pro [ʔɔ:mó:R][tɔ:] but consecutive [*va-ʔɔ:*][mó:Rtɔ:] ~ [*va-ʔò:*][martó:]

Why? cf. *leaves/leafs* [maple] [leav[es]] vs. [[maple leaf]s], i.e. rebracketing reasonable

History?

Irrealis easy, just slightly extended: consequence > sequence

Realis and reanalysis: V2 *az+verb* → grammaticalize *az* ‘then’, reanalyze as V1

X

<sup>20</sup> Thus Ndege *wa-na-ruka* “The birds are flying” vs. simple present *w-a-ruka* “Birds fly” (Perrott 1950: 36)

CONSECUTIVE = VERB MOVEMENT TO COMP (MOOD/IRREALIS)  
“MODAL COORDINATION”

CONVERSIVE

MAGIC *WAW* ‘AND’: seems as if conjunction magically turns form into opposites!

BUT, PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS, BECAUSE

- (1) PSEUDO-V1, movement not overt, naïve Hebraists can’t distinguish the two scenarios
- (2) PRESENCE OF AUX/MOOD IN BH, only registers, e.g., in verb ‘BE’; specifically  
past+aux = ‘would verb’
- (3) MORPHOLOGY: consecutive forms actually differ from corresponding core tenses

PREFIX FORMS:

SUFFIX FORMS:

INITIAL SIMPLE/CORE PAST TENSE > CONSECUTIVE

GEMINATION; SHORT FORM EXPLICITLY *tá:har* vs. *ta:haré:*

- (#) וְהָאָדָם יָדַע אֶת-חַוָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתְּהַר וַתֵּלֶד בְּתֵלֶד אֶת-קַיִן וַתֹּאמֶר קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת-יְהוָה:  
 və-ho:-ʔo:ðo:m jɔ:ða:ʕ ʔεθ-havvo: ʔiʕt-o: **va-t-tá:-har**  
 and-the-man know.PST.3MSG ACC-Eve wife-his **and-CONS-3FSG-conceive**  
**va-t-t-é:ləð ʔεθ-qá:jin va-t-t-ó:mER qo:ní:-θi: ʔi:ʕ ʔεθ-ʔaðo:n-o:j**  
**and-CONS-3FSG-bear ACC-Cain and-CONS-3FSG-say get.PST-1SG man from-lord-my**  
 ‘And Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said,  
 I have gotten a man from the LORD’ (Genesis 4:1)

VERY OFTEN W/OUT INITIAL CLAUSE: ALL NON-INITIAL

- (#) וַתִּקַּח מִפִּרְיוֹ וַתֹּאכַל וַתִּתֵּן גַּם-לְאִישָׁהּ עִמָּהּ וַיֹּאכַל: וַתִּפְקַחְנָה עֵינֵי שְׁנֵיהֶם וַיִּדְעוּ כִּי עֵרְוָהּ הֵם  
**va-t-ti-qqa:h mip-pirj-o: va-t-t-o:ka:l**  
**and-CONS-3FSG-take from-fruit-3MSG and-CONS-3FSG-eat**  
**va-t-ti-tte:n gam la-ʔi:ʕ-h ʕimm-o:h va-j-j-o:ʕa:l**  
**and-CONS-3FSG-take even to-man-her with-her and-CONS-3MSG-eat**  
**va-t-ti-ppo:qá:h-no: ʕe:ne: ʕne:-he:m va-j-j-e:ðaʕ-u: ki: ʕerummi:m he:m**  
**and-CONJ-3-opened-FPL eyes.of two-them and-CONS-3-know-MPL that naked they**  
 ‘she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her;  
 and he did eat. [7] And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they  
 were naked’ (Genesis 3:6f)

COMMON USE FOLLOWING PP = *time, circumstance, etc.*

- (#) בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי וַיִּשָּׂא אַבְרָהָם אֶת-עֵינָיו וַיִּרְא אֶת-הַמָּקוֹם מֵרָחֵק:  
 ‘Then on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off.’  
 (Genesis 22:4)

ON SIMPLE NONPAST (initial = pseudo-V1 w/null pro)

- (#) וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ חֻקֹּת עֲמָרִי וְכָל מַעֲשֵׂה בֵּית-אָחָב וַתֵּלְכוּ בְּמַעֲצוֹתָם  
 ‘For the statutes of Omri are kept, and all the works of the house of Ahab,  
 and ye walk in their counsels’ (Micah 6:16)

N.B. ACTUAL ‘THEN VERB’ = CONS

- (#) אַז יִבְנֶה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ... וַיַּעֲלוּ עֲלָיו עֹלוֹת לַיהוָה וַיִּזְבְּחוּ שְׁלָמִים:  
 ‘Then Joshua built an altar unto the LORD God of Israel ... and they offered thereon  
 burnt offerings unto the LORD, and sacrificed peace offerings.’ (Joshua 8:30f)

CONTRAST SIMPLE CONJOINED (both pseudo-V1 w/null pro)

- (#) תַּעֲתִיר אֵלָיו וַיִּשְׁמָעַךְ  
 ‘Thou shalt make thy prayer unto him, and he shall hear thee’ (Job 22:27)  
 N.B. clearly indicative by pronoun suffix: long *é:-k-ko:* vs. short/modal *é:-ko:*

BUT BEWARE NON-MOVEMENT SIMPLE PAST (pseudo-V1 w/null pro)  
(#)

Deuteronomy 20:2

FORMS DISTINCT IN READING TRADITION!

(#) HICCALTI (1 Samuel 17:35)

(#) wehiccalti (Exodus 6:6)

BEWARE PAST+AUX = ‘would verb’

Judges 16:17 ‘If I were shaved ...

THE MODAL APPEARS TO BE THE PAST TENSE MOVED TO COMP  
FUTURE:

(#)

ʔé:RES <sup>s</sup>	ki:	té:-het <sup>s</sup> o: l-i	límʕol má:ʕal
land	when	3FSG-sin.NPST to-me	x
<b>va</b> -no:t <sup>s</sup> i:-θi:	jɔ:ð-i:	ʕo:lé:-ho:	<b>va</b> -ʕo:vá:R-ti: lo:-h mátt <sup>s</sup> e: ló:hem
<b>and.CONJ</b> -stretch-1SG	hand-my	upon-3FSG	<b>and.CONJ</b> -break-1sg to-3FSG staff.of bread
:וְהָשִׁלְחָתִי בָּהָרָעַב וְהִכְרַתִּי מִמֶּנָּה אָדָם וּבְהֵמָה			
<b>va</b> -hiʕlá:h-ti:	vɔ:-h	ʕo:ʕo:v	<b>va</b> -hiʕrat-ti: mimmé:n-no: ʔo:ðo:m u:-vhe:mɔ:
<b>and.CONJ</b> -send-1SG	on-3FSG	famine	<b>and.CONJ</b> -cut-1SG from-3FSG man and-beast
‘when the land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously, then will I stretch out mine hand upon it, and will break the staff of the bread thereof, and will send famine upon it, and will cut off man and beast from it’ (Ezek 14:13)			

GRAMMATICALIZED IF/THEN, AND/THEN

(#) if x and y, then z Exod 19:5

(#) ..., then a and b Exod 18:16

VOLITIONAL: IMPERATIVE/JUSSIVE/COHORTATIVE

(#)

Exod stand firm and see Exod 14:13

X



### **3. Analysis**

### **4. Conclusion**

\*Loprieno (1980: 15): converging areal development; cf Balkans!

X

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While simple coordination is

Present = simple English: generic, habitual, future; continuous = progressive

Ø 2pl i-rany-iranya, n-i-ranyirany-a

ki-rany(-ita), k-irrag(-ita)

seq: ni-ki-rany, ni-k-irrag

pst: ki-ta-rany-a, k-irrag-a

Subj I = present, differs in tone?

Subj II = imperative w/prefix m- 1/3 persons

subj: m-a-ta-rany-a, m-a-irrag-a

subj 2pl en-ta-rany