Appendix 2

Matrices for some other languages from the larger database

Kom, Centre (Ring) Grassfields

	Perfective	Imperfective	Progressive REDUPLICATION	Inceptive	Repetitive	Anterior
		na	REDUIEICATION	sü	fi	men
P_4	wu nünl æ yem	wu nünlæ na yem				
nünlǽ	he sang	he used to sing				
P_3	wu tí yem	we tí na yem	wu tí na yěmyěm	wu tí na sú yem	wu tí fi dzi	wu tí men gwí
tí	he sang	he was singing	he was singing	he was starting to sing	he cried again	he came (completely)
P_2	we læ yem					
læ	he sang					
P_1	wu ni -yem					
ni-	he sang					
	wu nün yem-á		wu nün yémyěm	wu sú gwí-a		wu gwí men
	he is singing, he sing.	s, he will sing	he is singing (now)	he is starting to come		he has come
F_1	wu ńi yem-á		wu ńi na yěmyěm			
ńì	he will sing		he will be singing			
F_2	we læ yem-á		wu lǽ na yĕmyĕm			wu læ gwi men
lǽ			he will be singing			he will have come
F_3	we nűnlæ yem-á	we núnlæ na yem				
nűnlæ	•	he will be singing				

Aghem, Western (Ring) Grassfields

	Perfective	Imperfective	Habitual
		-a	-a ts i ghà
P_2	ò m ð bó fighâm she hit (the) mat	ò mò bó- o fǐghâm he was hitting	ghé mò sú'- ú tsighá fighâm he used to wash
`m5	N: ò káa bó ghâmfò she did not hit	N: ghé mò bó- o yó ghámfò they were not	N: ò m ờ sú -ú tsígha 'yó ghâmfò
	ò m ð bò fɨghâm she hit (the) mat	ò mò bò- ó fìghàm he was hitting	
P ₁ m ð	N ₁ : ò kàa bó ghâmfò she did not hit N ₂ : ò kà bó ghâmfò she did not hit	N: ghé mô bò- ó 'yó ghâmfò they were not	
	ò bò fɨghâm she has hit (the) mat	ò bò- ó fighàm he was hitting	ò bò -ó tsìghà fìghàm he hits (the) mat
	N ₁ : ò káń bó ghâmfò she has not hit yet N ₂ : ò kà bó ghâmfò she did not hit	N: ò bò- ó 'yó ghâmfò he is not	N: ò bó- o tsìghà yò ghâmfò
F ₁		ò sì bò-6 fìghàm she will hit (the) mat	
Si		N: ghé sa sù-u yò ghâmfò he will not hit	
F ₂		ò 15 'bo- 0 fìghàm she will hit (the) mat	ò ló sù- u tsìghà fìghàm he will wash regularly
		N: ò ló 'bó-o 'yó ghâmfò	

A11 (Bà-)londo

	Perfective	Imperfective	Anterior
		-ak-	-má-
	a-mo-sak-á	a-mo-sak-ák-á	
P_2	he sought	he sought, was seeking	
-mo-			
	N: a-sí- mo -sak-a	N: a-sí- mo -sak- ak -a	
P_1	a-mo-sak-í	(a- mó -sak- ak -a)	
-moi	N: a-sí- mo -sak-i	N: as above	
	a-Ø-sak-í	a-Ø-sak-ak-a	a- má -sak-á
	he sought, he seeks	he seeks, he is seeking, he was seeking	has he ever sought?
Non-Past		(today), he will seek	he has (already) sought
-Ø-	N: a-sá-sák- i		
		N: a-sá-sak-ak-a	N: a-sí-sak-í
			he has not sought (yet)

A24 Duala

	Perfective	Iterative	Continuous	Progressive 6	Habitual - b€	Persistive díá	Anterior (?) má -	Inceptive ní -	Completive (?) b δlε
Past	na Ø bol-í I gave na wol-í I am tired		na tá nà Ø bol-a "I gave"		a tâ bɛ aٰ Ø bol-a he used to give		(1) ná tá na má -bol-a <i>I had</i> <i>already</i> <i>given</i>	(1) a tá a ní-putė-a he was just seizing	
Past	N: na-sí-bol-í						(2) a tá a má -bél- é he had already called	(2) na tá ná na ma -bol-a <i>I was just</i> <i>about to</i> <i>give</i>	
Present/ Future	na ma -bol-a <i>I give, will give</i> N: na sí ma -bol-a	na Ø bol-a I give (repeatedly)	ná Ø bol-a I give (constantly)	ne ó bol-a I am giving	na ma-bé ná Ø bol-a I give (habitually) N: na sí ma-bé	na díá na ma -bol-a <i>I am still</i> giving	na má -bol-a <i>I have already given</i> N: na sí bol- í <i>I have not given yet</i>	na ní -bol-á I am about to give	na bóle bol-a I have finished with giving N: na si ma-bóle
(Future)	na mendé bol-a I will give N: na sí mendé bol-a								

A46 Nomaande

	Perfective	Pluractional -V k -	Progressive	Habitual
P ₄ - ŋa -	?	to- ŋa -só sómb- ák -a we cut, were cutting	(1) tó- ŋa -sɔ bá ɔ-ó-!nyí-a we were eating (2) bá- ŋa -bó bá bá- ŋa -bó nyí-á they were eating	bá- ŋa -bó bá bá-bó nyí- ak- a they used to eat
P ₃ - ŋa -	ú- ŋa bét-á he thought (yesterday)	nó- ŋa -no námb- ak -a you hid, were hiding	(2) nó- ŋa -no bá nó- ŋa -no cob-a you were going	nó- ŋa -no bá no-anó co-cob- ak -a
P ₂ -ŋa-	tu- ŋé -su ket- i we believed (this morning) N: tɔ-tɛ-ɔmɔ́-sɔ́ hít- e we did not take	ε- ŋá -mε táŋ- ák -a I talked, was talking	 (1) ε-ŋá-am bá ο-ο-lát-a I was sewing (2) u-ŋá-a bá u-ŋá-a fan-a they were reading 	u- ŋá -a bá w-aá fan- ak -a he used to read
P ₁ - ma -	έ- ma -é hεŋ-a I (just) replaced	tó- ma -sɔ lóŋ- ɔk-ɔ we just called, were just calling	(1) ú- má -á bá ɔ-ɔ-fán-a he was just reading (2) tó- ma -so bá tɔ-asó fan- ak -a we were just reading	
-ŋa-	u- ŋa -á somb-a he cuts tu- ŋe -sú két- i we believe N: tu-ti- ŋé -su ket- i		bá-bó- ŋa ɔ-ɔ-fán-a they are reading	u-na- ŋa w-aá nyí- ák -a he eats (regularly)
F ₁ - ŋa -	IV. tu-ti-ije-su ket-i	nɔ-ŋa-nɔ´ cákon-ak-a you will play, be playing (this evening) N: u-ti-ŋé-e ket-ik-i we will not measure	(1) tɔ-ŋa-só bá ɔ-ó-!nyí-á we will be eating (2) bá-ŋa-bó bá bá-bó lat-ak-a they will be sewing	tu- ŋe-bul -asố lốŋ- ɔ we will call (them) (regularly)
F ₂ - ka -	o- k5 -ó lat-a you will sew N: i-ti-ké-mi búm-e I will not hunt (tomorrow)	u- ká -a námb- ák -a she will prepare (it)	(1) tɔ- ká -sɔ bá ɔ-ɔ-fán-a we will be reading (2) tɔ- ká -sɔ bá tɔ-asɔ́ námb- ák -a	tu- ké-bul -esú kín- e we will refuse (them) (regularly)
F ₃ - ka -		u- ka -á kóc- ak -a she will pick (them)	we will be preparing	we wiii rejuse (inem) (regulariy)

A74 Bulu

	Perfective	Imperfective (?)	Progressive (?)	Anterior
P_2	mé- ngá -yénə nyě	bĭ- ngá -bó bĭ-já-?-a		bĭ- nga -man-ε dí
-ngấ-	I saw him	we were eating, used to eat		we had eaten
\mathbf{P}_1	m- áté -tili			
-áté-	I wrote, have written			
	o-Ø-bò esae jé	bέ-nε bέ-yi-ʔ-i biá	w-à-bò jé mú	bĭ-man-εya dí
	you do that job?	they are singing	what are you doing there?	we have eaten
	N: me-tè-bə		N: m-ǎ-kε	e-byál-eya
	I do not work		I am not going	he is/was born
F_1	bi- ŋ̇- kε we are about to go			
-N-	(?) N: bi-ă-ye-ke we will not go			
F ₂ - é -	m-é-ke ámbam I will go to Ambam			

B11c Myene (Galwa)

	Perfective	Imperfective -ay-	Imperfective 'be' + VERB
	a-Ø-yol-í	a-Ø-yol-í y -í	
	she bought	he used to buy, was buying	
P_3	a-Ø-yɛn-í		
-aí	she saw		
	R: w- á -yεn- i		
	who saw		
	a-Ø-kól-â	w-a-jén-áy-a	w- a-díwó w-e-bén-a
	he bought	you used to see	you were cultivating
P_2	w- a -kól-â		
-a-	you bought		
	N: eré-kó [!] l- é		
	he did not buy		
P ₁	w- a -kól- î	w-a-pósw-íy-i	
-ai	you (have) bought	you were falling	
	w- e -kól-a	w- e -kól- ay -a	
-е-	you buy	you are always buying	
	N: w- eré -kol- e		
	w- ebé !-jén-á	w- ebé !-jén- áγ -á	
Future	you will see		
-ebe-	N: my ézéle -kól- é		
	I will not buy		

B51 Duma

	Perfective	Imperfective	Progressive	Anterior
		-anga	'be' + LOC	be- + PASTS
	a-Ø-búm-í műtu	mε- Ø -sid- ing-i		mε be-nginge me-bon- i
Indef.	he killed a person	I used to do		I had seen
Past				
-i	N: ndέ kabúm- i νε			
	he did not kill			
P_2	besu l- a -sa			besu l- a be l- a -mɔn- ɔ
-a-	you did			we had seen (long ago)
\mathbf{P}_{1}	ba- má -tom-á ndε			mɛ -be-nginge mə -ma -mວກ -ວ
-má-	they (just) sent him			I had seen (recently)
	bésu lí- Ø -bom-a	mε- Ø -sad- anga	a-Ø-lī mû-kén-a	
	we kill, are killing	I do (always, continually, etc.)	he is dancing	
	N: besú ka-lí-bom-a			
	a- să -yemb-a			
F	he will sing			
-sáa-	N: mɛ ki- să -ken-á vɛ			
	I will not dance			

B87 Mbuun

	Perfective	Progressive	Habitual	Iterative	Inceptive (?)
		- yé -	-wú-	-bé-	Anterior (?)
					-béná-
	é- wú -dí-á (ákòn)				
P_2	we ate (bananas)				
-u-					
	N: ká-é- wú -dí-á				
	á- mé -dí-á			é- mé-bé -túm	
\mathbf{P}_{1}	they ate			I just sent	
-me-					
	N: ká-bá- mé -dí-á				
	bá- Ø -dí-á	á- yé -dí-á	bá- wú -tóm-á	bá- bé -tóm-á	á- béná -dí-á
	they eat, are eating	they are eating	they cry (regularly)	they are crying again	he had (has?) already eaten
	N: ká-bá-Ø-dí-à			N: ká-bá- bé -tóm-á	
	á- kér -dí-á		á- kér-wú -tóm-á	á- kér-bé -dí-á	
Future	they will eat		he'll have to cry again	you will eat again	
-ker-					
	N: ká-bá- kér -dí-á				

C101 Babole

	Perfective	Imperfective	Anterior
	(-ak-)	-oak-	
	tw- á ¹-sál- ak -á	tw- á ¹-éké- o ¹-sál- ak -a	tw- á ¹-sál-á
P_2	we did	we were doing	we have/had done
-á-			
		N: to-ká¹-éké- o¹ -sál- ak -a	N: to-ká [!] -sál-ak-á
	to-Ø-sál-ak-í		to-Ø-sál-í
P_1	we did		we have done
-í			
	N: to-ká-Ø-sál-í		N: to-ká-Ø-sál-í
		to-ó¹-sál-ak-a	
		we are doing	
	41	N: to-εtí- ó !-sál- ak -a	
	to- pá !-sál-a		
Future	(<i>or</i> to- tá !-sál-a)		
-pá- / -tá-	we will work		
-	N: to-εtí tě to- pá !-sál-á		

C53 Li-gesógo

	Perfective (?)	(?)	Progressive (?)	Persistive
				-é-
	tw- á -tóng- ándé ligwa			
	we used to (do) work			
P_2	tw- á -fang- ándé ligwa			
-	we began work			
	N: to-tí-tóng-e:			
	tw- e -tóng- éndé ligwa			
	we did work			
\mathbf{P}_1	tw- e -fang- éndé ligwa			
П	we began work			
	N: to-tí-tóng-e:			
		tw- á -tóng- á ligwa	tw- émo -tóng- á ligwa	tw- é -tóng- a ligwa
		we are doing work	we are doing work, we will work,	we still work
		tw- á -fang- á ligwa	we work	
		we have begun work		N: tw-e-tóng-ité
			N ₁ : to-ti-tong- e ligwa	we have not worked yet
		N ₁ : tó-fa-tóng- é	(PROGRESSIVE)	
		N ₂ : to-tí-mo-tóng-á	N ₂ : to-tí-mo-tóng-a	
		1.2. to a mo tong a	(HABITUAL)	
	tw-e-tóng-andé			
Future	we will (do) work			
	N: tó-fa-tóng- é			

C76 Ómbó

	Perfective	Imperfective	Habitual	Anterior (?)
P ₄ (?) -ákai	t- áka -kóngol- i we picked up		-aka	
P ₃	t- ámbo -kóngol-á (M)	t- átá -kóngól-á (M) we were picking up		
P ₂ - ái	t- á -kóngəl- i N: tʊ- tá -kóngəl- i	t- á -kóngol- ak-i		
P ₁ -Øí	to-Ø-kóngol-í we picked up N: fa-t-á-kóngol-i	to-Ø-kóngol-ak-i we were picking up		
	to- mbó -kəngól-á (M) we pick up (?)	t- átá-ndá -kóngól-á we are picking up (?) we will pick up N: fa-t- átá -kóngól-á	to- Ø -kóngol- aka we pick up (regularly)	
Future -ákondóá	t- ákondó -kóngol- á (M) we will pick up N: fa-t- á -kóngól- á			

D27 Ki-bángubángu

	Perfective	Imperfective	Anterior
P ₂ - bu -	tu- bu -vúndagany-a we smashed N: nda-tu- bú -vúndagány-á	tu- bw -a mú-u-nim-a or tu- bw -a kú-u-nim-a we were hoeing	
P ₁ - fu -	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
Future -aángá	tw- a -vund-agany- ángá we will break		

D311 Forest Bira

P ₃	bi-Ø-támb- íí do we walked (long ago)
-Øíí + do	N: kí-bí-támb- íí
	bi-Ø-támb- í do
P_2	we walked (recently)
-Øí + do	N: kí-bí-támb- í
	we did not walk
P_1	bi- Ø -támb- í we (have) walked
-Øí	N: kí-bí-támb- í
	we have not walked
	bé- ká [']támb-á
-ka + INFIN	we are walking
	N: bέ-ńnda- ká [!]támb-á
	bi-Ø-támb- a n 5
Future	we will walk
-Øa + nó	N: kí-bí-támb- a n5

D43 Ki-nyanga

	Perfective	Imperfective	Habitual	Anterior ₁	Anterior ₂
		-ánge	-ánga	-aá	-are-
P_4	tw- a -tím- ángá we dug				
-aángá	we aug				
-aaliga	N: n-tí-tw- a -tím- ángá				
	tw- a -tím- áyò				
P_3	we dug				
-aáyò					
	N: n-tí-tw- a -tím- âyo				
	tw- áku -tím- á	w- áku -bése w-eb- ánge			
P_2	we dug	he was digging			
-ákuá					
	N: n-tí-tw- áku -tím- á				
_	tw-ama-tím-a				
P_1	we dug				
-amaà	.				
	N: n-tí-tw-ama-tím-a				
		tu-tím- ánge	tu-tím-ánga	tw-a-tím-á	tw- aré -tím-a
		we are digging	we dig (regularly)	we have dug (recently)	we have dug (long ago)
		N: n-tí-tu-tím- ánge	N: tu-tá-tím- ánga	N: n-tí-tw- a -tím- á	N: n-tí-tw- aré -tím-a
	tw- ǎ: -tím- á				
\mathbf{F}_{1}	we will dig				
-ǎ:á					
	N: tu-tâ-tím-í				
	tw- ă -tím- âyo				
F_2	we will dig				
-aáyò					
	N: tu-tâ-tím- íyo				
	tw- ă -tím- ayo				
F_3	we will dig				
-aayo					
	N: tu-tâ-tím- iyo				
F_4	tw-a-tím-i				
-àì	we will dig				

D61 Ki-nya-rwanda

	Perfective	Habitual	Progressive	Persistive	Anterior
		-Ø-	'be' + - ho + -Ø-	-ki-(a-)	-aie
	tu- á -gu z-e + COMP	tu- á -jya tú-gur-a + COMP	tu- á-ri-ho tú- Ø -gur-a + COMP	tu- á -ri tú- ki -gur-a	tu- á -ri tú- aa -gu z-e + COMP
	tu- á-ra -gú z-e	tu- á-ra -gúr-a	tu- á-ri-ho tú- ra -gur-a	we were still buying	tu- á -ri tu- á-ra -gú z-e
P_2	we bought	tu- á -hora tu-gur-a	we were buying		we had bought long ago
-á-		we used to buy		N: ntabwo tu- á -ri tú- ki -gur-a	
	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- á -gu z-e		N ₁ : ntabwo tu- á-ri-ho tú-gur-a		N ₁ : ntabwo (tu- á -ri)
	N ₂ : nti-tu- á -gu z-e	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- á -jya tú-gur-a	N ₂ : nti-tu- á-ri-ho tú-gur-a		tu- á-ra -gú z-e
		N ₂ : nti-tu- á -jya tú-gur-a			N ₂ : nti-tu- á -ri tu- á -(ra -)gúz- e
	tu-aa-guz-e + COMP	tu- aa -jya tú-gur-a + COMP	tu- aa-ri-ho tú- Ø -gur-a + COMP	tu- aa -ri tú- ki -gur-a	tu-aa-ri tú-aa-guz-e
	tu-aa-guz-e	tu- aa -hoze tú-gur-a	tu- aa-ri-ho tú- ra -gur-a	we were still buying	tu-aa-ri tú-aa-ra-guz-e
P_1	we bought	we were buying	we were buying		we had bought
-aa-	NT 1	N	N	NT	N T 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- aa -gú z-e	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- aa -jya tú-gur-a	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- aa-ri-ho tú-gur-a	N: ntabwo tu -aa-ri tú- ki -gur-a	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- aa -ri tú- aa -gu z-e
	N ₂ : nti-tu- aa -gu z-e	N ₂ : nti-tu- aa -jya tú-gur-a	N ₂ : nti-tu-aa-ri-ho tú-gur-a	4 1	N ₂ : nti-tu- aa -ri tú- aa -gu z - e
			(tu- ri-hó) tu- Ø -gur-a + COMP (tu- ri-hó) tu- ra -gur-a	tu- ki -gur-a tu- ra-kí-a -gur-a	tu-gu z-e + COMP
		(tu-jya) tú-gur-a + COMP	(tu- ri-no) tu- ra -gur-a tu- ri ku-gur-a	we are still buying	tu-ra-guz-e tú-aa-guz-e
		tu-ra-gur-a	(also found in some dialect)	we are still buying	tu-aa-guz-e tu-aa-ra-guz-e
		we buy regularly	we are buying	N ₁ : nti-tu- ki -gur-a	we have bought
-Ø-		we buy regularly	we are buying	N ₂ : ntabwo tu- ki -gúr-a	we have bought
		tu-gur-a + COMP	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- rí-ho tu-gur-a	N ₃ : ntabwo tu Ki gar a	N ₁ : ntabwo tu-gú z-e
		tu-ra-gur-a	N_2 : nti-tu- rí-ho tú-(ra -)gur-a	113. Huowo ta Tuu gar u	N_2 : nti-tu-gú z-e
		we buy (nowadays)	N_3 : ntabwo tu- rí-ku -gur-a		112. Her tu guz c
			N ₄ : nti-tu- ri-ku -gur-a		
	tu- ra -gur-a	N ₁ : ntabwo (tu-jya) tu-gur-a	tu- ra -ba tú- rí-ho tu- ra -gur-a	tu- ra -ba tú- ki -gur-a	tu- ra -ba tu- aa -gu z-e
	we will buy	N ₂ : ntabwo tu-gur-á	we will be buying	we will be still buying	tu- ra -ba tú-gu z-e
F_1	,	N ₃ : nti-tu-gur-á	. 0	, ,	we will have bought
-ra-	N: ntabwo tu- ra -gur-a		N: ntabwo tu- ra -ba tú- rí-ho	N: tu- ra -ba tú- ta-ki -gur-a	
	-		tu- ra- gura	-	N: ntabwo tu- ra -ba tu- aa -gu z-e
	tu- zaa -gur-a	tu- zaa -jya tú-gur-a	tu- zaa -ba tú- Ø -gur-a	tu- zaa -ba tú- ki -gur-a	tu- zaa -ba tú- aa -gu z-e
	we will buy	tu- zaa -hora tú-gur-a	tu- zaa -ba tu-ri- ho tu-(ra -)gur-a	we will be still buying	tu- zaa -ba tú- aa-ra -gu z-e
F_2		we will buy	we will be buying		we will have bought
-zaa-	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- zaa -gur-a			N_1 : ntabwo tu- záa -ba tú- ki -gur-a	
	N ₂ : nti-tu- záa -gur-a	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- záa -jya tú-gur-a		N ₂ : nti-tu- záa -ba tú- ki -gur-a	N ₁ : ntabwo tu- zaa -ba tú-a-gu z-e
		N ₂ : nti-tu- záa -jya tú-gur-a	N ₂ : nti-tu- zaa -ba tu- ri-ho tu-gur-a		N ₂ : nti-tu- zaa -ba tú- aa -gu z-e

D65 Ki-hangaza

	Perfective	Habitual	Progressive	Persistive	Anterior
		-ra-	'be' + LOCra-	-ki-	-aie
P ₂ - á -	tu-á-guz-e (+ COMP) tu-á-ra-guz-e we bought	tu- á -gur-a tu- á-ra -gur-a we used to buy N: nti-tu- a -gur-a	tu- á-ri-mwó tu- ra -gur-a we were buying N: nti-tu- á-ri-mwó tu- ra -gur-a	tu- á -ri tú- ki -gur-a we were still buying N: nti-tu- á -ri tú- ki -gur-a	tu- á -ri tu- á -gu z-e we had bought N: nti-tu- á -ri tu- a -gú z-e
	N: nti-tu-á-guz-e	11. Ini-tu-a-gui-a	11. Inti-tu-a-11-mwo tu-1a-gui-a	11. Inti-tu- a -11 tu- ki -gui-a	iv. nui-tu-a-ii tu-a-guz-e
P_1	tu-a-guz-e (+ COMP) tu-á-rá-guz-e		tu- a-ri-mwo tu- ra -gur-a we were buying	tu- a -ri tú- ki -gur-a we were still buying	tu-a-ri tu-á-guz-e we had bought
-a-	we bought N: nti-tu- á -gu z-e	tu- ra -gur-a we buy	N: nti-tu- a-ri-mwo tu- ra- gur-a	N: nti-tu- a -ri tú- ki -gur-a	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	tu- ra-cáá -gur-a we are still buying	tu-(r) a -gu z-e we have just bought
			N: nti-tú- ri-mwó tu- ra -gur-a	N: nti-tu- ki -gur-a	N: nti-tu-a-guz-e
Future	tu- zo -gur-a we will buy	tu- zo -za tu- ra -gur-a we will be buying regularly	tu- zo -ba tú- ri-mwó tu- ra -gur-a we will be buying	tu- zo -ba tú- ki -gur-a we will be still buying	tu- zo -ba tu- â -gu z-e we will have bought
- z o-	N: nti-tú- zo -gur-a	N: nti-tú- zó -za tu- ra -gur-a	N: nti-tú- zó -ba tu- ri-mwo	N: nti-tú- zó -ba tú- ki -gur-a	N: nti-tu- zó -ba tu- â -gu z-e
			tú- ra -gur-a		

E102 Lu-bwisi

	Perfective	Habitual - agha	Progressive -Ø-	Persistive - na -	Anterior - ie
Past - ka - / - a -	tu- ka -ghend-a we went N: ta-tu- ka -ghend-a	tw-a-ghend-agha we used to go n-a-b-agha 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 tw-a-ghend-ie we went, have just gone
	tu-ku-ghend-a we are going, we will go (NF/realis) n-ku-b-a I am ti-n-di I am not	tu-ku-ghend- agha we go 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 tu-Ø-man-ie we know N: abaana ti-bategheelel-ie children are not listening
Future - li - / - la -	tu- li -ghend-a we will go (FF/irrealis)	tu-la-ghend-agha we will always go			

E11 Ru-nyoro

	Perfective	Habitual	Progressive	Persistive	Anterior
		-Ø- / -aga	n(i)-	(ni-)ki-(aa-)	-ire
	tu- ka -gúr-a	tu-a-gur-ága	tu- ka -ba ni -tu-gúr-a	tu- ka -ba ni -tu- ki-áá -gúr-a	tu- ka -ba tu-gú z-ire
P ₂ - ka - / - a -	we bought	we used to buy	we were buying	we were still buying	we had bought
	N: tu-ta-gúr-e	N: ti-tu-a-gur-ága	N: tu- ka -ba tu-tá-(ru -) ku -gur-a	N: tu- ka -ba tu-ta- ki -gúr-a	N: tu-ka-ba tu-ta-guz-íre
P ₁ -ire(-ge)	tu-gu z-iré-ge we bought		tu-ba- ire ni -tu-gúr-a we were buying	tu-ba- ire ni -tu- ki-áá -gúr-a we were still buying	tu-ba- ire tu-gú z-ire we had bought
(8)	N: ti-tu-gu z-iré-ge		N: tu-ba- ire tu-tá-(ru -) ku -gur-a	N: tu-ba- ire tu-ta- ki -gúr-a	N: tu-ba-ire tu-ta-guz-íre
			ni -tu-gúr-a	ni-tu-ki-áá-gúr-a	tu-gu z-íre
		tu- Ø -gúr-a	we are buying	we are still buying	we have bought
-Ø-		we buy N: ti-tu-gúr-a	N: ti-tú-(r)u-ku -gur-a	N: ti-tu- ki -gúr-a	tu- a -ba tú-gu z-ire we had bought
		<u></u>			N: ti-tu-gu z-íre
F ₁ - ra -	tu- ra -gúr-a we will buy		tu- ra -ba ni -tu-gúr-a we will be buying	tu- ra -ba ni -tu- ki-áá -gúr-a we will still be buying	tu- ra -ba tú-gu z-ire we will have bought
	N: ti-tu-gúr-e		N: tu- ra -ba tu-tá-(ru -) ku -gur-a	N: tu- ra -ba tu-ta- ki -gúr-a	N: tu-ra-ba tu-ta-guz-íre
F ₂ - ri -	tu- ri -gúr-a we will buy	tu- ra -gur- ága we will buy regularly	tu- ri -ba ni -tu-gúr-a we will be buying	tu- ri -ba ni -tu- ki-áá -gúr-a we will still be buying	tu- ri -ba tu-gú z-ire we will have bought
	N: ti-tu- ri -gúr-a	N: ti-tu- u -gur- ége	N: tu- ri -ba tu-tá-(ru -) ku -gur-a	N: tu- ri -ba tu-ta- ki -gúr-a	N: tu- ri -ba tu-ta-gu z-íre

E13 Ru-nyankore

	Perfective	Habitual	Progressive	Persistive	Anterior
		-Ø- (aga)	ni-	-ki-(aa-)	-Øire
P ₃ - ka -	tú- ka -gur-a we bought	tu- ka -bá tú- Ø -gur-a we used to buy	tú- ka -bá ni -tu-gúr-a we were buying	tú- ka -bá tu- kí-(áá-)gur-a we were still buying	tu- ka -bá tú- Ø -gu z-ire we had bought
	N: ti-tu- rá -gu z-ire		N: tu- ka -bá tu-tá-(r) í-ku -gur-a	N: tú- ka -bá tu-tá- ki -gur-a	N: tu-ka-bá tu-ta-guz-íre
P_2	tu- Ø -gu z-íre we bought		tu- Ø -ba- ire ni -tu-gúr-a we were buying	tu- Ø -ba- ire tu- kí -(áá -)gur-a we were still buying	tu-Ø-ba-ire tú-Ø-guz-ire we had bought
-Øire	N: ti-tu-gu z-íre		N: tu-ba- ire tu-tá-(r) í-ku -gur-a	N: tu-ba- ire tu-tá- ki -gur-a	N: tu-ba- ire tu-ta-gu z-íre
	tu- áá -gur-a		tu- aa -ba ni -tu-gúr-a	tu- aa -ba tu- kí -(áá -)gur-a	tu- aa -ba tú-Ø-gu z-ire
P ₁ - a(a) -	we bought		we were buying	we were still buying	we had bought
	N: ti-tu- aa -gur-a		N: tu- aa -ba tu-tá-(r) í-ku -gur-a	N: tu- aa -ba tu-tá- ki -gur-a	N: tu-aa-ba tu-ta-guz-íre
		tu- Ø -gúr-a	ni -tu-gúr-a	tu- kí-(áá-)gur-a	tu-Ø-gu z-íre
-Ø-		we buy	we are buying	we are still buying	we have bought
		N: ti-tu-gúr-a	N: ti-tú- rí-ku -gur-a	N: ti-tú- ki -gur-a	N: ti-tu-gu z-íre
	ni-tu-ižá ku-gur-a		ni-tu-ižá ku-bá ni-tu-gúr-a	ni-tu-ižá ku-bá tu-kí-(áá-)gur-a	ni-tu-ižá ku-bá tú-Ø-guz-ire
F_1	we will buy		we will be buying	we will still be buying	we will have bought
niiža + INF	N: ti-tú-ri-ku- iža ku -gur-a		N: tu- ni -tu- ižá ku -bá tu-tá- rí-ku -gur-a	N: ni -tu- ižá ku -bá tu-tá- ki -gur-a	N: ni -tu- ižá ku -bá tu-ta-gu z-íre
	tu- ríá -gur-a	tu- ríá -gur- aga	tu- ri -ba ni -tu-gúr-a	tu- ri -ba tu- kí -(áá -)gur-a	tu- ri -ba tú- Ø -gu z-íre
F_2	we will buy	we will buy (regularly)	we will be buying	we will still be buying	we will have bought
-ri(a)-	N: ti-tu- rí -gur-a	tu- ri -ba ni -tu-gúr-a	N: tu- ri -ba tu-tá- rí-ku -gur-a	N: tu- ri -ba tu-tá- ki -gur-a	N: tu- ri -ba tu-ta-gu z-íre

E16 Lu-soga

	Perfective	Habitual	Progressive	Persistive	Anterior
		(-anga)	-Ø-	-kia-	-mal- + -ile (-maz-e)
_	tu- aa -gul-a	tu-a-gul-anga	tu- aa -li tu-gul-a	tu- aa -li tu- kia -gul-a	tu- aa -li tu-ma z-e o-ku-gul-a
P ₃ - aa -	we bought	we used to buy	we were buying	we were still buying	we had already bought
	N: ti-tu- aa -gul-a	N: ti-tu-aa-gul-anga	N: tu- aa -li ti-tu-li ku-gul-a	N: tu-aa-li te-tu-kia-gul-a	N: tu- aa -li tu-ka-li ku-gul-a
P ₂	tu- a -gu z-e we bought		(?) we were buying	(?) we were still buying	tu- a -ma z-e o-ku-gul-a we had already bought
-aile	N: ti-tu-a-gu z-e				
	tu-gu z-e		tu-ba- ile tu-gul-a	(?)	tu-ma z-e o-ku-gul-a
P ₁ - ile	we (have) bought		we were buying	we were still buying	we had already bought
	N: ti-tu-gu z-e				
		tu- Ø -gul-a we buy	tu-li ku-gul-a we are buying	tu- kaa -gul-a we are still buying	tu-ma z-e o-ku-gul-a we have bought
-Ø-		we buy	we are buying	we are still buying	we have bought
		N: ti-tu-gul-a	N: ti-tu-li ku-gul-a	N: ti-tu-kaa-gul-a	
\mathbf{F}_{1}	tu- ida ku -gul-a we will buy		(?) we will be buying	(?) we will be still buying	(?) we will have bought
-ida + INF					
	N: ti-tu- ida ku -gul-a				
	tu- li -gul-a	tu- li -gul- anga	tu- li -ba tu-gul-a	tu- li -ba tu- kia -gul-a	tu- li -ba tu-ma z-e oku-gul-a
F ₂ - li -	we will buy	we will buy regularly	we will be buying	we will be still buying	we will have bought
	N: ti-tu- li -gul-a	N: ti-tu-li-gul-anga	N: tu- li -ba ti-tu-li-gul-a	N: tu-li-ba te-tu-kia-gul-a	N: tu- li -ba 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 we have just bought

cf. A: tu-gu**z-e** N: ti-tu-gu**z-e** we (have) bought

E24 Ru-kerebe

	Perfective	Habitual	Progressive	Persistive	Anterior
		-aga	n(i)- / -ku-	-ki-(aa-)	-Ø−ile
P ₃ - ka -/	tu- ka -gul-a we bought	tu- a -gul- ága we used to buy	tu- a-li-ga n(í) -tú-gul-á we were buying	tu- a-li-ga tu- kí -gul-a we were still buying	n- ka -βá n- Ø -gú z-íle I had bought
-a-li-ga	N: ti-tu-a-gúz-ile	N: ti-tu-a-gúl-aga	N: tu- a-li-ga tu-ta- kú -gul-a	N: tu-a-li-ga tu-ta-kí-gul-a	N: n- ka -βá n-tá-gu z-ilé
P ₂ -Øile	tu-Ø-gu z-ilé we bought		tu-βe- ele n(î) -tú-gul-á we were buying	tu-βe- ele tu- kí -gul-a we were still buying	n-βe- ele n- Ø -gú z-íle I had bought
	N: ti-tu-gu z-ílé		N: tu-βe- ele tu-ta- kú -gul-a	N: tu-βe- ele tu-ta- kí -gul-a	N: n-βe- ele n-tá-gu z-ilé
P ₁ - a -	tu- a -gul-á we bought		tu- a-li n(i) -tu-gúl-a we were buying	tu- a-li tu- kí -gul-a we were still buying	n- á -βá n- Ø -gú z-íle I had bought
-a-	N: ti-tu- a -gúl-a		N: tu-a-li tu-ta-kú-gul-a	N: tu- a-li tu-ta- kí -gul-a	N: n- á -βá n-tá-gu z-ilé
-Ø-		A_1 : tu- \emptyset -gul- agá A_2 : tu- \emptyset -gul-á we buy	tu- kú -gul-a we are buying N: ti-tu- kú -gul-a	tu- caa -gúl-a we are still buying N: ti-tu- kí -gul-a	tu-Ø-gu z-ilé we have bought N: ti-tu-gu z-ilé
		N_1 : tu-tú-gul- aga N_2 : ti-tu-gúl-a	14. ti-tu-ku-gui-a	iv. u-tu- xi -gui-a	IV. ti-tu-guz-ne
F ₁ -laa-	tu- laa -gúl-a we will buy		tu- laa -βa ni -tú-gul-á we will be buying	tu- laa -βa tu- kí -gul-a we will still be buying	n- daa -βa n- Ø -gú z-íle I will have bought
	N: ti-tú-gul-a		N: tu- laa -βa tu-ta- kú -gul-a	N: tu- laa -βa tu-ta- kí -gul-a	N: n-daa-βa n-tá-gu z-ilé
F ₂ - li -	tu- li -gul-á we will buy	tu-laa-gul-ága we will buy (regularly)	tu- li -βa ni -tu-gúl-a we will be buying	tu- li -βa tu- kí -gul-a we will still be buying	n- di -βa n- Ø -gú z-íle I will have bought
	N: ti-tu- li -gúl-a	N: ti-tuu-gul- ega	N: tu- li -βa tu-ta- ku -gul-a	N: tu- li -βa tu-ta- kí -gul-a	N: n- di -βa n-tá-gu z-íle

E46 Ki-sonjo (Ki-temi)

	Perfective	Imperfective	Anterior
		-aga	-ba-
	(n)tw- a -gor- ε	(n)tw- a -gol- aga	
	we bought	we were buying, used to buy	
P_2	Nutrata ndi cal aga	N: tu-ta-gol- aga	
-a-	N ₁ : tu-ta-ndi-gol- aga	•	
	we have never bought	we were noting	
	N ₂ : n-ta-ndi etεm-εl- aga <i>I have never cultivated</i>		
	(n)tu- ba -gor-ε	(n)tu- ba -gol- aga	
	we bought	we were buying	
P_1			
-ba-	N ₁ : tu-ta-ndi-gol(-a)		
	N ₂ : n-ta-ndi-(e)tem-a		
	I did not cultivate, I have not yet		
	(n)tu-gol- atε	(n)tu-gol- aga	(n)tu- ba -gol-a
	we are buying	we buy regularly	we have bought
	N ₁ : tu-ti-gol- aga	N: tu-ti-gol- et ɛ	
	N ₂ : tu-ti-mune-gol(-a)	we are not buying	
	(n)tu- ke -gol-a	tu-ke-gol-aga	
Future	we will buy	we will be buying	
-ke-			
-ке-	N ₁ : tu-ti-gol-ete	N: n-ti-mune-etεm-εl-aga	
	N ₂ : tu-ti-mune-gol(-a)	I will never cultivate	

E56 Ki-daiso

	Perfective	Imperfective (?)	Situative - ki -
	n- a -rem-a I cultivated		t- a -re ti- ki -keta pata we were working
P ₃ - a -	N ₁ : ta-ti- ka -rem-a we did not hoe N ₂ : si- ka -rem-a I did not hoe N ₃ : ta-t- a -vika-(ku-)rem-a we did not hoe, have not hoed, have never hoed		
P ₂	ma- raa -j-i		
-raa-	they went ti-Ø-rem-a we (have) hoed	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 I was hoeing (when ?)
P ₁ =Anterior -Ø-	ngo-rem-a I (have) hoed N ₁ : ta-t- a -rem-a, s- a -rem-a		
	N ₂ : si-vika-rem-a I have not hoed yet		
	u-Ø-keta-cha what are you doing?	na-ti-Ø-rem-a we hoe, are hoeing, will hoe N: ta-ti-rem-a	ti- ki -doj-a 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	we do not hoe, are not hoeing, will not hoe	
	N: ta-ti-Ø-rem-a, si-Ø-rem-a		

E701 Ki-ilwana

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

E71 Lower Ki-pokomo

	Perfective	Situative - ki -	Progressive -akuni	Anterior -Ø-
P ₂ - i -	hw- i -guy-a we bought 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
$P_1 = Anterior$	hu-Ø-guy-a 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) N: nta-hu-kw- aku -guy-a- ni	hu-Ø-guy-a or hu-ma-guy-a or hw-is-a ku-guy-a
			- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	we have bought N: nta-hu-dza-guy-a we have not bought yet
Future - na -	hú- na -guy-á we will buy 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	Progressive	Anterior = Past
		-ki-	-ani	-Ø-
	hu-Ø-chez-a we (have) played	hu-w-a hu- ki -chez-a we used to play	hu-w-a h- a- chez-a- ni we were playing	hu-w-a hu-Ø-chez-a we had played
Past = Anterior	N: nta-hu-ku-chez-a we did not play, have not played	or as left	(at the moment when, or all day long)	hu-w-a hw-is-a ku-chez-a
-Ø-	hw-is-a ku-chez-a we have just played		or as right	we had just played
	N: nta-hu-ja-chez-a we have not played yet			
	h-a-chez-a	hu- ki -chez-a	h- a -chez-a- ni	hu-Ø-chez-a we have played
	we play (regularly)	we playing, when we play	we are playing	
	N: as above		h- a -ku-j-a- ni we are coming	N: nta-hu-ku-chez-a we did not play, have not played
			N: nta-hu-koku-chez-a	hw-is-a ku-chez-a we have just played
			we are not playing	N: nta-hu-ja-chez-a we have not played yet
	h- a -chez-a we will play	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
Future	h- a -ku-imb-a we will sing		, , ,	
-a-	h- a -na-gw-a we will fall			
	N: nta-h- a -chez-a			

E74b Saghala (as spoken at Teri in 1984)

	Perfective	Progressive -ende-	Habitual - aagha	Anterior -aa	Inceptive (?) -a-malila + INF
Past -aile	t-a-ghul-ile or tanaghulile we bought N: s-ti-Ø-ghúl-íle	t-e-lú-o ti-ke-ghúl-á we were buying N: s-t-e-lú-o ti-ke-ghúl-á			
	ti-ø-ghul agha we buy, are buying, will buy Also ti-Ø-ghula ?? N: s-tighul agha	t-ende-ghul(agh)a we are buying, will buy	t- a- na-ghul- agha we buy (every day)	t- a -ghúl-á or t- a -na-ghula we have bought N: s-tighúlíle mwana w- a -velo child has been born	t- a-málíla ku ghula we have already bought 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	Persistive -ce-le +	Anterior (?)
P ₃	tw- a -kaz- ilɛ we bought	inga to-Ø-kal-a we were buying	-aya inga to-Ø-kal-aya we used to buy	-ce-ie +	-ile
P_2	tw- a -kal-a				
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 N: to- ce-le to-ta-kal-a	to-Ø-kaz-ile we have bought, we bought today
	~			we have not bought yet	
F ₁	to-Ø-kal-a (also tw-izo-kal-a) we will buy				
F_2	to- le -kal-ε		to- le -kal- ay-ε we will buy (regularly)		

F34 Bowe (Ki-mbugwe) (1)

	Perfective	Progressive	Habitual	
		-kende-	-anda-	
	n- áa -rem- á	(n-) o-síta á- a-re o-ny- é rusú		
	I hoed	he used to refuse to drink beer		
P_3		he was refusi	ing to drink beer	
-áá	N: s-á-rem-íe			
		N: s- á-ré -rén		
		I was not	hoeing I	
P ₂ - áíe	n- áa -rem- íe			
	n-dem- ié			
P₁ -Øíe	I (have) hoed			
<i>y</i> R	N: si- jé -rém- íe			
	(U-ny-a	o-rem-a ku- kénde	n- ándá -rem-a	
	you drink	we are hoeing	I (usually) hoe	
	N: t-\u0-ny-a)		N: si- jé -rém-a	
			I do not hoe often	
	o-ra ko-j-e			
	eat we will			
Future	o-jé-mó-ra			
INF + 'come' (-je)	you will eat him			
	N: te-ko- je -rem-a we will not hoe			

F34 Bowe (Ki-mbugwe) (2)

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

G11 Chi-kagulu

	Perfective	Imperfective -aga	Persistive -ŋʰali	Anterior -Øa
Past haØ-, or -a-	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- ŋʰali 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
Future - o -, or - ka - (or - ku -)	ch-o-luta or chi-ka-luta we'll go N: chi-si-ka-luta or 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 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 -	Persistive -chéri- (or -ra-/-re-?)	Anterior -áaa
P ₂ (?) - áaáa, or - éeíye	tw- áa -im- áa tw- ée -kúrú- ye we cultivated,we dug N: te-tw- ée -kúrú- ye	tw- é-kú -íma we used to cultivate, were cultivating N: te-v- éku -vika they weren't putting			
P ₁ (?) -Øíye	tu-Ø-fum-íye we came from N: tetufumíye				
	tu- Ø- kúru tu- Ø- ima we dig, are digging N: te-tú- Ø- kúru	té- kú -kúru if we dig, when we dig, 'we digging', etc. N: tu- ku -sa-kuru	tu- túwa -ima we cultivate (HAB) N: te-tú- túwa -ima	tu- chéri -ima we are still digging N: té- chéri -kúru he hasn't dug yet é- re -ata i'í he's still here	tw- áa -kúru we have dug tw- áa -kwáha we are tired N: te-tú-na-kúru
Future - ne -	tu- ne- kúru tu- ne -ima we will dig, cultivate 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	Habitual	Persistive	Experiental	Anterior
		-eki-	-na- /	-ra- / -ré-	-ána-	
			'be' + MAIN VERB			
	tw- é -im- íe	tw- é ! ki -im-a	tw-(é-)na-im-a	tw- é-ré -im-a		tw- é ! kí -im- íe
P ₂ - éíe	we cultivated	we were cultivating	we used to cultivate	we were still cultivating		we had cultivated
-ele	N: te-tú-im- íe	N: te-tw- éki -im-a	N: te-tú- na -im-a			N: te-tw- é ! kí -im- íe
	tw-ethí-im- íe	tw-eth- éki -im-a	tw-ethí- na -im-a			tw-eth- éki -im- íe
P_1	tw-é-im-ie					
-éie	we cultivated					
	tu-Ø-im-a	tw- ékí -im-a	tu-Ø-oka tu-Ø-im-a	tu- ra -im-a	tw- ána -im-a	tw-á-im-á
	we cultivate, are	if we cultivate, "we	we cultivate regularly	(or tu- re -hó tu-im-a)	we once cultivated,	we have cultivated
	cultivating	cultivating"		we are still cultivating	we have experience	
					of cultivating	N: te-tú-na-im-á
	N: te-tú-Ø-im-a	N: tw- éki -thá-im-a	N: tu-Ø-oka	N: te-tú- re -im-a		tw-ethí-na-im-á
	tw-ethí-im-a		te-tú-im-a		N: te-tw- éná -im-a	tw-athá-im-a
	tu- ne -im-a		tu- ne -oka-im-a	tu- né-ré -im-a		β- éná -im-a
Eutumo	we will cultivate		(or tu- ne -tua-im-a)	we will still be		(<i>or</i> β- áná -im-a)
Future			we will regularly	cultivating		they will have
-ne-	N: te-tú-ka-im-é					cultivated
	tw-ethí-ka-im- é			N: tw-ethí-ka- ré !-im-a		

G35 Chi-lugulu

	Perfective	Progressive	Habitual	Persistive	Anterior
			-aya	-ŋali +	-ile
P ₂ tsaØ-	tsa tu-Ø-yul-a we bought				
P ₁ -Ø-	tu-Ø-yul-a we bought	tu-ŋali tu-Ø-ɣul-a (?) we were buying	tu-ŋali tu-Ø-ɣul-aɣa we used to buy		
	N: ηa-tu-gul- ile baye/mbe t- o -γul-a we buy, are buying, will bu N: ηa-t-o-γul-a baye/mbe	J y	tu-ɣul- aɣa we buy regularly	tu- ŋali tu-ɣul-a we are still buying	tu-yul- ile we have bought
Future	tu-tso-gul-a we will buy		tu-tso-yul-aya		

G411 Chi-m(w)i:ni

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

G52 Chi-ndamba

	Perfective	Imperfective -agha / -aya	Progressive -ku- or -eyi	Anterior -Øa
P ₂ - a -	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
P ₁ - ka-	tu-k a -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 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 daØi, or naØi	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 or da-tu-Ø-telek-eyi 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
P ₃ -a-	tw- a -káng-a we bound	tw-a-kang-ang-a we were binding, used to bind
	N: k-a tw-a-kang-a ko	
P ₂ - aidi	tw-a-keng-i we bound tw-a-dimb-idi we praised	tw-a-keng-ing-i
P ₁ -idi	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) N: k-a tu-kang-a ko	tu-kang- ang -a we are binding
Future -a-	tw- á -kang-a we will bind	tw-à-kang-ang-a

K11 Cokwe

	Perfective	Anterior	Progressive	Habitual	Persistive	Assertion
		hiVC	-naVC	-ááku-	ci- / -ci-	ku-
	n- á -lim- ine			k-á-pw-ile nyi-ku-lim-a	ci-n-á-lim-ine	ku-n-á-lim-ine
P_4	I hoed			he used to hoe	I still hoed	I definitely hoed
-áile						
	N: c-a-lím-ine					
P_3	ngú- na-ka -lim-a	hi -ngú- ná -lim- i			ci-ngú-na-ka-lim-a	ku-ngú-na-ka-lim-a
-na-(ka-)		I have (already) hoed				
na (Ra)	N: as above					
P_2	n-á-lim-anga				ci-n-á-lim-anga	ku-n-á-lim-anga
-áanga						
.	N: as above					
\mathbf{P}_1	n- á -lim-a				ci -n- á -lim-a	ku -n- á -lim-a
-á-	NT 11 /					
	N: c-a-lim-íne			445		
		hi-ngu-Ø-lim-1	ngú- na -lim- i	n- ááku -lim-a	mu -ngú- ci -lim-a	ku-ngú-na-lim-i
		I have hoed (recently)	I am hoeing	I hoe (habitually)	I am still hoeing	ku -n- ááku -lim-a
			NT 1 11 17	N		
			N: ci-shi-ku-lím-a	N: ci-ciku-lim-a	N: kandá-ngú- ci -lim-a	
					I have not hoed yet	
	mú -ngu-Ø-lim-a					ku-mú -ngu- Ø -lim-a
\mathbf{F}_{1}	I will hoe					I will definitely hoe
múØ-						
	N: ci-cika-lim-a					

K14 Chi-luvale

	Perfective	Habitual	Progressive	Anterior
		AUXanga	'be' + na	-a-
P_3	tw-a-mu-vwík- ile we dressed him		ngw- a-pw-île na ku-tángis-a I was teaching	
-aile	N: ka-ngw- a -lánj- íle -ko <i>I did not buy</i>		N: ka-ngw- a-pw-île na ku-tángis-á-ko	
P_2	ngw- a -tangis- anga I taught		ngw- a-pw-anga na ku-tángis-a I was teaching	
-aanga	N: ka-ngw- a -mu-tangis- angá -ko <i>I did not teach him</i>		N: ka-ngw- a-pw-anga na ku-tángis-á-ko	
P_1	ngu- na -mu-zûl- u I undressed him		ngu- ná-p-ú na ku-tángis-a I was teaching	
-naVC	N: ka-ngw- a -lanj- ílé -ko <i>I did not buy</i>		N: ka-ngu- na-pw-ílé na ku-ángis-á-ko	
		ngw-echi ku-tángis- a -(nga) <i>I teach</i>	ngu-(li-)na ku-tángis-a I am teaching	ngw- á -ly-a I have eaten
		N ₁ : ka-ngw-échí ku-tángis- á-(nga -)ko N ₂ : ka-ngw-a-mu-tángis-á-ko <i>I do not teach him</i>	N: ka-ngw-échí na ku-tangis-á-ko	N: kandá ngu-ly- é
F ₁	ná -vá-tángis-a they will teach		ná- ngu- pw -a na ku-tángis-a I will be teaching	
na-	N: ka-ngw-échi ngu-tangís-é-ko I will not teach		N: ka-ngw-échí ngu- pw-é na ku-tángis-á-ko	
F_2	na-tu-ka-tángis-a we will teach		ná -ngu- ká-pw -á na ku-tángis-a I will be teaching	
naka-	N: kéchí a- ká -ly- é -ko he will not eat		N: ka-ngw-échí ngu -ka-pw-é na ku-tángis-á-ko	

K332 Dciriku

	Perfective	Progressive	Anterior
P ₂ - à -	tw- a -píng- ire we inherited		tw- a -píng-a we (have) inherited
P ₁ -vc	ká -tu-píng- i we inherited	amě kú-ná -jimb- i I was just singing	tu- na -píng- i we have inherited tu- na -júv- u we hear
		murúme kú-na-ku -dípag-a the man is killing	
F ₁ (kú) -Øá	(kú -)tu- Ø -ping- á we will inherit		
F ₂ ngáØà	ngá -tu- Ø -píng- a we will/may inherit		

K352 Si-mwenyi

	Perfective	Habitual - ánga	Progressive - ílé	Persistive - si -	Anterior (?)
P ₃ 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	-ne	-31-	
P ₂ mbá na VC	mbá na-ni-mú-mon-ó I saw him N: ká-n-a-mon-íne				
P ₁ - na VC	sí- na -mú-mon- ó <i>I saw him (today)</i> N: ká-n-así-mon-á				
	n- a -món-a I see	n- á -mon- ánga I see (regularly) N: ká-tu-mon- ángá	ní-mon- íné <i>I am looking</i> N: ká-tu-mon- íné	ní-si-mon-á (?) I still see ní-si-mon-íné	
F ₁ mbá Øa	mbá ni-Ø-mú-b-a I will give him mbá ni-Ø-món-a I will see N: ká-n-akú-mon-á	we do not see	we are not looking	I am still seeing	
F ₂ tambáØe	tambá ni-Ø-món-e I will see N: ká-ni-mon-ó				
F ₃ tamba mbáØe	tamba mbá ni-Ø-món-e I will see 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	Persistive	Inceptive
		-Øa(ng)a	-kí-	Anterior (?)
				-ta(:)-
	tu-ba:-sép-ele	tu-baá-di tu-Ø-dim-a(ng)a		tú- tá-báá- dím- ine
P_3	we hoed (before yesterday), we	we were hoeing		we had already hoed
-bá:ile	had hoed		N: tatu- kí-báá -di tu-dim- anga	
			we did not hoe anymore	
D	tu- Ø -dim- iné	tu-Ø-fun-íné tu-Ø-dim-a(ng)a		tú- táá -dím- ine
P ₂ -Øilé	we hoed (yesterday)	we were hoeing		we have already hoed
	tu- ba: -dím- i			
D	we (have) just hoed			
P_1				
-bá:ÝC	tu-ba:-sép-e			
	we (have) just laughed			
	tw-a-dim-ă(ng)á	tu-Ø-dim-a(ng)a,	tu-ki-dim-anga	tú -táá -dím- ă(ng)á
	we hoe, are hoeing, were hoeing	tu-Ø-kwěte tu-dim-a(ng)a	we still hoe, are still hoeing	we are already hoeing
		we are hoeing		
	tw-e-kan-ángá tu-dim-anga			
	we usually hoe			
Future	tw-aku-sep-a			
-a:ku-	we will laugh			
-a.Ku-			N: tatu- ky-áku -dim-a	

L31a Cí-luba (Luba Kasayi)

	Past	Present
Perfective	tú-Ø-kwac-ilé	tú-Ø-énz-á
reflective	we seized	we do, are doing
Imperfective	tú- vú -á tú- Ø -énz-á	tú-Ø-dí tú-Ø-énz-á
'be' + PfV	we were doing, used to do	we are doing, will do
	as above?	ú- tú ú-y-a
Habitual		you always go
-tu + PfV		
-tu + 11 v		ú- tú w-â-y-a
		you go regularly
	tú- ci -vú-á tú-kwat-á	n- ci -kwat-á
Persistive	we were still holding	I still hold
-ci-		
CI		n- ci -dí n-kwat-á
		I am still holding
"Subsecutive"		mb- â -kwat-á
-a-		I hold, held, will hold, that I hold, and I hold, etc.
Anterior		tw- â -kwac- í
-aí		we have seized
		tú- ká -kwat-á
Itive		we are going to hold
- ká -		
154		tú- ká -dí tú-kwat-á
		we are about to hold

L33 Ki-luba-shaba

	Perfective	Imperfective	Persistive	"Go to"	Anterior (?)
		-ngá	-kì-	-ká-	
P_3	n- áá -pááp- ile				
-áile	I carried				
	w-aa-cip-ílé				
D	he swore				
P ₂ - aílé					
-ane	w-áa-tw-ilé				
	you pounded				
	w-aá-cip-é mú-cip-o	w- aá -dya- ngá	w- aa -dí u- ki -dy-á	ú- baa-ká -di	
	he swore, has sworn	he has really eaten	he was still eating	you went to eat	
	,				
P_1	tú- baá -mon- é	w- aá -fwa- ngá			
-(b)àáé / -à	we saw, have seen	he is really dead			
	tú- baá -pál- a				
	we (have) paid				
	ng-énd-á	m- Ø -póyá- ngá	ná- ki -sép-á		
	I walk	I hunt (regularly)	I still laugh		
-Ø-		, , ,			
,-	N: ké-tu-fík-a- po	N: n-Ø-ki-tomé-ngá-po			
	we do not arrive	I do not drink regularly			
	u- ka -tum-a	n- ká -póyá- ngá			
	you will send	I will hunt regularly			
Future		g			
-ka-	N: ké-mu-kátóok-á- po				
	you will not purify				
	1 37		1		

N14 Su-mpotu

	Perfective	Progressive
P ₃	t- a -hik- iti	t-a-yi-li mu-ku-l-a
-aiti	we came	we were eating
P_2	ti-ka-hik-iti	ti- ka -yi- li mu-ku -l-a
-kaiti	we came	we are been eating
P_1	ti-Ø-hik- iti	
-Øiti	we came	
	ti-Ø-hik-a	ti-Ø-yi- li mu-ku -l-a
	we come, are coming, will come	we are eating
F ₁	ya-ti-Ø-hik-(ay)i	
yaØ(ay)i	we will come very soon	
F_2	ti-ká-hek-ayi	
-káayi	we will laugh	
F ₃	t-á-hek-ayi	t-á-ayi mu-ku-l-a
-áa(yi)	we will laugh	we will be eating

R21 Oshi-kwányáma

	Perfective	Habitual haØ´VC	Progressive	Anterior ´VC
'Remote Past' - á ile	o-kw- á -tung- ílé she built N: ka-nd- a -hálúk- ile I was not frightened			
'General Past' -aa	tw-a-fika we arrived 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-/háØ-´VC - ka á	ta-vá-Ø-yól-o they laugh, are laughing, will laugh há-ndí-ká-dénga	o-há-ndi- Ø -énd- e <i>I go (regularly)</i> o-há -vá- ka -lándifa		
	I will (go and) meet N: i-ta-mú-Ø-haluk-á ye are not frightened i-t-o-ká-món-a you will not (go and) see	they usually (go and) sell N: i-ha-mú-Ø-haluk-á ye are usually not frightened		

S32 Northern Se-sotho

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