Consecutive verb marking in Runyankore

Larry M. Hyman & Daphine Namara

It is common in African languages to have special consecutive verb constructions with (many) fewer inflectional distinctions than in main or relative clauses (Welmers 1973: 364, Longacre 1990). Within Bantu, Nurse (2008: 1203) presents a brief survey of consecutive forms, showing that both prefixal -a- and -ka- are widespread, but there is considerable variation. In this study we provide a comprehensive analysis of consecutive clause marking in Runyankore, a Bantu language of Uganda. What is particularly striking about Runyankore is how the verbal morphology is different depending on whether the preceding “set-up” is a main vs. relative and affirmative vs. negative clause. After an overview of tense-aspect-mood (TAM) and polarity marking, we present the different verb forms used in sequential consecutives as well as in simultaneous, and anterior clauses. These are shown not only to reduce the number of possible TAM distinctions, compared to main and relative clauses, but also differ in interesting ways from each other.¹

Keywords: consecutives, tense, aspect, mood, polarity, relative clauses, high tone deletion

¹. This paper is based on the speech of the second author (henceforth DN), a native speaker of the pastoralist Bahima group from Kamushoko Parish in Mbarara District of Uganda. The two authors have worked extensively together over a period of more than two years, starting with a one semester field methods course in Fall 2019. Other accounts of Runyankore verb morphology that we have consulted include Morris and Kirwan (1957), Taylor (1985), Poletto (1998), Kaji (2004), Nurse (2007), and Turamymwe (2011). We would like to thank Robert Botne, Derek Nurse, and two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments and suggestions on the original submission.
Introduction: TAMP marking in Runyankore

Bantu languages are quite well known for complex tense-aspect-mood-polarity (TAMP) marking. Prefixes, suffixes, and tones are all involved, but the exact marking can vary not only by the (large) number of TAMP distinctions, but also according to the clause type. Such is the case in Runyankore [ISO: nyn], a major Bantu language spoken in Uganda. As seen in (1), where ba- is the human class 2 subject prefix ‘they’ and the root is -reeb- ‘see, find’, morphological marking of the remote past (P3) is different in affirmative vs. negative as well as main vs. relative clauses:

(1) a. MCA: ba-ka-reeb-a ‘they saw’
   b. RCA: a-ba-a-reéb-ire ‘the ones who saw’
   c. MCN: ti-ba-rá-reeb-ire ‘they didn’t see’
   d. RCN: a-ba-ta-rá-reeb-ire ‘the ones who didn’t see’

In the main clause affirmative (MCA) in (1a), the P3 is marked by a -ka- prefix and an -a inflectional final vowel (FV). On the other hand, in the corresponding (subject) relative clause affirmative (RCA) in (1b), P3 is marked by an -a- prefix and the inflectional ending -ire. This ire is also found in the two negative forms in (1cd) which, however, now mark P3 with a H(igh) tone -rá- prefix. Another difference is the marking of negation by the initial ti- in the main clause negative (MCN) in (1c) vs. a post-subject prefix -ta- in the relative clause negative (RCN) in (1d). Finally, note that the toneless verb /-reeb-/ ‘see’ is assigned a second stem mora (M2) H tone only in (1b). The intermediate form -reéb- is then modified to a level H -rééb-, since rising tones are prohibited in Runyankore.

While the above allomorphy is quite intricate, any Bantuist would find it quite typical of what is found in related languages. Although there has been much attention on such morphological spell-outs in different Bantu languages, particularly how to assign the tones to each “cell” of the verbal paradigm, only a subset of the full range of inflectional distinctions is typically considered. Since it will be relevant to the marking of consecutive clauses, the focus of this paper, Table 1 shows the prefixal, suffixal, and tonal spell-out of the major MCA, RCA, MCN and RCN cells:

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2. The initial a- is the Bantu determiner known as the “augment”. While not required with a head noun, when present it marks contrastiveness (abantu á-ba-a-reéb-ire ‘the people who saw, not the ones who heard’). It is absent when occurring non-contrastively (abantu ba-a-reéb-ire ‘(the) people who saw’), after negative verbs, and in non-subject relative clauses, which have the same segmental shape, but can differ in tone from the subject relative forms, for example, in the habitual: a-bá-reeb-a ‘the ones who see’ vs. omuntu ou ba-reéb-a ‘the person that they see’. In the latter form the assigned second mora on -reéb- becomes a high-low (HL) falling tone in phrase-penultimate position. The same absence vs. presence of the M2 H is also found in the today past (P1), yesterday past (P2), and remote future (F2) subject vs. non-subject relative clauses. The presence vs. absence of the augment has no effect on the stem tone pattern.
### Table 1. TAMP marking in main, relative, imperative, subjunctive, and infinitive clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MCA</th>
<th>RCA (subject)</th>
<th>MCN</th>
<th>RCN (subject)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hab</td>
<td>SP-B-a +</td>
<td>SP-B-a +</td>
<td>ti-SP-B-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prog</td>
<td>ni-SP-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ri-ku-B-a</td>
<td>ti-SP-ri-ku-B-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prst</td>
<td>ni-SP-ki-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ki-ri-ku-B-a</td>
<td>ti-SM-aki-B-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf</td>
<td>SP-á-B-ire</td>
<td>SP-á-B-ire</td>
<td>ti-SP-ka-B-ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exp</td>
<td>SP-rá-B-ire</td>
<td>SP-rá-B-ire</td>
<td>ti-SP-ka-B-a=gá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>SP-á-B-a +</td>
<td>SP-á-B-á +</td>
<td>ti-SP-a-B-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>SP-B-ire +</td>
<td>SP-B-ire +</td>
<td>ti-SP-B-ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a +</td>
<td>SP-a-B-ire +</td>
<td>ti-SP-rá-B-ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>ni-SP-ij/zi-+inf</td>
<td>SP-raa-B-e +</td>
<td>ti-SP-ri-ku-ij/zi-+inf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>SP-ryáá-B-a</td>
<td>SP-rí-B-a +</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp</td>
<td>R-a</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>+ OP</td>
<td>OP-B-e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o-ta-OP-B-a</td>
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<td>Sbjv</td>
<td>SP-B-e</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ OP</td>
<td>SP-OP-B-e</td>
<td></td>
<td>SP-ta-OP-B-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf</td>
<td>o-ku-B-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>o-bu-ta-B-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The color coding in Table 1 refers to tone marking on the stem, which consists of the base (B) (root plus possible derivational suffixes) and an inflectional final vowel (FV). In the yellow cells there is no suffixal H tone. In the green cells a suffixal H is assigned to the M2 if the base is toneless (cf. (1b)), but to the FV if the base is /H/. In the orange cells a suffixal H is assigned to the M2 if the base is toneless, but no suffixal H is assigned if the base is /H/. (All preceding H tones are deleted whenever a suffixal H is assigned, whether to the M2 or the FV.) In the blue cells all tones of the verb are toneless except for the negative prefix tí- or -tá-, while in the two grey cells the suffixal H is assigned to the FV both when the base is /H/ as well as toneless. 3 For more on tone assignment in the Runyankore verb, see Poletto (1998, ch. 4) and Hyman (2022).

3 While the green pattern is seen only in the MCA, the non-subject RCA of Hab, P1, P2 and F2 also take this pattern. These are the only cases where subject- and non-subject relative clauses assign different tone patterns (cf. note 2). As seen in Table 1, M2/FV H tone assignment does not occur in the negative. On the other hand, the rare blue and grey patterns are only found in the negative. For every TAM except the F1, the MCN and RCN clauses take the same tone pattern. The F1 exception is due to the fact that the affirmative employs a periphrastic present progressive form of the verb /-ij-/ ‘come’ or /-zi-/ ‘go’ followed by an infinitive ni-be-ij-á/ni-ba-zá ku-reeb-a ‘they will see’ (lit. they are coming/going to see).
Table 1 includes the indicative forms of main and relative clauses as well as the imperative, subjunctive, and infinitive (which are placed in the MCA and MCN columns). These show a common Bantu variation in the FV: in the affirmative, the subjunctive, plural imperative, and singular imperative with an OP all end in the -e of the subjunctive mood. The corresponding negative forms all end in -a, as well as the affirmative singular imperative when it occurs without an OP or with a first person singular OP: réeb-a ‘see!’, n-déeb-a ‘see me!’. As indicated by the color coding, the orange M2/Ø tone pattern prevails except for the green M2/FV pattern in the affirmative imperative and subjunctive when occurring without an OP. This difference is demonstrated in (2) with the /H/ polysyllabic verb base /-háragat-/ ‘scrape’:

(2) Affirmatives
a. haragát-a ‘scrape!’
b. ba-haragát-e ‘let them scrape!’
c. ki-háragat-e ‘scrape it!’
d. ba-ki-háragat-e ‘let them scrape it!’

(3) Negatives
a. o-tá-haragat-a ‘don’t scrape!’
b. ba-tá-haragat-a ‘let them not scrape!’
c. o-ta-ki-háragat-a ‘don’t scrape it!’
d. ba-ta-ki-háragat-a ‘let them not scrape it!’

In (2ab) the H is assigned to the FV, but is subsequently retracted to the penult phrase-finally (cf. haragat-á gye ‘scrape well!’, ba-haragat-é gye ‘let them scrape well’). In (2cd), the lexical H of /-háragat-/ appears on its first mora. As seen in (3ab), the tone of the negative marker is H if there is no OP, but Ø if there is an OP such as class 7 -ki- ‘it’ in (3cd). The H of /-háragat-/ is deleted after -tá- (and certain other H tone prefixes) by an OCP-motivated process known as Meeussen’s Rule (Goldsmith 1984), which changes /H-H/ to H-Ø.

Also relevant for the study of consecutives is the different prefixal marking of the perfect and experiential affirmative vs. negative forms:

(4) Affirmatives
a. bá-á-háragat-ire ‘they have (already) scraped’
b. ba-rá-haragat-ire ‘they have (once) scraped’

(5) Negatives
a. ti-bá-ka-háragat-ire ‘they have not scraped yet’
b. ti-bá-ka-háragat-á=ga ‘they have never scraped’
In the affirmative, the prefixes are -á- in the perfect and -rá- in the experiential. Both end in -ire. In the corresponding negatives, the prefix is -ka-. While -ire remains in the negative perfect, the experiential ends in the FV -a followed by the enclitic =gé, whose H tone is shifted onto the penult phrase-finally (cf. ti-bá-ka-háragat-a = gé gye ‘they have never scraped well’). Finally, note that the progressive is marked with a pre-SP ni- prefix in the MCA, but instead involves the copula -rí- followed by an (augmentless) infinitive in relative and negative clauses, e.g. ti-ba-rí-ku-háragat-a ‘they are not scraping’ (cf. o-ku-háragat-a ‘to scrape’). An infinitive construction with /-ij-/ ‘come’ or /-zi-/ ‘go’ is also required for the MCA and MCN forms of the near future (F1). Thus, ‘we will see’ can be expressed either as ni-be-ij-á ku-reeb-a (lit. they are coming to see; ba- ‘they’ → be- / _ i) or ni-ba-z-á ku-reeb-a (lit. they are going to see). The RCA and RCN instead mark the F1 with a -raa- prefix and and the subjunctive FV -e.

1. TAMP marking in consecutive clauses

With the above established, we are now ready to consider consecutive constructions, which we define as a conjoined verb form which “tends to reduce the number of tense distinctions” (Nurse 2008: 120) compared to main or relative clauses. We will start with forms which indicate an action coordinate (and usually subsequent) to the preceding clause. As in the case of main and relative clauses, the morphological spell-outs vary within the paradigm. However, in this case consecutive marking is mostly independent of the TAM of either clause and is instead determined by whether the preceding clause is main vs. relative and affirmative vs. negative. Table 2 shows the structure of both affirmative and negative consecutive forms in these contexts:

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4. While we refer to consecutives as “coordinate”, their forms and interpretation are dependent on the nature of the “set-up clause” (see §1). Although we start with “sequential” consecutivization, forms marking simultaneous and anterior actions are discussed in §2 below. As will be seen, tonal evidence suggests that these latter are more tightly bound to the set up clause than sequential consecutives.
In Table 2, MCA → A indicates the form that an affirmative consecutive takes after a main clause affirmative clause (‘they came and saw’), while MCA → N indicates a negative consecutive after the MCA (‘they came and didn’t see’). The last two columns show the affirmative and negative consecutive forms that occur after a clause that is relative, negative, or both. The color-coding represents the same tonal marking as in Table 1. In the following discussion we will refer to the clause that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MCA → A</th>
<th>MCA → N</th>
<th>RC&amp;N → A</th>
<th>RC&amp;N → N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hab</td>
<td>SP-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prog</td>
<td>SP-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
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<td>Perf</td>
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<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
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<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exp</td>
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<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>SP-á-B-a</td>
<td>ti-SP-a-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>SP-á-B-a</td>
<td>ti-SP-a-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>SP-á-B-a</td>
<td>ti-SP-a-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>SP-B-e</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ OP</td>
<td>SP-OP-B-e</td>
<td>SP-ta-OP-B-e</td>
<td>SP-ka-OP-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-OP-B-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>SP-B-e</td>
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<td>SP-ka-OP-B-a</td>
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<td>o-B-e</td>
<td>o-ta-B-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ OP</td>
<td>o-OP-B-e</td>
<td>o-ta-OP-B-a</td>
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</tr>
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<td>+ OP</td>
<td>SP-OP-B-e</td>
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<td>SP-ka-OP-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-OP-B-e</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inf</td>
<td>o-ka-B-a</td>
<td>o-ta-B-e</td>
<td>o-ka-B-a</td>
<td>o-ta-B-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2. TAMP marking in consecutive clauses**

In Table 2, MCA → A indicates the form that an affirmative consecutive takes after a main clause affirmative clause (‘they came and saw’), while MCA → N indicates a negative consecutive after the MCA (‘they came and didn’t see’). The last two columns show the affirmative and negative consecutive forms that occur after a clause that is relative, negative, or both. The color-coding represents the same tonal marking as in Table 1. In the following discussion we will refer to the clause that

5. In Table 2 the affirmative imperative, subjunctive, and infinitive are placed in the MCA → A and MCA → N columns and the negatives in the RC&N → A and RC&N → N columns. Since the imperative and subjunctive moods do not occur in relative clauses, these last two columns indicate their consecutive forms only after a negative imperative and subjunctive. When used independently of a higher verb, the affirmative and negative infinitives take the relative clause forms of the last two columns: *okw-ij-a o-ka-reeb-a* ‘to come and see’ (... ‘is good’ etc.), *o-bu-te-ij-á o-ka-reeb-a* ‘to not come and see’ (i.e. neither come nor see), *o-kw-ij-a o-ta-reeb-e* ‘to come and not see’, *o-bu-te-ij-á o-ta-reeb-e* (lit. ‘to not come and then not see’), this last being awkward. The source of the Ø tone SP o- is not clear. Since it is toneless in all contexts, it cannot be the underlying /H/ augment (which becomes Ø after pause). It is segmentally and tonally homophonous with both the 2sg SP and the class 1 SP occurring in subject relative and cleft clauses: *o-zin-fre* ‘you sg. danced’,
determines the consecutive form as the “set-up clause” or “set-up” for short.

As seen in Table 2, we find the most distinctions in the first column, where there are four different affirmative consecutive structures that follow the MCA, exemplified in (6).

(6) a. Hab: \textit{ni-be-ij-á ba-réeb-a} ‘they come and see’
   b. Perf: \textit{bé-íz-ire ba-ka-reeb-a} ‘they have come and seen’
   c. P3: \textit{ba-ke-ij-a bá-á-reeb-a} ‘they came and saw’
   d. F2: \textit{ba-ryé-ij-a ba-réeb-e} ‘they will come and see’

The consecutive form in (6a), which lacks a TAM prefix and ends in -\textit{a}, is found after the habitual, progressive, and persistive.\footnote{The MCA habitual form generally requires \textit{ni-} when not contextualized, e.g. by a time adverbial such as \textit{burííjo} ‘usually, often’. When used without such further specification, the \textit{ni-} form is ambiguous between a habitual and progressive meaning: \textit{ni-ba-haragát-a} ‘they scrape, they are scraping’. See §2.1.} The -\textit{ka-} prefix and final vowel -\textit{a} in (6b) are used after the perfect (‘to have already X-ed’) as well as the experiential (‘to have once X-ed’, ‘to have X-ed before’). This mirrors the same marking in the negatives of these TAMs in Table 1. As seen in (6c), the prefix -\textit{á-} and FV -\textit{e} form are used after the three past tenses, here P3 (\textit{-ka-} \rightarrow \textit{-ke-}/\_ \_ i in the set-up clause). This marking is identical to the P1 in the MCA (see Table 1) which, as pointed out by Taylor (1985: 3), is used as a general narrative past tense (cf. Nurse 2008: 120-123 for general Bantu discussion). Finally, the two futures, the subjunctive, and the imperative all show a zero prefix and FV -\textit{e} form which is identical to the subjunctive form itself. Like the subjunctive, the consecutive tone pattern changes from green to orange when an OP is present. Thus, (6d) can be interpreted as ‘they will come that they see’.

Turning to the second column of Table 2, we see in the blue cells that the MCN of the (past narrative) P1 is used as a consecutive after MCA P1-P3. As opposed to other negative consecutives where -\textit{ta-} appears after the SP, here the negative prefix \textit{tí-} precedes the SP, as in a main clause. Thus compare the negative consecutives in (7).\footnote{This is distinct from a same-subject purpose clause which uses the infinitive: \textit{ba-ryé-ij-a ku-reeb-a} ‘they will come (in order) to see’ (F2).}

(7) a. Hab: \textit{ni-be-ij-á ba-ta-réeb-e} ‘they come and don’t see’
   b. Perf: \textit{bé-íz-ire ba-ta-réeb-e} ‘they have come and not seen’
   c. P3: \textit{ba-ke-ij-a tí-ba-a-reeb-a} ‘they came and didn’t see’
   d. F2: \textit{ba-ryé-ij-a ba-ta-réeb-e} ‘they will come and not see’

\footnote{Note that agreement with class 15 is ungrammatical (*\textit{o-} \textit{kw-ij-a ku-ka-reeb-a}), while NP coordination with \textit{na} ‘and, with’ is possible, since the infinitive is a nominal form: \textit{o-kw-ij-a n’ ó-ku-reeb-a} ‘to come and to see’.}

\footnote{Although DN also accepts \textit{ba-ke-ij-a ba-ta-réeb-e} ‘they came and didn’t see’ (P3), she considers the SP-\textit{ta-B-e} negative consecutives after P1-P3 as “less natural” than \textit{tí-ba-a-reeb-a}. We will thus focus mostly on the latter consecutive form in subsequent discussion.}
As also seen, when the negative is marked by the post-SP prefix -ta-, the FV shows a curious reversal: -e after indicatives, as in (7abd), -a after the subjunctive and imperative TAMs, as in (8).

(8) a. be-ij-é ba-ta-réeb-a ‘may they come and not see!’
   b. ij-á o-ta-réeb-a ‘come and not see!’

The final -a mirrors the imperative and subjunctive negatives seen in Table 1 and may therefore be interpreted as ‘may they come, that they not see!’ and ‘come, may you not see!’.

The final -e after indicatives is, however, unexpected, possibly the reflex of an old negative FV *-ɪ (Meeussen 1967: 110) which, when observed in present-day languages, tends to be “associated with non-past and non-future” (Nurse 2008: 182).

In column 3 we see that the mark of the affirmative consecutive after a negative or relative clause is uniformly -ka- with an -a FV. The representative examples in (9)-(11) show that this marking occurs independently of the TAM of the set-up clause:

(9) RCA → Affirmative consecutive
   a. Hab: a-bé-ij-a ba-ka-reeb-a ‘the ones who come and see’
   b. Perf: a-bé-iz-ire ba-ka-reeb-a ‘the ones who have come and seen’
   c. P3: a-be-iz-ɪ-re ba-ka-reeb-a ‘the ones who came and saw’
   d. F2: a-ba-rí-ij-a ba-ka-reeb-a ‘the ones who will come and see’

(10) MCN → Affirmative consecutive
   a. Hab: ti-be-ij-á ba-ka-reeb-a ‘they don’t come and see’
   b. Perf: ti-bá-ke-iz-ire ba-ka-reeb-a ‘they haven’t come and seen’
   c. P3: ti-ba-ré-iz-ire ba-ka-reeb-a ‘they didn’t come and see’
   d. F2: ti-ba-rí-ij-a ba-ka-reeb-a ‘they won’t come and see’

(11) RCN → Affirmative consecutive
   a. Hab: a-ba-te-ij-á ba-ka-reeb-a ‘the ones who don’t come and see’
   b. Perf: a-ba-tá-ke-iz-ire ba-ka-reeb-a ‘the ones who haven’t come and seen’
   c. P3: a-ba-ta-ré-iz-ire ba-ka-reeb-a ‘the ones who didn’t come and see’
   d. F2: a-ba-ta-rí-ij-a ba-ka-reeb-a ‘the ones who won’t come and see’

Finally, column 4 shows the same -ta- plus FV -e marking of the negative consecutive as in column 2, this time including after P1-P3. Representative examples are given in (12)-(14).

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9. The o- found after the imperative in (8b) is the second person singular SP ‘you’: ij-á o-réeb-e ‘come and (you) see!’.
(12) RCA → Negative consecutive
   a. Hab: **a-bé-íj-a ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘the ones who come and don’t see’
   b. Perf: **a-bé-íz-ire ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘the ones who have come and haven’t seen’
   c. P3: **a-be-iz-ire ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘the ones who came and didn’t see’
   d. F2: **a-ba-rí-íj-a ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘the ones who will come and not see’

(13) MCN → Negative consecutive
   a. Hab: **ti-be-ij-á ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘they don’t come and not see’
   b. Perf: **ti-bá-ke-íz-ire ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘they haven’t come and not seen’
   c. P3: **ti-ba-ré-íz-ire ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘they didn’t come and not see’
   d. F2: **ti-ba-rí-íj-a ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘they won’t come and not see’

(14) RCN → Negative consecutive
   a. Hab: **a-ba-te-ij-á ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘the ones who don’t come and not see’
   b. Perf: **a-ba-tá-ke-íz-ire ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘the ones who haven’t come and not seen’
   c. P3: **a-ba-ta-ré-íz-ire ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘the ones who didn’t come and not see’
   d. F2: **a-ba-ta-rí-íj-a ba-ta-réeb-e** ‘the ones who won’t come and not see’

As seen from the translations in (13) and (14), the meaning is unambiguously one of dependency: Thus ‘they don’t come and not see’ can be paraphrased as ‘they don’t come without seeing’ (if they come, they necessarily see).

To summarize, the above facts raise interesting issues, particularly as concerns which inflectional features from the preceding set-up clause determine consecutive marking. First, in the case of MCA → A, the TAMs can be grouped into four classes: imperfective Ø (orange), perfect ka- (yellow), past/narrative -á- (yellow), and subjunctive/irrealis -e (green/orange, depending on the presence of an OP). Except for the last, the default FV is -a. These distinctions narrow down to two in MCA → N: other than the past tenses, which are followed by narrative ti-SP-a-B-a (blue), the TAMs split into indicative SP-ta-B-e vs. non-indicative SP-ta-B-a. Finally, after a relative clause or negative there is only one possibility: RC&N → A is expressed as SP-kå-B-a, while RC&N → N is expressed as -SP-ta-B-e obligatorily across all TAMs. In both of these cases the only thing marked is the subsequent action. Given this and their wide distribution, we will consider SP-kå-B-a and SP-ta-B-e to be the default affirmative and negative consecutive constructions, respectively. In the next section we will see that the temporal interpretation of the Table 2 consecutive morphology, while usually sequential, can sometimes involve overlapping actions. However, there are additional verb forms which unambiguously mark simultaneous and anterior actions.
2. Simultaneous and anterior verb marking

In the preceding section the action of the consecutive clause has been presented as occurring sequentially, i.e. after the action of the preceding clause. While this is the typical case, the exact interpretation depends on the relation between the two actions. In all of the above sentences the first verb was ‘come’, an action which naturally precedes the action of the second verb ‘see’. In other cases such as in (16) the temporal relation between the two clauses is more fluid:

(15) a. Hab: ni-ba-shek-á bá-zín-a ‘they laugh and dance’
    b. Perf: bá-á-shek-ire ba-ka-zín-a ‘they have laughed and danced’
    c. P3: ba-ka-shek-a bá-á-zín-a ‘they laughed and danced’
    d. F2: ba-ryáá-shek-a ba-zín-e ‘they will laugh and dance’

In these examples the laughing and dancing may have taken place with complete continuous overlap, with recurrent alternating laughing and dancing, or with all of the laughing preceding all of the dancing. We thus suggest that the consecutive clauses in §1 are semantically underspecified for their temporal relation to the preceding action. This is true even in cases where the order of the clauses is expected to represent the temporal order as well. Thus, although the most common situation is to first cook and then eat, in (16) the eating can be simultaneous, intermittent, or subsequent to the cooking. (The use of ni- in (16a) is discussed in §2.2.)

(16) a. Hab: ni-ba-teek-á bá-rya ‘they cook and eat’
    b. Perf: bá-á-téék-ire ba-ká-ry-á ‘they have cooked and eaten’
    c. P3: ba-ka-téék-a bá-á-ry-a ‘they cooked and ate’
    d. F2: ba-ryáá-téék-a bá-ry-e ‘they will cook and eat’

The only thing that can always be inferred from the use of a consecutive clause is that the two actions have some kind of connection with each other. While the temporal relation of all of the consecutive forms in Table 2 is underspecified, Runyankore does have ways of explicitly marking simultaneity as well as anteriority. These constructions are discussed in §2.2 and §2.3.

2.1. Habitual and progressive aspects

To appreciate the marking of simultaneous actions, we need first to consider the relation between the habitual and progressive aspects in Runyankore.\textsuperscript{10} Although the two aspects differ only in the presence of the initial prefix ni- in what we have labeled the progressive, there is considerable overlap in terms of their usage.

\textsuperscript{10} Nurse (2008: 118) refers to what we are calling habitual as tenseless “null forms” typically referring to “general, frequent, or generic situations”. Thus, ba-zín-a ‘they dance’ does not necessarily mean that they do it habitually, but rather that they have dancing in their repertory. They have been known to dance. In fact, since this form requires contextualization, it is much more natural to use the ni- form. Thus, ni-tu-many-á ngu ni-ba-zín-a can either mean ‘we know that they dance’ or ‘we know that they are dancing’.
(17) a. ba-žín-a ‘they dance’
    b. ba-žín-a burújo ‘they usually dance’
       ba-žín’ ó-bú-twíire ‘they dance every day’
    c. ni-ba-žín-á burújo ‘they usually dance’
       ni-ba-žín’ ó-bú-twíire ‘they dance every day’
    d. ti-bá-žín-a ‘they don’t dance’
       a-bá-žín-a ‘the ones who dance’
       a-ba-tá-žín-a ‘the ones who don’t dance’

Although we have not marked it as incomplete, DN accepts the bare MCA habitual verb form in (17a) only in context, for example as a response to a question like ‘what do they do at night?’, answer: ‘they dance’. Another way a bare habitual can be contextualized is through a temporal complement, as in (17b). (17c) shows that the ni- form can also be used with the same meaning. (17d) shows that a complement is not required in negative or relative clauses.

The corresponding MCA progressive forms in (18ab) are formed by prefixing the focus marker ni- to the habitual form.

(18) a. ni-ba-žín-a ‘they dance, they are dancing’
    b. ni-ba-žín-á hátí ‘they are dancing now’
    c. ti-ba-ří-ku-žín-a ‘they are not dancing’
       a-ba-ří-ku-žín-a ‘the ones who are dancing’
       a-ba-ta-ří-ku-žín-a ‘the ones who aren’t dancing’

As seen in (18a), the ni- form can appear finally in a MCA with either a present progressive or habitual meaning, which can be clarified with a temporal complement, as in (18b). The corresponding negative and relative forms in (18c) are built on the copula -ří followed by the infinitive.

11. Other sources do not note specific restrictions on habitual forms which are cited along with other TAMs (Morris & Kirwan 1957: 6, Taylor 1985, Poletto 1998: 8, Kaji 2004: xxv-xxviii). Van der Wal & Asiimwe (2020: 45) and Hyman & Byarushengo (1984) do not report any problem with bare habitu als in closely related Rukiga and Ruhaya, respectively, which contrast the same Ø and ni- habitual and progressive TAMs. Although possibly a precursor, the habitual is different from “conjoint” verb forms in Bantu (Van der Wal & Hyman 2017), which cannot occur at the end of a MCA in general. We will continue to cite such habitual forms without further noting that they need contextualization.

12. While ni- is also used to express habitual or “generic” action and both assign the same M2/FV tone pattern, an important difference seen in ba-žín-a burújo vs. ni-ba-žín-á burújo is that the bare form undergoes the rule of H Tone Deletion (HTD), while the ni- form does not.

13. -ří can optionally be deleted, with its H tone relinking to the preceding syllable: ti-bá-ku-žín-a, a-bá-ku-žín-a, a-ba-tá-kuzína.
2.2. Simultaneous action

With the above established, we can now contrast consecutivization of habitual and progressive forms, starting, however, with the temporally underspecified forms of the habitual in (19).

(19) a. ba-teek-a bá-ry-a ‘they cook and eat’
    b. ni-ba-teek-a bá-ry-a ‘they cook and eat’
    c. ti-bá-teek-a ba-ká-ry-a ‘they do not cook and eat’
       a-bá-teek-a ba-ká-ry-a ‘the ones who cook and eat’
       a-ba-tá-teek-a ba-ká-ry-a ‘the ones who don’t cook and eat’

Although (19a) requires contextualization, note that ba-teek-a fails to undergo H tone deletion as it would if ‘cook’ had an object, adverb or prepositional phrase after it. We take this to mean that bá-ry-a is not a complement to the preceding verb, rather is phrased separately from the preceding MCA. In order to express a habitual consecutive without such contextualization, ni- must be used, as in (19b).

The sentences in (19c) show the expected -ka- affirmative consecutive marking after negative and relative habitual forms, which do not require a specified context in the MCN, RCA, and RCN. The corresponding negative consecutive forms are seen in (20).

(20) a. ba-teek-a ba-tá-ry-e ‘they cook and don’t eat’
    b. ni-ba-teek-a ba-tá-ry-e ‘they cook and don’t eat’
    c. ti-bá-teek-a ba-tá-ry-e ‘they do not cook and not eat’
       a-bá-teek-a ba-tá-ry-e ‘the ones who cook and don’t eat’
       a-ba-tá-teek-a ba-tá-ry-e ‘the ones who don’t cook and don’t eat’

Again, (20a) is incomplete without contextualization, while ni- can be used in (20b). As expected, the negative consecutive has the structure SP-ta-B-e.

While the temporal relation of the consecutive to the preceding clause is underspecified in (19) and (20), use of a following ni- form unambiguously indicates simultaneity:

(21) a. ba-ry-a ni-ba-téék-a ‘they eat while cooking’
    b. ni-ba-ry-a ni-ba-téék-a ‘they eat while cooking’, they are eating while cooking’
    c. ti-bá-ry-a ni-ba-téék-a ‘they do not eat while cooking’
       a-bá-ry-a ni-ba-téék-a ‘the ones who eat while cooking’
       a-ba-tá-ry-a ni-ba-téék-a ‘the ones who do not eat while cooking’

In each of the above sentences, the eating and cooking take place simultaneously. For maximum clarity we have glossed these sentences with ‘eat while cooking’. However, they could also be translated ‘eat and cook’ as long as it is understood that the two actions have to overlap temporally. This is clearest in (21b), which can also be glossed ‘they are cooking and eating’. Differing from the consecutives in §1, (21a) shows that ni-ba-téék-a is in the same clause – and hence triggers H Tone
Deletion (HTD) to produce ba-ry-a with all L tone. HTD also applies to a-bá-ry-a ‘the ones who eat’ in (21c). This shows that the ni- consecutive forms are phrased together with the set-up clause.\textsuperscript{14}

The examples in (22) show that the ni- forms can occur after any tense:

(22) a. Hab: ba-ry-a ni-ba-téék-a ‘they eat while cooking’
    b. Perf: bá-á-rí-fre ni-ba-téék-a ‘they have eaten while cooking’
    c. P3: ba-ka-rya ni-ba-téék-a ‘they ate while cooking’
    d. F2: ba-ryáá-ry-á ni-ba-téék-a ‘they will eat while cooking’

Since the H tone of /rí-/ ‘eat’ has undergone HTD in (22ac), we see again that the ni- forms are in the same clause.\textsuperscript{15}

As seen now in (23) and (24), the negative progressive can also be used to mark simultaneity:\textsuperscript{16}

(23) a. ba-teek-a ba-ta-rí-kú-ry-a ‘they cook without eating’
    b. ni-ba-teek-á ba-ta-rí-kú-ry-a ‘they cook/are cooking without eating’
    c. ti-bá-teek-a ba-ta-rí-kú-ry-a ‘they do not cook without eating’
    a-ba-teek-a ba-ta-rí-kú-ry-a ‘the ones who cook without eating’
    a-ba-tá-teek-a ba-ta-rí-kú-ry-a ‘the ones who don’t cook without eating’

(24) a. Hab: ba-ry-a ba-ta-rí-ku-téék-a ‘they eat without cooking’
    b. Perf: bá-á-rí-ír-e ba-ta-rí-ku-téék-a ‘they have eaten without cooking’
    c. P3: ba-ka-rya ba-ta-rí-ku-téék-a ‘they ate without cooking’
    d. F2: ba-ryáá-ry-á ba-ta-rí-ku-téék-a ‘they will eat without cooking’

While we have translated the consecutive clause as ‘without eating’, glosses such as ‘they cook and don’t eat’ are also appropriate as long as it is recognized that the two actions have to overlap temporally. As with the affirmative ni- consecutive in (21) and (22), HTD applies to the preceding MCA in (23a) and (24a) and to the RCA in (23c) and (24c), showing that ba-ta-rí-kú-rya is in the same clause as the main verb.

\textsuperscript{14} The ni- and negative set-up verbs in (21) do not undergo HTD for general reasons. As seen from the +’s in Table 1, HTD only applies to the affirmative of the habitual, three past tenses (P1-P3), and RCA forms of the two future tenses (F1, F2). It never affects negative forms, nor it does apply to the progressive, perfective, persistive, imperative, subjunctive, infinitive, or the F1 and F2 in a MCA. This differs considerably from Poletto’s (1998: 285) puzzling finding that “verbs are not subject to the application of HDel” in the Runyankore he describes, but is more in line with Kaji (2004) and what is found in closely related Rukiga (van der Wal & Asiimwe 2020: 47), Ruhaya (Hyman & Byarushengo 1984), Runyambo (Hubbard 1992, Bickmore 1989) and Ruzinza (Odden 2000).

\textsuperscript{15} Besides negatives, HTD does not apply to the perfect (22b) or the MCA of the remote future (22d). HTD does apply to the corresponding F2 relative clause affirmative: a-ba-ri-ry-a ni-ba-téék-a ‘the ones who will eat while cooking’ (cf. a-ba-ri-ry-a ‘the ones who will eat’).

\textsuperscript{16} As in the affirmative (see note 13), the copula -rí can be deleted, with its H relinking to the negative prefix -ta-: ba-tá-kú-ry-a.
2.3. Anterior action

It is also possible for a second verb form to express anterior action. There are in fact two possibilities. In the first, the affirmative anterior consecutive is identical to the MCA present perfect, being marked by SP-á-B-ire (with no suffixal H tone). In the following sentences -ki- is the class 7 OP ‘it’:

(25) a. Hab: ba-ki-bon-a bá-á-ronz-ire ‘they find it having searched’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ki-bóín-e bá-á-ronz-ire ‘they have found it having searched’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ki-bon-a bá-á-ronz-ire ‘they found it having searched’
   d. F2: ba-ryoá-ki-bón-a bá-á-ronz-ire ‘they will find it having searched’

While we have translated bá-á-ronz-ire as ‘having searched’, one could also translate it as ‘after searching’ or ‘after they have searched’. Application of HTD in (25ac) shows that the anterior form is in the same clause as the preceding verb form (cf. ba-ki-bón-a ‘they find it’, ba-ka-ki-bón-a ‘they found it’). Had HTD not applied, (25ac) would have to be interpreted as two independent sentences: ba-ki-bón-a bá-á-ronz-ire ‘they find it, they have searched’, ba-ka-ki-bón-a bá-á-ronz-ire ‘they found it, they have searched’ etc. (The perfect and the MCA F2 in (25ad) are exempt from HTD in general, as indicated by the lack of a + in Table 1.)

The second possibility is to use SP-á-B-a, i.e. the same MCA P1 form which functioned also as a sequential consecutive after P1-P3 in previous examples:

(26) a. Hab: ba-ki-bon-a bá-á-rond-a ‘they find it having searched’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ki-bóín-e bá-á-rond-a ‘they have found it having searched’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ki-bon-a bá-á-rond-a ‘they found it having searched’
   d. F2: ba-ryoá-ki-bón-a bá-á-rond-a ‘they will find it having searched’

As with the examples in (25), one could also translate the above consecutives ‘after searching’ or ‘after they search(ed)’. Also as in (25ac), (26ac) show obligatory HTD on the preceding verb form, indicating that these anterior forms occur in the same clause. Had (26c) not undergone HTD, the interpretation would have been the sequential consecutive seen earlier: ba-ka-ki-bón-a bá-á-rond-a ‘they found it and searched’. (26a) without HTD would be two sentences: bakibóna bá-á-rond-a ‘they find it, they searched (P1)’.17

17. Another difference between the MCA and sequential consecutive versus a SP-á-B-a anterior action form such as bá-á-bón-a (= MCA P1 ‘they found’), is that the anterior usage does not itself undergo HTD. Thus compare HTD in baa-bon-a Kakúru ‘they found Kakuru’ (P1) and ba-ka-ki-rond-a ba-a-bon-a Kakúru ‘they looked for it and found Kakuru’ (P3) versus no HTD on the anterior action marking in ba-ka-ki-rond-a bá-á-bón-a Kakúru ‘they looked for it after finding Kakuru’ (P3). The same HTD contrast is found in multiple consecutivization: ba-a-ki-bon-a bá-á-rond-a bá-á-ry-a ‘they found it after looking after eating’ (P1). Finally, note that same exemption from HTD occurs if the anterior form immediately follows the set-up verb, as in (26), or if it is phrased separately, as in ni-ba-rond-a Muhwezi, bá-á-bón-a Kakúru ‘they are looking Muhwezi, having found Kakuru’. 
The corresponding negative anterior marking also has two expressions corresponding to the affirmative patterns. The first is expressed by SP-hta-B-ire and the (grey) FV H tone pattern:

(27)a. Hab: ba-ki-bon-a ba-ta-ronz-ire
   ‘they find it without having searched’
   b. Perf: ba-a-ki-boine ba-ta-ronz-ire
   ‘they have found it without having searched’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ki-bon-a ba-ta-ronz-ire
   ‘they found it without having searched’
   d. F2: ba-rya-a-ki-bon-a ba-ta-ronz-ire
   ‘they will find it without having searched’

As seen, we have glossed the examples as ‘without having searched’, although ‘not having searched’ or ‘after not searching’ would also work. As in previous examples, the habitual and P3 forms in (27ac) undergo HTD, showing that the negative anterior forms appear in the same clause as the preceding. This SP-ta-a-B-a negative anterior marking is identical to the relative clause P1 negative form (cf. (a-)ba-ta-a-ronz-are ‘the ones who didn’t search), thus directly corresponding to the P1 affirmative anterior forms in (27):

(28)a. Hab: ba-ki-bon-a ba-ta-a-ronz-are
   ‘they find it without having searched’
   b. Perf: ba-a-ki-boine ba-ta-a-ronz-are
   ‘they have found it without having searched’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ki-bon-a ba-ta-a-ronz-are
   ‘they found it without having searched’
   d. F2: ba-rya-a-ki-bon-a ba-ta-a-ronz-are
   ‘they will find it without having searched’

Again, (28ac) undergo HTD, as expected. Interestingly, while the affirmative anterior form in (25) is identical to the MCA perfect TAM (ba-a-ronz-ire ‘they have searched’), the corresponding negative anterior in (27) is instead identical to the RCN P2: (a-)ba-ta-ronz-ire ‘the ones who searched’, which differs from the RCN perfect: (a-)ba-ta-ka-ronz-ire ‘the ones who have not danced’. This is not surprising as the P2 still is used as a perfect of certain stative verbs. Thus, ba-byaaam-ire can mean either ‘they went to sleep’ (yesterday, P2) or ‘they are asleep’ (now).

To summarize, the invariant simultaneous and anterior forms are presented in Table 3, where the color coding again refers to the tone patterns.

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18. Recall from note 3 that the grey pattern is rare, occurring only in the P2 negative. That toneless verb bases also take a FV H tone is seen with longer toneless verb bases (e.g. -garuk- ‘come back’): ba-ta-garuk-ire-e ‘without having come back’ (the final H is retracted onto the penult before pause).
Table 3. Simultaneous and anterior verb marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simultaneous</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni-SP-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-rí-ku-B-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP-á-B-ire</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-ire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP-á-B-a</td>
<td>SP-tá-á-B-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the above forms, the affirmative simultaneous ni-SP-B-a is identical to the MCA progressive, while the affirmative anterior forms are identical to the perfect and P1 forms in both the MCA and subject RCA. (The P1 non-subject RCA has the green tone pattern.) The negative forms with post-SP -ta- unambiguously correspond to RCN progressive, P2, and P1 (see also §6). Concerning the two possible anterior forms, DN feels that there is less of a temporal interval with the SP-á-B-a (P1) vs. the SP-ta-B-ire (P2) and SP-(tá)-á-B-ire (Perf) forms. This is not surprising as the P1 is an immediate past. Thus compare: tw-aa-reeb-a Kakúru ‘we (just) found Kakuru’ (P1) which has to be an immediate past vs. tw-áá-reeb-ire ‘we have (already) found Kakúru’, where the finding could have taken place any time.

With this summary, we have now seen the relevant sequential, simultaneous, and anterior forms in the language, at least as concerns consecutives with the same subject. In the next section we show that the same forms are found when there is a change of subject.

3. Change of subject consecutivization

Since there are no new forms that have not already been seen, this section will be brief in presenting consecutive forms that involve a change of subject, whether marked exclusively by the SP or with an overt NP subject. We begin with the MCA → A forms in (29), where the SP of the consecutive clause is the first person plural tu- ‘we’ and the OP -ba- is class 2 human ‘them’.

(29)a. Hab: ni-be-ij-á tu-ba-réeb-a ‘they come and we see them’
b. Perf: bé-íz-ire tu-ka-bá-reeb-a ‘they have come and we have seen them’
c. P3: ba-ke-ij-a tw-áá-bá-reeb-a ‘they came and we saw them’
d. F2: ba-ryé-íj-a tu-ba-réeb-e ‘they will come and we will see them’

In (29) the same four distinct consecutive markings appear as with same-subject consecutives in (6) above. (30) shows the same distinctions when the subject of the consecutive clause is an overt nominal, Muhwezi (a name), with the class 1 human SP a-.
(30) a. Hab: ni-be-ij-á Muhwezi a-ba-réeb-a  
   ‘they come and M. sees them’
 b. Perf: bé-íz-ire Muhwezi a-ka-bá-reeb-a  
   ‘they have come and M. has seen them’
 c. P3: ba-ke-ij-a Muhwezi y-áá-bá-reeb-a  
   ‘they came and M. saw them’
 d. F2: ba-ryé-ij-a Muhwezi a-ba-réeb-e  
   ‘they will come and M. will see them’

The MCA → N forms corresponding to (29) and (30) are given in (31) and (32).

(31) a. Hab: ni-be-ij-á tu-ta-ba-réeb-e  
   ‘they come and we don’t see them’
 b. Perf: bé-íz-ire tu-ta-ba-réeb-e  
   ‘they have come and we have not seen them’
 c. P3: ba-ke-ij-a tí-tw-aa-ba-reeb-a  
   ‘they came and we didn’t see them’
 d. F2: ba-ryé-ij-a tu-ta-ba-réeb-e  
   ‘they will come and we will not see them’

(32) a. Hab: ni-be-ij-á Muhwezi a-ta-ba-réeb-e  
   ‘they come and M. doesn’t see them’
 b. Perf: bé-íz-ire Muhwezi a-ta-ba-réeb-e  
   ‘they have come and M. hasn’t seen them’
 c. P3: ba-ke-ij-a tí-y-aa-ba-reeb-a  
   ‘they came and M. didn’t see them’
 d. F2: ba-ryé-ij-a Muhwezi a-ta-ba-réeb-e  
   ‘they will come and M. will not see them’

Since the RC&N → N consecutive forms are the same as those in (31) and (32), the only remaining distinct change-of-subject consecutive constructions are the RC&N → A forms with -ka-. We illustrate these with MCN → A in (33) and (34), with the preferred translation including a ‘that’ clause:

(33) a. Hab: ti-be-ij-á tu-ka-bá-reeb-a  
   ‘they don’t come that we see them’
 b. Perf: ti-bá-ke-iz-ire tu-ka-bá-reeb-a  
   ‘they haven’t come that we’ve seen them’
 c. P3: ti-ba-ré-íz-ire tu-ka-bá-reeb-a  
   ‘they didn’t come that we saw them’
 d. F2: ti-ba-rí-ij-a tu-ka-bá-reeb-a  
   ‘they will not come that we see them’

19. While DN originally accepted and then rejected the SP-ta-B-e negative consecutive form after a same-subject P1-P3 (note 8), for some reason she finds it more acceptable with a change of subject: ba-ke-ij-a tu-ta-ba-réeb-e  ‘they came and we didn’t see them’ (=31c). Compare: ?tu-ke-ij-a tu-ta-ba-réeb-e  ‘we came and didn’t see them’.
(34) a. Hab: ti-be-ij-á Muhwezi a-ka-bá-reeb-a
   ‘they don’t come that M. sees them’
   b. Perf: ti-bá-ke-iz-ire Muhwezi a-ka-bá-reeb-a
   ‘they haven’t come that M. sees them’
   c. P3: ti-ba-ré-íz-ire Muhwezi a-ka-bá-reeb-a
   ‘they didn’t come that M. saw them’
   d. F2: ti-ba-rí-ij-a Muhwezi a-ka-bá-reeb-a
   ‘they will not come that M. sees them’

As seen from the translations, the consecutive would likely be interpreted as a resultative: ‘they don’t come (such) that we see them’ etc.

Finally, the simultaneous verb forms are illustrated in (35)-(38) and the anterior forms in (39)-(42).

(35) a. Hab: ba-ry-a ni-tu-téék-a
   ‘they eat while we are cooking’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ríír-e ni-tu-téék-a
   ‘they have eaten while we were cooking’
   c. P3: ba-ka-rya ni-tu-téék-a
   ‘they ate while we were cooking’
   d. F2: bá-ryaa-ry-á ni-tu-téék-a
   ‘they will eat while we are cooking’

(36) a. Hab: ba-ry-a Muhwezi n(aa)-téeék-a
   ‘they eat while M. is cooking’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ríír-e Muhwezi n(aa)-téeék-a
   ‘they have eaten while M. was cooking’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ryá Muhwezi n(aa)-téeék-a
   ‘they ate while M. was cooking’
   d. F2: bá-ryaa-ry-á Muhwezi n(aa)-téeék-a
   ‘they will eat while M. is cooking’

(37) a. Hab: ba-ry-a tu-ta-rí-ku-téek-a
   ‘they eat without our cooking’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ríír-e tu-ta-rí-ku-téek-a
   ‘they have eaten without our cooking’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ryá tu-ta-rí-ku-téek-a
   ‘they ate without our cooking’
   d. F2: bá-ryaa-ry-á tu-ta-rí-ku-téek-a
   ‘they will eat without our cooking’

(38) a. Hab: ba-ry-a Muhwezi a-ta-rí-ku-téek-a
   ‘they eat without M. cooking’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ríír-e Muhwezi a-ta-rí-ku-téek-a
   ‘they have eaten without M. cooking’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ryá Muhwezi a-ta-rí-ku-téek-a
   ‘they ate without M. cooking’
   d. F2: bá-ryaa-ry-á Muhwezi a-ta-rí-ku-téek-a
   ‘they will eat without M. cooking’
(39) a. Hab: ba-ki-bon-a tw-áá-ronz-ire
   ‘they find it our having searched’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ki-bóíne tw-áá-ronz-ire
   ‘they have found it our having searched’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ki-bon-a tw-áá-ronz-ire
   ‘they found it our having searched’
   d. F2: ba-ryáá-ki-bón-a tw-áá-ronz-ire
   ‘they will find it our having searched’

(40) a. Hab: ba-ki-bon-a Muhwezi y-áá-ronz-ire
   ‘they find it M. having searched’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ki-bóíne Muhwezi y-áá-ronz-ire
   ‘they have found it M. having searched’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ki-bon-a Muhwezi y-áá-ronz-ire
   ‘they found it M. having searched’
   d. F2: ba-ryáá-ki-bón-a Muhwezi y-áá-ronz-ire
   ‘they will find it M. having searched’

(41) a. Hab: ba-ki-bon-a tu-ta-ronz-íre
   ‘they find it without our having searched’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ki-bóíne tu-ta-ronz-íre
   ‘they have found it without our having searched’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ki-bon-a tu-ta-ronz-íre
   ‘they found it without our having searched’
   d. F2: ba-ryáá-ki-bón-a tu-ta-ronz-íre
   ‘they will find it without our having searched’

(42) a. Hab: ba-ki-bon-a M. a-ta-ronz-íre
   ‘they find it without M. having searched’
   b. Perf: bá-á-ki-bóíne M. a-ta-ronz-íre
   ‘they have found it without M. having searched’
   c. P3: ba-ka-ki-bon-a M. a-ta-ronz-íre
   ‘they found it without M. having searched’
   d. F2: ba-ryáá-ki-bón-a M. a-ta-ronz-íre
   ‘they will find it without M. having searched’

As seen, all change of subject consecutive clauses are marked identically to their same subject counterpart.
4. Multiple consecutivization

In the preceding sections we have seen that there are independent systems of consecutive marking of sequential, simultaneous, and anterior actions. In this section we further examine the ways in which the set-up clauses affect the spell-out of the consecutive clauses and consider cases of multiple consecutivization. As we saw in Table 2, reproduced more compactly in Table 4, the most distinctions in sequential consecutivization are the four found when an affirmative consecutive follows a MCA.\(^{20}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>MCA→ A</th>
<th>MCA→N</th>
<th>RC&amp;N→A</th>
<th>RC&amp;N→N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>Hab, Prog, Prst</td>
<td>SP-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>Perf, Exp, Inf</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-c</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td>P1, P2, P3</td>
<td>SP-á-B-a</td>
<td>ti-SP-a-B-a</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iva)</td>
<td>F1, F2</td>
<td>SP-B-e</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-e</td>
<td>SP-ka-B-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ivb)</td>
<td>Imp, Sbj</td>
<td>SP-ta-B-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Four TAMP classes of consecutive marking

A very striking fact is that except for MCA → N, where the narrative \(\text{tí-SP-a-B-a}\) appears after P1-P3 and the final vowel -a appears instead of -e after the imperative and subjunctive, all other set-ups are followed by two defaults: affirmative \(\text{SP-ka-B-a}\) and negative \(\text{SP-ta-B-e}\). The four classes in the first column can be roughly identified as marking (i) imperfective,\(^{21}\) (ii) perfect, (iii) past/narrative, and (iv) irrealis. The one semantic stand out is the infinitive in (ii), which takes the same marking as the perfect and experiential when occurring independent of a higher verb (see note 5). Thus, while the MCA passes on tense, aspect and mood information to the affirmative consecutive, it is pared down as indicated in the first column in Table 4. It is important to note that the differences in column 1 are sometimes dependent on the syntactic and semantic relationship of the consecutive to the set-up clause. Thus, while the habitual meaning in (43a) requires that the \(\text{ni-}\) form of the main verb /ij/ ‘come’ be followed by a consecutive form with the imperfective FV a, (43b) shows that when the \(\text{ni-}\) form is used with an infinitive to form F1, the irrealis SP-B-e consecutive unambiguously indicates the future meaning:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(43) a. } & \text{ni-tw-ij-á tů-zin-a} \quad \text{‘we come and dance’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{ni-tw-ij-á ku-shek-a tu-zín-e} \quad \text{‘we will laugh and dance’ (*come to laugh)} \\
\text{c. } & \text{ni-tw-ij-á ku-shek-a tů-zin-a} \quad \text{‘we come to laugh and dance’ (*will laugh)}
\end{align*}
\]

20. As was seen in Table 3, the simultaneous forms are invariant, while anterior actions provide a choice of two different forms in both the affirmative and the negative.
21. Recall from (19b) that \(\text{ba-B-a}\) unambiguously indicates a habitual action after the \(\text{ni-}\) (progressive) form, e.g. \(\text{ni-be-ij-á bá-ry-a}\) ‘they come and eat’ (habitually). See also (43a).
As indicated in (43c), use of the habitual consecutive tú-zín-a is possible, but only with the literal meaning.

While the above examples show that the form of the consecutive can depend on the semantics, other examples such as in (44) show that the form of the consecutive depends on whether the consecutive is set up by the immediate preceding clause or by one higher up:

(44) a. [tw-iiiz-îrë ku-shëk-a ] tw-áá-zín-a ‘we came to laugh and danced’ (P2)
   b. tw-iiiz-îrë [ku-shëk-a tu-ka-zín-a] ‘we came to laugh and dance’ (P2)

In (44a), the consecutive form SP-á-B-a is determined by the higher bracket form tw-iiiz-îrë kushek-a with which it marks two coordinate past tense actions ‘we came to laugh’ and ‘we danced’. While the intention in (44a) was to laugh, we could have danced without laughing. Contrasting with this, the consecutive is set up by the lower infinitive in (44b) indicating that the intention was both to laugh and to dance. Since the two consecutivized actions are coordinate, we could have come without either laughing or dancing. As seen, the default affirmative SP-ka-B-a form is used, since only a MCA can license the narrative past consecutive SP-á-B-a.

Concerning the second to fourth columns in Table 4, we note that no TAM information is available from the set-up clause, except for the negative tôi-SP-a-B-a past “narrative” form and the imperative and subjunctive, which take the FV -a instead of -e, both in the MCA → N column. Just as we saw in the affirmative consecutives in (44), the difference between the negative past narrative tôi-SP-a-B-a and default negative consecutive SP-ta-B-e is useful in marking a “higher” vs. “lower” set-up clause. First note that tôi-SP-a-B-a can be used after all three MCA past tenses, as in (45).

(45) a. bá-á-téék-a tôi-ka-a-ry-a ‘they cooked and didn’t eat’ (P1)
   b. ba-teek-irë tôi-ka-a-ry-a (idem, P2)
   c. ba-ka-téék-a tôi-ka-a-ry-a (idem, P3)

However, as shown in (46), the negative past narrative form cannot be used as a true consecutive after a MCN, RCA or RCN.

(46) a. tôi-ba-a-teek-a tôi-ka-a-ry-a ‘they didn’t cook, they didn’t eat’
   b. a-ba-a-téék-a tôi-ka-a-ry-a ‘the ones who cooked didn’t eat’
   c. a-ba-tá-á-teek-a tôi-ka-a-ry-a ‘the ones who didn’t cook didn’t eat’

22. A similar example involves the use of the verb -báas- ‘be able to’ which takes an infinitive complement: ni-tu-báasá ku-bá-reeb-a ‘we can find them’. Although the ni- form of the higher verb would predict that a following consecutive should end with -a, in this case the semantics requires the irrealis FV -e: ni-tu-báasá ku-rond-a tu-ba-reeb-e ‘we can look and find them’ (‘ni-tu-báasá ku-rond-a tu-ba-reeb-a).

23. In §5 we will see that conditional clauses also set up a -ka- consecutive, revealing that they are not main clauses.
As seen in the above translations, (46a) consists of a succession of two main clauses, while the relative clauses in (46b,c) function as the subject of the main clause tī-ba-a-ry-a ‘they didn’t eat’.

As mentioned in notes 8 and 19, sentences corresponding to (45) are acceptable, but less natural with ba-tá-ry-e ‘and didn’t eat’ as their second clause. However, there are indications of a potential difference between the consecutive and narrative forms when multiple actions are involved. As seen in following P3 forms, (47a) and (47b) appear to be equivalent.

(47) a. ba-ke-ij-a tī-ba-a-zin-a tī-ba-a-shēk-a
   ‘they came, didn’t dance, and didn’t laugh’
   b. ba-ke-ij-a ba-tá-zin-e bā-ta-shēky-e
   ‘they came, didn’t dance, and didn’t laugh’
   c. ba-ke-ij-a tī-ba-a-zin-a ba-ta-shēky-e
   ‘they came and didn’t dance and not laugh’
   d. *ba-ke-ij-a ba-tá-zin-e tī-ba-a-shēk-a

In both cases they came and neither danced nor laughed. However, since (47b) has a subordinate form, the translation ‘they came without (later) dancing and laughing’ is also appropriate. In these examples both consecutives attach to the upper clause ba-ke-ij-a ‘they came’. In (47c), however, which has the negative narrative past followed by the default negative consecutive, the meaning is quite different: They came and didn’t dance without laughing. That is, they came and danced and laughed! While DN reports that (47b) cannot have this interpretation, in (47c) ba-ta-shēky-e is unambiguously sponsored by tī-ba-a-zin-a. Finally, the fourth logical possibility in (46d) shows that the high-attaching tī-SP-a-B-a form cannot be used once the past negative consecutive is expressed by the SP-tázin-e form. Instead (47d) can only be interpreted as two (strangely sequenced) main clause sentences, ‘they didn’t come and dance’ (some days ago, P3) and ‘they didn’t laugh’ (today, P1).

5. Modal and conditional set-up clauses

In the preceding section we saw that when multiple verb forms are involved, the form of the consecutive can be affected by whether it is set up by the immediately preceding clause or by one higher up. A final effect is seen when the set-up clause is one of a number of modal and conditional forms. As we will now see, these slightly complicate the rather neat distinctions that have been uncovered with indicative, imperative, and subjunctive TAMs.24

To begin, consider the two modal forms in the set-up clauses in (48).

(48) a. tu-káá-rí-íre tu-gyénd-a ‘we should eat and leave’
   (= the right thing to do)
   b. tú-kaa-ry-á tu-gyénd-a ‘we could eat and leave’ (= a suggestion)

24. In this section we present only the major modal and conditional forms. See Kaji (2004: xxvii) for a few other forms which DN recognized, although sometimes with different interpretations.
c. *tu-káá-rí-íre tu-gyénd-e

d. tú-kaa-ry-á tu-gyénd-e  ‘could we eat and leave?’
    (i.e. is it ok to do it?)

e. tu-káá-rí-íre tw-áá-gyénd-a  ‘we had better eat after we leave’

f. tú-kaa-ry-á tw-áá-gyénd-a  ‘can we eat after we leave?’

As seen, the deontic main clause in (48a) and potential clause in (48b) differ both in tone and in their inflectional final suffix. Both however set up the imperfective SP-B-a consecutive form. Curiously, while the irrealis SP-B-e consecutive form is not grammatical with the deontic in (48c), it can be used with the potential in (48d), which must however be interpreted as a question. A similar distinction is seen with anterior verb marking: While the deontic is acceptable in (48e), the potential clause in (48f) can only be used as a question. (48ef) also show that both the deontic and potential are exempt from HTD.

Compare this now with another way to express the deontic mood in (49).

(49) a. kurí tw-aa-ry-á tu-ka-gyénd-a  ‘we should eat and leave’

b. *kúri tw-aa-ry-á tu-gyénd-a

c. *kúri tw-aa-ry-á tu-gyénd-e

As seen in (49a), the default SP-ka-B-a consecutive form is used, indicating that the clause that follows the deontic marker kuri does not introduce a main clause – in fact, the segmental morphology and tone of the verb following kuri are identical to the subject relative P1, which would of course set up the same SP-ka-B-a consecutive clause. (49b) and (49c) show that neither imperfective SP-B-a, nor irrealis SP-B-e can be used (even as a question).

In Table 5 we exemplify the consecutive forms found after some of the types of conditional clauses.
### Table 5. Consecutives after conditional set-up clauses (Aff → Aff)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative set-up clause</th>
<th>→ Affirmative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-ry-á =</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-ri-ku-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab-Prog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-b-a ni-ba-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-raa-b-e ni-ba-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-raa-b-e</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku(ri) ni-ba-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrstC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku(ri) ni-ba-ki-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-raa-b-e</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku(ri) ba-rá-ri-ire</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PerfA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku(ri) ba-b-a bá-á-ri-íre</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ExpA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku(ri) ba-b-a</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-rá-ri-íre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-raa-b-e</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-raa-b-e</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-raa-b-e</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku(ri) bá-á-ry-é</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku(ri) bá-ri-íre</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku(ri) ba-a-ri-íre</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-raa-ry-é</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú ba-ri-ry-á *ku(ri)</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ‘whenever they eat and leave’
- ‘whenever they are eating and (then) leave’
- ‘if they are eating and (then) leaving’
- ‘if they are still eating and leaving’
- ‘if only they were eating and leaving’
- ‘if they have already eaten and left’
- ‘if they have ever eaten and left’
- ‘if they had already eaten and left’
- ‘if they had ever eaten and left’
- ‘if they ate and left’
- ‘if they ate and left’
- ‘if they ate and left’
- ‘if they had eaten and left’
- ‘if they had eaten and left’
- ‘if they had eaten and left’
- ‘if they (will) eat and leave’
- ‘if they will eat and leave’
As seen, we have distinguished progressive and habitual counterfactual forms (ProgC, PrstC) as well as anterior past P1A-P3A (which can also be counterfactual). Many of the conditional clauses require the use of the auxiliary verb /-bá-/ ‘be’, either in the habitual, where /-ba-a/ is realized ba, or with -raa- in the F1, where /-ba-e/ is realized -b-e. What is striking is that the less marked Prog, Prst, and P1-P3 require the use of the auxiliary /-bá-/ ‘be’ vs. the more marked counterfactual and anterior, which do not.  

As an example, persitentive kú ba-raa-b-e ni-ba-ki-ry-á literally means ‘if they will be they are still eating’.

Turning to the consecutive forms, all of the TAMs can be followed by the default affirmative consecutive SP-ka-B-a. While this may follow from the fact that the conditional set-ups are all non-main clauses, hence similar to relative clauses, SP-ka-B-a is also used when the above P1A-P3A forms introduced by ku or kuri occur independently as an anterior deontic. Thus, kuri bá-ri-ire ba-ka-gyend-a can mean either ‘if they had eaten and left’ or ‘they should have eaten and left’ (P2). As also seen, SP-á-B-a can alternatively be used, but only after the habitual, F1 and F2 conditionals. This is quite surprising since SP-á-B-a is a past form. As was seen above, when used as a sequential consecutive it is normally set up by MCA P1-P3. It is also clear that the above SP-á-B-a forms do not represent the anterior past, since HTD has not applied on the preceding verb form. In this latter case the outputs would have been kú ba-raa-ry-e bá-á-gyend-a (F1) and kú ba-ri-ry-a bá-á-gyenda (F2) ‘if they will eat after leaving’, where the H tone of the verb stem is deleted. Concerning the difference between the two forms after the habitual, habitual-progressive, F1, and F2, DN suggests translating SP-ka-B-a as ‘if we eat and then leave’ and SP-á-B-a as a more closely connected ‘if we eat and leave’. Perhaps SP-á-B-a suggests a shorter interval between the two actions as we saw in its relation to SP-á-B-ire marking anterior action in §2.3.

Up to now we have only considered affirmative modal and conditional clauses followed by affirmative consecutives. As expected, when the set up clause is negative, all affirmative consecutives must occur as default SP-ka-B-a:

25. As seen in the examples, the various conditional markers vary among kú, ku, and kuri. Although a full treatment would go well beyond the goals of this study, some of the set-up clauses can take all three markers, some only ku and kuri, and some only kú.

26. Although not shown in Table 5, it is thus less surprising that both SP-ka-B-a and SP-á-B-a can be used after past temporal clauses. Thus for ‘when they ate and left’ we can have kú ba-ry-a ba-ka-gyend-a = kú ba-ry-a bá-á-gyend-a (P1); kú ba-ri-ire ba-ka-gyend-a = kú ba-ri-íre bá-á-gyend-a (P2); kú ba-ri-íre ba-ka-gyend-a = kú ba-ri-fr-e bá-á-gyenda (P3).
### Table 6. Consecutives after conditional set-up clauses (Neg → Aff)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deont</th>
<th>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</th>
<th>ba-ka-gyend-a</th>
<th>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deont</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prog</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prst</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrstI</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PerfA</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exp</td>
<td>kú ba-raa-be ba-tá-á-ry-á</td>
<td>ba-ka-gyend-a</td>
<td>‘if they didn’t eat and leave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since we have only seen conditional clauses followed by an affirmative consecutive, it remains to be seen what happens when the consecutive is negative. As seen in Table 7, the only way a conditional set-up can be followed by a negative consecutive is with the verb /-búr-/ ‘be lacking, be lost, disappear’ followed by an infinitive. As seen in Table 7, both SP-ka-búr-a and SP-á-búr-a are possible after the same TAMs as in Table 5, while all other TAMs require SP-kabúr-a.
### Table 7. Consecutives after conditional set-up clauses (Aff $\rightarrow$ Neg)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative set-up clause</th>
<th>$\rightarrow$ Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hab</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab-Prog</td>
<td>b-aa-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prog</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prst</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrstC</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exp</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ExpA</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1A</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2A</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3A</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>ba-ka-bur-a ku-gyenda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 7. Consecutives after conditional set-up clauses (Aff $\rightarrow$ Neg)*
The above conditional clauses thus translate as ‘if they eat and they lack to leave’, ‘if they are eating and lacking to leave’, etc. The same construction with /-búr-/ ‘lack’ is required if both the conditional set-up clause and the consecutive clause are negative (‘if they don’t eat and not leave’ etc.). The correct forms can be thus extrapolated by combining the first clause in Table 6 with the second clause in Table 7.

This completes our survey of consecutive marking in Runyankore. We now briefly conclude with a few general remarks.

Conclusion

In the preceding sections we have seen that Runyankore has specific structures that distinguish sequential, simultaneous and anterior verb forms. While a comparative study is yet to be done, we have the impression that Runyankore sequential consecutive marking is more varied than in many other Bantu languages, some of which report a single prefix, e.g. ná- in Kifuliiru (Van Otterloo 2011: 419, 440) or use a conjunction (e.g. na ‘and’) with either an inflected clause or just the infinitive, as in Ekegusii bá-ří-été na ko-gend-a ‘they eat and leave’ (first author, personal notes). In many cases the descriptions are incomplete, or do not make clear if a consecutive construction can be used in all of the set-up contexts we have considered. This is the interesting issue in Runyankore: as we have seen, not only does sequential consecutive marking depend on whether the set-up is a main vs. relative and affirmative vs. negative clause, but also (in some cases) on its tense, aspect, or mood.

Documenting such differential consecutive marking as we have found in Runyankore strikes us as important for both Bantu and general linguistic reasons. Consider for example the default affirmative consecutive prefix ka-. As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, this prefix has three different functions: (i) distant past (P3) in the main clause affirmative; (ii) perfect/experiential in the negative; (iii) default affirmative consecutive (used after relative, negative, and conditional clauses). The three environments are thus non-intersecting with the three uses of ka- in complementary distribution. The examples in (50) show that all three uses of ka- coincide with the lack of a H-tone suffix:

(50) a. ba-ka-húrir-a ‘they heard’ (P3)  
    b. ti-bá-ka-húrir-a ‘they have not heard’ (Perf)  
    c. a-ba-ří-į-a ba-ka-húrir-a ‘the ones who will come and hear’ (F2)

The diachronic questions concern what the original use was of -ka- and how it changed to have three quite different functions (cf. Botne 1999, Nurse 2008: 240-246). It is for this reason that we commented on the equivalence of the different consecutive forms with marking other inflectional distinctions in the language. These are summarized in Table 8.

27. That it is the same ka- used in all three environments is even clearer in closely related Haya (Hyman 2016: 31-32).
Table 8. Non-consecutive functions of the consecutive forms

As seen, all but the default negative SP-ta-B-e structure has an exact equivalent elsewhere in the TAM system. (We have already expressed our surprise that the FV is -e.) We have placed (habitual) in parentheses because there is no exact tonal equivalent: In the MCA the habitual has the green pattern; in relative clauses it has either the yellow pattern (subject relatives) or the green pattern (non-subject relatives). It is interesting to note that three of the affirmative consecutive forms are clearly based on MCA forms, while we are unable to tell in the case of the habitual because of the above tonal problem and the perfect, which has the same segmental and tonal properties in all clause types. However, except for past tf-SP-a-B-a, the negative consecutive forms correspond to non-main-clause forms with the post-SP negative marker -ta-, either the RCN or subjunctive. Even SP-ta-B-e, which has no correspondent, is clearly non-main-clause in form. These equivalences are doubtless important for understanding the origin of the different consecutive marking in Runyankore – which would be nice to know for other languages. A comparative study of Bantu consecutives could also shed light on which of the Runyankore properties of set-up clauses correspond in other Bantu languages as well as languages outside Bantu. While we have mentioned that some Bantu languages make fewer distinctions in marking consecutives, the question is whether others may mark more – and how this compares with languages elsewhere in the world. It is hoped that this study will stimulate further studies which will shed light on these and other questions.
**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>Main Clause Affirmative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCA</td>
<td>(subject) Relative Clause Affirmative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCN</td>
<td>Main Clause Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCN</td>
<td>(subject) Relative Clause Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>subject prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>object prefix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| B            | base (which includes the root and any derivational verb “extensions”)
| Hab          | habitual |
| Prog         | progressive |
| P1-P3        | past tenses |
| Exp          | experiential (‘to have done sth. before’) |
| F1-F2        | future tenses |
| Prst         | persistive (‘to still do something’) |
| Perf         | Perfect |
| Imp          | imperative (sg.) |
| Sbjv         | subjunctive |
| Inf          | infinitive |
| +            | indicate the TAMs in which the verb undergoes a process of H tone deletion (see §1) |

**References**

Il est courant dans les langues africaines d’avoir des constructions verbales spéciales du consécutif avec (beaucoup) moins de distinctions flexionnelles que dans les propositions principales ou relatives (Welmers 1973 : 364, Longacre 1990). Au sein du bantu, Nurse (2008 : 1203) présente une brève étude des formes du consécutif, montrant que les préfixes -a- et -ka- sont répandus, mais qu’il existe des variations considérables. Dans cette étude, nous proposons une analyse complète du marquage du consécutif en runyankore, une langue bantu de l’Ouganda. Ce qui est particulièrement frappant à propos du runyankore, c’est la façon dont la morphologie verbale est différente selon que la « construction » précédente est une proposition principale ou relative et si elle est affirmative ou négative. Après un aperçu du système temporo-aspectuo-modal (TAM) et du marquage de la polarité, nous présentons les différentes formes verbales utilisées dans les consécutifs...
séquentiels ainsi que dans les propositions simultanées et antérieures. Il est démontré que celles-ci non seulement réduisent le nombre de distinctions possibles de TAM, comparativement aux propositions principales et relatives, mais diffèrent également de manière intéressante les unes des autres.