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# **Aspectual forms in Lutsotso**

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#### Abstract

This paper analyses the inflectional category of aspect in Lutsotso, a dialect of the Oluluhya macro-language. Using descriptive approach, the paper establishes that there are a number of inflectional morphemes affixed on the verb root to express, e.g. person, number, tense, aspect and mood. Among these affixes, tense and aspect categories interact largely, hence, it is difficult to study one category without referring to the other. While tense and aspect are profoundly connected in Lutsotso, this paper only identifies and describes the inflectional form of aspect. Generally, aspect in Lutsotso relates to the grammatical viewpoints such as the perfective, imperfective and iterative forms. This includes the temporal properties of situations and the situation types as well. Aspect just like other grammatical categories such as tense, mood, person, agreement and number are important in understanding the grammar of Lutsotso.

Keywords: aspect, Bantu, Lutsotso verb

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#### Public Interest Statement

Lutsotso is used as a medium of instruction in the formative stages of learning of the children who speak Lutsotso (Murasi, 2000). For this reason, it is important that aspectual forms be well mastered by learners to understand the grammar of Lutsotso.





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#### Introduction

Lutsotso is a dialect of the Oluluhya language which belongs to the Bantu, Masaba (E.32) family of the Niger Congo (Eberhard et al., 2020). The language is spoken by the Batsotso people who live in Kakamega County. Within Kakamega county, there are five areas populated by the Batsotso: Butsotso North, Butsotso South, Butsotso East, Butsotso West and Butsotso Central (where data used in this paper was collected). In the 2020 report of the Kenya National Population Census conducted in 2019, the population of Lutsotso speakers found in Kakamega County was estimated to be 162,822. Comrie (1976, p. 3) describes aspect as 'the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. This can be viewed in the present, past or future time. The paper presents the aspectual forms in Lutsotso as follows: Imperfective (Progressive), Perfective, Habitual and the Iterative.

# The perfective aspect

The perfective aspect of a verb expresses an action or event denoted by the verb as being completed. According to Givon (1984, p. 276), 'an event is perfective if at the time –axis it has been completed, terminated accomplished'. This aspect expresses completed situations that occur in the past at the time of reference. It views situations as whole and not as distinct parts that form a situation. In the perfective aspect, the situation is viewed in its entirety independent of tense (Payne 1997; Barasa, 2015). The perfective marker in Lutsotso is -re or -je. In addition to the perfective markers, for the perfective in the past, the prefix li- affixed on the verb stem is used to mark the past tense.

```
1(a) nda-li-ne-nzi-re
1SG-PST-AGR-go-PRF
'I had gone'
(b) wa-li-nc-tsi-re
2SG-PST-AGR-go-PRF
'You had gone'
(c) ɔmu-xana ja-li-ni-jɔsi-
```

(c) ɔmu-xana ja-li-ni-jɔsi-je eʃikɔmβe SG-girl 3SG-PST-AGR-wash-PRF cup 'The girl had washed the cup'

(d) xɔtsa ja-li-na-kusi-je likɔndi uncle 3SG-PST-AGR-sell-PRF sheep 'Uncle had sold the sheep'

The morphemes -re and -je are bound morphemes in complementary distribution. According to (Fromkin, 2013), complementary distribution entails a relationship between two separate elements of the same kind, one of which is contained in one set of environments and the other in a non-intersecting (complementary) set of environments. The occurrence of -re and -je is both syntactically and morphologically determined. They are syntactically determined due to the aspect of past tense on the VP, and morphologically determined

by the form of the main verb although it is not clear under which conditions. An analysis on VPs on Oluluhya languages seem not to establish specific morphological factors which determine the choice between the variants. This observation is in tandem with (Appleby, 1961; Angogo, 1983) who also report that an overview of VPs in Oluluhya languages does not appear to reveal any clear morphological factors that influence the choice between re and -je. Like the perfective aspect in the past tense, the suffixes -re or -je express the perfective aspect as illustrated in (2). The prefix re- is used to mark the present tense.

```
2 (a) e-nzi-re-ingo

1SG:PRS-go-PRF-home

'I have gone home'

(b) mama a-kasi-je ingara

mother 3SG:PRS-make-PRF ring

'Mother has made a ring'
```

The suffixes -re in (2a) and -je in (2b) are bound morphemes in complementary distribution which express perfective aspect. The perfective aspect in the future tense is expressed by use of the tense marker la- prefixed to the verb stem and the suffix -re or -je for aspect. The sentences in example (3) below illustrates the perfective aspect in the future tense in Lutsotso.

```
3 (a) aβa-ana
                   βa-la-βa-βa-tsi-re
                                        Ċį
3PL-children 3PL-FUT-AuxV-SM-go-PRF
                                        ADV
      The children will have gone there'
  (b) βa-la-βa-βa-kasi-je
                                       eβi-fumβi
                                       PL-chairs
      3PL-FUT-AuxV-SM-make-PRF
      'They will have made chairs'
  (c) a-la-βa
                        na-fwi-re
       3SG-FUT-AUXV
                         SM-die¬-PRF
       'He/she will have died'
  (d) nda-la-βa
                           ni-li-re
       1SG-FUT-AUXV
                          SM-eat¬-PRF
        'I will have eaten'
```

In example (3) above, the suffixes -re and -je occur on the VP as bound morpheme in complementary distribution. The perfective aspect in the future tense has the AuxV -ba. The AuxV -ba is prefixed with the SM and future tense morphemes la-. Imperfective Aspect (the progressive)

Imperfective aspect is a grammatical notion which indicates that an action is not complete, is in progress or developing (Payne, 1997). The major focus is in the middle phase. Within the continuing process, the end and the beginning of the process is not specified. Lutsotso has the present, past and future forms of the imperfect aspect.

Imperfective aspect in the present explains an ongoing activity within the present moment at the time of speaking (Payne, 1997). In Lutsotso, this aspect is marked by suffixes -nga or -n-Jia as bound morpheme as illustrated in (4) below:

```
4 (a) a-Ø-sɔm-a-nga
     3SG-PRS-read-FV-IPFV
     'He/she is reading'
 (b) omu-sjani
                   a-li:ts-a-nga
                                               omukate
                   3SG[PRS]-eat-FV-IPFV
    SG-boy
                                               bread
     'The boy is eating rice'
 (c) a-li:si-n<del>J</del>ia
                              omwana
     3SG[PRS]feed-IPFV
                             baby
     'He/she is feeding the baby'
 (d) βa-kasi-n<del>J</del>ia
                             eßi-mwero
     3PL[PRS]-make-IPFV PL-baskets
     'They are making baskets'
```

The markers for the imperfective aspect are -nga as in (4a and 4b) and -nJia as in (4c and 4d). The imperfective markers -nga and -nJia are in complementary distribution with their occurrence morphologically determined. The occurrence of -nga or -nJia is influenced by the environment. This is what is happening in the occurrence of -nga and -nJia in (4a), (4b), (4c) and (4d). The morpheme -nga appears where the preceding sound is the low open vowel /a/ as in (4a and 4b) while -nJia appears where the preceding sound is /i/ as in (4c and 4d) above. Imperfective aspect in the past explains an on-going process that took place in the past and continued within an unspecified time in the past (Crystal, 1997). In Lutsotso, the suffix -nga and -nJia are the imperfective morphemes with the SAM marking the past tense. Consider (5) below:

```
5 (a) ja-sɔma-nga
                             еβајіβэ
     3SG[PST]-read-IPFV
                            bible
     'He/she was reading a bible'
  (b) papa
             ja-kusi-n<del>J</del>ia
                                   emikoje
     father 3SG[PT]-sell-IPFV ropes
      'Father was selling ropes'
  (c) a\u00e3a-ana
                     βa-recheresi-n<del>J</del>ia
                                              tsingano
      3PL-children 3PL[PT]-listen-IPFV
                                              stories
      'Children listened to stories'
   (d) ja-imba-nga
                                    tsi-ninßo
       3SG[PT]song-1PFV
                                    PL-songs
        'He/She was singing songs'
```

The imperfective in the future indicates a process that will go on in the future. The future

is based on the present moment of speaking (Crystal, 1997). The imperfective future in Lutsotso uses the morphemes -nga and -n-lia together with the future time marker li- as (6a) and (6b) illustrate:

6 (a) a-li-saja-nga

3SG-FUT-pray-IPFV

'He/she will (be) praying'

(b) aβa-xa:na βa-li-ɔsi-nɨjia tsisiɔngɔ

PL-girl 3PL-FUT-wash-IPFV pots

'The girls will be washing pots'

(c) m-li-texa-nga amapwoni

2PL-FUT-cook-1PFV potatoes

'You will be cooking potatoes'

(d) βa-xa-kusi-nJie tsi-ngɔxɔ

3PL-INTFUT-sell-IPFV PL-chicken

'They will be selling chicken'

## **Habitual**

According to Crystal (1997), habitual aspect indicates a regular occurrence of a situation either in the past, present or future. In this case, the situation or act takes place over a stretch of time. Crystal defines habitual as a situation in which an action is viewed as lasting for an extended period of time. In this regard, it is not considered as an accident but a characteristic feature of a whole period. The habitual Aspect functions to indicate that an action is a habit (that it takes place repeatedly or always). Apart from marking the daily present, the habitual marker is also used to mark past and future habitual. The habitual marker in Lutsotso is -nga/nge.

Habitual in the present according to Crystal (ibid), indicates a situation which occurs over an extended period of time in the present. The habitual present in Lutsotso is marked by the morpheme -nga, a habitual marker, together with the zero morpheme marking for present tense. The immediate past is marked by the morpheme -xa while the present is marked by the zero morpheme. The habitual present is indicated in (7a) and (7b) below:

7 (a) a-Ø-kon-a-nga

3SG-PRS-sleep-FV-HB

'He/she sleeps' (always)

(b) li-pu:si li-Ø-nJwets-a-nga amaβe:le

SM-cat SM-PRS-drink-FV-HB milk

'The cat drinks milk'

(c) ɔmwa-na a-nun-a-nga

SM-baby 3SG-suckle-FV-HB

'Baby suckles'

(d) βa-nwets-a-nga amalua

3SG-drink-FV-HB wine 'They drink wine'

The habitual past indicates situations that took place in the past regularly (Comrie, 1976, Barasa, 2015). The situation indicated took place over an extended period of time. The habitual marker -ang/-eng/-nJe (with -xa marking the immediate past tense) is used in Lutsotso to indicate habitual past. See (8) below for illustration:

8 (a) aβa-ana βa-xa-kɔn-a-nga

3PL-child 3PL-IM.PT-sleep-FV-HB

'The children have always slept'

(b) βa-tsile-nge mukanisa ɔmwaka kwali 3PL[RPT]-go-HB church year last

'They used to go to church last year'

(c) ja-longa-nga tsisiongo

3SG[RPT]-model-HB pots

'He/she used to model pots'

The habitual marker -nga/-nge/-nłe is suffixed on the verb as illustrated in the above examples (with -xa marking the immediate past tense) to indicate habitual past. On the other hand, the habitual future is used to indicate events that are expected to take place regularly in the future. The habitual occurrence is marked by the morpheme -nga/nge/nłe which indicates that the situation is a habit together with the future tense marker as 9 illustrates:

9 (a) aβa-ana na-βa-sɔme-nge

PL-children N.FUT-3SG-read-HB

'The children will be reading' (near future)

(b) βa-li-lima-nga omukunda

3PL-R.FUT-dig-HB farm 'They will dig far' (remote future)

(c) aβa-sɔmi na-βa-xɔle-nժe amareβɔ

PL-learners N.FUT-do-HB examinations

'Learners will be doing examinations' (near future)

Notably, the habitual aspect in Lutsotso is marked by -nga/-nge/-nJe which are suffixed on the verb as shown in (9a), (9b) and (9c) above. The habitual marker -nga/nge is used with both the present tense, future and past form of the verb to express the habitual nature of the action. The habitual marker -nJe is used to indicate that the activity will be done regularly.

# 6. Iterative Aspect (Frequentive)

Iterative aspect indicates situations that are repeated or are done over and over again (Comrie 1976). The events or situations repeated occur one after the other. In Lutsotso, the repeated situation is indicated by complete reduplication of the verb. The repeated situation may take place both in the present, past and the future. The iterative aspect (frequentive) is formed by reduplication of the verb. Time adverbials may also be used alongside the iterative aspect frequentive. The following examples (10), (11), and (12) indicate the Iterative aspect in the present, past and future (frequentive):

```
10 (a) ɔmu-xana aØ-tʃing-a-tʃing-a-nga ɔmwana βulanɔ
SG-girl 3SG-PRS-carry-FV-carry-FV-IMP baby /ACC now
'Girl is carrying the baby repeatedly now.'
```

- (b) a-Ø-kɔn-a-kɔn-a βuliſise 3SG-PRS-sleep-FV-sleep-FV every time 'He/ she sleeps every time repeatedly.'
- (c) βa-Ø-rem-a-rem-a emisa:la βulano 3PL-PRS-cut-FV-cut-FV trees/ACC now 'They are cutting trees repeatedly now'

The iterative aspect in the past is illustrated in sentence (11).

```
11 (a) ɔmu-xana ja-tʃing-a-tʃing-a ɔmwana ɔmwaka kwali 3SG-girl 3SG[PST]-carry-FV-carry-FV baby last year 'Girl carried the baby repeatedly last year.'
```

- (b) ja-kɔn-a-kɔn-a inanga jali 3SG[PST]-sleep-FV-sleep-FV day previous 'He/she slept repeatedly the previous day'
- (c) βa-rem-a-rem-a emisa:la omwaka kwali 3PL[PST]-cut-FV-cut-FV trees year previous 'They cut trees repeatedly the previous year'

The examples above demonstrate that the past is marked on the SAM and the present by a zero morpheme alongside the time adverbials. Reduplication occurs in both the past and present forms to show iterative aspect. Lutsotso uses the iterative aspect in the future to indicate events that are expected to take place several times in the future. Just like the past and present, the iterative aspect in the future is marked through reduplication of the verb in the verbal form that express a repeated situation. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the iterative aspect in the immediate, near and remote (distant) future.

```
12 (a) aβa-siani βa-la-rem-a-rem-a emi–sa:la inanga.jino 3PL-boy 3PL-IM.FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV SM-trees today 'Boys will cut trees repeatedly today' (immediate)
```

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```
(b) aβa-siani na βa-rem-e-rem-e emi-sa:la 3PL-boy N.FUT 3PL-cut-FV-cut-FV PL-tree 'Boys will cut trees repeatedly' (near)
(c) aβa-siani βa-li-rem-a-rem-a emi-sa:la 3PL-boy SM-R.FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV PL-tree 'Boys will cut trees repeatedly' (distant)
```

In examples above, the iterative aspect in the future is marked through reduplication of the verbs -rema and -reme in the verbal form. The examples illustrate the occurrence of the iterative aspect in the immediate, near and remote (distant) future.

# **Co-occurrence of Aspects**

This section discusses a combination of the iterative aspect with the habitual, perfective and imperfective aspect in Lutsotso.

## **Iterative and Habitual Aspect in the Present**

The iterative and habitual aspect in the present explains a situation within the present moment. The habitual marker –nga/-nge/-nJe with a zero morpheme marks the present habitual. The reduplication of the verb marks the combination of the iterative and habitual aspect as (13a) and (13b) illustrates.

```
13 (a) a-Ø-sɔm-a-sɔm-a-nga eβajiβɔ
3SG-PRS-read-FV-read-FV-HB bible
'He/she reads a bible repeatedly.'
(b) a-Ø-tsex-a-tsex-a-nga
3SG-PRS-laugh-FV-laugh-FV-HB
'He/she laughs repeatedly.'
(c) βa-Ø-lil-a-lil-a-nga
3SG-PRS-cry-FV-Cry-FV-HB
```

With the zero-morpheme marking the present, the habitual marker –nga is suffixed on the verb root –soma–, –tsexa– and –lila– which are reduplicated to capture the combination of the iterative and habitual aspect.

## **Iterative and Habitual Aspects in the Past**

'He/she cries repeatedly'.

The combination of the iterative and habitual aspects in the past with the immediate past marked by the prefix /-xa-/ and remote (distant) past tense marked by /-ja-/ or / $\beta$ a-/ to indicate the iterative and habitual aspect in the past. The habitual marker is -nga/-nge/-nJe while the iterative marker involves the reduplication of the verb root as (14) illustrates:

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14 (a) aβa-xa:na βa-xa-hɔm-a-hɔm-a-nga i-nzu

SG-girl/NOM 3PL-IMPST-smear-FV-smear-FV-HB SG-house/ACC

'Girls used to smear the house frequently' (immediate past)
(b) aβa-xa:na βa-hɔm-a-hɔm-a-nga i-nzu

3PL-girl/NOM 3PL[RPST]-smear-smear-HB SG-house/ACC

'Girls used to smear the house repeatedly' (remote past)

In the above examples, the iterative and habitual aspects in the past combine with the immediate past marked by the prefix [-xa-] and remote (distant) past tense marked by [-ja-] or [ $\beta$ a-] to indicate the iterative and habitual aspect in the past. The habitual marker is -nga/-nge/-n $\beta$ e while the iterative marker involves the reduplication of the verb root -homa-.

# **Iterative and Habitual Aspect in the Future**

In explaining the combination of the iterative and habitual aspect in the future, there is reduplication of the verb root to mark the iterative form. The habitual marker in Lutsotso is -nga/-nge.

3SG-IM.FUT-beat-FV-beat-FV-HB SG-child

'He/she will beat the child repeatedly'

(b) na-βa-xup-a-xup-e-nJe omwa-na NFT-3PL-beat-FV-beat-FV-HB SG-child

'They will beat the child repeatedly'

(c) βa-lixup-a-xup-a-nga omwa-na 3PL-R.FUT-beat-FV-beat-FV-HB SG-child

'They will beat the child frequently'

The reduplication of the verb root marks the iterative, tense is marked by future tense markers while the habitual aspect is marked by -nga/nge.

# Co-occurrence of the Iterative and the Perfective Aspect

The combination of the iterative and the perfective can be expressed in the present, past and future tenses. Verb reduplication and the suffixes -re-/ -je-/ -ja-/ -ra- mark the combination of the iterative and perfective aspect. The Iterative aspect and the perfective aspect indicate completed action in the past that was done repeatedly. The combination of the iterative and perfective aspect is marked by verb reduplication and the suffixes -re-/-je-/-ja-/-ra-. This combination occurs in the immediate, near (recent) and remote (distant) past distinctions as illustrated in (16) below:

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```
16 (a) aβa-siani
                                              emisa:la
                   βa-rem-e-rem-e-re
       SM-boy
                   3PL-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF
                                              trees
      'The boys have cut trees repeatedly' (immediate past)
   (b) aβa-siani
                   βa-li-βa-rem-e-rem
                                                           emisa:la
      PL-boys
                   3PL-AuxV-SM-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF
                                                           trees
      'The boys had cut trees repeatedly' (near past)
   (c) βa-kusia-kus-i-ja
                                                                        kwali
                                              eβitaβu
                                                           omwaka
       3PL-sold-FV-sold-FV-PRF books
                                              last
                                                           year
      'They sold books frequently' (remote/distant past)
    (d) ja-tsex-a-tsex-e-re
       3SG-laugh-FV-laugh-FV-PRF
```

The reduplication of the Lutsotso verb (16a, b, c and d) indicates iterative aspect. Past tense is marked by the subject marker, while the perfective aspect is marked by 're' as indicated in (16a, b and d), and 'ja' in (16c). The variants of the perfective aspect markers are dependent on the morpho-structural form of the verb which is outside the scope of this paper.

# Co-occurrence of iterative and perfective aspect in the future

'He/she laughed repeatedly' (remote past)

The combined iterative and perfective aspect in the future is marked by reduplication of the verb. The suffix -ra, or -re further marks the perfective aspect. This combination of iterative and perfective in the future indicates a completed action that repeatedly takes place in the future. The co-occurrence matches the perfective aspect, the future tense form and the iterative. Examples in (17) illustrate the co-occurrence of the iterative and perfective in immediate future, near future, intermediate future and remote future using the verb rem—a 'cut'.

```
17 (a) a-la-rem-a-rem-e-ra
                                              omusa:la
                                    mama
      3SG-FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF mother
      'He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently' (immediate future)
   (b) aβa-siani
                   na-βa-rem-a-rem-e-re
                                              mama
                                                           omusa:la
                   FUT-3PL-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF mother
      SM-boys
      'Boys will cut a tree for mother frequently' (near future)
   (c) ja-xa-rem-a-rem-e-re
                                       mama
                                                    omusa:la
      3SG-FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF
                                       mother
                                                    tree
      'He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently' (intermediate future)
   (d) a-li-rem-a-rem-e-ra
                                       mama
                                                    omusa:la
       3SG-FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF
                                       mother
                                                    tree
      'He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently' (remote future)
```

There is co-occurrence of iterative and perfective in immediate future example (17a). In

these instances, the future tense marker is -la while the perfective marker is -ra. Example (17b) is the cooccurrence iterative and perfective in the near future and the future tense marker is na- and the perfective marker is -re. As illustrated in (17c) the co-occurrence of iterative and perfective in intermediate future and the future tense marker here is -xa- and perfective marker is -re. In (17d) is the cooccurrence of iterative and perfective in remote future where the future tense marker is -li- and the perfective marker is -ra. In all the cases above, verb reduplication marks the iterative.

# Co-occurrence of the iterative and the imperfective Aspect

The combination of the iterative and the imperfective can be expressed in the present, past and future tenses. The iterative and the imperfective in the present is marked by verb reduplication for the iterative aspect, and the morpheme -nga and -n-jia for imperfective aspect with a zero-morpheme marking the present time. This is exemplified in (18) below:

```
18 (a) a-βaj-a-βaj-a-nga omupira
3SG-play-FV-play-FV-IPFV ball
'He/she is playing ball repeatedly'
(b) βa-tex-a-tex-a-nga amapwoni
3PL-cook-FV-cook-FV-IPFV-FV potatoes
'They are cooking potatoes repeatedly'
```

In the above examples, the iterative and imperfective aspect in the present are formed by the present tense marked by a zero morpheme and the verbs - $\beta$ aya- and -texa- reduplicated to mark the iterative. The morpheme -nga which is an imperfective aspect marker is suffixed on the verb.

The imperfective morpheme -nga/-nge/-nJe- with the SAM marking the past combines with the iterative which is formed by the reduplication of the verb root to mark the iterative and the imperfective in the past. This is exemplified in (19) below:

```
19 (a) ja-xa-lɔl-a-lɔl-a-nga eβiʃienɔ
3SG-IPT-see-FV-see-FV-IPFV ghosts
'He/she has been seeing devils repeatedly' (immediate past)
(b) ja-lɔl-a-lɔlil-e-nժe eβiʃienɔ
3SG-see-FV-see-FV-IPFV ghosts
'He/she was seeing ghosts repeatedly' (near past)
(c) βa-lɔl-a-lɔ-la-nga eβiʃienɔ
3PL-see-FV-see-FV-IPFV ghosts
'They were seeing ghosts repeatedly' (remote past)
```

Example (19a) illustrates a combination of iterative and imperfective in the immediate past, (19b) shows the near past while (19c) shows the same combination in remote past (Distant past). The iterative and the imperfective in the future are marked by a combination

of the future marker, verb reduplication for iterative aspect and the imperfective marker nga/-nJia/-nJe. This can be illustrated in (20) below:

20 (a) mama a-la-ʃin-a-ʃin-a-nga

mother 3SG-IMF-dance-FV-dance-FV-IPFV 'Mother will be dancing repeatedly' (immediate future)

(b) aβa-ndu na-βa-ſin-a-ſin-e-n<del>J</del>e

PL-person N.FUT-AuxV-dance-FV-dance-FV-IPFV 'People will be dancing repeatedly' (near future)

(c) βa-li-ſin-a-ſin-a-nga

3PL-RFUT-dance-FV-dance-FV-IPFV

'They will be dancing repeatedly' (remote future)

The sentences in (20a), (20b) and (20c) illustrate the co-occurrence of the iterative and the imperfective aspects in the immediate, near and remote future, respectively.

#### Conclusion

This paper has discussed the aspectual categories in Lutsotso. The aspects that have been discussed include the perfective, imperfective, habitual and iterative. The discussion has revealed that the perfectives and the imperfectives are morphologically marked. The imperfective is marked by the morpheme -nga/-nJia while the perfective is marked by the morpheme -re/-je. The analysis in this paper has also revealed that habitual in Lutsotso is marked by the morpheme -nga/-nge. The iterative is marked by reduplication of the verb root. The iterative can co-occur with the habitual, iterative perfective and imperfective aspects.

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