〈特集「アスペクト」〉

ベンバ語のアスペクト*
Aspect in Bemba (Bantu M42)

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要旨：本稿は，語研論集 15 号 (2010) 所収の調査票にもとづいて収集したベンバ語 (バントゥ系；ザンビア・コッパーベルト州) のアスペクト表現に関する記述的資料を提供するものである．

Abstract: This article provides descriptive data on various aspect forms in Bemba, a Bantu language spoken in Copperbelt province in Zambia, collected through the questionnaire "Aspect" designed in *Journal of the Institute of Language Research* 15, 2010.

Keywords: Bemba, Bantu, aspect

2-1 ～さん（固有名詞）は／あの人は もう来た。
［自動詞の不完結相。まだ~しない、もう~した、はもっとも基本的な対立で、動詞における表示でテンスのない言語はあっても、この対立のない言語はない（!?）という］

a) *Búpe nááísa (kále)*

bupe	naa=a-is-a	kale
Bupe	PRS.PERF=SM₁-come-FV	already

    'Bupe has already come.'

As illustrated in (2-1-a), the aspectual concept of perfect can be expressed by the verbal proclitic *náa=*. The adverbial *kale* can be used to explicitly express the completion of the event. The same construction can be used with different types of verbs including non-volitional verbs (2-1-c).

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* All examples are provided in a four-line format. The first line is a modified orthographic description with surface vowel length and tone marking added. This means that these additional annotations may be inconsistent and should not be regarded as phonological representations. The second line provides a morphological description with a gloss of each morpheme given in the third line. The fourth line shows the English translation of each sentence.

b) *Ulyá úmúntú nááísa (kále)*

u-lya   u-muntu   naa=a-is-a   kale

PPx$_1$-DEM.D   aug-1.person   PRS.PERF=SM$_1$-come-FV already

'That person has already come.'

c) *Búpe náabuuka (kále)*

bupe   naa=a-buuk-a   kale

Bupe   PRS.PERF=SM$_1$-wake_up-FV   already

'Bupe has already woken up.'

2-2 ～さん（固有名詞）は／あの人は もう来ている。
[上の(2-1)と同じ表現になる言語は、その旨のみ記していただければけっこうです。]

  a)*Búpe nááísa (kále)* [=(2-1-a)]

The proclitic *náa=* implies the connotation of 'resultant state', i.e., the same morphological form can be used for both aspectual categories, i.e., 'anteriority' as shown in 2-1 and 'stativity' as in 2-2.

2-3 ～さん（固有名詞）は／あの人は まだ来ていない。
［自動詞の完結相。主語が不要な言語では主語の部分は無くともよいです。移動動詞ではアスペクトの例文を得るのに不都合がある言語では、他の動詞でもよいです。「起きる」、「乗る」などの例文が考えられます（ただ「起きる」だと制御不能の動詞となる言語もあるでしょうし、「乗る」だと場所の名詞項が必要になるかもしれません）。(2-1)〜(2-7)はなるべく同じ動詞で統一されていることが望ましいです。ただやむを得ない場合は、(2-1)〜(2-4)と(2-5)〜(2-7)が別の動詞になったりしてもかまいません。]

a) *Búpe talaísa*

bupe   ta-a-laa-is-a

Bupe   NEG-SM$_1$-TA-come-FV

'Bupe hasn't come yet.'

b) *Búpe talaabúuka*

bupe   ta-a-laa-buuk-a

Bupe   NEG-SM$_1$-TA-wake_up-FV

'Bupe hasn't woken up yet.'

The negation of the finite main verb is achieved through the prefix *ta-*, which precedes the subject marker, except for the 1st person singular subject which has a designated negative subject marker, *shi-*.

2-4　〜さん（固有名詞）は／あの人は まだ来ない。
[上の(2-3)と同じ表現になる言語は、その旨のみ記していただければけっこうです。上の(2-3)とは意志性などに関して対立を示す言語の場合には、それについて教えて下さい。]

a)　*Búpe talaísa* [=(2-3-a)]

Morphosyntactic distinction between 2-3 and 2-4 in this language has not been identified.

2-5　〜さん（固有名詞）は／あの人は もう（すぐ）来る。
［中国語など、このようなケースで一種の完結相（モダリティかもしれないが）を使える言語がある。］

a)　*Búpe alaaísa (nómbalíne)*

　　bupe　　a-alaa-is-a　　　　　nombaline
　　Bupe　　SM₁-FUT-come-FV　soon
　　'Bupe will come soon.'

b)　*Búpe aláabúuka (nómbalíne)*

　　bupe　　a-alaa-buuk-a　　　　nombaline
　　Bupe　　SM₁-FUT-wake_up-FV　soon
　　'Bupe will wake up soon.'

Near future is marked by the TAM marker *aláa-*, which is contrastive with the present progressive form *aléebuuka*, with the TA prefix *lée-*, as well as with the present habitual *álabuuka* with the TA prefix *la-* (for further description, see 2-13).

2-6　（あ！）〜さんが来た！［その人が来るのに気づいた場面での発話］
［いわゆる日本語学でいう「発見のタ」。このようなケースで「過去形」が使える言語は少なくともアジアにはいくつかある、できれば来ることを予想していた場合と予想していなかった場合の両方が聞けるとよい。］

a)　*A! Búpe aisa!*

　　a　　　　bupe　　a-Ø-is-a
　　INTERJ　Bupe　　SM₁-CJ.PRS-come-FV
　　'Oh! Bupe has come.'

b)　*A! Búpe abúuka!*

　　a　　　　bupe　　a-Ø-buuk-a
　　INTERJ　Bupe　　SM₁-CJ.PRS-wake_up-FV
　　'Oh! Bupe has woken up.'

It should be pointed out that this type of presentational sentences, where focus is not assigned on a specific constituent,

can be expressed by a conjoint present form. In Bemba, the conjoint form of the present tense is marked by Ø- (cf. Nurse 2008). Conjoint (CJ) is generally defined as a verb form, which does not take a post-verbal element to which a constituent focus may be assigned.

2-7　昨日〜さんが来たよ。
　〔(2-1)の例文と対比するのに、単純な過去形の例が必要なため。「起きる」などの動詞を使った場合には「さっき〜さんは起きたよ」のように副詞等を若干変えてもかまいません。〕

a)　*Búpe áálíísa mailo*

　　bupe　　a-alii-is-a　　　　　　mailo

　　Bupe　　SM$_1$-PST.R-come-FV　　the_day_before/after

　　'Bupe came yesterday.'

b)　*Búpe áálíibúuka mailo*

　　bupe　　a-alii-buk-a　　　　　mailo

　　Bupe　　SM$_1$-PST.R-wake_up-FV　the_day_before/after

　　'Bupe woke up yesterday.'

According to Nurse (2008), four contrastive simple past forms can be distinguished in the TA system of Bemba. These sentences are in the simple past tense marked by the TA prefix *alíi-*, which is contrastive with the prefix *ácí-* that indicates more recent past.

2-8　昨日〜さんは来なかったよ。
　〔まだ来ていない、との対比。否定を示す要素において、アスペクトの違いが現れる言語（中国語など）があるため。日本語でも(2-1)との対比で問題となる文である。〕

a)　*Búpe talaísa* [=(2-3-a)]

　　bupe　　ta-a-laa-is-a

　　Búpe　　NEG-SM$_1$-TA-come-FV

　　'Bupe hasn't come yet.'

The same TA form observed in (2-3-a) is used in this context. The negation of an expectation can be expressed in the near past tense marked by the prefix *ácí-* as illustrated in (2-8-b).

b)　*Búpe tácíísa*

　　bupe　　ta-a-aci-is-a

　　Bupe　　NEG-SM$_1$-PST.N-come-FV

　　'S/he (probably was expected to but) didn't come.'

2-9　（私は）あのリンゴをもう食べた。
〔自動詞／他動詞の別で完結相／未完結相が異なってくる言語があるため。こちらは他動詞の例。「リンゴ」の部分は別の名詞でもけっこうです。不規則動詞である、とか文化的な理由がある、などの理由で「食べる」という動詞では例文が採りづらい言語の場合には、「本を読む」などでもけっこうです。その際には、(2-10)、(2-11)も同じ動詞で統一して下さい。〕完了形などに限って能格型になる言語があります（ヒンディーなど）。行為者を明示することができない言語もあると思いますが、その場合行為者は無くてけっこうです。〕

a)　*Níndya (kále) ubo ubwali*

　　N-N-li-a　　　　　kale　　　ubo　　　u-bu-ali
　　SM1SG-ANT-eat-FV　already　　DEM.HP14　AUG-14-nshima
　　'I have already eaten that nshima.'

In this sentence, the aspectual perfect, or probably more precisely 'anteriority', seems to be expressed by the TA prefix *N-*, which is semantically contrastive with the clitic *náa=*.

2-10　私はあのリンゴをまだ食べていない。／私はあのリンゴをまだ食べない。
〔他動詞の未完結相の否定の場合です。スラッシュの前後で表現が変わってくる言語の場合は、それについても教えて下さい。〕

a)　*Nshilaalyá ubo ubwali*

　　Nshi-laa-li-a　　　　　ubo　　　u-bu-ali
　　SM1SG.NEG-TA-eat-FV　DEM.HP14　AUG-14-nshima
　　'I haven't yet eaten that nshima.'

While it is confirmed that there is a functional contrast between *N-* and *náa=*, both of which must be associated with aspectual perfect, the distinction seems to be neutralized in the context of negation which is marked by *laa-* in both cases (cf. 2-3).

2-11　あの人は今（ちょうど）そのリンゴを食べています／食べているところです。
〔進行形はあるか？　現在形と同じか？　基本的に単に現在形で示すが、もしさらに現在進行であることを明示する形式がある場合には、ぜひその例もあげてください。日本語の「（〜て）いる」のように補助動詞を使う場合にはその動詞の元の意味（単独で使った場合の意味）も教えて下さい。〕

a)　*Ulya umuntu aléelya ubwali ubo*

　　ulya　　u-muntu　　　a-lee-li-a　　　　u-bu-ali　　　　　ubo
　　DEM.D1　AUG-1.person　SM1-PROG-eat-FV　AUG-14-nshima　　DEM.HP14
　　'That person is eating that nshima.'

Progressive is expressed by the TA prefix *lée-*, which is morphologically differentiated from the present tense marker, which is *Ø-* in CJ forms and *la-* in disjoint (DJ) forms.

2-12　窓が開いている／窓が開いていた。
［限界動詞による結果状態の継続。進行形がある言語では、進行形と同じか？　「窓が開けてある」のような、行為者の存在を含意した構文がさらに別にあれば、それについてもぜひ記してください。］

a)　*Iciíbí　　　náaciísuka*
　　i-ci-ibi　　　naa=ci-i-suk-a
　　AUG-7-door　　PRS.PERF=SM7-TA-be_open-FV
　　'The door is open.'

The aspectual resultant state can morphologically be expressed by the verbal proclitic *náa=*, tentatively labeled as present perfect, which is contrastive with the (present) progressive form marked by the TA prefix *lée-* (cf. 2-11-a). It is also to be noted that there seems to be an additional vowel prefix, which may be identified as *i-* based on the following example, inserted in the preverbal TAM slot. The function, however, is still unclear.

b)　*Akánwá náakeésuka*
　　a-ka-nwa　　　naa=ka-i-suk-a
　　AUG-12-mouth PRS.PERF=SM12-TA-be_open-FV
　　'The mouth is open.'

2-13　私は毎朝新聞を読む／読んでいる。
［習慣を示すアスペクト的形式。もし新聞やそれを読むことが一般的でない言語や文化などの場合、「散歩をする」とか「水汲みに行く」などでもよい。］

a)　*Ndabelenga ícítábó (lyónsé) úlúceélo*
　　N-la-beleng-a　　　　i-ci-tabo　　　lyonse　　　u-lu-celo
　　SM1SG-DJ.PRS-read-FV　AUG-7-book　　every　　　AUG-11-morning
　　'I read a book every morning.'

b)　*Ndatapa áménshi (lyónsé) úlúceélo*
　　N-la-tap-a　　　　　a-ma-inshi　　lyonse　　u-lu-celo
　　SM1SG-DJ.PRS-fetch-FV　AUG-6-water　every　　AUG-11-morning
　　'I fetch water every morning.'

Habitual aspect can be expressed by DJ present marker *la-* as in the above examples (see also Kula 2017). More precisely, present habitual seems to be part of the semantic area that can be encoded by the TA marker *la-* and the morphosyntactic template of DJ in this language. Note, however, that DJ in Bemba does not always follow the general restriction that it should not be followed by any post verbal constituent.

2-14　あなたは（あなたの）お母さんに似ている。
［現在形や進行形が使えるか？　朝鮮語などでは過去形になる。この文では形容詞や分詞、名詞による表現になってしまって、動詞のアスペクトに関する例文が得られない、という言語の場合、「彼女は結婚している」などの文でもよい。それでも動詞によるアスペクト的な形式が得られない言語の場合、その形容詞や分詞、名詞による表現を書いていただければありがたいです（その事実も貴重なので）。］

a)　*Walípálá báamayó bóobe*

    u-ali-pal-a　　　　　　　　　ba-mayo　ba-obe

    SM2SG-PRS.STAT-look_like-FV 2-mother　2-POSS.2SG

    'You look like your mother.'

b)　*Áalyuupwa*

    a-ali-up-w-a

    SM1-PRS.STAT-marry-PASS-FV

    'She is married.'

The TA marker *alí-*, which tonally and segmentally contrasts with the remote past marker *alíi-*, is used to express the stative aspect in the present tense.

2-15　私はその頃毎日学校に通っていた。
［英語の used to のような形があるか。］

a)　*Nalééyá kusukúlu cíla bushiku*

    N-alee-i-a　　　　　　　　ku-sukulu cila　　bu-shiku

    SM1SG-HAB.PST-go_towards-FV　17-school every　14-day

    'I used to go to school every day.'

Habitual past is seemingly expressed by the prefixal form *aléé-*, which might be decomposed into multiple morphemes.

2-16　私は〜に（大きな街の名前など）行ったことがある。
［経験について。進行形のある言語では、ここでそれが使えるかも訊きたい。］

a)　*Nalíyápo ku Lusaka*

    N-ali-i-a=po　　　　　　　　　　　　　ku-lusaka

    SM1SG-PRS.STAT-go_towards-FV=ENCL16　17-Lusaka

    'I have been to Lusaka before.'

Experience (of visiting a place) can be expressed by the present stative form of the verb 'go_towards' with the locative

class 16 enclitic *=po*, which can also be used with different types of verbs to express aspectual/modal concept of 'experience'.

b)   N-ali-mona=po

    SM₁SG-PRS.STAT-see=ENCL₁₆

    'I've seen before.'

Along with the class 17 enclitic *=ko*, these locative clitics show a wide range of functionality, which is partly shown in the following examples.

2-17　やっとバスは走り出した／走り始めた。

［開始的なアスペクト表現。］

a)   *Básu yambá ukwenda*

    basu   i-Ø-amb-a   u-ku-end-a

    9.bus   SM₉-CJ.PRS-start-FV   AUG-INF-go_away-FV

    'The bus has started to move.

Inchoative aspect can be expressed through the unmarked CJ form of the verb *-amba* 'start', which is used as an auxiliary verb followed by an infinitive verb.

2-18　昨日彼女はずっと寝ていた。

［長時間の継続。

a)   *Mailo áaleeléefye*

    mailo   a-a-lal-ile   fye

    the_day_before/after   SM₁-PST-sleep-STAT   just

    'She just slept all day yesterday.'

Aspectual stativity in the past tense can be expressed by the suffix *-ile*, which may tentatively be labeled as a stative marker. Aspectual duration in the past can also be expressed by the past progressive form which is marked by the prefixal form *alee-*, which may be decomposed into *a-* (Past of imperfective?) followed by *lée-* (Progressive).

b)   *Mailo aáléeláláfye*

    mailo   a-a-lee-lal-a   fye

    the_day_before/after   SM₁-PST-PROG-sleep-FV   just

    'She was just sleeping all day yesterday.'

2-19　私はそれをちょっと食べてみた。

［試行的なアスペクト表現。］

a) *Nalíéshá úkulyáko íco*

N-alii-esh-a   u-ku-li-a=ko   ico

SM₁SG-PST.R-try-FV   AUG-INF-eat-FV=ENCL₁₇ DEM.HA₇

'I tried to eat that.'

In (2-19-a) the locative enclitic *=ko* seems to express an adnominal notion of 'a little'. Interestingly the same morpheme can also be used as part of honorific expression to express 'humbleness' as in *Njeleléni=ko* 'please, forgive me [humblest]' (cf. *Njeleléni* 'forgive me [humble: to a singular addressee or neutral: to plural addressees]' *Njelelá* 'forgive me [neutral: to a singular addressee]'.

2-20　あの人はそれ（ら）をみんなに分け与えた。

［多くの（間接）目的語に対する多回的なアスペクト表現。］

a) *Ulyá úmúntú aalíipeláko ifí kuli bonsé*

ulya   u-muntu   a-alii-pel-a=ko   ifi

DEM.D₁   AUG-1.person SM₁-PST.R-give=ENCL₁₇   DEM.CD₈

kuli   ba-onse

PP.LOC   2-all

'Did that person share these with everyone?'

The locative clitic *ko=* can also be part of a way of expressing pluractionality, e.g. distributing something to different persons, as illustrated in (2-20-a). The clitic, in this context means 'some' and this usage is more frequently attested in question sentences. This sentence can be paraphrased by using the verb *-akanya* 'to share', which, however, is usually not followed by the clitic *=ko*.

b) *Ulyá úmúntú aalííákánya ifí na bonsé*

ulya   u-muntu   a-alii-akani-a   ifi   na ba-onse

DEM.D₁   AUG-1.person SM₁-PST.R-share-FV   DEM.CD₈ with 2-all

'Did that person share these with everyone?'

2-21　さあ、（私たちは）行くよ！

［このような表現で、「過去形」を使う言語がある］

a) *Tuléeyeni*

tu-lee-i-e=ni

SM₁PL-TA-go_towards-SBJV=PLADD

'Let's go!'

This type of sentence can be expressed in the subjunctive mood, which is marked by the inflectional suffix *-e*, which is traced back to the Proto Bantu *-é*. In (2-21-a), the subjunctive verb is used with the enclitic *=ni* that indicates the plurality of addressees. Subjunctive forms (of the 1st person plural subject) without the clitic tend to be used as interrogative sentences.

b) *Tubelenge*

  tu-beleng-e

  SM1PL-read-SBJV

  'Shall we read?'

2-22　地球は太陽の周りを回っている。

　［いわゆる「恒常的な真理」の表現]

a) *Ákásubá káláshingúluka icaalo*

  a-ka-suba　　　ka-la-shinguluk-a　　　i-ci.alo

  AUG-12-sun　　SM12-　　DJ.PRS-turn-FV　AUG -7.earth

  'The sun evolves around the Earth.'

This type of sentence can be expressed through the habitual form, which is marked by the present DJ prefix *la*- (2-13). The habitual form constitutes a near tonal minimal pair with the future form marked by the TA prefix *aláa*- as illustrated in (2-22-b) and (2-22-c).

b) *Baláshingúluka*

  ba-la-shinguluk-a

  SM2-DJ.PRS-turn-FV

  'They turn around.'

c) *Báláashingúluka*

  ba-alaa-shinguluk-a

  SM2-FUT-turn-FV

  'They will turn around'

2-23　あの木は今にも倒れそうだ。

　［いわゆる将然相]

a) *Icó icímúti cááláaponá*

  ico　　　i-ci-muti　　　ci-alaa-pon-a

  DEM.HP7　AUG-7-tree　　SM7-FUT-fall-FV

  'That tree is about to fall.'

The prospective aspect can be expressed by the TA prefix *aláa*-, which is one of the future tense markers that indicates the nearest future.

2-24　（私は）あやうく転ぶところだった。

[未実現の事態]

a) *Nga naacípóná*

    nga   N-aci-pon-a

    if   SM₁SG-PST.N-fall-FV

    'I almost fell.'

The particle *nga*, which is a conditional marker, can be used to express an event which is/was almost unintentionally happening. The situation may also be expressed through the auxiliary use of the verb *-fwaya* 'want'.

b) *Nacifwáaya úkupona*

    N-aci-fway-a   u-ku-pon-a

    SM₁SG-PST.N-TA-want-FV   AUG-INF-fall-FV

    'I was about to fall.'

2-25　明日客が来るので、パンを買っておく。

［準備。「〜ておく」のような補助動詞、もしくはそれに相当するものがあるかどうか]

a) *Nfúílé náashitá umukaáte kaílí máilo abeni bakesa*

    N-fwil-e   N-a-shit-a   u-mu-kate

    SM₁SG-have_to-SBJV   SM₁SG-TA-buy-FV   AUG-3-bread

    kaili   mailo   a-ba-eni   ba-ka-is-a

    because the_day_before/after   AUG-2-guest   SM₂-ITV-come-FV

    'I have to buy bread because a guest is coming tomorrow.'

The situation where one prepares something beforehand can be expressed by using the form SM-*fwile*, which is almost equivalent to 'S have/has to'. Forms lexically correspond to 'teoku' in Japanese has not been identified.

2-26　（私は）〜に（街とか市場とか）行ったとき、この袋を買った。

a) *Nashítíílé ícólá ící ninshí naíle kú málíketi*

    N-a-shit-i-ile   i-ci-ola   ici

    SM₁SG-PST-buy-APPL-STAT   AUG-7-bag   DEM.CD₇

    ninshi   N-a-i-ile   ku-maliketi

    when   SM₁SG-PST-go_towards-STAT   17-9.market

    'I bought this bag when I went to the market.'

The temporal adverbial clause, or the 'when' clause, is introduced by the adverbial *ninshi*. A similar expression without specification of the subject can be achieved by an infinitive that is affixed by the locative class 16 prefix *pa-* as illustrated in (2-27-a), where *pakuya* is literally translated as 'while/when going'.

2-27 （私は）〜に（街とか市場とか）行く時／行く前に，この袋を買った。

a) *Nashítíílé ícólá ící pakúya kú málíketi*

    N-a-shit-i-ile   i-ci-ola   ici

    SM1SG-PST-buy-APPL-STAT   AUG-7-bag   DEM.CD7

    pa-ku-i-a   ku-maliketi

    16-INF-go_towards -FV   17-9.market

    'I bought this bag when I was going to the market.'

2-28 （私は）彼が市場でこの袋を買ったのを知っていた。

［上記の３つの例文は時制の一致や相対テンスの有無を知るためのもの］

a) *Nalííshíbé ati áshitiílé ícola icí kú málíketi*

    N-alii-shib-ile   ati   a-a-shit-ile   i-ci-ola   ici

    SM1SG-PST.R-know-STAT   COMP   SM1-TA-buy-STAT   AUG-7-bag   DEM.CD7

    ku-maliketi

    17-9.market

    'I knew that he bought this bag at the market.'

The verb in the temporal clause in (2-26-a) *naíle* is inflected by the same tense marker *-ile* used in the main clause. On the other hand, the complement clause in (2-28-a) does not show a tense agreement with the main clause verb, which is TA-marked by the prefix *alii-* and the inflectional suffix *-ile*.

Abbreviations

    1, 2, 3, ...: Noun class numbers

    1sg, 2pl, ...: Person and Number

    ANT: Anterior

    AUG: AUGment (initial vowel prefixed to a noun class prefix)

    CJ: Conjoint (a verbal form obligatorily followed by a post-verbal constituent)

    COMP: Complementiser

    DEM.CD: Demonstrative (Counter-Distal)

    DEM.D: Demonstrative (Distal)

    DEM.HP: Demonstrative (Hearer-Proximate)

    DJ: Disjoint (a verbal form usually not followed by a post-verbal constituent)

    EXT: Existential

    FV: Final Vowel (default inflectional suffix of the finite verb)

    HAB: Habitual

    INC: Inchoative

    INF: Infinitive

    INTERJ: Interjective

    ITV: Itive

    PP.LOC: Locative preposition

NEG: Negative marker

OM$_n$: Object Marker (agreement property is shown by the subcript)

PASS: Passive

PERF: Perfect

PLADD: Plural addressees

POSS: Possessive pronoun

PROG: Progressive

PRS: Present

PST.R: Remote Past

PST.N: Near Past

SBJV: Subjunctive

SM$_n$: Subject Marker (agreement property is shown by the subscript)

STAT: Stative

TA: Tense and/or Aspect marker with unidentifiable meaning

Reference

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