

1) 著作権保護のための表示

当報告の内容は、それぞれの著者の著作物です。

Copyrighted materials of the authors.

2) 研究会基本情報

タイトル：「スワヒリ語諸変種にみられる多様性とダイナミズムへのアプローチ」
(令和元年度第1回研究会)

日時：令和元年7月20日(土曜日) 午後13時30分より午後17時

場所：AA 研 302 室

報告者名(所属)：

1. 阿部優子(AA 研共同研究員, 東京女子大学), 角谷征昭(AA 研共同研究員, 上智大学)

「スワヒリ語キルワ方言初期調査報告」

コメンテーター：高村美也子(南山大学)

2. ニコ・ナッセンシュタイン(AA 研共同研究員, マインツ大学)

「ブニア・スワヒリ語(Ituri Kingwana)の時制とアスペクト：研究蓄積の少ない周縁方言への洞察」

コメンテーター：品川大輔(AA 研所員)

【概要】

本研究会は、少なくとも2つの点で大きな成果を残したと言ってよい。ひとつは、2つの研究発表のいずれもが、これまでのスワヒリ語研究においてほとんど研究の俎上に上がってこなかった変種に関するもので、本プロジェクトによってその研究を遂行するにふさわしい、資料的価値の極めて高いデータが提示されたという点。もう一点は、本プロジェクトの共同研究員であり、DRC 東部およびウガンダを中心とした内陸部スワヒリ語変種研究の気鋭の研究者であるニコ・ナッセンシュタイン氏(マインツ大学)を迎え、スワヒリ語変種に関する第一線の研究を共有するとともに、日本側メンバーと実質的な研究交流を行えた点である。以下、各発表の概略を示す。

阿部・角谷発表「スワヒリ語キルワ方言初期調査報告」は、スワヒリ語の歴史・地理言語学的研究の最重要文献のひとつである Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) *Swahili and Sabaki* において、標準変種ないしその基盤となるウングジャ方言に概ね取って代わられたとされるキルワ地域の regiolect に関して、発表者が 2019 年 3 月に行った現地調査にもとづく初期報告であった。発表では、音声・音韻・形態統語そして語彙にいたるまで、主に標準変種と対比させる形で具体的なデータが示された。これらデータによって示唆されるのは、標準変種への言語／方言シフトが完了したとするこれまでの理解を翻すものであり、スワヒリ語諸方言の分岐史、またその変容プロセスを明らかにするうえで画期的な研究資料を提示したといえよう。

後半は、ナッセンシュタイン氏による、ブニア・スワヒリ語(Bunya Swahili Ituri Kingwana, BSIK)の時制とアスペクトに関する発表であった。この変種は、沿岸部か

ら伝播し土着化した内陸変種のなかでも最北西地域で話されるものであり、ナッセンシュタイン氏が研究対象とする西部周縁（**Western periphery**）方言のなかでも際立った形式的特徴を示す。その直接的な要因としては、リンガラ語等のバントゥ系言語のみならず西ナイロート系言語からの接触影響が考えられるが、のみならずミッシヨナリー等の外的な介入要因も含めた多様な接触による影響が時系列上で複雑に絡み合っている点も重要な歴史的背景として考慮に入れる必要があり、その詳細が文献史料を駆使して鮮やかに示された。そのうえで、本論である時制・アスペクト表示形式に関する報告は、Nurse (2008) *Tense and Aspect in Bantu* に見られるマトリクスによる表示法を用いることで他のスワヒリ語変種との対照を容易せしめる形で行われた。とくに、近過去と遠過去の形式的対立や、新たな進行相形式の発達など、標準変種には見られない 6 つの形式的特徴について焦点が当てられ、それらの成立に関する諸要因について活発な議論が行われた。

なお、これら発表の詳細については本報告の末尾に添付するハンドアウトを参照されたい。

（文責：品川大輔）

スワヒリ語キルワ方言初期調査報告

阿部 優子(abende@lab.twcu.ac.jp)

角谷 征昭(kadoya-masaaki@tufs.ac.jp)

1. 初期調査の概要

2019 年 3 月 5－8 日に、キルワの 2 地点(Kilwa Masoko, Kilwa Kivinje)にて、2 名の調査協力者(Kilwa Masoko:25 歳女性、Kilwa Kivinje:38 歳男性)にインタビューした。調査の方法は、Kilwa 方言を用いた戯曲 Shani Omari (2009) *Safari ya Chinga*, Taasisi ya Taaluma za Kiswahili, Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam を用いて、予め標準スワヒリ語と異なる特徴をチェックし、それについて質問し、また戯曲のセリフを Kilwa 方言を意識しつつ発音してもらった。

また、2019 年 3 月 2－4 日には、Songo Mnara, Kilwa Kisiwani, Kilwa Kivinje にて、ガイドとともに地元の人々に簡単な方言意識についての質問を行った。

上記戯曲のテキストは、台詞ごとにナンバリングし、エクセルで管理。調査協力者 2 名に、戯曲全体を 2 回ずつ読んでもらった録音を管理ナンバーごとに音切りし、wav ファイルにて保管した。

2. キルワの位置

Kilwa Masoko および Kilwa Kivinje は、タンザニアのリンディ州(Region)のキルワ県(District)に位置する。県庁所在地は Kilwa Masoko であるが、タンザニア独立以前は Kilwa Kivinje に県庁があった(栗本・根本 2015)。

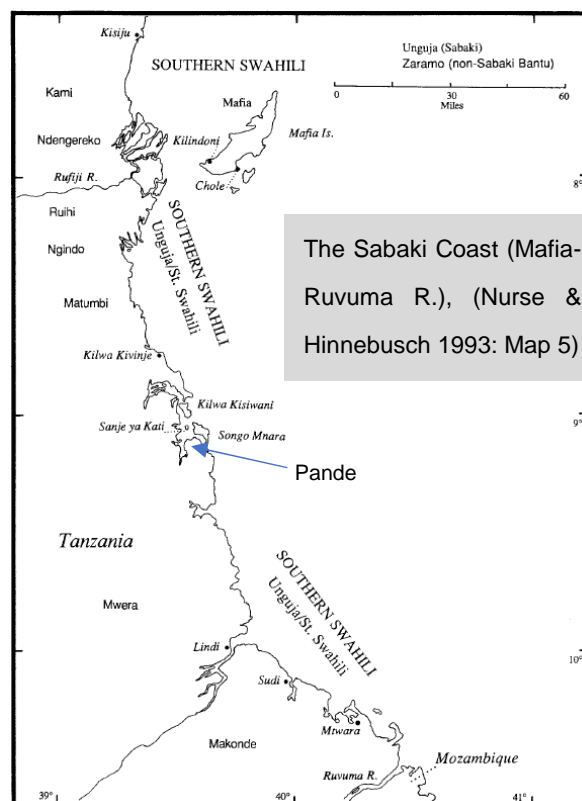
隣接する民族語として、キルワ北部に Rufiji, Matumbi が、南には Machinga, Mwera, Makonde がある(Eberhard et al. 2019. *Ethnologue Tanzania map*; 97: Rufiji, 98: Matumbi, 99:Machinga, 100: Mwera, 115: Makonde, 116: Maraba)。



3. スワヒリ語キルワ方言の先行研究

Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993: 13)によると、今日キルワでは Unguja/Standard Swahili 方言のみが話されているという。キルワ遺跡は紀元 800 年に遡ることができ、1505 年にポルトガルに占領されるまで栄えてきた。おそらくは 18 世紀以降のザンジバルの繁栄とともに、もともとあった南部方言が Unguja 方言に取って変わられたということである。ただし、Songo Mnara と Sanje ya Kati といった島々については未調査で、何らかの古い形式が保たれている可能性が挙げられている(Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 13)。

調査ではキルワでは Mgao 方言が話されているという話も聞かれた。Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993: 13-14)では Mgao 方言について、「Kilwa の南から北モザンビークにかけての海岸地方にかけて話される方言 (“kiMgao” said to be spoken on the southern Tanzanian coast south of Kilwa and into northern Mozambique, where it may be called Makwe)」であるという報告があるが、実際の調査に基づいたものかどうか不明だという。今日、Mgao 村 (Mtwara と Sudi の間) で話されているのは、Maraba というマコンデ語の一方言であり、当該地方に含まれる Lindi で話されるのは、スワヒリ語 Unguja 方言と変わらないという Legère (1986) 報告があるとのことである。



4. スワヒリ語キルワ方言の特徴

4.1. 方言意識について

今回の調査で訪れた Songo Mnara, Kilwa Kisiwani, Kilwa Kivinje, Kilwa Masoko いずれの地域においても、「キルワ出身者はスワヒリ語以外の言語(いわゆる「民族語」)を持たないものが多い」との発言があった。そのため、キルワ出身者は自分の民族がなんであるかを聞かれるときに、しばしば戸惑うという(タンザニアでは、日常会話で相手の民族名を尋ねることはよくある場面であるし、ホテルや役職で記載するゲストブックに、民族名を書く欄があるため)。

実際にこの地域で話しているキルワ地域のスワヒリ語とは、標準スワヒリ語ないしスワヒリ語ザンジバル方言に近いと認識しているという。ただし、発音や語彙にやや違いがあり、Kingao (Mgao 方言) であるという発言もあった。また、キルワ地域で唯一、大きく言語的な違いがあるのは、Pande 地域の Kisonge (Songe 方言) であるという情報もあったが、詳細は未確認である。

また今回訪れることのできなかった島 Sanje ya kati の状況について、Songo Mnara で聞き取りを行ったが、状況は Songo Mnara と同様でスワヒリ語ザンジバル方言に近いという認識であった。

4.2. Phonetics and Phonology

4.2.1. 交替 (z < ð)

Kilwa 方言	標準スワヒリ語	例
z	dh [ð]	bizaa < bidhaa (3-1-044) sizani < sidhani (3-1-043)

(3-1-044) Wamesema wamachinga wote. Lakini katika barua yake aliyotuandikia si alisema sasa ametulia amepata kibanda cha kuuzia bizaa zake?

(3-1-043) Lakini yeye si alisema atakuwa anatembeza juisi na maji. Sizani kama litankumba zoezi hili.

4.2.2. m の弱化 (#NC < #mC)

正節鼻音の **m** は、弱化して同器官調音の **N** となる。

Kilwa 方言	標準スワヒリ語	例
#NC	#mC	ntu < mtu

(1-1-055) Sawa, lakini usichelewe. Chakula cha kula kila ntu peke yake hakuna.

以下、子音の特徴 [+plosive, +fricative, +approximate, +nasal, -labial]ごとに例を示す。

4.2.2.1. +plosive

ŋkaa < mkaa	ntu < mtu	ntoto < mtoto	njomba < mjomba
ntaji < mtaji	ŋkubwa < mkubwa	ŋkononi < mkononi	ntwara < Mtwara
ŋkataa < mkataa	ntumwa < mtumwa	ndogo < mdogo	nkondo < mkondo
ŋke < mke	ŋgeni < mgeni	ŋkosi < mkosi	
ŋgongoni < mgongoni	ntaani < mtaani	nteja < mteja	ŋkato < mkato
ŋkondo < mkondo			

✓ 形容詞の接頭辞の場合は、1/3 クラスと 5/9/10 クラスの区別がなくなる。

-dogo ndogo < mdogo となることによって、

-gumu mwanzo ngumu < mwanzo mgumu

-kubwa nsingi ŋkubwa < msingi mkubwa (※kubwa にならないので区別している。無声子音の時はゼロ)

✓ また、後続の破裂音が唇音 p/b の場合、np / nb とはならず、mp / mb が保たれる。

u-nge-m-pat-a (*ungenpata)

2SG-IRR-3SG-get-F

“If you would find him...”

u-m-pang-ish-e (*unpangishe)

2SG-3SG-arrange-CAU-SUB

“please set (them) for him/her”

Mbagala (*Nbagala)

(Proper noun, place)

4.2.2.2. +fricative / affricate

nzigo < mzigo	nzee < mzee	njomba < mjomba	nfuga < mfuga
nchezo < mchezo	nchumba < mchumba	nfuko < mfuko	Nvuti < Mvuti
nshikaji < mshikaji	nchana < mchana	Nfuga < Mfuga	nchuzi < mchuzi

kisamvu 「キャッサバの葉」 標準スワヒリ語形が定着しているものか？

Hata kama hawakukaa mi inanihusu nini? Mi sintakuwa nimeshakula mahari yangu. Mbona wanawake wengi tu wanaolewa na kuachika? Yaani tunakula kisamvu kila siku na uchumi tunao? (3-1-035)

4.2.2.3. +approximant

nlozi < mlozi “witchcraft”

音韻変化/nl/>nd は、この場合起こらない。この n- はあくまで m- の弱化形であり、歴史的にこの接頭辞は mu- > m- > n- と変化したものであり、nl となったのは/nl/>nd が起こった後。

4.2.2.4. +nasal

nnazo < mnazo “you (pl.) have them”

m-na=zo

2PL-with=CL10

← 2PL (SM) も弱化する。

4.2.2.5. その他

語中でも n<m の弱化を起こすものがある。

(1) 形態素／語境界があつて、境界頭に n- が現れる例

mwananke < mwanamke (mw-ana-m-ke) “woman”

(2) 語中の syllabic nasal の m

nipunzike < nipumzike “let me have a rest”

ni-pumzik-e

tumeshanzika < tumeshamziika “we have already buried him/her” (1-2-034)

tu-mesha-n-zik-a

1PL-PRF-3SG-bury

ntakavyoanka < nitakavyoamka “when I will get up...”
 n-taka-vyo-ank-a
 1SG-FUT-8R-wake_up-F

uweze kunletea “please bring (it) to him”
 ku-n-let-e-a
 15-3SG-bring-APP-F

4.2.3. ni の弱化 (n- < ni-)

SM の 1SG が弱化して、母音 i が落ちて n-となる。ただし、1SG と 2PL の区別がなくなる。

nna < nina
 cf) nna < mna (1SG と 2PL の区別がなくなる)

hakuna ntakachopata “there is nothing I want” (1-2-037)
 ha-ku-na n-taka-cho-pat-a
 1SG-FUT-7R-get-F

ただし、OM の場合、1SG の ni-は弱化せず ni-のまま用いられ、3SG の m-が 4.2.2 に示した m の弱化により n-となる。

ntantafuta “I will look for him/her” (1-2-013)
 n-ta-n-tafut-a
 1SG-FUT-3SG-look_for-F

bwana	aliyenipa	mimba	sinjui	(1-4-015)
	a-li-ye-ni-p-a		si-n-ju-i	
	3SG-PST-1R-1SG-give-F		NEG.1SG-3SG-know-NEG	

“I don’t know the man who made me pregnant”

また、n-はあくまで ni-の弱化した形であり、/nl/の連続となっても nd にならない。

nlikuwa “I was...” (2-1-015)
 n-li-ku-w-a
 1SG-PST-15-be-F

1SG の n-が nge-の前につく場合は、後続の n と融合する。

Ngepata angalau maji au kipande cha muhogo ntafune (2-2-010)

(n)-nge-pat-a

(1SG)-IRR-get-F

“If I could get water or a piece of cassava, I would have it in my mouth”

✓ ni-e > ne

ni の弱化が先に生じた(ni-end-e > n-end-e > nende)

Nataka nende “I want to go” (1-1-005)

ni-end-e

1SG-go-SUB (SS: niende)

4.2.4. 融合・縮約

4.2.4.1. l > ゼロ /i_i(n)

shingi < shilingi

4.2.4.2. mesha- > sha-

Utakuwa ushazoea “you will get used to (it)” (2-1-066)

u-sha-zoe-a

Mimi nshazoeleka “I have already carried (it)” (2-1-007)

n-sha-zoelek-a

1SG-PRF-carry-F

この縮約については、標準口語スワヒリ語でも観察されるものである。標準口語では mesha-のように完了の me-と sha-とが結びつく例が一般的だが、本調査では sha-が PST の li-とも結びつく例があった。

Nilishaongea naye michongo ya huko. (1-2-013)

ni-li-sha-onge-a

1SG-PST-finish-talk-F

“I have already talked about it with him”

mesha- > sha-の縮約が適用されない例もある。

Mi si ntakuwa nimeshakula mahari yangu. (3-1-035)

“It won’t be that I will have finished up my bride price”

4.2.5. 挿入 (N)

embu < (h)ebu

ni-li-vyo-n-ka-j-a “when I came...”

1SG-PST-8R-?-ITV-come-F

✓ n は挿入音か? (※nka と ka は相補分布するか) → 4.3.1

4.2.6. アクセントの違い

基本的に標準語と同じ(次末音節)だが、以下の語については異なるという。

machínga / wamachínga (Kilwa 方言)

máchinga / wamáchinga (DSM 方言) ←こちらの方を調べる必要あり?

“peddlery”

4.3. Morphosyntax

4.3.1. Adverbial clauses of TIME, MANNER, and PLACE (Cls. 8, 16-18)

4.3.1.1. Cl. 8 (TIME, MANNER)

nilivyonkaja huku nlifikiri ntapata kazi kirahisi. (2-1-024)

ni-li-vyo-n-ka-j-a

1SG-PST-8R-?-ITV-come-F

“when I came here, I thought I would get a job easily” TIME

✓ 8 クラスの関係辞で時の副詞節「～の時」を作る。標準スワヒリ語では 16 クラス。

✓ (Itive の?)ka-と単音節動詞前 ku-が似たものとして認識されている。

(SS) nilipokuja huku... / nilivyokuja huku...

✓ nkaja のみを取り出すことはできない(nilivyonkaja で 1 ユニット)

ka-がないタイプもあり。kaa が移動動詞ないためか?

Unaona vilivyonkaa utafikiri kazaliwa navyo! (2-2-072)

vi-li-vyo-n-ka-a

8-PST-8R-?-sit-F

“You see how they (Cl.8 shoes) fit, you would think she was born with them” MANNER

4.3.1.2. Cls. 16-18 (PLACE)

tulikonkapita tukakuta nyayo za simba. (1-1-028)

tu-li-ko-n-ka-pit-a

1PL-PST-17R-?-ITV-pass-F

“I found lion’s footsteps the place where we had walked through” (=tulipokuwa tunapita) PLACE

Note; po-, mo-でも OK, tuliponkapanda, kuliponkaja も OK

4.3.1.3. Summary

- ✓ 用法としては、非常に限定的
- ✓ 過去肯定(li-)のみ
- ✓ (基本的に?) Itive の ka-と移動動詞(ja, pita)の場合に用いられ、それ以外の動詞(-fa「死ぬ(変化動詞)」など)では ka-がつかない。

*alivyonkafa (itd. “when s/he died...”)

- ✓ Subject marker は、tu-, a-など他の人称・数であっても、-n-ka-j-a に変化なし。n-の分析が課題(挿入音の可能性もあり?)(※直前 vyo の延長が k の前で n として現れた気もしてきた)

cf) alivyonkaja, tulivyonkaja, walivyonkaja

- ✓ マコンデ語の影響か? (要チェック)

4.3.2. -ni of plural

接続形-e の後に、複数を表す-ni をつけることがある。本調査の例では、1 人称複数のみで-ni が使われており、(ケニアで使われるという)*hamjamboni の用法はない。

twenzetuni (1-2-046)

tu-ende-z-etu-ni

“Let’s go to our place” cf) tuleni, tuondokeni

- ✓ -enda zetu が融合して-enzetu だろう。接続形「行こう」の固定表現として twenzetu, twenzetu-ni と言うのか?

4.3.3. Locative double prefixes

Ndo hivyo akili kumukichwa (4-3-023)

ku-mu-ki-chwa

17-18-7-head

“There is an idea in the head”

4.3.4. Neg. Future to-

Hatokuwa njinga kama mimi na wewe. (1-4-008)

ha-to-ku-w-a

NEG.3SG-NEG.FUT-15-be-F

“He would not be stupid like me and you”

4.3.5. Personal pronouns (short forms)

Bado yu n’geni (2-1-015)

D.near

“He is still a stranger” (yu ⇌ huyu)

✓ Makonde cl.1 PPx is “(y)u” Kraal 2005: 129

1SG mi

2SG we

3SG yu

✓ yu はコンピュータかもしれない。ye もありだと言っていたが、ye のほうが人称代名詞ではないか

4.3.6. その他

wapi?「どこ」が接語-pi として用いられる。(J さんは使わない)

Sijui makubazi yenyewe kayawekapi? (1-1-042)

ka-ya-wek-a=pi

3SG.PFT-6OM-put-F=where

“I don’t know at all where he put them (Cl.6 sandals)”

✓ 標準口語の prefinal の-ag は使わない。

4.4. 語彙

語彙については、キルワ方言に特徴的なのか、タンザニアスワヒリに共通の新語なのか不明なものもある。

Kilwa dialect	Standard Swahili	meaning	Notes
kindende	kisigino	heal	
-haha	-hangaika	try to solve	
-lola	-angalia	see	

ming'oko (ヤマイモ属)	--	wild potatoes	キャッサバの代用として使われ、糸を引く。塩ゆでして食べる。山で取れる
jaaje	vipi	how?	
ulanga	--	ming'oko flour	
nipa	--	distilled liquor made from cashew apples	
ulaka	--	alcoholic drink made from cashew apples	
toka	kutoka	from	
kichangudoa / machangu	malaya	prostitute	
michongo	habari, taarifa	news	
kasukula	kachukua	(s/he) took	chu>su

Jaaje kunilola?

ku-ni-lol-a

15?-1SG-see-F

“What happened, are you surprised to see me?” SS: “Vipi unanishangaa?”

参考文献

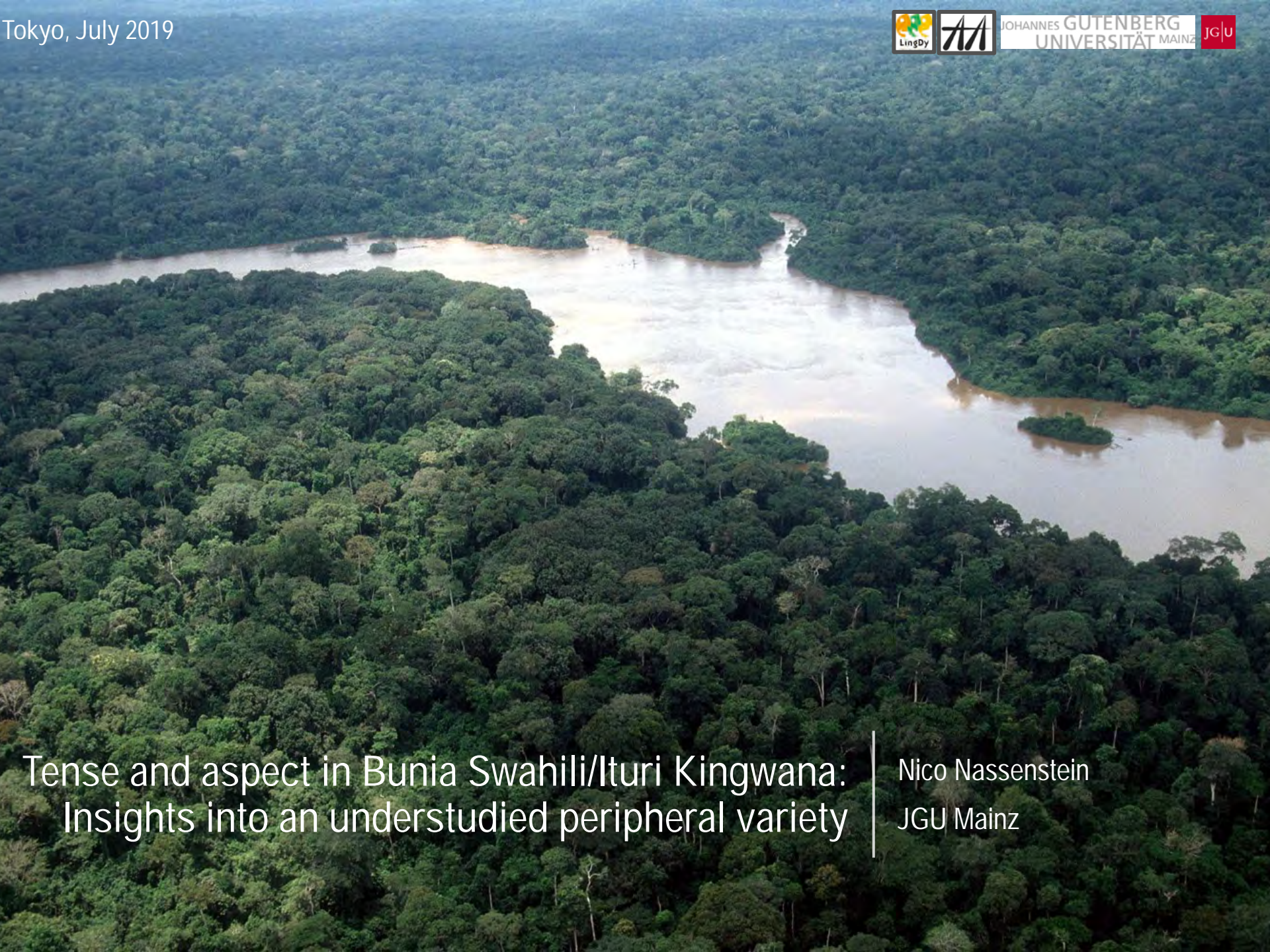
栗田和明、根本利通編著 (2015) 『タンザニアを知るための 60 章・第 2 版』明石書店

Eberhar, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fenning (eds.) (2019). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Twenty-second edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

Kraal, Pieter J. (2005) *A grammar of Makonde (Chinnima, Tanzania)*. Doctoral thesis submitted to Leiden University. <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/4271>

Nurse, Derek and Thomas J. Hinnebusch (1993) *Swahili and Sabaki, A Linguistic History. Linguistics vol. 121*. University of California Publications.

Omari, Shani (2009) *Safari ya Chinga*. Taasisi ya Taaluma za Kiswahili. Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam.



Tense and aspect in Bunia Swahili/Ituri Kingwana: Insights into an understudied peripheral variety

Nico Nassenstein
JGU Mainz

Outline

1. Introduction: On language, speakers and internal variation
2. The verbal complex
 - 2.1 BS/IT Verbs: Typological features
 - 2.2 Tenses and aspectual categories in BS/IT and ECS
 - 2.3 Deviant markers: PRG, HAB, SUBJ, COND
3. Outlook: Contact, change, lectal variation

Background: Documentation/Description of all four Congo Swahili varieties/Western Swahili dialects, as sketch grammars and analyses of typological phenomena (2015-2019)

Bunia Swahili/Ituri Kingwana: 2000 elicited sentences, 37 recordings of free texts and conversations (2'54'') and sociolinguistic interviews



1. Introduction: On language, speakers and internal variation

- Bunia Swahili (referring to the provincial capital Bunia), or in older publications often Ituri Kingwana (i.e. the Kingwana variety from Ituri) is one out of four Swahili regiolects from Eastern DR Congo which deviates from other regiolects in terms of its morphosyntax and also lexicon; contact with other Bantu as well as Nilo-Saharan languages
- Different “lects” of Bunia Swahili depending upon the context of speech and speakers’ socialization with Swahili: Acrolectal vs. mesolectal vs. basilectal BSIK
- Specific morphosyntactic patterns coincide with or deviate from other Congo Swahili regiolects; morphologically, the verbal system reveals some differences that cannot be found in other dialects – this is what I am going to talk about in the verbal system
- Language contact has contributed to the TA markers in BSIK; patterns of grammaticalization and



Map 1. Approximate area where Bunia Swahili/ Ituri Kingwana is spoken

2. The verbal complex

2.1 BS/IT verbs: Typological features

Verbs:

SM-NEG-TA-root-EXT-TA-FV

SM: Subject proclitics mi=, we=, ye=, si=, ni=, ba= // i= (omission when (pro)noun as head)
Logophoricity: ye= vs. a-, tu- vs. si=, mu- vs. ni= etc.

NEG: no difference NEG_{1/2} but between -pa-, -bado- (NOT.YET), -wezi- (FUT/MOD)

TA: most ECS prefixes; deviant HAB, PRG;

Tense: PST₁ -li-, PST₂ -li...-aka, PRS -na-, FUT -ta-, CONS/NARR -ka-

Aspect: PFV, SIT, HAB, PRG, ANT (in analogy with Nurse's 2008 model for ECS)

Others: NARR -ka-, CND & PERS -ngali-, IMM.PST -toka- (no japo, sipo etc.)

HAB: requires PRS -na- & grammaticalized -zi-; rarely -na...-ak-.

DER: productive CAUS -ish/-iz, APPL -e/i-, REC -an-, STAT & PASS less frequently used.

Prefinal -ak(a) mostly used for PST₂, less often as IPFV, HAB, PLURAC.

FV: -a, no morph. SUBJ. (ba-soma 'they shall study'), IMP (Panasoma! 'Don't study!')

OM: free-standing, following the verb (miye, weye, yeye, siye, niye, bao/bo // yao)

REFL: merged with REC -ana (yeko angaliyana)

REL: one invariable relativizer nye, no other morph. strategy

Nouns: Reduced NC system, no distinction NC11-14; [-human] optional plural marking
No diminutives/augmentatives, no obligatory agreement on the verb (incl. NC1-2)
when (pro)noun as subject, otherwise trifold distinction: [+human sg.] ye=/a-,
[+human pl.] ba=, [-human] i-. Only one DEM le (following the head), CONN ya.
(see Nassenstein 2017, Nassenstein & Dimmendaal in press)

2.2 Tenses and aspectual categories in BS/IT and ECS

	Perfective	Situative -ki-	Habitual hu-	Progressive -na(-ku)-	Anterior -me(ku)-
Past -li(ku)-	tu-li-lim-a we hoed tu-li-ku-j-a we came N: ha-tu-ku-lim-a we did not hoe	tu-li-ku-w-a tu-ki-lim-a we were hoeing (over a longer time, habitually)	as Imperfective	tu-li-ku-w-a tu-na-lim-a we were hoeing (at a particular time)	a-li-ku-w-a a-me-lim-a he had hoed
		tu-ki-lim-a we hoeing, if we hoe hu-wa tu-ki-lim-a we hoe (HABITUAL) N: ha-tu-lim-i we are not hoeing, do not hoe	sisi hu-lim-a we hoe hu-wa tu-ki-lim-a we hoe (HABITUAL) N: ha-tu-lim-i we are not hoeing, do not hoe	tu-na-lim-a we are hoeing, hoe tu-na-ku-j-a N: ha-tu-lim-i we are not hoeing, do not hoe	tu-me-lim-a we have hoed tu-me-ku-j-a we have come tu-me-ka-a we are sitting N: ha-tu-ja-lim-a (bado) we have not hoed (yet)
Future -ta(-ku)-	tu-ta-lim-a we will hoe tu-ta-ku-j-a we will come N: ha-tu-ta-lim-a	tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-ki-lim-a we will hoe, be hoeing	as Imperfective	tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-na-lim-a we will be hoeing (at a particular time)	tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-me-lim-a we will have hoed

ECS: Nurse (2008: n.p.), *Bantu Tense and Aspect Systems* [<https://www.faculty.mun.ca/dnurse/Tabantu/>]



2.2 Tenses and aspectual categories in BS/IT and ECS

[cont.]

<i>Tense</i>	<i>Aspect</i>	Perfective	Situative	Habitual	Progressive	Anterior
Past ₂ -li-...-ak-		mi= li -maliz-aka 'I finished (long ago)' NEG ye= pa-li -zal-iw-aka 'he was not born (as...)'	[kama...]	ba= li-kwa tembey-aka 'they used to walk around' NEG mi= pa-li-kwa yu-aka 'I would not know'		
Past ₁ -li-		mi= li -ona 'I saw' NEG mi= pa-li -ona 'I did not see'	ye= ki -fika 'when/if/while he arrived...' NEG [kama...]	ni= li-kwa yua 'I knew' NEG mi= pa-li-kwa yua 'I did not know' rare: ye= li-kuwa (na) -ogopa 'he was fearing' NEG ye= pa-li-kuwa (na) -og opa 'he was not fearing'		i- sha -anja 'it had begun' NEG mi- bado -enda(ka) 'I have not yet gone'
Present		we= na -ona 'you see' NEG we= pa-na -ishi bien 'you do not live well'	ye= ki -fika 'when/while/if he arrives' NEG [kama...]	ba= na-zi -chunga 'they usually wait' NEG ba= pa-zi -tosha 'they don't remove'	mi= kwa fa 'I am doing' NEG ye= pa-zi -ongeya 'he is not talking much'	ba= sha -kufa 'they are dead' ye= sha -ishi 'he has experienced' si= na-sha -sikiya 'we have heard' mayi sha -tokota 'water is boiling' NEG bisi bado -yala 'the bus is not full'
Future -ta-		ba= ta -kunya 'they will drink' NEG mi= wezi lala 'I will not sleep' si= wezi pika 'we will not cook'	[kama mu= ta -enda 'if you will go']	mi= ta-kuwa (mi= ta-)bakiya 'I will always stay' mi= ta-kuwa (mi= ta-)rudiya 'I will be returning'		mi- ta-kuwa mi- sha -fika 'I will have arrived'
Consecutive/ Narrative -ka-		ba= ka -sema 'they then said'	<i>see ANT</i>	ba= ka-lal -aka 'they would then sleep'	ba= ka-kuwa na -shuka ? 'they will be descending'	ye= kisha -fika ? 'after him arriving'

2.3 Specific typological features

- a. PST1 vs. PST2 (the case of the widespread prefinal -ak-)
- b. Shift from PRG to PRS (-na-)
- c. NEG.FUT -wezi- and general negation with -pa-
- d. HAB -zi- and suppletive forms in PST and FUT (-likuwa/-takuwa)
- e. The development of PRG kwa
- f. ANT -sha- and its grammaticalization process



2.3 Specific typological features

[cont.]

a. PST1 vs. PST2 (and the case of the widespread prefinal -ak-)

The prefinal -ak- is widespread in Bantu languages (Sebasoni 1967) and can take up a broad range of semantic connotations, ranging from habitual to iterative, to pluractional, intensive and repetitive (Nurse 2008). Most likely it has entered BSIK from Kivu Swahili when Zanzibari/Manyema troops settled along the Ituri after Swahili had already been introduced in the areas further south (it is absent in Ugandan Swahili across the border). Kapanga (1993: 447-448) observes for Lubumbashi Swahili (in his terms Shaba Swahili) that the suffix -aka (with either LT or HT) can function as either habitual (with PRS -na- prefixed to the verb stem) or as remote past/distal future (when used with -li-/ta-). Also BSIK shows a “split” of the pas tense marker -li- into near past (-li-...ø) and remote past (-li-...-ak-). This process is commonly found in all Congo Swahili varieties. Kapanga summarizes: “ShS [Shaba Swahili] is also different from EAS in the addition of the remote tenses to its tense-aspect system: the REMOTE/ANTERIOR PAST and the REMOTE/POSTERIOR FUTURE. These are generally used to depict the distant past or distant future. [...] As for the source of the suffixes àkà (13) and áká (14) in Shaba, Lingala in Zaire is the only language (to my knowledge) that uses this prefix for both the remote future and past.” The hypothesis of a borrowing from Lingala sounds actually plausible, especially due to the retention of Lingala’s prosodic features (with HAB -> LT, with PST2 -> HT) in Kapanga’s examples (not in BSIK, though). As claimed earlier (Bose & Nassenstein 2016) for Kivu Swahili, this is not necessarily a shift in remoteness (*-me- -> -li-; -li- -> -li-...-ak-) but rather a functional split of tense (see BSIK example, below, left). The ECS aspectual marker -me- is not affected by this in BSIK as it has simply changed to -sha-.

(Lubumbashi Swahili/Shaba Swahili; Kapanga 1993: 447)

ni-ri-kwend-áká
I-PST-go-RPST
‘I went’ (distant past)

(Lingala)

na-kend-áká
SM1sg-go-PST2
‘I went (long ago)’

na-bét-ak-a balle
SM1sg-beat-HAB-FV soccer
‘I play soccer (usually)’

The suffix -ak(a) when used with -kuwa in the past tense marks a remote past habitual event/state; when -ak(a) is absent, the remote reading is not possible (see second example below, right).

BSIK

wakati a-li-kuf-aka
time SM1-PST-die-RMT
‘the moment he died (long ago)’

ba-li-kwa tembey-aka na bayonette
SM2-PST-IPFV walk-RMT with bayonet
‘they were walking around with bayonets/they used to walk around.. (long ago)’

b. Shift from PRG to PRS (-na-)

The aspectual marker -na- in ECS has changed from its function as a progressive marker to a marker for the general present; the same occurred regularly in all other Congo Swahili varieties. This shift is similar to the semantic development from a present tense marker to a future marker in specific languages (Haspelmath 1998), triggered by the emergence of a new progressive -> which becomes the general present -> while the old present becomes the -> new future, as a grammaticalization chain.

When Swahili spread to the Congo, the general present (-a-) was no longer used; this may potentially be due to its instability (phonologically when operating with the subject concords; but also due to the fact that it is not ubiquitously used; see also Nurse's 2008 matrix where it is missing; see also Wald 1973, cited by Goyvaerts 2007). Due to its clear progressive connotation, the -na- then expanded and was also used as general present (see below). The progressive aspect was taken over by forms of -kuwa in all Congo Swahili regiolects in slightly different constructions; in BSIK, the progressive is formed with kwa, past progressive with likwa ((na-)) and future progressive with takuwa ((na-)) – a progressive construction with grammaticalized form of 'to be' is not uncommon.

BSIK

ba=na-uwa ba-tu ku hospital

SM2-PRS-kill NP2-person LOC hospital

'they kill people in the hospital (during war)'

BSIK

mi=kwa faa international business

SM1sg=PRG do I.B.

'I am doing International Business'

The progressive construction as used in other Congo Swahili regiolects makes common use of na- between grammaticalized form of 'to be' and verb root (see below). However, this na seems to be of different origin (potentially a comitative or locative, as also the case in PRG constructions in other Great Lakes Bantu languages, see Nurse & Muzale 1999: 522), in analogy of 'to be with/to have' constructions in these Swahili varieties. This corresponds exactly with Heine & Kuteva's (2002: 83, W. Lex. of Gram.) statement that the comitative was grammaticalized to a progressive in some (other) Swahili varieties. Some scholars, however, explain the progressive differently (Goyvaerts 2007). Alternatively, the na- could here – hypothetically – serve as a focus marker, or be related to focus-marking elements PRG ni- in other Bantu languages cf. Nurse & Muzale (Shinagawa, p.c.).

Kivu Swahili

ni-ko na-soma

SM1sg-COP(:LOC) COM-study

'I am studying' ("I-am-here-with-studying")

ba-li-kuw-a na-soma (balikuwa+na+soma)

SM2-PST-be COM-study

'they were studying (i.e. within their studies)'

2.3 Specific typological features

[cont.]

c. NEG.FUT -wezi- and general negation with -pa-

BSIK uses the negative prefix -pa- for all TA categories apart from NEG.FUT and negative modality (ability, desirability, obligation), shortened from *ha-pa-na*. A invariable negator *hapana* is common in Swahili pidgins or pidginized forms; see KPS (Heine 1973), West Nile Swahili (Nassenstein 2017), to some extent also Lubumbashi Swahili (Schicho 1992: 81). Schicho classifies this as 'broken' Swahili and states that "it lost its function as a copula (at least in SL) and became an invariable element [...] the use of *hapana* as an auxiliary is linked to a process of deflexivisation which results in the dropping of the subject pronoun of the finite verb". Heine & Kuteva (2007: 179) see this as grammaticalization and desemanticization, whereby "the existential verb lost is existential and its predicate functions, thereby being reduced to the function of negation".

Decategorized it is required to stand in pre-verbal position. In BSIK, it turned into a clitic/prefix and stands between SM and V. As negated copula, it has retained the form of -pana.

('Broken' Lubumbashi Swahili; Schicho 1992: 81)

Sasa kama Bwana Mufwankolo *hapana* kutumika, mutaishi lamba gani?
'Now, as Mr Mufwankolo doesn't work, how do you make a living?'

(KPS; Heine & Kuteva 2007: 179)

Yeye *hapana* sema kitu.
s/he NEG say thing

BSIK

ye-pa-li-zaliw-aka président (<yeye *hapana* alizaliwa+aka)
SM1-PST-be.born-RMT president
'He was not born as a president.'

BSIK

Ile pana weye!
DEM NEG:COP 2SG
'This is not you!'

Heine & Kuteva (2007: 177-178) observe for Kenya Pidgin Swahili (KPS) a very similar negative future tense, which functions with *hapana weza* or *hawezi*. They thus state that "[a]n evolution from markers of ability ('be able, can') to future tenses is crosslinguistically not very common but is attested", and also refer to Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 266), assuming the stages ABILITY > ROOT POSSIBILITY > INTENTION > FUTURE (cited by Heine & Kuteva, p. 178). While -wezi in BSIK can equally negate modality, Heine's KPS follows a more pidginized strategy of employing the expression *mzuri* for deontic modality.

BSIK

ba-tu wezi fika ku-zika mu-tu
NP2-person NEG:MOD achieve INF-bury NP1-person
'people can't bury a person'

BSIK

si-wezi pika
SM1pl-NEG:FUT cook
'we will not cook'

2.3 Specific typological features

[cont.]

d. HAB -zi- and suppletive forms in PST and FUT

The habitual -zi-, always preceded by the general present tense marker -na-, is one of the typologically unique features of BSIK, and, cannot be found in surrounding languages (neither in Bantu languages such as Bila, Hema etc. nor in Western Nilotic or Central Sudanic languages). It can, however, be understood as a grammaticalized form that occurs in Bantu:

Originally, the habitual prefix -(d)zi- denoted a durative future in Bantu, and is derived from a grammaticalized form -dza 'to come' (see Botne 1989). It is present in some Great Lakes Bantu languages of group JD. The BS habitual marker -zi- describes iterative, durative, habitual and (sometimes) frequentative actions. (Nassenstein 2017: 205)

But how did it evolve? In some Bantu languages, there is a correlation between habitual aspect and future tense. As has been shown above, -wezi in BSIK denotes the negated future. Is there a link to the habitual -zi-, which then always has to be preceded by PRS -na-?

The common circumfix habitual construction -na-...-ak- as used in all other Congo Swahili regiolects is only used by BSIK speakers when a specific semantic reading is intended, in order to differentiate predominantly a iterative/durative reading (-zi-) with a potential criticism, from a rather frequentative reading (-na-...-ak-) borrowed from other varieties, or a reading with inherent criticism (-zi- + REDUP) (see Nassenstein 2017: 208).

BSIK

tu-na-zi-enda kwabo
SM1pl-PRS-HAB-go their.place
'we (usually) go to their place'

BSIK (with different readings, borrowed from Kivu Sw.) p. 208

(I) <i>kila siku mutoto yenakulaka biscuit</i>	KS HAB	'every day the child eats biscuits (at certain times of the day)'	frequentative; no criticism
(II) <i>kila siku mutoto yenazikula biscuit</i>	BS HAB	'every day the child eats biscuits (all the time/all day long)'	durative; potential criticism
(III) <i>kila siku mutoto yenazikulakula biscuit</i>	BS HAB + REDUP	'every day the child eats (too many/too greedily) biscuits'	criticism



e. The emergence of PRG kwa

As already stated, the ECS progressive has turned into the general present marker in BSIK, as also the case in other Congo Swahili varieties. The progressive kwa from kuwa 'to be', or in the Congo kukuwa, underwent grammaticalization. Progressives in Bantu are often formed with a form of 'to be', often with locatives (Nurse & Muzale 1999, Nurse 2008: 139-140). While BSIK has no locative that is used for the PRG construction, the formation with a form of 'to be' is a worldwide attested process (for example in English *I am reading*, colloquial German *Ich bin am Lesen*, Japanese *yom-te=ir-u* as well as pidgin/creole languages worldwide)

BSIK

mw-isho li-enda kwa mubaya	→	ye=kwa taka leta discours	→	We=ta-kwa faa nini?
NP3-end PST-go be bad		SM1=PRG want bring speech		SM2sg-FUT-PROG do ITRG
'the end went kind of bad'		'he wants to deliver a speech (right now)'		'What will you be doing?'

As already stated, other Congo Swahili regiolects reveal an additional element na between inflected form of the locative copula, this is however rare in BSIK, and only used by speakers who have spent time in the Kivus or elsewhere.



f. ANT -sha- and its grammaticalization process

While the anterior aspect -me- is common in ECS, and may also occur as -mesha- or in other Congo Swahili regiolects as -lisha- or -lisa-, BSIK speakers only make use of the shortened form -sha-, yet with the same meaning as -me- in ECS. The aspect marker -sha- can inherently point to actions that have 'already' happened; in the course of its grammaticalization this notion has however become optional. Marten (1998: 141; p. 160) sketches the grammaticalization path of variants of this marker in the followign case as

(1) Nimekwisha kazi → [kisha] → (2) Nimeshafahamu → (3) Nishafahamu

"Example (1) shows -kwisha as a main verb, while the grammaticalized reduced form -sha- is combined with the present perfect marker -me- in (2). Finally, in (3) -sha- is the only TAM marker." and summarizes that it "has developed from a lexical verb via auxiliary into finally a TAM morpheme. A crucial step in that development was its use as an aspectual auxiliary to signal anteriority in combination with the situational tense marker -ki-", as is also the case in BSIK, where -kisha- and -sha- are found.

BSIK

na u-sha-kuwa mu-zee
and SM2sg-already-be(come) NP1-old.person
'and you have already been/become old.'

→

kitu nye ø-sha-ishi
things REL SM-ANT-live
'the things he has (already) experienced'



3. Outlook: Contact, change, lectal variation

- The tense and aspect system of BSIK requires a more thorough investigation; beyond “pidginization and creolization”
- BSIK reveals a “unique” TA system compared to other Congo Swahili regiolects
- Restructuring has happened due to contact with Bantu languages as well as with non-Bantu languages, as can be seen – replication patterns from Central Sudanic languages etc.
- While some innovations in BSIK are shared with prototypical Swahili pidgins such as KPS, or Kisetla, others are not and show a certain degree of complexity
- Studying the TA system of BSIK can contribute to the study of the variability and diversification of Swahili
- BSIK as “the most remote” Swahili variety; what can BSIK tell us that is helpful for other Swahili varieties?
- What does this mean for the classification of Swahili varieties at the Western periphery?



Aksanti sana!

nassenstein@uni-mainz.de

