The distinction of three 'Near Past' forms in Lamba*

Osaka University / JSPS Yuka MAKINO (*JP17J00068)

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Outline of this talk

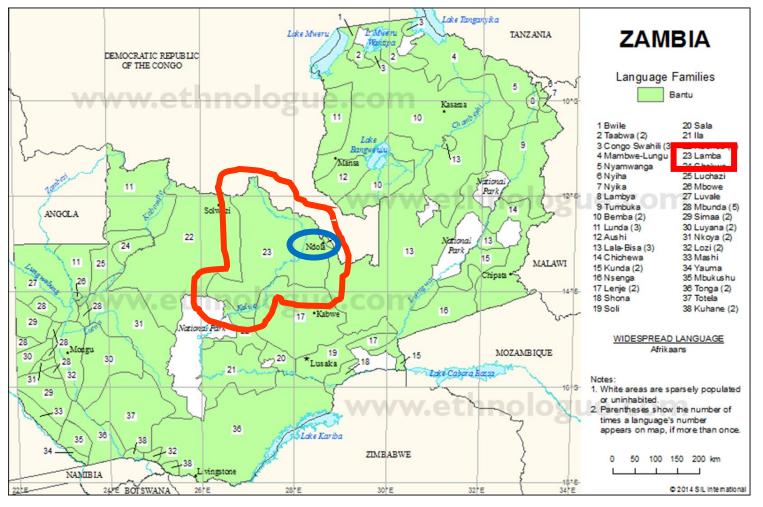
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Basic facts about Lamba

- Lamba is spoken in the Copperbelt Province and Central Province in Zambia, and the Haut-Katanga Province in DRC with altogether 198,000 speakers.
- Lingua-Franca in this area is Bemba.



Aim of this talk

• I treat the following three form that are introduced as denoting 'Near' past in the literature (e.g., Doke 1922, 1938, Bickmore 1995, Yukawa 1995, Nurse2008).

SM-a-VR-a: the *a*- form

SM-achi-VR-a: the *achi*- form

SM-a-li+ SM-a-VR-a: the compound form

- I compare these three forms by using when-questions ("When did you $V \sim$?"), and identify their functions.
- I examine these forms in terms of verb semantics and temporal adverbs.

Near versus Remote

(1)a.n-a-lemb-aleelo1sgSM-ANT-write-BStoday

- b. n-achi-lemb-a <u>leelo</u> 1sgSM-HOD-write-BS today
- c. n-a-li n-a-lemb-a <u>leelo</u>
 - 1sgSM-PST-be 1sgSM-ANT-write-BS today 'I wrote today'
- d. *n-a-li-lemb-ileleelolsgSM-PST-BE-write-ANTStoday

Near versus Remote

- (2)a. *n-a-lemb-amailo/ masooshi1sgSM-ANT-write-BSyesterday/ the_day_before_yesterday(DBY)
 - b. *n-**achi**-lemb-**a** <u>mailo/ masooshi</u> 1sgSM-HOD-write-BS yesterday/ DBY
 - c. *n-**a-li** n-**a**-lemb-**a** <u>mailo/ masooshi</u> 1sgSM-PST-be 1sgSM-ANT-write-BS yesterday/ DBY
 - d. n-**a-li**-lemb-ile <u>mailo</u>/<u>masooshi</u>
 - 1sgSM-PST-BE-write-ANTS yesterday/DBY
 - 'I wrote yesterday/ the day before yesterday.'
- •The *a* form, the *achi* form and the compound form denote today's past event.

The terminology for three forms in the literatures

	SM-a-VR-a (The <i>a</i> - form)	SM -achi -VR -a (The <i>achi</i> - form)	SM- a-li + SM- a -VR- a (The compound form)
Doke (1922, 1938)	(Indefinite) Immediate Past	(not mentioned)	Immediate Past (Perfect)
Nurse (2008)	Anterior	(not mentioned)	Past 1 (Near Past)
Bickmore (1995)	Perfective	Immediate Past	(not mentioned)
Yukawa (1995)	Immediate Past	Hodiernal Past	(not mentioned)

- There is no literature which treats all these three forms altogether.
- These three forms are called in different ways, particularly the *a* form.
 - the *a* form is used for actions which have taken place on the same day, ... and sometimes it represents **the present situation** (Doke 1938:261).

≻By using a when question, I compare these three and identify their functions.

The *a*- form versus the *achi*- and compound forms

- In terms of verb semantics

(3)Q. ni luisa mu-**a**-ipai-**ile** kolwe COP when 2plSM-PST-kill-ANTS 1a.monkey "When did you kill the monkey?" a. n-a-mu-ipai-a ulúcheelo 1sgSM-ANT-3sgOM-kill-BS morning b. n-achi-mu-ipai-a ulúcheelo 1sgSM-HOD-3sgOM-kill-BS morning ulúcheelo c. n-a-li n-<mark>a</mark>-mu-ipai-a 1sgSM-PST-be 1sgSM-ANT-3sgOM-kill-BS morning "I killed it in the morning."

- (4)Q. ni luisa mu-a-fik-ile paK
 COP when 2plSM-PST-arrive-ANTS 16.K(nickname of the place)
 "When did you arrive at K(name of the place)?"
 - a. n-a-fik-a ulúcheelo 1sgSM-ANT-arrive-BS 11.morning
 - b. n-**achi**-fik-**a** ulúceelo 1sgSM-HOD-arrive-BS 11.morning
 - c. n-a-li n-a-fik-a ulúhceelo
 1sgSM-PST-be 1sgSM-ANT-arrive-BS 11.morning
 "I arrived (at K) in the morning."

luisa ifi ifíseepo fi-a-bol-ile (5)Q. ni 8.this 8.fruit COP 11.when 8SM-PST-get rotten-ANTS "When did these fruits get rotten? (Though it was not rotten the day before yesterday)" fi-a-bol-a ulúcheelo **a**. 8SM-ANT-get rotten-BS 11.morning b. fi-achi-bol-a ulúcheelo 11.morning 8SM-HOD-get rotten-BS fi-a-bol-a ulúcheelo fi**-a-li** C. 8SM-PST-be 8SM-ANT-get rotten-BS 11.morning "They got rotten in the morning."

(6) Q. ni luisa mu-**a**-shaan-**ile** mu-lubansa COP 11.when 2plSM-PST-dance-ANTS 18LOC-11.park "When did you dance in the park?" a. ??n-a-shaa-a ulúcheelo 1sgSM-ANT-dance-BS 11.morning b. n-achi-shaan-a ulúcheelo 1sgSM-HOD-dance-BS 11.morning ulúcheelo c. n-a-li n-**a**-shaan-**a** 1sgSM-PST-be 1sgSM-ANT-dance-BS 11.morning 'I danced (in the park) in the morning'

(7)Q. ni luisa mu-a-imb-ile ulu úluimbo
COP 11.when 2plSM-PST-sing-ANTS 11.this 11.song
"When did you sing Gregorian?"

- a. *n-a-imb-a ulúcheelo 1sgSM-ANT-sing-BS 11.morning
- b. n-achi-imb-a ulúcheelo

1sgSM-HOD-sing-BS 11.morning

c. n-a-li n-a-imb-a ulúcheelo
1sgSM-PST-be 1sgSM-ANT-sing-BS 11.morning
"1 sang (it) in the morning."

(8) n-a-imb-a makosa echi 1sgSM-A-sing-BS hard this_is_why íshiwi lyanji li-a-shink-il-a 5.voice 5.my 5SM-ANT-get_hoarse-APPL-BS

"I have sung hard; therefore my voice got hoarse." (cf. (7a))

- (8) denotes that the speaker is in the situation of the voice being hoarse, and this situation is brought about by singing.
- Verbs such as *-ipai-* "kill" in (3) and *-bol-* "get rotten" in (5) denote the change of state, *-fik-* "arrive" in (4) denotes the change of position. Such changes are observable in the utterance time. However, *-shaan-* "dance" or *-imb-* "sing" do not denote such an observable change by themselves, unless being placed in a specific context such that an action of the verb brings about a particular situation at the utterance time.

On temporal adverbs

As we saw above, the *achi*- form and the compound form show the same grammaticality. But depending on the verb and temporal adverb, the compound form cannot be used in the same way as the *achi*- form.

(9)Qa.ni	luisa	ímbwa	i- achi -kuu	- a		
COP	11.when	9.dog	9SM-HOD)-bark-BS		
Qb.ni	luisa	ímbwa	i- a- kuu-ile			
COP	11.when	9.dog	9SM-PST-	bark-ANTS		
"When did the dog bark?"						
a. *i -a -l	kuu-a	<u>u</u>	lúcheelo			
9SM-ANT-bark-BS 11.morning						
b. i- achi -kuu- a <u>ulúcheelo</u>						
9SM-	HOD-bark-E	BS 1	1.morning			
c. i- a-li	c. i- a-li i- a -k		-a	<u>ulúcheelo</u>		
9SM-	PST-be	9SM-A	NT-bark-BS	11.morning		
"It barked this morning"						

(10)Qa.ni luisa ímbwa COP 11.when 9.dog Qb.ni luisa ímbwa COP 11.when 9.dog "When did the dog bark?" i-achi-kuu-a

9SM-HOD-bark-BS i-**a**-kuu-**ile**

9SM-PST-bark-ANTS

a.	*i-a-kuu-a		<u>bukuumo</u>	lukos	<u>50</u>		
	9SM-ANT-bark-BS		14.now	11.ju	1.just		
b.	o. i- achi -kuu- a		<u>bukuumo</u>	lukos	lukoso		
	9SM-HOD-bark-BS		14.now	11.just			
c.	*i- a-li	i- a -kı	uu- <mark>a</mark>		bukuumo	lukoso	
	9SM-PST-be	9SM-	-ANT-bark-B	S	14.now	11.just	
	"It barked just nov	V."					

(11)Q. ni luisa mu-achi-nu-a ámenda COP 11.when 2plSM-HOD-drink-BS 6.water "When did you drink the water?" ulúcheelo a. *n-a-nu-a 1sgSM-ANT-drink-BS 11.morning b. n-achi-nu-a ulúcheelo 1sgSM-HOD-drink-BS 11.morning ulúcheelo c. n-a-li n-a-nu-a 1sgSM-PST-be 1sgSM-ANT-drink-BS 11.morning "I drank in the morning."

(12)Q. ni luisa mu-achi-nu-a ámenda COP 11.when 2plSM-HOD-drink-BS 6.water "When did you drink the water?" bukuumo a. n-a-nu-a 1sgSM-ANT-drink-BS 14.nowb. n-achi-nu-a bukuumo 1shSM-HOD-drink-BS 14.nowbukuumo c. n-a-li n-a-nu-a 1sgSM-be 1sgSM-ANT-drink-BS 14.now"I drank it just now."

• Both the verb root *-kuu-* "bark" and *-nu-* "drink" are acceptable with the *a*-form when answering with *bukuumo* "now", but both are less acceptable when answering with *ulúcheelo* "morning".

- Comrie (1976) points out that English Perfect may not be used with 'specification of the time of the past situation', but if 'the time includes the present', the perfect can be used (Comrie 1976:54-55).
- In Lamba, the temporal adverb *bukuumo* "now" is sometimes much easier to be related to the present situation than *ulúcheelo* "morning" which denotes a specific time of the past event.
- *-ipai-* 'kill' in (3), *-fik-* 'arrive' in (4) and *-bol-* 'get rotten' in (5) are always grammatical with either the temporal adverb *ulúcheelo* "morning" or *bukuumo* "now". The verb semantics therefore contributes to the grammaticality. For example, the change of state of a monkey which the action of killing brings about, the change of position which was brought about by arrival, or the state of being rotten can be assumed to remain the same till the utterance time since such changes occurred in the morning of that day.

The compound form

Depending on the verb, the compound form cannot be used in the same way as the *achi*- form.

mu-achi-buuk-a (13)Qa. ni luisa COP 11.when 2plSM-HOD-wake up-BS luisa mu-a-buuk-a mu-a-li Qb. ni 2plSM-PST-be 2plSM-ANT-wake up-BS COP 11.when "When did you wake up?" a. ??n-a-buuk-a ulúcheelo 1sgSM-ANT-wake up-BS 11.morning b. n-achi-buuk-a ulúcheelo 1sgSM-HOD-wake up-BS 11.morning n-**a**-buuk-**a** ulúcheelo c. ?n-a-li 1sgSM-PST-be 1sgSM-ANT-wake up-BS 11.morning "I woke up in the morning."

• It follows that the semantic opacity between the *a*- form and the compound form that Nurse (2008) points out is observed for certain verbs.

Summary

- The data strongly suggest that the *a* form is Anterior.
- The *achi-* form is **Hodiernal Past**, and the **compound** form is interchangeable with the *achi-* form with almost all verbs **with a few exceptions**.
- The compound form sometimes shows the same grammaticality as the *a*-form with certain other verbs. In other words, the compound form has a similar usage with both the *achi* form and the *a* form depending on the verb; therefore, at this point, it is **difficult to pinpoint the exact function** of the compound form.
- The *achi* form seems to be **a borrowing form** from Bemba, because this form is not mentioned before 1995 in the literature.
 - Could it be that the *achi* form is taking over the function that the compound form has had?
 - Is it the case that the 'erosion' of the *achi* form makes the specific function of the compound form invisible?

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