Melodic tones in Mara JE40 languages
Lotta Aunio, University of Helsinki

In this paper I will present the melodic tone systems of several JE40 Bantu varieties spoken in the Mara Region, western Tanzania. While it is true that the functional load of tone is greatly reduced in some of these varieties, others have fairly complex tonal systems both on lexical and grammatical level. Furthermore, it is intriguing that these varieties that are spoken in a fairly restricted geographical area have very different tonal systems.

The varieties discussed are Ikoma-Nata-Isenye (JE45 [ntk]), Ikizu (JE402 [ikz]), Kabwa (JE405 [cwa]), Ngoreme (JE401 [ngq]), Simbiti (JE431 [ssc]), and Zanaki (JE44 [zak]). Tone Bearing Unit (TBU) is the syllable in all of these varieties except in Simbiti where TBU is the mora. The number of melodic tones vary from one to five. The assignment rules of the melodic tones also show great variation: the most common targets are the edges of the melodic tone domain (i.e. the first, the second, and the last syllable of the macrostem), but also the third and the fourth mora or the antepenult have melodic tones assigned to them. The connection between the underlying and surface forms of melodic tones is pretty straightforward, although in some languages the melodic tones are spread or retracted to heavy syllables.

In addition to presenting the different melodic tone systems of the selected JE40 languages I will discuss the kind of differences that can be tonally marked in Bantu verbal morphology. It is common for Bantu languages to make certain TAM distinctions, for example the distinction between the Remote and Near Past, only tonally. I will present some of these examples especially in the JE40 languages, but I will also show that in many instances the tonal differences only apply to parts of the paradigm and therefore they are much harder to spot.

A panchronic study of some TAM auxiliaries in Manda (Bantu N.11)
Rasmus Bernander, SPL (UGOT)

In Manda, the modal concept of possibility as well as the categories of future tense and completive aspect are expressed with periphrastic constructions consisting of an auxiliary verb (in bold) and the main verb in the infinitive:

(1) Possibility

\[ \text{John ahotola} \quad \text{kuya} \quad \text{kunyumba} \quad \text{lukumbi} \quad \text{ulu} \]
\[ \text{john a- hotol -a ku- y -a ku- nyumba lu- kumbi ulu} \]
\[ \text{John SM3SG POS FV-a NCP15 be FV-a LOC17 house NCP11 time PROX.DEM11} \]
\[ \text{‘John may be at home now’} \]

(2) Future tense

\[ \text{vandu voha vabx kuhicha vakosi vangu} \]
\[ \text{va- ndu va- oha va- b} \quad \text{hich -a va- kosi va- angu} \]
\[ \text{NCP2 thing ACP2 all SM3PL FUT NCP15 come FV SM3PL friend ACP2 POSS.1SG} \]
\[ \text{‘All the people that are going to come are my friends’} \]
The aim of this study is to describe and analyze these auxiliary verbs and their behavior by trying to reconstruct their lexical heritage and historical and ongoing development. This panchronic approach of analysis will be based on the diagnostics and conceptualization developed within grammaticalization theory (Heine & Kuteva 2007). There will be special focus on the process of extension or context-induced reinterpretation, i.e. on how the use of a word or construction in certain contexts triggers reanalysis and conceptual shifts of meaning (Heine 2002, Heine & Dunham 2010).

The analysis will consist of comparison of diachronic data (the New Testament from 1937) and (varying) synchronic data of Manda (collected during fieldwork in Spring 2014) and will be further strengthened through comparison with related/neighboring languages and cross-linguistically induced generalizations of conceptually (semantic and functionally) and structurally motivated patterns of change (Bybee et al 1994, Heine & Kuteva 2002, Fischer 2008).


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**Imperfectivity and telicity in Swedish**

Kristian Blensenius, Dept. of Swedish, UGOT

Dynamic predicates must carry progressive marking in the simple present tense with episodic reading in English (1), but not in Swedish (2):

1. *We play football. [Only habitual]*
2. *Vi spelar fotboll.*
   *we play-PRS football*
The example in (1) reflects state sensitivity in English: non-stative predicates must be stativized through progressive marking (assuming that the progressive derives states) if they are to denote episodic present. The reason is that only states are true at instants, and speech time is taken to be punctual in English.

However, Swedish is not state-sensitive, as shown in (2), and the reason is claimed to be that speech time can be an interval in Swedish. Instead, Lundquist (2012) suggests that Swedish is telicity-sensitive in not being able to yield progressive interpretation with telic predicates without some kind of overt progressive (or “de-telicizing”) marker:

(3) #Hon gick tillskolan när solen gick upp.

\textit{she walked to school-DEF when sun-def went up}

Intended: ‘She was walking to school when the sun rose’

The idea of telicity-sensitivity is related to the claim that telic-predicate sentences have been found to be perfective by default in languages like German (e.g. Bohnemeyer & Swift 2004).

My presentation will evaluate, and counter, the hypothesis above. I suggest that the particular type of telic situation is a crucial feature (together with the time of evaluation), based on examples like (4):

(4) När jag byggde huset tappade jag en kartongbit […].

\textit{when I built house-DEF dropped I a piece.of.cardboard}

‘When I was building the house, I dropped a piece of carton.’

(Example taken from a discussion forum.)

References

The Subjectification of ‘come’ and ‘go’ futures in Ndebele: a preliminary look
Thera Crane

Southern Ndebele (S.407, Nguni, South Africa) has several ways of expressing future eventualities. The major possibilities are illustrated in (1):

(1) (a) Ngi-zo-(ku)-fik-a kusasa
(b) Ngi-ya-(ku)-fik-a kusasa
(c) Ngi-za-(ku)-fik-a kusasa
1SG-FUT-(INF-)arrive-FV tomorrow
‘I will arrive tomorrow’

The -zo- and -ya- futures are transparently derived from the coalescence of the verb stems -za ‘come’ and -ya ‘go’ with the infinitive prefix uku-. The origin of -za- is less clear, although it may of course also be a (more recent?) grammaticalization of -za ‘come’.

Future forms in Zulu (S.42, Nguni, South Africa) are somewhat similar to those in Ndebele, at least on the surface. Poulos & Msimang (1998; see also e.g. Taljaard and Bosch 1988) describe Zulu as having two main future forms, shown in (2):

(2) (a) Ngizokhuluma nothisha kusasa
     ‘I shall/will speak to the teacher tomorrow’
(b) Indodana yami iyothenga inyama
     ‘My son will buy the meat’ (Poulos & Msimang 1998:263)

Like in Ndebele, the markers are derived from -za ‘come’ and -ya ‘go’, coalescing with infinitive verbs (uku-). They can also appear in a long form, e.g. si-ya-ku-vakashela ‘she [the old woman, cl 9] is going to visit [in town]’, in which the idea of physical motion may be retained (Botne 2006:132, ex. (3)). Poulos & Msimang describe -za- futures as temporally nearer, in a subjective sense, than -ya- futures, which are more “remote” (1998:265). Perhaps not surprisingly, futures with -ya- also seem to convey less certainty than futures with -za- (S. Bosch, p.c.).

These facts lead Botne (2006) to analyse -zo- as situating future eventualities in the (cognitively) proximal “P-domain” of the speaker’s “here-and-now” reality, whereas -ya- situates future situations in the distal “D-domain”. Botne further proposes that this difference follows from the semantics of the grammaticalisation sources: as proposed by Traugott (1978) and Fleischman (1982), come verbs express a “moving-event” perspective, whereas go verbs operate on a “moving-ego timeline”.

As in Zulu, Ndebele -ya- futures seem to correlate with greater perceived temporal distance from the speaker. Seemingly in contrast to speakers of Zulu, however, Ndebele speakers have clear (if occasionally inconsistent) intuitions that -ya- forms express greater certainty than their -zo-counterparts. I suggest that the temporal and epistemic distinctions in these future forms can also follow from the event-centred (-zo-) vs. ego-centred (-ya-) perspectives on the future: while -zo- futures express a prediction, -ya- futures contain an additional (and perhaps stronger) element of intentionality (cf. Dahl 1985:105-106 on English ‘will’ and other futures).

While -ya- and -zo- futures differ temporally and epistemically, Ndebele -za- futures appear to be used only when there is a significant sense of cognitive contrast. This contrast may manifest in a number of ways, for example, in relation to reality (implying that the speaker’s perception of the expected future stands in contrast to what is being asserted in the utterance), with respect to desire (expressing that the speaker has no other options), or as a choice between incompatible possibilities.

In this talk, I will describe the uses and restrictions of Ndebele future markers, based on my current body of elicitation data, spoken language samples, and corpus texts. I will propose possible pathways for the grammaticalization and subjectification of these markers, and suggest (and solicit!) directions for further research.
The Subjectification of ‘come’ and ‘go’ futures in Ndebele: a preliminary look
Thera Crane

References


Documenting the evolution of a present into a future marker in Kisikongo: A corpus-driven study

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Cross-linguistically, the most common sources of grammaticalization for future tense markers are agent-oriented modalities and movement verbs (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987; Bybee et al. 1991; Bybee et al. 1994: 253-70; for Romance, see Fleischman 1982; for Bantu, see Botne 1989; Botne 2006). Kikongo varieties, classified as H16 by Guthrie (Maho 2009) and one of which is Kisikongo, show a diverse array of future markers, some of which have developed along the lines of these typologically recurrent patterns of grammaticalization (Dom & Bostoen Forthcoming). A less frequently observed evolution is the development of present tense forms into dedicated future markers. Although a number of languages (many of which belong to the Germanic and Finno-Ugrian branches of the Indo-European language family; Dahl 2000: 325-26) show a certain flexibility or semantic broadening of their present tense marker to include expression of future time reference (Bybee et al. 1991: 21-22; Bybee et al. 1994: 275-78; Ultan 1978: 88-89), these forms still denote their original present tense meaning. The change addressed here involves an “old” or former present marker which no longer expresses present tense, but denotes exclusively future time reference. Thus the Kisikongo Future, shown in (1), consists of a zero tense-aspect (TA) prefix and the “neutral” final vowel -a, a marker (‘circumfix’) which has been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu as a present tense form (Nurse 2008: 236, 61; Nurse & Philippson 2006: 166). The Kisikongo Present, shown in example (2), is expressed by a zero TA prefix and the verbal suffix -ang-, which occurs throughout the Bantu domain denoting a wide range of imperfective meanings (Nurse 2008: 138; Nurse & Philippson 2006: 190), and most frequently habituality in other Kikongo varieties (Dom & Bostoen Forthcoming).

(1) Bulu ya futa ye ya vata idila vamosi.¹
bulu ya futa ye ya vata i-Ø-diil-a vamosi.
10.animals CON wild and CON 5.village SP10-FUT-feed-FV together
‘Wild and domestic animals will feed together.’
(Anonymous 2005)

(2) Wana mambu mayingi belongokanga muna tanginina mbandu y’awana bemonanga.
wana mambu mayingi be-Ø-longok-ang-a muna Ø-tanginin-a
2.child 6.thing 6.many SP2-PRS-learn-PRS-FV LOC18 15-imitate-FV
mbando ya awana be-Ø-mon-ang-a.
10.example CON AUG2.2.child SP2-PRS-see-PRS-FV
‘Children learn many things by imitating the examples they observe.’

¹ Numbers represent Bantu noun classes. Abbreviations: AUG = augment, CON = connective, FUT = future, FV = final vowel, LOC = locative, PRS = present, SP = subject prefix,.,
On the basis of synchronic observations in six languages having such a zero future marker, Haspelmath (1998) has made certain claims regarding the original tense systems of such languages, and a number of hypotheses concerning the evolution of the development. First, he argues that in an older stage of these languages, a dedicated future marker was lacking; future tense was expressed by means of a generalized present marker, much like the situation we find in a number of present-day languages. Second, the development of a new present progressive form gradually deprives the old marker from present tense semantics (i.e., a push-chain). The only function remaining for the old present, then, is future time reference. Moreover, if a language undergoing this change already has a dedicated future marker, then the old present form will most likely develop into a subjunctive marker (Haspelmath 1998: 35).

In this paper, I will demonstrate that in Kisikongo i) the system of involved TA markers in the different historical stages of the language is more complex than as presented by Haspelmath, and ii) the change differs in crucial ways from Haspelmath’s hypothetical scenario. Importantly, I will draw on historical data, a situation unique for Bantu historical linguistics, in order to empirically investigate and document the development. Due to early contact between Portuguese missionaries and the Kongo kingdom, a number of religious documents have been written in the ‘South Kikongo’ variety, i.e., the most recent ancestor of Kisikongo. The oldest extant (Bantu) manuscript, a Portuguese catechism translated in South Kikongo, dates back as far as 1624 (Bontick & Ndembe Nsasi 1978; Cardoso 1624). Although information is yet lacking for a considerable gap of two centuries (18th-19th), the historical corpus does allow to relatively situate the semantic shift in Kisikongo in time.

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Melodic H Tone Patterns in Jita
Laura J. Downing

In this talk I present the three different melodic verb tone patterns in Jita: a final High pattern, an initial High/final High pattern and a ‘chaotic’ pattern. The verb tone patterns found in Jita are nearly identical to those in closely related Ruri. However, as Goldsmith (1987) argues, the Jita/Ruri melodic tone patterns are distinct from those found in other Lacustrine Bantu languages. This makes them of particular interest to comparative Bantuists studying verb tone in the languages of this area and trying to account for developments from a common older system.

COGNITIVE MODELS OF TEMPORALITY, VERBAL SEMANTICS AND THE GRAMMAR OF TENSE AND ASPECT IN BANTU
Axel Fleisch, University of Helsinki

It is common for Bantu languages to have a rich array of different tense-aspect categories that are grammatically marked by distinct constructions and markers. These remain a challenge in the analysis of these languages. I, for example, have wondered why Lucazi (K.14) would have so many different grammatical constructions that all target the perfect/near past domain. Starting out from such concrete descriptive/analytical challenges, I will try to test different proposals for parameters that might come into play.

It has long been recognized that the lexical semantics of verbs interact with the grammatical categories of tense and aspect. Beginning with Zeno Vendler’s (1957) famous distinction of four event-types, scholars have since proposed different models concerning a systematic interaction between lexical verb types and TA morphological in various languages (e.g. Breu 1994, with emphasis on Slavic). Among others Drolc (1991), Fleisch (2002), Mreta (1998) and Seidel (2008) draw on this research tradition in their work on Bantu languages. Botne & Kershner (2008) and Botne (2012) pay special attention to cognitive models that rely on a more fine-grained distinction of how time is construed in Bantu languages (and beyond) in order to account for the notorious challenge in Bantu languages. More recently, Croft (2012) points out the relevance of force dynamics for aspectual structure.

In my talk, I hope to illustrate then possible ways of accounting for some of the challenges, such as the question of why telicity and the achievement/accomplishment distinction (Vendler 1957) appear insufficient in explaining the grammatical behavior of Lucazi verbs like -heta,-e ‘reach’, -mona,-o ‘see’, and –(i)ziva,-i ‘know’. Most importantly, I hope that an outcome of the 35+15 minutes will be that we agree on a clearer set of possible elicitation and other data collection methods in order to conduct research on these issues more systematically and in a way that is comparable across (Bantu) languages.

Literatur
A critical overview of tense and aspect in Somali
Morgan Nilsson, SPL, University of Gothenburg

The amount of linguistic studies conducted on tense and aspect in Somali is rather limited. Other areas, such as focus, word order, subordination, and stress, have fascinated researchers more. The discussion of tense and aspect in the few larger Somali reference grammars is also very limited.

Somali is generally claimed to have three tenses – past, present and future – as well as three aspects – simple (or general), progressive and habitual (Saeed 1993, 1999; Orwin 1995; Mansur & Puglielli 1999). In addition there are forms with a prefix expressing intensification or iterativity (Gebert 1988, 2011). However, the number of forms recognised by individual authors differs, as do the descriptions of their meanings and functions.

The aim of this presentation is therefore to 1) summarise the claims made in the literature on tense and aspect in Somali and to 2) compare the prevailing view(s) to a more general typological understanding of these concepts in order to 3) suggest a typologically based interpretation of the Somali tense and aspect system.

In the talk, I will first shortly introduce the relevant morphological exponents together with the terminology applied in major works. I will then discuss in more detail the semantics and the syntactic functions of these forms, building the discussion on interpretations and examples found in the literature, as well as on corpus data. Similarities and differences in comparison to other more widely known tense and aspect systems will also be pointed out. Finally, I will summarise the observations and propose a typologically based interpretation of the Somali tense and aspect system, as well as a typologically transparent terminology for the observed categories.

Some debate topics (or controversial questions) pertaining to Slavic aspectology: Old problems and new challenges
Nadja Zorikhina Nilsson, Stockholm University

It is common knowledge that one of the defining characteristics of the Slavic languages is that aspect constitutes a grammatical category, which in these languages is represented by a system of mutually opposite sets of grammatical forms for the perfective and imperfective aspects with similar corresponding meanings.

This paper discusses some principal questions and basic concepts of Slavic and, particularly Russian, aspectology that have been the subject of long-standing debates in recent decades.
The following items are considered: 1) the problem of a definition of aspectual invariant meaning, 2) the nature of Slavic-type aspect, 3) the status of aspectual pairs formed by prefixation and imperfectivation, 4) Aktionsart and particular meanings of the aspects.

Special attention is devoted to the interaction of aspect with other categories, such as mood, time and negation. Finally, an attempt is made to place Slavic aspect within a broader typological context.

**Aspect and past tenses in Romance languages**

Ingmar Söhrman, SPL, UGOT

In Latin there are two main past tenses – imperfectum *amabam* (I loved) and perfectum *amavi* (I have loved/I loved), while the Romance languages “redeveloped” (cf. Greek and other old Indo-European languages) a tripartite system with imperfect, perfect and preterit due to the expansion of verb morphology as the use of auxiliaries became predominant – (Lat. *habere* and Late Latin *essere*) + perfect participle. The difference is, at least partially, aspectual and this refines the time indication, but in several of the languages this usage is now being reduced to a bipartite system although the options selected go different ways. In spoken Romanian and French preterit has disappeared and is now only used in written texts. The same goes for northern Italian, while southern Italian and Spanish prefer the preterit and are giving up the composed perfect forms while Portuguese maintains the old synthetic pluperfect. In this talk the Reichenbachian model will be developed as an explanation by the use of the more detailed model of the French linguist Gosselin. To this picture has to be added the role of pluperfect and its rare variant - analytic past anterior.

In this overview the idea is to present and discuss the role of aspect in the Romance tense system over time and focus on Portuguese and French that for geographical reasons are most interesting from an African perspective. However, the idea is to compare the development of these two languages with Spanish, Italian and Romanian.
Periphrastic verbs in Mbugwe

In Mbugwe, all TAM-forms of the verb have a simple form. However, for a few of the TAM forms, an alternative construction is in use: the lexical verb is given first, with the infinitive prefix, and then an auxiliary verb follows. The subject is marked on the second verb. The object may be marked on the lexical verb, after the infinitive prefix as usual.

The INF-AUX construction is unexpected typologically, and is the object of the article ‘Counter-universal rise of infinitive-auxiliary order in Mbugwe’ (Mous 2000). A similar construction in Rangi (F33) is the topic of the dissertation ‘Auxiliary placement in Rangi: a dynamic syntax perspective’ (Gibson 2012).

There are six auxiliaries which can occur in this construction in Mbugwe. All of them have a counterpart in a simple form, where the auxiliary occurs as a prefix. The forms that have been observed will be described in this paper and the distribution of simple vs. periphrastic forms will be discussed.

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