Meaning Through Language Contrast

Volume 2

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PART I

Grammaticalization

Distal aspects in Bantu languages

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1. Introduction

This chapter is comparative at two levels. The first concerns whole language families, or perhaps we should say, groups of languages of a similar typological type. The second level of comparison concerns two individual Bantu languages: Digo (or Chidigo) which is spoken along the Kenyan and Tanzanian coast between Mombasa and Tanga, and Fuliiru (or Kifuliiru) spoken in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo.[1] The focus of this study is grammaticalisation involving verbs of movement, direction and position. A distinction can be drawn between those languages in which grammaticalisation involving such verbs rapidly results in the loss of the semantic component of physical movement etc. and those languages in which such semantic change does not necessarily occur. In many Bantu languages, including Digo and Fuliiru, grammaticalisation involving verbs of movement, direction and position does not necessarily entail the loss of their lexical semantic content, which is typically the case during grammaticalisation in other language families. Between Digo and Fuliiru there are differences both in the range of lexical sources each language utilises and also in the extent to which these source constructions undergo formal grammaticalisation. Before describing these differences in detail, I shall briefly discuss the features of grammaticalisation relevant to this study.

Grammaticalisation is the process whereby a construction involving one of the lexical word classes, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, develops into a gram, that is, a morpheme of one of the functional, or grammatical, classes, such as prepositions and TAM (tense-aspect-modality) markers. For example, verbs of movement are common sources of future tense markers. Semantically, grammaticalisation results in semantic bleaching (or generalisation) and functional dependence on associated lexical material; in relevance theoretic terms grammaticalisation involves a shift from conceptual to procedural encoding (Nicolle 1998a). Following

such semantic change, an expression undergoes formal grammaticalisation typically involving increasingly restricted morphosyntactic distribution to the extent of affixation, together with corresponding phonetic reduction.

The semantic and morphosyntactic changes involved in grammaticalisation can result in variation. At the semantic level, whilst the new functional usage of a gram becomes established, there may be a period during which both the lexical and the functional semantic content of a grammaticalised expression are accessible. This is known as semantic retention, and is distinguished by two characteristics. First, the lexical component of meaning derived from the source expression is only sometimes recovered during utterance interpretation (hence there is variation). Second, when this lexical meaning is recovered it is not cancelable (hence it is semantic in origin rather than pragmatic). This is discussed in detail in Nicolle (1998a, 1998b), in particular in relation to the English *be going to* construction which, whilst functioning as a grammaticalised future tense marker, also retains elements of its lexical source construction, but only in some of its uses. In contrast, the meaning components of physical movement or location encoded in the Bantu distal aspects described below are always recovered. They are therefore not the result of semantic retention.

Secondly, at the morphosyntactic level, the various stages of grammaticalisation may be attested contemporaneously, as in the following examples from Swahili, another Bantu language. The source is the lexical verb *kwisha* ('finish') plus the perfective aspect marker *-me-*, and the resulting morpheme is a new perfective aspect:

(1) a. **A-me-kwisha   ku-soma**
         S/he-PFV-finish INF-read
         S/he has finished reading OR *S/he has already read.*

     b. **A-me-kwisha-soma**
         S/he-PFV-finish-read
         S/he has already read.

     c. **A-mesha-soma**
         S/he-PFV-read
         S/he has already read.

The construction in (1a) is ambiguous between a reading in which the first verb, *kwisha*, conveys lexical meaning and a reading in which the construction *me+kwisha* functions as an aspectual marker with *kwisha* behaving morphosyntactically as an auxiliary. In (1b) the infinitive marker has been lost and the preceding auxiliary construction becomes affixed to the main verb.[2] Finally in (1c), the formal process of grammaticalisation is complete and the construction *me+kwisha* (formerly aspect plus verb) has been reanalysed as a single TAM marker with

corresponding phonetic reduction.[3] Further reduction of *-mesha-* to *-sha-* is also possible. Such variation is discussed in Section 4 in relation to Digo.

When a verb of movement, direction or position or an expression involving such a verb is the lexical source for a gram such as a tense marker, semantic bleaching typically results in the loss of the semantic component of physical movement, direction or position. In the data discussed below, grammaticalisation involving such verbs has not resulted in the loss of the semantic component of physical movement, direction or position in the resulting TAM markers. There are two main approaches that could be adopted with respect to this situation. First, we could argue that the expressions in question are not grammaticalised. Against this position, I will demonstrate (in Section 4) that all of the expressions have undergone or are undergoing formal grammaticalisation. It is generally agreed that formal grammaticalisation follows semantic (or functional) grammaticalisation (Givón 1991; Nicolle 1998a) or occurs in parallel with it (Bybee et al. 1994:106); a case in which formal change precedes semantic change has yet to be established. The approach adopted here (which I will explore in Section 5) is that basic members of the semantic domain of movement, direction and position have the potential to form the basis of functional categories in the same way as, for example, temporal distance and duration. Languages differ as to whether they realise such 'distal' categories, and also over which members of the semantic domain of movement, direction and position are treated as sufficiently basic to undergo such grammaticalisation. It appears that Bantu languages in general tend to favour the grammaticalisation of distal categories, and that Fuliiru has developed a greater variety of source expressions than Digo.

In the following section, I will describe a number of grams derived from lexical verbs of motion in Digo which express what I term 'distal aspects', and in Section 3 I will do the same for Fuliiru. Section 4 looks at morphosyntactic evidence of formal grammaticalisation in the various distal aspects described, and I conclude with a discussion of the implications of the study.

2. Distal aspects in Digo

Distal aspects in Digo involve the basic categories of 'go' (four grams) and 'come' (one gram). Amongst the forms predicated on 'go' there is no difference in the type of going in terms of distance traveled, speed, manner etc. Rather, the forms are distinguished in part by the time at which the movement is conceived of as occurring, relative to some temporal reference point, and in part by morphosyntactic distribution patterns.

2.1 -ya-

There are two semantic components to -ya-: it indicates that the fulfillment of the action described by the verb is subsequent to some temporal reference point, and also that there is physical movement away from an initial location which occurs during and after that temporal reference point. Like the pure future tense in Digo, -ya- can be displaced. In (2) the action of repairing a car is still future and the subject of the action is moving towards the location of this future action.

(2) A-ka-lamuka a-ya-tengeza gari.
He-HOD-wake he-YA-repair car
He woke (today) and is going (i.e. is on his way) to repair a car.

In (3), taken from a first person narrative, the action of taking the sick man to be treated is described as being subsequent to the time at which the doctor will have met him; the subject (the sick man) is described as moving towards the place where the treatment would occur, which the subjunctive clause *amphirike* ('to convey him') also expresses.

(3) Hu-ri-pho-fika   hipho Kenyatta ná -m-kuta   Dr. Maneno
We-PST-REL-arrive there Kenyatta I.PST-him-met Dr. Maneno
When we arrived at Kenyatta (Hospital) I met Dr. Maneno

a-na-hu-godz-era   ili   a-m-hal-e   yuya mkpwongo na
he-PROG-us-wait-APP so.that he-him-take-SUB that sick.person and
waiting for us so as to receive the sick man and

a-m-phirik-e   kura ambako a-ya-lagul-wa.
he-him-convey-SUB there where he-YA-treat-PAS
take him to where he would (go and) be treated.

The origin of -ya- is uncertain, but I believe it derives from the current lexical verb *phiya* 'go'. The process of phonological reduction from *phiya* to -ya would then be parallel to the development of *kwisha* into -sha in Swahili detailed above.

2.2 -cha-

A less frequently occurring distal aspect is -cha-. This occurs with the second of two verbs when the first is marked by the -ka- hodiernal past tense marker. It indicates that the action of the second verb occurs at a distance and that the subject of the verb has arrived at the location of the action. This is in contrast to the -ya- distal aspect in (2), which indicates that the subject of the verb is still progressing towards the location of the action. The origin of this form is uncertain, but it is possible

that it derives from the verb *kpwedza* 'come' which is derived historically from a non-finite prefix and the verb stem -*dza*.[4]

(4) A-ka-lamuka a-cha-tengeza gari.
He-HOD-wake he-CHA-repair car
He woke today and has gone to repair a car.

2.3 Kpwenda

Constructions involving the form *kpwenda* in Digo illustrate the phenomenon of a linguistic cycle, in which grammatical forms with similar functions develop consecutively from similar sources. The distal aspect -ya- is not the only gram to have developed from a verb meaning 'go'. Digo has a future tense marker -nda- derived from the archaic verb *kwenda, which also meant 'go'. This verb is still attested in neighbouring languages, in some of which (including Giryama and Pokomo) it is the source of a future morpheme also (see Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 376). This is what I call a 'pure future'; the semantic component of movement has been entirely lost and the only information encoded is along the lines of: 'The associated event occurs subsequent to some temporal reference point'. *Kpwenda*[5] occurs again, either as a subsequent development from the same archaic Digo form from which -nda- developed or as a borrowing from a neighbouring language such as Swahili or one of the Mijikenda group, but this time functioning as a distal aspect.

Kpwenda indicates that movement either precedes or is an integral part of the action described by the main verb. It differs morphosyntactically from -ya- and -cha- in that it occurs in the infinitive form (which I have used as the citation form) or in conjunction with a tense marker. The morphosyntactic status of *kpwenda* is discussed in Section 4. Example (5) illustrates the infinitive form and in example (6) *kpwenda* combines with the consecutive tense marker -chi- as follows: -chi- + -enda- = -chenda-.

(5) Na-ye yuya mzee   wa-kat-ika   mairo kaya
And-he that old_man he.PST-cut-CAUS running home
kpwenda-iha ayae   phamwenga mchewe...
INF.go-call   his.fellows together   his.wife
And the old man ran off home to go and call his colleagues and his wife ...

(6) A-ri-pho-ona   hivyo, a-piga   mbiru a-chi-iha
They-PST-REL-see thus   they.PST-hit horn   they-CON-call
atu   osi
people all
When people saw that, they blew a horn and called together all the people

hipho laloni na <u>a-chenda-mu-endza</u>   hiko weru-ni.
there place and they-CON.go-him-search there bush-LOC.
in that area and they went and looked for him in the bush.

2.4 *-ka*-V-*e*

A frequently occurring construction consists of *-ka*-V-*e* (TAM marker, verb and subjunctive suffix). This indicates that an action occurs subsequent to some temporal reference point and at a distance, but movement only begins subsequent to that temporal reference point. In the declarative mood the action described using *-ka*-V-*e* follows some other action, but when used in the imperative there is no such restriction on its use. This follows from the characterisation of this form as expressing movement subsequent to some temporal reference point; in the declarative this is established by some other event whereas in the imperative this is not necessarily so. Example (7) illustrates the declarative usage, and example (8) the imperative form.

(7) Ná-lamuka   chiti ligundzu sana kaya Vyongbwani,
I.PST-wake.up early morning very home Vyongwani

ku-dzi-tayarisha
INF-REFL-prepare
I woke up very early in the morning at home in Vyongwani, to get ready

<u>n-ka-fundish-e</u> hiko Golini skuli   ya msingi.
I-KA-teach-SUB there Golini school of base.
to go and teach in Golini primary school.

(8) Mwanangu na-ku-voy-era   uzima. <u>Ka-som-e.</u>
My.child   I.PROG-you-pray-APP health KA-study-SUB.
My child I pray you have health. Go away and study.

Neither *-ka*- alone nor the subjunctive alone conveys this distal meaning. In (9), the story of an encounter with a lion taken from the same first person narrative as (7), the underlined occurrences of verbs with *-ka*- TAM markers are sequential and no change of location is possible. In (10) the subjunctive alone (indicated by the *-e* suffix) is neutral with respect to movement.

(9) Lakini kpwa kpweli kala wa-mendza, mana kala
But   for   truly if   it.PST-like, for COP_PST

a-ka-ni-ona,   iye
it-PFV-me-see, it
But for sure if it wanted, because it saw me

mwandzo kala   a-na-weza ku-ni-urukira <u>a-ka-ni-olaga</u> ama
first   COP.PST it-PROG-can INF-me-jump.on it-SEQ-me-kill or
first, it could have jumped on me and killed me or

<u>a-ka-ni-gbwarura</u> <u>a-ka-ni-richa</u>   phapho au <u>a-ka-ni-rya</u>.
it-SEQ-me-maul   it-SEQ-me-leave there   or it-SEQ-me-eat.
mauled me, and left me there or eaten me.

(10) A-chi-ambira hara anjina <u>a-kal-e</u>   mbere ili   <u>a-shuh-e.</u>
He-CON-tell   those others they-COP-SUB ahead so.that he-fart-SUB.
He told the others to go ahead so that he could fart.

TAM markers with the phonological form *-ka*- are common throughout most Bantu languages, with a wide variety of functions, including hodiernal (or near) and far past tenses, sequential and consecutive tenses, and perfect and perfective aspects. In addition, *-ka*- and related forms can function as future tenses and, as in Digo, distal aspects (Botne 1999). The distal form is concentrated in the south-central Bantu area, but it also occurs in the eastern Bantu area, where Digo is located (where it is probably more widespread than Botne's study suggests). In Digo, distal *-ka*- only occurs in the subjunctive form, which is in line with Botne's observation (1999: 482) that distal *-ka*- is most likely to occur in the subjunctive or imperative, and that its occurrence in infinitives or indicatives almost guarantees its occurrence in imperatives (and to a lesser extent subjunctives). Botne concludes from this that distal *-ka*- may have originated in imperative constructions in most of the languages which exhibit it, although it may have a separate origin in subjunctive constructions in eastern Africa (1999: 504). The source constructions were most probably derived either from a motion verb or from a locative clitic which followed verbs of motion which, once deleted, left the clitic with the sense "go and V" (1999: 488–489). Over time *-ka*- would have become affixed to the main verb.

Whatever its precise origin, the *-ka*-V-*e* distal aspect in Digo has probably been in existence for a long time. This suggests that there is nothing inherently unstable about distal aspects compared with other TAM markers, at least as far as Bantu languages are concerned. Cross-linguistically, one finds that grammaticalisation of constructions expressing physical movement typically leads to the development of pure tense markers, and it could be argued that the distal aspects in *-ya-*, *-cha-* and *kpwenda* are simply intermediate stages in such a grammaticalisation chain. According to this view, *-ya-* and *kpwenda* are transparently innovations and therefore probably of fairly recent provenance, and are likely to develop into pure future tense markers, which are in any case transparently innovations in all the North-East Coast Bantu languages which have future tenses (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 384). Turning to *-cha-*, its limited distribution and its relatively infrequent occurrence suggest that this might be a developing gram which failed to run its course and will soon fall into disuse (similar to *shall* in English). However the longevity of *-ka*-V-*e*

provides evidence that in Bantu languages, distal aspects do not inevitably develop into pure future tenses or die prematurely.

2.5 *Kpwedza*

Another member of the Digo system of distal aspects indicates movement towards rather than away from some location, and not surprisingly derives from the lexical verb *kpwedza* meaning 'come'. In the following example, *kpwedza* is in the infinitive, but, like the construction with *kpwenda* at the beginning of the same example, it can also occur with additional tense marking. Examples of this usage are given in Section 4 in relation to variation in the morphosyntactic frames in which *kpwedza* occurs.

(11)   N-á-kpwenda-sagala   kpwakpwe   siku   hahu   halafu   n-chi-uya
       I-PST-go-stay   his.place days   three then   I-CON-return
       kaya
       home
       I went and stayed at his place for three days and then I returned home

       kpwedza-sema   safari   vyo-kala.
       INF.come-say   journey   how-COP.PST.
       to come and report how the journey had been.

3.   Distal aspects in Fuliiru

Fuliiru also exhibits distal aspects derived from verbs of movement, direction and position. However, Fuliiru shows greater variation in the range of sources of distal aspects than Digo, which as we have seen has grammaticalised verbs whose basic meaning is either 'come' or 'go' (the origin of *-cha-* is uncertain). Van Otterloo (2000), from which the examples in Sections 3.1 and 3.2 come, classifies Fuliiru aspects both semantically and morphosyntactically. Semantically, there are three classes of verbal aspect in Fuliiru: relative time, relative place, and expectation (modality). Aspects of relative place correspond to what I have called distal aspects. The classification of Fuliiru aspectual constructions according to morphosyntactic criteria is reflected in the division between Section 3.1 and 3.2.

Section 3.3, the data for which were supplied by Karen Van Otterloo (p.c.), does not describe a distal aspect, but is included as it illustrates how the same morphosyntactic form, which in Digo and many other Bantu languages indicates a distal aspect, is used in Fuliiru with a different interpretation.

The data presented here is all from translated material (the New Testament) which was checked for naturalness and intelligibility with a number of native speakers.

3.1   Forms ending in *-i*

The constructions of this morphosyntactic type are characterised by distal aspect markers ending in *-i*. According to Van Otterloo (p.c.) the *-i* suffix is a reflex of the older non-finite prefix which is no longer attested in contemporary Fuliiru. Originally, this *-i* suffix would have been a prefix on a main verb following an auxiliary, so distal aspect markers ending in *-i* are the result of reanalysis analogous to the reanalysis in English of *going [to V]* as *gonna [V]*. The non-finite marker in contemporary Fuliiru is the class 15 prefix *uku-*, but the distal aspects ending in *-i* developed much earlier, at a time when non-finite verb forms were indicated by the class 5 prefix *i-*, suggesting that these forms are relatively long-lived.[6]

Like *kpwenda* and *kpwedza* in Digo, these distal aspects may be preceded by a subject prefix plus an optional negative prefix and a tense marker (except in the subjunctive mood), or by a non-finite prefix. There is no additional subject prefix or non-finite prefix before the main verb. In contrast to the standard Digo orthography in which distal aspects are affixed to the following verb, in the Fuliiru orthography the distal aspect is usually written as a separate word.[7] Although this suggests an auxiliary plus main verb analysis, Van Otterloo (2000) prefers to call these two word constructions 'aspects', although more recently the term 'adverbial auxiliary' has been used for aspectual constructions of time, place and expectation (Van Otterloo 2001).

In this section I will describe four distal aspects, but this does not necessarily constitute an exhaustive list. The form in *-gendi*, meaning 'go', indicates that the event described by the main verb is preceded by the subject moving away from its current location. In (12), which is tensed, the subject is described as moving away from the location at which she had got up in order to prepare food. In (13), which is in the subjunctive mood, the subjects propose moving away from the location of the speech event in order to perform an action at a different location.

(12)   **Kwokwo uyo maawe a-na-vyuka,   a-na-gendi mú-kolera ibyo kulya.**
       Thus   that mother she-CON-rise she-CON-go him-serve food
       So the woman got up and went and served him food.   (Matthew 8:15)

(13)   **Ko'-loziizi tu-gendi   ki-randura?**
       You-want   we-go.SUB   it-uproot
       Shall we go and uproot it?
                                                                (Matthew 13:28)

The form *-yiji* ('come') functions similarly to *-gendi* except that the subject is described as moving towards rather than away from some location. In the example below, the speaker is responding to a request to go to a certain location to heal a sick person, and it is this location rather than the location of the speech event which is taken as the locus of movement.

(14) Yesu a-na-mú-shuvya: "N-ga-yiji   mú-kiza."
      Jesus he-CON-him-say   I-FUT-come him-heal
      Jesus said: "I will come and heal him."   *(Matthew 8:7)*

The distal aspect formed from *-hikiri* ('arrive') is similar to *-yiji* ('come') in that it indicates movement towards a location but (as in *-gendi*) the location is the deictic centre (the location of the speech event or some other previously established location). The example in (15) consists of a negative subjunctive form of *-hikiri* followed by the bare stem of the main verb. In (16) *-hikiri* is tensed and the main verb, which is in the same form as (15), is written as part of the same word; this is merely orthographic convention and there is no other morphosyntactic difference between these two instances of *-hikiri*.

(15) Ikyanya u-ga-laalik-wa   ku'-buhya   u-ta-hikiri   bwatala
      When   you-FUT-invite-PAS LOC-wedding you-NEG-arrive.SUB sit
      ku'-kitumbi kye-mbere.
      LOC-chair   POS-front
      When you are invited to a wedding, do not arrive-and-sit on the front seat.
                                                              (Luke 14:8)

(16) A-na-hikiri'-gwa   mu'-magulu ga'-Yesu, iri   a-na-mú-tangira
      He-CON-arrive-fall LOC-feet   of-Jesus while he-PROG-him-give
      kongwa
      thanks
      And he arrived-and-fell at Jesus' feet, while giving him thanks. (Luke 17:16)

The final distal aspect of this morphosyntactic type to be discussed here, *-sigali* ('remain'), differs from the previous three in that it indicates lack of movement rather than movement in a particular direction. Prior to the utterance in (17) the speaker, Jesus, has stated that he will go away (that is, he will go to heaven) and so the hearers will search for him in vain, the implication being that this is because they will remain on earth. In Fuliiru, the use of *-sigali* indicates that when the subjects die this will not involve any change of location, either literally (they will not follow Jesus to heaven) or figuratively (they will die as they lived: 'in' their sins).

(17) Na'-kundu   mu-ga-n-jakula   mu-ga-sigali fwira
      And-although you-FUT-me-search you-FUT-remain die
      mu'-byaha biinyu.
      LOC-sins   your
      And even though you will search for me, you will remain-and-die in your sins.
                                                              (John 8:21)

3.2 Forms ending in *-a* and followed by *-ga-*

In constructions of the second morphosyntactic type, the main verb is a bound form which is preceded by a subject prefix and the TAM marker *-ga-*[8] as follows: SP-*ga*-V. This verbal complex is preceded by a distal aspect marker ending in *-a*. The distal aspect may occur in one of three basic morphosyntactic frames: 1. preceded by a subject prefix (which must be the same as that preceding the main verb) followed by a TAM marker; 2. preceded by another aspect construction ending in *-i* (again the subject prefix must be the same as that preceding the main verb); or 3. preceded by a locative prefix. In the following examples, (18) illustrates the distal aspect *-lenga* ('pass') preceded by the iterative aspect marker *-kizi* which behaves morphosyntactically in the same way as *-gendi*, *-yiji* etc. (described in Section 3.1 above). Example (19) illustrates *-genda* ('go') preceded by a locative prefix.

(18) Yikyo kimenyeeso, Abayahudi bingi
      That sign   Jews   many
      ba-na-kizi   lenga ba-ga-ki-soma.
      they-CON-ITV pass they-GA-it-read
      And many Jews passed by and read that sign.   *(John 19:20)*

(19) Uyimule uyu mukazi; a-li   mu'-genda a-ga-banda ulubi
      Remove this woman; she-COP LOC-go   she-GA-make noise
      i'nyuma liitu.
      behind us
      Get rid of this woman; she is going along making a racket behind us.
                                                              (Matthew 15:23)

Constructions with this morphosyntactic form also occur with *-yija* ('come') and other distal and non-distal aspects. These constructions are similar in meaning to the corresponding forms ending in *-i* (Section 3.1) but indicate that the action is ongoing, hence they often co-occur with the iterative aspect marker *-kizi* as in example (18) or the locative prefix *mu-* as in example (19).[9]

3.3 Non-distal -ka-V-e

Fuliiru exhibits a form with the same morphological form, -ka-V-e (-ka- TAM marker, verb stem, -e subjunctive suffix), as Digo but with a different function. I will briefly describe the meaning of -ka-V-e in Fuliiru before offering a few tentative suggestions as to its origins and its relation to the distal form.

The -ka-V-e construction in Fuliiru indicates that there is a period of time, often including a mentioned event, that intervenes before the occurrence of the event described by the -ka-V-e construction. In (20) the act of telling is marked by -ka-V-e and the intervening event is the arrival of the speaker. In (21) the event associated with -ka-V-e is the naming of a child and the intervening event is the child's birth.

(20) U-bwatal-e   ku'-kitumbi kye'-nyuma, gira   mango
      You-sit-SUB   LOC-seat   POS-back   so.that   when
      ka-ku-laalika   a-yija
      REL-you-invite   he-come
      Sit in the back seat, so that when the one who invited you comes,

      a-ka-ku-bwir-e   kwokuno: Mwira wani, u-yiji
      he-KA-you-say-SUB   thus   friend my   you-come
      bwatala   hano ha'-mbere.
      sit   here POS-front
      he will speak to you thus: My friend, come and sit here at the front.
                                                           (Luke 14:10)

(21) A-ga-buta   umwana wo'-butabana. No'-yo'-mwana,
      She-FUT-bear   child   POS-male   And-REL-child
      u-ka-m-yinik-e   iziina lya'-Yesus
      you-KA-him-name-SUB   name   POS-Jesus
      She will bear a son. And that child, (you should) name him Jesus.
                                                           (Matthew 1:21)

The -ka-V-e construction contrasts with two other future or prospective forms: the simple future with -ga- (agagenda 's/he will go at some future time') and the far future formed by -ye-V-e (ayegende 's/he will go at some time in the distant future') which indicates that the associated event is sure to occur but at a time which is uncertain. The -ka-V-e construction and the -ye-V-e construction each consist of two formatives but constitute a single morpheme.

It is possible that the -ka-V-e construction in Fuliiru is an independent innovation, but given the wide geographical spread of this form there is a high likelihood that it is derived from the same form or forms that gave rise to the future and distal -ka- constructions in a number of other Bantu languages. As we saw in Section

2.4, cross-linguistically all distal -ka- forms occur in the subjunctive or imperative moods, and conversely all future -ka- constructions occur in the indicative (Botne 1999:496). As the examples above show, the Fuliiru -ka-V-e construction can occur in both the subjunctive (imperative) and the indicative, so an origin in either a distal or a future -ka- construction is possible.

Nurse and Muzale (1999:529) note that a number of Great Lakes languages (the same sub-group as Fuliiru, following Nurse's 1999, classification) form a far future in -(a)ka-V-e, which might suggest an origin in a Proto-Bantu future -ka- construction. However, these languages are only situated on the eastern (Kenyan) side of Lake Victoria (whereas Fuliiru is spoken in the Democratic Republic of Congo), so the far future form in -(a)ka-V-e may be a more recent localised innovation, as Nurse and Muzale suggest (ibid.). It is possible, however, that Nurse and Muzale are incorrect, and that the far future form in -(a)ka-V-e is a reflex of a Proto-Bantu future -ka- construction which has been replaced elsewhere within the Great Lakes sub-group by more recent innovations. In this case, we could imagine a situation in which a far future of the form -ka-V-e was replaced in Fuliiru by a newer innovation, and the morphological form previously associated with far future was reanalysed. Since events envisaged as occurring in the far future are typically viewed as following some earlier future event or events, it is conceivable that a far future could come to be reanalysed as a gram with a meaning along the lines of: 'The associated event occurs after another action has been completed.'

If we assume that Nurse and Muzale (1999:529) are correct in viewing the Great Lakes far future form in -(a)ka-V-e as a more recent localised innovation, then it is equally possible that the -ka-V-e construction in Fuliiru originates from a distal aspect as from a far future. The semantic mechanism of change that would need to operate in such a case is generalisation, which can be defined as "the loss of specific features of meaning with the consequent expansion of appropriate contexts of use for a gram" (Bybee et al. 1994:289). The meaning of -ka-V-e in Digo can be paraphrased as: 'The associated event occurs after another action has been completed by the subject of the verb, and that action involves moving to another location.' If we subtract two components of meaning: 1. 'by the subject of the verb,' and 2. 'that action involves moving to another location,' we arrive at the same paraphrase of the meaning of the Fuliiru form suggested above: 'The associated event occurs after another action has been completed.' The implications of this hypothesis are explored in Section 5.

4.   Grammatical considerations

So far I have focused on the semantics of distal aspects in Digo and Fuliiru, and whilst I have described the morphosyntactic characteristics of these forms, I have not yet evaluated the classification of these constructions as aspects using morphosyntactic criteria. Are we dealing here with morphological aspect markers, auxiliary or serial verb constructions, or something else?

The basic pattern in finite verb phrases in many Bantu languages, including Digo and Fuliiru, is of a verbal complex consisting of the following slots:

> Subject Prefix – TAM Prefix – (Object Prefix) – Verb Stem – (Suffixes) – Final Vowel

Note also that in Fuliiru (but not in Digo) the subject prefix and TAM prefix can be replaced by a construction consisting of a copula form followed by a separate verbal complex prefixed with a locative as in example (19) above.

If we take this pattern as representative of prototypical or fully grammaticalised TAM marking, then the following distal aspects in Digo are unambiguously TAM markers:

> -ya- (Section 2.1)
> -cha- (Section 2.2)
> -ka-V-e- (Section 2.4)

The following constructions behave morphosyntactically like TAM markers in that the following (main) verb does not have its own subject prefix or infinitive prefix, but they behave like verbs in that they may themselves be preceded by a TAM marker:

> In Digo: kpwenda (Section 2.3)
>   kpwedza (Section 2.5)
> In Fuliiru: -gendi, -yiji, -hikiri, -sigali (Section 3.1)

I consider these to be aspects, that is fully grammaticalised members of the TAM systems of Digo and Fuliiru, since the absence of a repeated subject prefix and the restricted number of such forms in both languages make it unlikely that these are serial verb constructions.

The verb-like characteristics of these constructions are a feature of newly grammaticalised constructions. Such constructions typically exhibit variation, as in the case of *mekwisha* versus *mesha* in Swahili (see Section 1). Variation is also a feature of the use of *kpwedza* in Digo. Examples (22) and (23) are translations of the same passage from the New Testament (Matthew 10:34). (22) was the original version which had been translated by a native speaker of Digo and checked

for acceptability by another native speaker, before being presented in context to a group of about ten people, none of whom had been involved in the previous translation process. These native speakers accepted the grammaticality and intelligibility of (22) but felt, since this was representing the spoken language, that (23) would be more natural.

(22) M-si-fikiriy-e   kukala ná-kpwedza kureha   amani dunia-ni.
      You-NEG-think-SUB that   I.PST-come INF-bring peace world-LOC
      Do not think that I came to bring peace to the world.

      S-edz-ere   ku-reha   amani, bali   ná-reha   upanga.
      I.NEG-come-PST INF-bring peace   rather I.PST-bring sword
      I did not come to bring peace, rather I brought a sword.

(23) M-si-on-e   kukala ná-kpwedza-reha amani dunia-ni.
      You-NEG-see-SUB that   I.PST-come-bring peace world-LOC
      Do not think that I came to bring peace to the world.

      S-edz-ere-reha   amani, ela   ná-kpedza-reha kondo.
      I.NEG-come-PST-bring peace   but   I.PST-come-bring conflict
      I did not come to bring peace, but I came to bring conflict.

In (22) *kpwedza* functions morphosyntactically like an auxiliary verb; it is preceded by a TAM marker (in the second occurrence, *sedzere*, the past tense marker is indicated by the suffix *-ere* rather than by a prefix as is usually the case), and the main verb is preceded by an infinitive prefix. In the revised version, (23), the infinitive prefix has been removed from the first two occurrences of *-reha* ('bring') and *kpwedza* functions as a TAM prefix on the main verb. The meaning of these constructions is, however, identical, suggesting that *kpwedza* is a newly grammaticalised construction. In addition, the tensed occurrence of *-reha* in the final clause of (22), *náreha* ('I brought'), has been rephrased as *nákpedzareha* ('I came to bring').

The Fuliiru forms *-genda, -yija* and *-lenga* behave morphosyntactically more like verbs than TAM markers in that the subject prefix is repeated on the main verb and is followed by the TAM prefix *-ga-*. These considerations favour a serial verb analysis. However, the fact that only the *-ga-* TAM marker can occur on the main verb indicates that these constructions are morphosyntactically restricted, which in turn suggests that formal grammaticalisation may have begun. The forms ending in *-a* (followed by a main verb marked by *-ga-*) are drawn from the same limited sub-set of verbs as the forms ending in *-i* and are similar in meaning, which suggests that they represent a more recent innovation which is following a similar grammaticalisation path as the forms ending in *-i*. In addition, the forms ending in *-a* do not take verbal extensions (with the exception of the emphatic extension *-ag*, which always occurs at the end of a word[10]) and cannot be modified by an adverb phrase (which would split the 'aspect' from the following verb), suggest-

ing that these are best characterised as auxiliaries or aspect markers rather than as independent verbs.

5.   Discussion

This study has assumed that distal aspects are genuinely grammaticalised elements of at least two Bantu languages. In Digo, at least one distal aspect, -ka-V-e, has probably been in existence for a long time. This suggests that distal aspects are not merely intermediate stages along a grammaticalisation chain from lexical verbs of movement, direction or location to non-distal ('pure') TAM markers. Rather, it is possible for a grammaticalisation chain to culminate in a distal aspect. The existence of the same form in Fuliiru with a non-distal meaning may be evidence of a further stage of grammaticalisation (specifically through the mechanism of generalisation) operating on a distal aspect. If this is the case, it need not imply that distal aspects are less grammaticalised than pure aspects (which indicate relative time). Schwenter (1994) presents evidence that the present perfect in the Alicante dialect of Spanish is developing into a hodiernal past/perfective with concurrent loss of the semantic component of current relevance. He goes on to argue that the resulting hodiernal form will eventually lose the semantic component that restricts associated events to a single day and will become a general perfective marker. This does not mean that the present perfect in Spanish is not a real functional category, or that the hodiernal past is less grammaticalised (functionally or formally) than the perfective. What it indicates is that it is possible for one functional category to develop into another through generalisation (see Nicolle 1998a:22).

At the outset, I stated that this chapter would be contrastive at two levels. Within the Bantu language family I have contrasted distal aspects in two individual languages: Digo and Fuliiru. I have demonstrated how Digo differentiates between a number of forms derived from the basic semantic domain of movement and direction. These distal aspects all differ semantically and vary morphosyntactically from fully grammaticalised TAM prefixes to newly grammaticalised forms exhibiting formal variation. Fuliiru also distinguishes a number of distal aspects, but these exhibit fewer characteristics of formal grammaticalisation and are derived from a wider range of lexical source constructions than in Digo. Whilst at least two of the distal aspects in Digo, as well as the pure future tense marker, are derived from verbs meaning 'go', in Fuliiru only -gendi and -genda are derived from the lexical verb 'go' and the difference in meaning between these is unclear. Conversely, Fuliiru has developed distal aspects from lexical verbs that have not undergone grammaticalisation in Digo, such as 'arrive', 'remain' and 'pass'.

There is no morphosyntactic reason why Digo and Fuliiru should differ in these ways, so the variation is more likely to be semantic in origin. In Section 1 I suggested that basic members of the class of verbs covering the semantic domain of movement, direction and location could undergo grammaticalisation to become distal aspects. The verbs 'go' and 'come' are the most basic members of this domain, and they frequently contribute to the source constructions of both distal aspects and pure tenses. The system of distal aspects in Digo appears to be based on these two basic verbs, whereas Fuliiru extends the set to include 'arrive', 'remain' and 'pass', also arguably basic members of the domain. If the variation between Bantu languages concerning which verbs are acceptable sources for distal aspects is dependent on which verbs are considered to be 'basic' members of the domain, then we would expect more languages to have distal aspects based only on 'come' and 'go' (the most basic members of the set) than on other verbs. It should also be possible to construct an implicational scale, such that the existence of distal aspects derived from less basic verbs implies the existence of distal aspects based on more basic verbs such as 'go' and 'come'.

A further hypothesis is that languages which draw on a larger set of verbal sources will allow more of these to co-occur in a verb phrase. Thus, Fuliiru, with a large set of distal aspects (and other aspects or adverbal auxiliaries sharing the same morphosyntactic characteristics) allows up to three aspects to precede the main verb, whereas Digo, with a small set allows only one. (TAM information can only occur on the first verbal auxiliary in a phrase.) Correspondingly, where there is large set of aspects or adverbial auxiliaries, these will exhibit fewer features of formal grammaticalisation (phonological reduction, affixation) than members of small sets. Hence, in Fuliiru distal aspects and other adverbial auxiliary constructions are written as separate words whereas in Digo they are written as single words.

At a more general level, the Bantu language family, represented by Digo and Fuliiru, can be contrasted with other language families. This raises the general question of why distal aspects, unlike, say, future tenses, occur in Bantu languages but not in many other language families. Another way of putting the same question is to ask why it is that lexical sources which invariably undergo semantic bleaching during grammaticalization in many languages are not necessarily semantically bleached during grammaticalization in (at least some) Bantu languages. For example, a movement verb which constitutes the source lexeme for a future tense should (according to grammaticalisation theory) undergo semantic bleaching with the result that the original lexical semantic component of movement becomes no longer recoverable. Even if there is a period during which semantic retention is operative, the semantic component of movement will only occur in addition to the grammaticalised future tense function (see Nicolle 1998b). What marks Bantu languages out from many other languages is that supposedly lexical components of meaning are

retained in fully grammaticalised items as an integral part of the meaning of such grams.

The reason for such macro-variation may lie in the morphosyntactic characteristics of language families rather than in conceptual differences concerning which semantic domains are amenable to grammaticalisation. It could be argued that at a functional level English has distal aspects derived from *go* and *come* occurring in the syntactic frame '*go/come and* V'. These often occur in imperatives ('Go and buy the paper.' 'Come and eat.') but may also occur in other moods ('She went and saw the doctor this morning.' 'Can you come and give me a hand later?'). A limited range of other verbs may also occur in this syntactic frame, including *stay* (but not *remain*), *run* (but not *walk*) and, in some dialects, *try* (but not *attempt*: 'I'll try/*attempt and finish before five.'). It is possible that such constructions exhibit some degree of formal grammaticalisation, however the morphosyntactic structure of English seems to be relatively resistant to grammatical innovations. In Bantu languages however, formal grammaticalisation of TAM markers occurs relatively rapidly, which may favour the retention of meaning types which in other languages are subject to semantic bleaching.

A relevant study would be to compare the kinds of categories grammaticalised in agglutinating languages (such as Bantu) compared to inflecting and isolating languages. It would also be necessary to look in some detail at word formation in agglutinating languages, since the ease of affixation in Bantu languages is a feature not only of their agglutinating character but also of the relative position within the verb phrase of TAM morphemes and lexical verbs. The fact that auxiliary verbs, taken in the widest sense of the phrase (see Heine 1993), and TAM markers both usually precede the main verb stem, with very little intervening material, means that it is easy for an auxiliary verb to become an affix in most Bantu languages. If genetically unrelated agglutinating languages with similar structures to Bantu exhibit a higher concentration of 'non-standard' aspectual categories such as direction and expectation than languages of other typological types, this would provide some support for the above hypothesis.

Glossary

APP	Applied/Applicative suffix	PAS	Passive suffix
CAUS	Causative suffix	PFV	Perfective aspect
CON	Consecutive tense	POS	Possessive marker
COP	Copula	PROG	Progressive aspect
FUT	Pure Future tense	PST	Past tense
INF	Infinitive prefix	REFL	Reflexive marker
ITV	Iterative aspect	REL	Relative marker
LOC	Locative marker	SEQ	Sequential tense
NEG	Negative marker	SUB	Subjunctive suffix

Notes

1. Digo is classified as E.73 (Guthrie 1967–1971), North-East Coast (Nurse 1999). Initial research into Digo was conducted in Kenya by Martien de Groot and Andy Clark under Research Permit of the Office of the President No. OP.13/001/17 C 180/20. Fuliiru is classified as D/J.63, Great Lakes. I am grateful to Roger and Karen Van Otterloo for the Fuliiru data.

2. There are two pieces of evidence in favour of this analysis: First, verbs in Swahili do not occur in isolation except as imperatives. Second, stress in Swahili occurs on the penultimate syllable of polysyllabic words, and in (1b) only the penultimate syllable of the main verb is stressed.

3. The perfective marker *-me-* originally also derived from a lexical verb meaning 'finish'. The reoccurrence of similar grammaticalisation processes or 'chains' (Heine 1993:53) within a single language known as a 'linguistic cycle' (Hodge 1970; see also Ono 1992). Sometimes a linguistic cycle may result in the loss of the earlier grammaticalised morpheme, but typically the old and the new co-exist and are semantically distinct.

4. I am grateful to Barb Heins of SIL Mozambique for this suggestion.

5. In Digo /kw/ is realised as a double plosive, written /kpw/. Although the verb stem in *kpwenda* is strictly speaking *-enda* and the initial *kpw-* is the non-finite prefix, in some tenses, the whole form *kpwenda* occurs. The same applies to the verb *kpwedza* 'come' (see examples (22) and (23) below).

6. Class 5 prefixes with the form *i-* still function as non-finite markers in some of the north-western Bantu languages in Guthrie's zones A and C (Hadermann 1999:434–435).

7. Example (16) is written as a single word because the main verb stem, *gwa* ('fall'), is monosyllabic, and phonologically all monosyllabic words are cliticised to the preceding or following word. The apostrophe indicates a 'semantic' word break.

8. When *-ga-* is the only TAM marker in a clause it functions as a future (or relative future) tense marker, as in examples (14), (15) and (17). However, this is not the function of *-ga-* in distal aspect constructions, where its primary function appears to be grammatical. For this reason it is glossed simply as -GA- in the examples.

9. Note the similar use of a locative particle in the German 'progressive' construction with the preposition *am* ('at'): *sie ist am lesen* 'she is in the process of writing'.

10. Van Otterloo (p.c.) cites the fact that the emphatic extension can be suffixed to an aspect marker as an argument for the fact that a word break exists at that point because the emphatic extension must directly precede the final vowel.

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From temporal to conditional*

Italian *qualora* vs English *whenever*

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1.   Introduction

Grammaticalization, the process whereby "lexical material in highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts is assigned functional category status" (Traugott & Dasher 2002:81), plays a crucial role in the evolution of 'complex conditional connectives', such as Italian *qualora* or English *supposing (that)* (Visconti 2000), which 'originate' from lexical material of various kinds – verbs, nouns, adjectives, prepositions. The cross-linguistic diachronic investigation of these connectives, for reasons that will be highlighted in this paper, sheds a new light on the interaction between lexicon and structure in the development of clause linkage markers.

The first part of this paper focuses on Italian *qualora* (§2). The analysis identifies the basic semantic structure underlying the evolution of this connective, highlighting the role of mood and aspect in the process. The second part focuses on English *whenever*, one of its 'equivalents' as suggested by bilingual dictionaries (§3). The data are related to two important issues in semantic change theory: (i) unidirectionality, i.e. the tendency of meanings to shift from one domain to the other (e.g. from TEMPORAL to CONDITIONAL) but not *vice versa*; (ii) subjectivization, "the development of a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker belief or speaker attitude towards what is said" (Traugott 1995:32). The question is addressed whether the evolution of *qualora* constitutes a case of grammaticalization (vs other phenomena, such as lexicalization) (§4). Finally, the nature of the *tertium comparationis* (Krzeszowski 1990; Fisiak 1990; Jaszczolt 1995) and the importance of the diachronic dimension in contrastive analysis are discussed (§5).

2.   *Qualora*: From temporal to conditional

According to dictionaries and grammars of Present Day Italian, *qualora*, which is defined as "*nel caso che*", "*nell'eventualità che*" 'in the event that', "*se*" 'if', "*se eventualmente*" (GDLI), "*se mai*", "*se per caso*" 'if per chance' (Zingarelli), has conditional value and selects the subjunctive mood, as in the examples:

(1)   *Qualora* avvenissero dei mutamenti, vi prego di informarmene tempestivamente [Zingarelli].
       'Should any changes occur, please inform me immediately'.

(2)   *Qualora* restituisca il mal tolto, rinuncerò a denunciarlo [Devoto-Oli].
       'If he gives back what he has stolen, I won't report him to the police'.

Most dictionaries refer also to a "temporal" value of the connective, which is indicated as "*desueto*" 'obsolete', "*antico*" 'archaic' (DISC; Treccani), or "*letterario*" 'literary' (Garzanti; Zingarelli). In fact, the latest example provided by dictionaries of such a temporal value dates back to the XIX century:

(3)   Naturalmente l'animale odia il suo simile, e *qualora* ciò è richiesto all'interesse proprio, l'offende.   (G. Leopardi, *Pensieri* [GDLI])
       'By nature animals hate their kin, and whenever it is their interest to do so, they will offend them'.

To trace the different fates of the temporal and conditional values, I examined *qualora* in texts from previous centuries. The data are taken from two *corpora*: (i) *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini* (henceforth *TLIO*), elaborated by the Opera del Vocabolario Italiano, which comprises a data-base of nearly 1400 texts from the period prior to 1375;[1] (ii) *Letteratura Italiana Zanichelli* 3.0. (henceforth *LIZ*), which contains a data-base of 770 literary texts from 1250 to approximately 1950.[2]

In *TLIO qualora* occurs 77 times. The first element that strikes us in the *corpus* is the prevalence of the indicative mood, *vs* the subjunctive found in Present Day Italian: only 9/77 subjunctive (12%); vs 68 indicative (88%).

Of the indicative examples, 49 (64%) are present indicative, as in:

(4)   *Qualora* vol, la femena se mostra sempl'e plana e mena relegione como fose nonana; mai s'ela se vé l'asio, ben fai volta sotana: per l'un no lassa l'autro cortese né vilana. (*Proverbiaquedicuntur*, XIII in.- venez. [TLIO])
       '*When* she wants, the female shows herself simple, plain and religious, but given the chance, she lifts up her skirt: she won't leave one [man] for another, whether she's a gentlewoman or a peasant'.

eleven (14%) are imperfect, as in:

(5)   Omè, dove lascio io i cari amici? Dove le feste e il sommo diletto? Ove i cavalli, omai fatti mendici del lor signore? Ove quel ben perfetto ch'amor mi dava, *qualora* i pudici occhi d'Emilia vedeva e l'aspetto?
                                   (Boccaccio, *Teseida*, 1339–1341? [TLIO])
       'Oh my, where do I leave my dear friends? Where the parties and the great pleasure? Where the horses, who have lost their master? Where that perfect good that love gave me, *whenever* I looked at Emilia's honest eyes and face?'

five (6%) future, as in:

(6)   Ma noi non negheremo però che i savi non conoscano il male, e pur lo fanno; ma diremo che essi per quello non perdono il senno, con ciò sia cosa che, *qualora* essi vorranno, con la ragione ch'elli hanno, la volontà raffrenare, elli nell'usato senno si rimarranno.
                                   (Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, 1336–1338 [TLIO])
       'But we won't deny however that the wise know evil, and indeed practise it; but we will say that they don't thereby lose their wisdom, since whenever they want, with the reason that they have, to curb their will, they will stay with their usual wisdom'.

and only three (4%) perfect, as in:

(7)   Perdonami, o figliuolo di Maria, Per lo prezioso sangue che succhiasti Da Lei, *qualora* entrasti Nel verginal suo seno immaculato.
                                   (Petrarca, *Disperse e attribuite*, 1374 [TLIO])
       'Forgive me, o Mary's son, for the precious blood that you sucked from Her, *when* you entered her immaculate virginal bosom'.

The second surprising fact is that, in nearly all examples, as in the four quoted above, *qualora* has a temporal, rather than a conditional value: (4), (5), (6), (7), (8):

(8)   Elgli à due campane in Gallia, che suonano spessamente per lo vento; sonsi aveduti quelli della contrada, che *qualora* elle suonano per abbattenza ad uno punto, nascie nella contrada uno huovo, che non sanno d'onde si vengnia, il quale poi ricolgono le lor servigiali, e nasciene uno animale c' à ffatte le menbra come huomo.
                                   (Fr. da Barberino, *Regg.*, 1318–1320 - tosc. [TLIO])
       'There are two bells in Gaul, that often toll because of the wind; the inhabitants have noticed that *when(ever)* they ring per chance at one point, an egg is born of unknown origin, which their servants collect and from which an animal is born that has limbs like a man'.