

〈特集「受動表現」〉

ベンバ語の受動表現*
Passive expressions in Bemba (Bantu M42)

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要旨：本稿は、語研論集 14 号 (2009) 所収の調査票にもとづいて収集したベンバ語 (バントゥ系；ザンビア・コッパーベルト州) の受動表現に関する記述的資料を提供するものである。

Abstract: This article provides descriptive data on various passive constructions in Bemba, a Bantu language spoken in Copperbelt province in Zambia, collected through the questionnaire “Passive expressions” designed in *Journal of the Institute of Language Research* 14, 2009.

Keywords: Bemba, Bantu, passive

1-1 A は B に叩かれた。(直接受身)

- a) *Búpe acímwá kuli Mwápe*
bupe a-aci-um-w-a kuli mwape
Bupe SM₁-PST.N-beat-PASS-FV PP.LOC Mwape
‘Bupe was beaten by Mwape.’
*Bupe acumwa ku Mwape.

As in many Eastern Bantu languages, grammatical passive is expressed through verbal derivation by the suffix *-w*, which originates in the reconstructed Proto-Bantu suffix **-ó* (cf. Meeussen 1969: 92). The locative preposition *kuli*, which can be glossed as ‘towards’, ‘at (the place of)’, ‘by’ etc depending on the context, has to be used to introduce a human agent (*Mwape* in the above example). If an agent is non-human, the prefix *ku-*, which is directly attached to the agent noun, should be used instead.



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

- b) *Búpe acísúmwá kú mbwa*
 bupe a-aci-sum-w-a ku-N-bwa
 Bupe SM₁-PST.N-bite-PASS-FV 17-9-dog
 ‘Bupe was bitten by a dog.’
 *Bupe acisumwa kuli mbwa.

In many cases, passive in Bemba can also be expressed without passive morphology. Instead, this language even prefers to use the construction with an impersonal class 2 (i.e., the plural class of human nouns) subject. This construction is often referred to as ‘*ba*-passive’ in the literature of Bantu linguistics (cf. Schadeberg and Bostoen 2019: 187).

- c) *Búpe bacímú má kuli Mwápe*
 bupe ba-aci-mu-um-a kuli mwape
 Bupe SM₂-PST.N-OM₁-beat-FV PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe was beaten by Mwape. (Lit.: TOP[Bupe_i] they beat him_i to Mwape.)’

1-2 A は B に足を踏まれた。(持ち主の受身、体の部分)

- a) *Búpe acinyántwa palukásá kuli Mwápe*
 bupe a-aci-nyant-w-a pa-lu-kasa kuli mwape
 Bupe SM₁-PST.N-trample-PASS-FV 16-11-foot PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe was stepped on the foot by Mwape.’

The body part that is stepped on (i.e., *ulukasa* ‘foot’) in (1-2-a) is expressed as a locative noun which is marked by an extra locative noun class (cl. 16) prefix, *pa-*. Body parts can also be passivised as illustrated in (1-2-b).

- b) *ulúkásá lwá kwá Búpe lwacinyántwá kuli Mwápe*
 u-lu-kasalu-a=ku-a bupe
 AUG-11-foot PP_{X11}-GEN=PP_{X17}-GEN Bupe
 lu-aci-nyant-w-a kuli mwape
 SM₁₁-PST.N-trample-PASS-FV PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe’s foot was stepped on by Mwape.’

The same situation can also be expressed through *ba*-passive as in (1-2-c).

- c) *Búpe bacímúnyánta palúkásá kuli Mwápe*
 bupe ba-aci-mu-nyant-a pa-lu-kasa kuli mwape
 Bupe SM₂-PST.N-OM₁-trample-FV 16-11-foot PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe was stepped on the foot by Mwape.’

1-3 AはBに財布を盗まれた。(持ち主の受身、持ち物)

- a) *Búpe náabamwíbilá icikwámá kuli Mwápe*
 bupe naa=ba-mu-ib-il-a i-ci-kwama kuli mwape
 Bupe PRS.PERF=SM₂-OM₁-steal-APPL-FV AUG-7-wallet PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe’s wallet has been stolen by Mwape. (Lit.: TOP[Bupe_i], they stole the wallet from him_i to Mwape.)’

Seemingly, it may not be natural at least in this context to passivise a possessee that is a subject of being stolen. Instead, the situation is expressed by the *ba*-passive construction with an applicative verb *ibila* ‘steal from, rob (s.o.) of’. It is also to be noted that the example (1-3-a) is in the present perfect form with the proclitic *náa=*, which is probably associated with the aspectual connotation of resultant state. However, as shown in the previous examples (1-1-b, 1-2-c), *ba*-passive is also structurally compatible with (aspectually unmarked) near past tense.

- b) *Búpe bacimwíbilá ichikwámá kuli Mwápe*
 bupe ba-aci-mu-ib-il-a i-ci-kwama kuli mwape
 Bupe SM₂-PST.N-OM₁-steal-APPL-FV AUG-7-wallet PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe’s wallet was stolen by Mwape. (Lit.: TOP[Bupe_i], they stole the wallet from him_i to Mwape.)’

1-4 昨日の夜、私は赤ん坊に泣かれた。それでちっとも眠れなかった。(自動詞からの間接受身)

- a) *Umwána ácilila sána ubushiku, nsháacilála nangu panóno*
 u-mu-ana a-aci-lil-a sana u-bu-shiku
 AUG-1-child SM₁-PST.N-cry-FV very_much AUG-14-night
 N-sha-aci-lal-a nangu pa-nono
 SM_{1SG}-NEG-PST.N-sleep-FV even 16-small
 ‘Last night I was disturbed by the child’s crying and I couldn’t sleep at all.’

Passivization of intransitive verbs in general seems to be ungrammatical in Bemba, i.e., **N-aci-lil-w-a kuli umwana* ‘(lit.) I was cried by a/the child.’

1-5 新しいビルが(Aによって)建てられた。(モノ主語受身、一回的)

- a) *Icikúlwa icípya cáalikúlwa kuli Mwápe*
 i-ci-kulwa i-ci-pya ci-alii-kul-w-a
 AUG-7-building AUG-7-new SM₇-PST.R-build-PASS-FV
 kuli mwape
 PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘A new building was built by Mwape.’

Non-human subjects can be passivised in Bemba regardless of whether the verb denotes a single occurrence of an event (1-5-a) or a persistent state (without referring to a specific agent) as illustrated below in (1-6-a).

1-6 カナダではフランス語が話されている。(モノ主語受身、恒常的。動作主が問題にならない場合)

- a) *Icifulénci ciláńdwá kukánada*
i-ci-fulenci ci-Ø-land-w-a ku-kanada
AUG-7-French SM7-CJ.PRS-speak-PASS-FV 17-Canada
'French is spoken in Canada.'

If the location is not specified in the above sentence, the verb can be in Disjoint (DJ) form which is marked by the prefix *la-* in the TAM slot of the verbal template (between SM and OM positions). DJ, as suggested by the term, is usually defined as a verbal form that does not take any post-verbal constituent and may or may not be associated with predicate-centered focus (for further information on DJ and its structural counterpart called Conjoint (CJ) in Bantu, see Güldemann 2003, Van der Wal and Hyman 2017).

- b) *Icifulénci cilalándwa*
i-ci-fulenci ci-la-land-w-a
AUG-7-French SM7-DJ-speak-PASS-FV
'French is spoken.'
**Icifulenci cilalandwa kukanada.*

1-7 財布が (A に) 盗まれた。(モノ主語受身、モノ主語の背後に被影響者が想定される)

- a) *Náabanjibilá icikwámá cańdí kuli Mwápe*
naa=ba-N-ib-il-a i-ci-kwama ci-andi
PRS.PERF=SM2-OM1SG-steal-APPL-FV AUG-7-wallet 7-POSS.1SG
kuli mwape
PP.LOC Mwape
'My wallet has been stolen by Mwape.'
?? Icikama candi naacibilwa

ba-passive is also used to express a situation where a specific affectee is assumed. In (1-7-a) the affectee is the first person singular referent as a possessor of the wallet, which is expressed through the possessive pronoun *cańdí*. Interestingly, passivization by the suffix *-w* of this sentence seems to be grammatically unacceptable. Further investigation is needed to clarify the structural and/or semantic constraints on the well-formedness of each of the two passive constructions.

1-8 壁に絵が掛けられている。(モノ主語受身、結果状態の叙述)

- a) *Icipíkica náacikobékwa pacibumba*
i-ci-píkica naa=ci-kob-ik-w-a pa-ci-bumba
AUG-7-picture PRS.PERF=SM7-hook-NEUT-PASS-FV 16-7-wall
'The picture is hanging on the wall. (Lit.: The picture has been hung on the wall.)'

As shown in (1-3-a), aspectual resultant state can be expressed through the present perfect proclitic *náa=*, which is structurally compatible with morphological passive marked by *-w*. In Bemba, there seems to be a specific group of verb roots which cannot be directly attached to by the passive *-w* (i.e., **-kob-w-a* in this case). In such verb roots, the passive *-w* should always be accompanied by the neuter (or middle voice) marker *-ik*. This type of ‘compound suffixes’, or ‘suffixal phrasemes’ in Bostoen and Guérois (forthc.), are widely attested in many other Bantu languages.

1-9 AはBに／から愛されている。(感情述語の受身、特に動作主のマーカ―に注目)

- a) *Búpe áalitémwíkwá kuli Mwápe*
 bupe a-ali-temw-ik-w-a kuli mwape
 Bupe SM₁-PRS.STAT-love-NEUT-PASS-FV PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe is loved by Mwape.’

Passivization of emotional verbs like ‘love’ is one of the most typical cases where *ba*-passive is used as illustrated in (1-9-b).

- b) *Búpe báalimutémwá kuli Mwápe*
 bupe ba-ali-mu-temw-a kuli mwape
 Bupe SM₂-PRS.STAT-OM₁-love-FV PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe is loved by Mwape.’

1-10 AはBに／から「…」と言われた。(伝達動詞の受身、特に動作主のマーカ―に注目)

- a) *Búpe ááliébékwá kuli Mwápe*
 bupe a-alii-eb-ik-w-a kuli mwape
 Bupe SM₁-PST.R-tell-NEUT-PASS-FV PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe was told by Mwape.’

There seems no clear formal distinction between the agentive marker which is used with communicative verbs like ‘tell’ and that used with other verbs in the morphological passive construction. The same applies to the *ba*-passive as illustrated in (1-10-b).

- b) *Búpe bááliimwébá ukúsámfyá mbalé kuli Mwápe*
 bupe ba-alii-mu-eb-a u-ku-samfy-a N-bale
 Bupe SM₂-PST.R-OM₁-tell-FV AUG-15-wash-FV 10-plate
 kuli mwape
 PP.LOC Mwape
 ‘Bupe was told to wash plates by Mwape.’

- 1-10-a AさんはBさんに呼ばれて、今Bさんの部屋に行っています。
- a) *Ba Búpe báácibétá kuli Ba Mwapé nómbá baléya ku cípińdá caa Ba Mwápe*
 ba_i-bupe ba-aci-ba_i-it-a kuli ba-mwape
 2-Bupe_i SM₂-PST.N-OM_{2i}-call-FV by 2-Mwape
- nomba ba-le-i-a ku-ci-pinda ci-a ba-mwape
 now SM₂-PROG-go_towards-FV 17-7-room 7-GEN 2-Mwape
 ‘Mr Bupe was called by Mr Mwape, now he is going to Mr Mwape’s room.’

In (1-10-a) the passive meaning ‘Mr. Bupe was called by Mr. Mwape’ is expressed through *ba*-passive, where the object marker *ba-* in *báácibétá* agrees with the pre-verbal topic NP *Ba Búpe*. This object concord is not realised in (1-10-b), where the passive relation of Mr. Bupe being called by Mr. Mwape is not entailed. It is also to be noted that the class 2 prefix *ba-* attached to proper nouns *Bupe* and *Mwape* is used as an honorific title functionally equivalent to ‘Mr./Ms.’ Thus there arises a mismatch between the morphological status (i.e., class 2 as a plural class of human nouns) and the number of the referent which is singular (i.e., Mr. Bupe or Mr. Mwape). The mismatch, however, does not bring confusion in the system of grammatical agreement where the verb consistently agrees with the morphological property of argument NPs. Thus in this case *Ba Búpe* and *Ba Mwapé* are parsed as class 2 nouns as evidenced in (1-10-a) and (1-10-b).

- 1-10-b BさんがAさんと呼んで、Aさんは今Bさんの部屋に行っています。
- a) *Ba Búpe bááciítá Bâ Mwapé nómbá Bâ Mwapé baléya ku cípińdá caa Bâ Búpe*
 ba_i-bupe ba_i-aci-it-a ba-mwape nomba
 2-Bupe_i SM_{2i}-PST.N-call-FV 2-Mwape now?
 ba-mwape ba-le-i-a ku-ci-pinda ca ba-bupe
 2-Mwape SM₂-PROG-go_towards-FV 17-7-room 7-GEN 2-Bupe
 ‘Mr Bupe has called Mr Mwape and now Mr Mwape is going to Mr Bupe’s room.’

Abbreviations

- 1, 2, 3, ...: Noun class numbers
 1sg, 2pl, ...: Person and Number
 APPL: Applicative
 AUG: Augment (initial vowel prefixed to a noun class prefix)
 CJ: Conjoint (the form obligatorily followed by a post-verbal constituent)
 FV: Final Vowel (default inflectional suffix of a finite verb)
 GEN: Genitive (also referred to as ‘Associative’ in Bantu linguistics)
 PP.LOC: Locative preposition
 NEUT: Neuter (neutro-passive) voice
 OM_n: Object Marker (agreement property is shown by the subscript n)
 PASS: Passive
 PERF: Perfect
 PROG: Progressive

PRS: Present

PST.N: Near Past

PST.R: Remote Past

SM_n: Subject Marker (agreement property is shown by the subscript n)

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