

Three ‘Anterior-like’ forms in Lamba*

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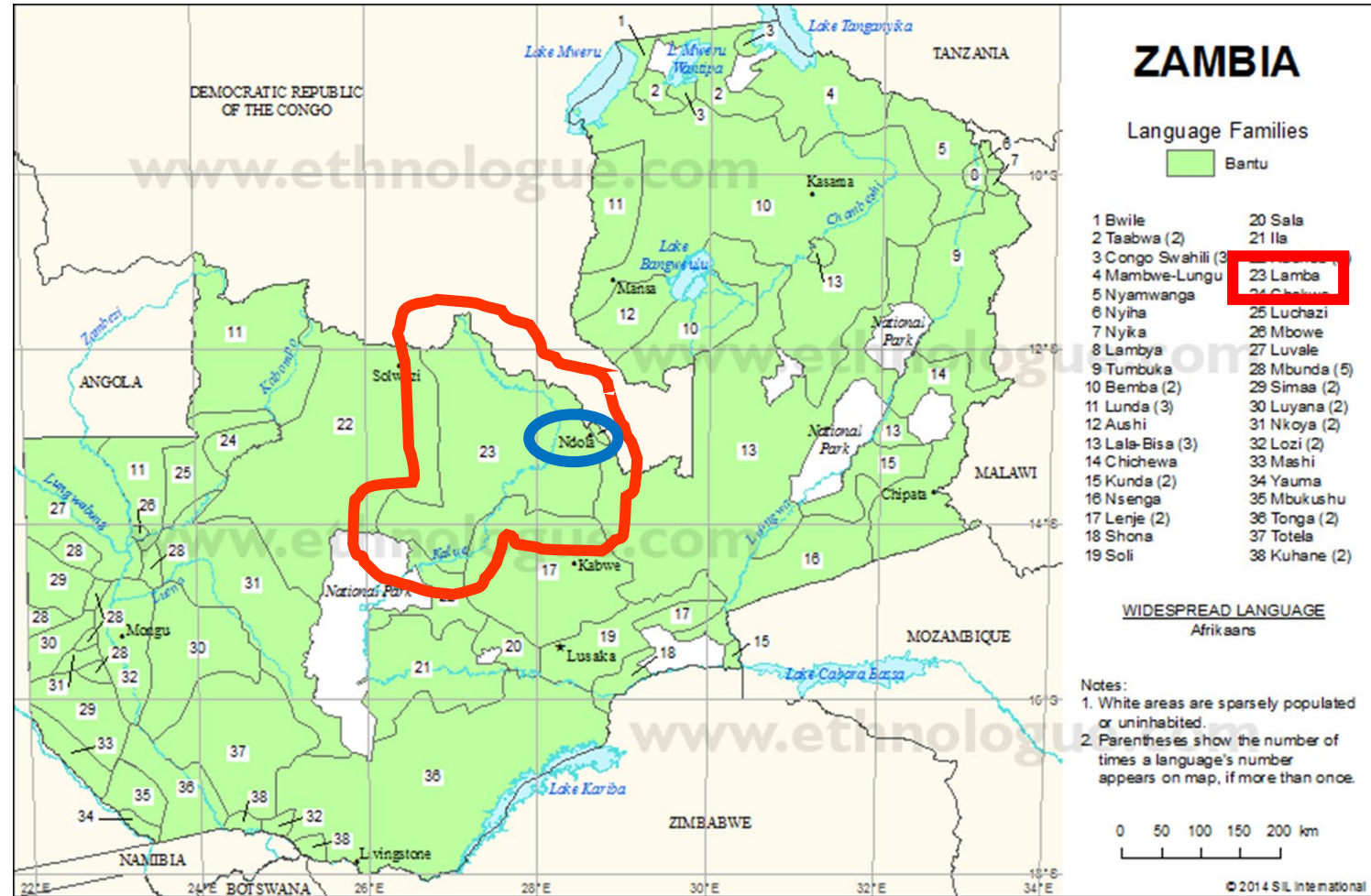
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Basic facts about Lamba

- Lamba is spoken in the Copperbelt Province and Central Province in Zambia, and the Haut-Katanga Province in DRC with altogether 198,000 speakers.
- Guthrie's code is M54 (Guthrie 1971:57).
- Lingua-Franca in this area is Bemba(M42).



Aim of this talk

- The aim of this talk is to sort the usage of the Anterior forms and the forms which has Anterior suffix *-ile* in Lamba.
- The forms which I deal with in this talk are the following:
 - SM-**li**-VR-**ile**: *li-* form
 - SM-**a**-VR-**a** : *a-* form
 - SM-**∅**-VR-**ile**: *∅-* form(SM-**a-li**-VR-**ile** (Prehodiernal past) is not mentioned here.)
- The *li-* form and the *a-* form are Anterior (the definition is by Nurse (2007:165)) in Lamba.
- another form which has the Anterior suffix *-ile* which denotes present state: the *∅-* form.
- Compare and identify the functions of these three.

Anterior forms in Lamba

Anterior refers to a past situation with current relevance (mostly for dynamic verbs), or to a situation which started in the past and continues into the present (mostly for stative verbs) (Nurse 2007:165).

The *li-* form

- The TA prefix *li-* and the Anterior suffix *-ile*

S(ubject)M(arker)-**li**-V(erb)R(oot)-**ile**

- (1) {asked “It seems that your brother never finishes books”, then answering}

ii a-**li**-pend-**ile**

ili ibuuku

no 3sgSM-BE-read-ANTS

5.this 5.book

“No, he has read this book.”

(Adapted from Dahl (1985)Q.54)

RESULT

(2) n-li-bon-ile baakateeka baa chaalo
1sgSM-BE-see-ANTS 2a.president 2.of 7.land
chaa Zambia litatu
7.of Zambia 5.three

“I have seen the president of Zambia three times.”

EXPERIENTIAL

- The *li-* form does not always imply events preceding the utterance time, therefore the *li-* form can denote the simple present state.

(3) íchuuni chi-**li**-laal-**ile**
 7.bird 7SM-BE-fall_asleep-ANTS
 “The bird is sleeping”

PRESENT STATE

- (3) denotes that the bird is simply in the state of being asleep.
- (This will be discussed later in detail compared with the \emptyset - form.)

The *a-* form

- The TA prefix *a-* and the basic suffix *-a*

SM-**a**-VR-**a**

(4) ichibusa chanji chi-**a**-lwal-**a**
 7.friend 7.my 7SM-ANT-get_sick-BS

 buno bukuumo

 14.this2 14.now

 “My friend has gotten sick just now.”

(5) ímfungulo i-**a**-lub-**a**
 9.key 9SM-ANT-get_lost-BS

 “The key has gotten lost.”

CHANGE-OF-STATE

(6) *ímfungulo i-**a**-lub-**a** pano
 9.key 9SM-ANT-get_lost-BS but
 i-a-bon-ik-a bukuumo
 9SM-ANT-see-INTR-BS 14.now
 (int. The key got lost, but now it has been found.)

cf. ímfungulo i-**achi**-lub-**a** pano
 9.key 9SM-HOD-get_lost-BS but
 i-a-bon-ik-a bukuumo
 9SM-ANT-see-INTR-BS 14.now

“The key got lost, but now it has been found.”

- (6) means that the state of the key being lost (which is marked by the *a*- form) continues into the utterance time.

The difference between *li-* and *a-*

- They differ in temporal distance from the point when the event occurs to the utterance time.

(7)a. ifi ifiseepo fi-**a**-pi-**a**
8.this 8.fruit 8SM-ANT-get_ripe-BS
ulúcheelo leelo
11.morning today
“These fruits have gotten ripe in the morning”

b. ifi ifiseepo fi-**li**-pi-**ile**
8.this 8.fruis 8SM-BE-get_ripe-ANTS
ukufuma uyu umulungu
15.since 3.this 3.week
“These fruits have been ripe since last week.”

(8)a. n-**a**-katal-**a** pakuti
 1sgSM-ANT-get_tired-BS 16.because
 n-achi-pyung-a makossa leelo ulúcheelo
 1sgSM-HOD-work-BS 6.hard today 11.morning
 “I have gotten tired because I worked so hard this morning”

b. ??n-**li**-katal-**ile** pakuti
 1sgSM-BE-get_tired-ANTS 16.because
 n-achi-pyung-a makossa leelo ulúcheelo
 1sgSM-HOD-work-BS 6.hard today 11.morning
 “I have gotten tired because I worked so hard this morning”

(9)a. n-**li**-katal-**ile**

1sgSM-BE-get_tired-ANTS

ukufuma masooshi

15.since 6.the_day_before_yesterday

b. ??n-**a**-katal-**a**

1sgSM-ANT-get_tired-BS

ukufuma masooshi

15.since 6.the_day_before_yesterday

“I have been tired since the day before yesterday.”

- The *li-* form denotes **remote** temporal distance
- The *a-* form denotes **close** temporal distance

Information Structure

- Perhaps they differ in information structure as well.

(10) ímfumu i-**a**-fu-**a**
9.chief 9SM-ANT-die-BS
{Answering “what did you find out when you came to town yesterday?”}
“The chief died.” (Adapted from Dahl (1985) Q.67)

(11) (útuuni) tu-**li**-fu-**ile**
13.bird 13SM-BE-die-ANTS
{Answering “Where are little birds usually sitting on the tree?”}
“The little birds are dead.”

- In (10) the whole sentence is new information, but in (11) *útuuni* “little birds” is old information.

The forms which denote present state in Lamba: the *li-* form and the *∅*-form

- The *li-* form does not always imply events preceding the utterance time, therefore the *li-* form can denote the simple present state.

(3) íchuuni chi-**li**-laal-**ile**
 7.bird 7SM-BE-fall_asleep-ANTS
 “The bird is sleeping”

PRESENT STATE

- (3) denotes that the bird is simply in the state of being asleep (cf. Bybee et al (1994:74-76)).

(=slide no.3)

The \emptyset - form

- The \emptyset - form which consists of the TA prefix \emptyset - and the Anterior suffix *-ile* exclusively denotes the simple present state or property.

SM- \emptyset -VR-**ile**

- (12) $\acute{i}ng'anda$ $yanji$ $i-\emptyset-kashik-**ile**$
9.house 9.my 9SM-null-be_red-ANTS
“My house is red.”
- cf. $*\acute{i}ng'anda$ $yanji$ $i-**li**-kashik-**ile**$
9.house 9.my 9SM-null-be_red-ANTS
- (13) $\acute{i}ndume$ $yanji$ $i-\emptyset-lwal-**ile**$
9.brother 9.my 9SM-null-get_sick-ANTS
“My brother is sick”

The difference between *li-* and \emptyset -

- Unlike the \emptyset - form, the *li-* form implies events preceding the utterance time.

(14)a. *ichíbusa* *chanji chi-li-lwal-ile*
7.friend 7.my 7SM-BE-get_sick-ANTS
maleelia *libili*
malaria 5.two

“My friend has caught malaria twice.”

b. **ichíbusa* *chanji chi- \emptyset -lwal-ile*
7.friend 7.my 7SM-BE-get_sick-ANTS
maleelia *libili*
malaria 5.two

- *-lwal-* “get sick” with the *li-* form (14a) includes the event of having malaria twice, which precedes the utterance time. But *-lwal-* with the \emptyset -form (14b) cannot express the same meaning.

Complementarity of *li-* and \emptyset -

- There are some verbs which are incompatible with the \emptyset - form
- The *li-* form denotes the simple present state or property with such verbs instead.

(15)a. *ba- \emptyset -ishib- ile	ukútaana	ímpila
3plSM-null-know-ANTS	15.play	9.ball
b. ba- li -ishib- ile	ukútaana	ímpila
3plSM-BE-know-ANTS	15.play	9.ball
“They are able to play soccer.”		

(16) a-**li**-pal-**ile** bataata
3sgSM-BE-resemble-ANTS 2a.father

“He resembles his father.”

(17) ibaala li-**li**-palamin-**ile**
5.bar 5SM-BE-approach-ANTS

ne nganda yanji

with 9.house 9.my

“This bar is near my house”

- Verbs such as *-ishib-* “know”, *-pal-* “resemble” and *-palamin-* “approach” are incompatible with the \emptyset - form, and denote the present state (their property as well) with the *li-* form.

- In embedded clauses

(18)a. *índume shanji shi-∅-lwal-ile*
 10.brother 10.my 10SM-null-get_sick-ANTS

“My brothers are sick.”

b. **n-a-li-bon-ile**

1sgSM-PST-BE-see-ANTS

índume shanji i-shi-∅-lwal-ile
 10.brother 10.my AugV-10SM-null-get_sick-ANTS

“I met my sick brothers”

- TA prefix \emptyset - inserted instead of TA prefix *li-*

(19)a. *ichíbusa* *chanji* *chi-li-lwal-ile*
 7.friend 7.my 7SM-BE-get_sick-ANTS

maleelia *libili*
malaria 5.two

“My friend has had malaria twice.” (= (14))

b. *n-a-li-kum-an-y-ile*

1sgSM-PST-BE-meet-RECI-CAUS-ANTS

ichíbusa *chanji* *i-chi- \emptyset -lwal-ile*
 7.friend 7.my AugV-7SM-null-get_sick-ANTS

maleelia *libili*
malaria 5.two

“I met my friend who has had malaria twice.”

Information structure

- The *li-* form might differ from the \emptyset - form in terms of information structure.

(20) *ichípinda* *chi- \emptyset -tant-ile*
7.room 7SM-null-be_cold-ANTS
“The room is cold.”

(21) *ichi* *ichípinda* *chi-li-tant-ile*
7.this 7.room 7SM-BE-be_cold-ANTS
kanshi *teeti* *n- \emptyset -ikal-e-mo*
then NEG 1sgSM-null-sit-SF-18LOC
“This room is cold. So I will not sit there.”

- In (20), the \emptyset - form describes the situation surrounding the speaker, whereas the utterance (21) is not valid unless “this room” already appeared in the context.

Summary

- The *li-* form and the *a-* form are Anterior, and they differ in temporal distance.
 - the *li-* form for **remote** temporal distance vs the *a-* form for **proximate** temporal distance
- The *li-* form does not always imply events preceding the utterance time, therefore the *li-* form denotes the **simple present state** as shown in (3), (15)~(17) not only the result state(cf.(1)) or experiential (cf. (2), (14)).
- Not only the *li-* form but the \emptyset - form also denotes the present state or property in Lamba. However \emptyset - form has some incompatible verbs. With such verbs, the *li-* form denotes the present state and property **instead**.
- The *li-* form denotes old information when compared with the verb with *a-* (cf. (10)vs(11)), and the *li-* form also denotes old information when compared with the \emptyset - form(cf. (20)vs(21)). On the other hand the *li-* form denoting the present state (or property) does not necessarily indicate old information. (cf. (3), (15)~(17)). The relation between the use of these prefixes and information structure needs further investigation.

References

- Bybee, Joan & Revere Perkins, William Pagliuca (1994) *The Evolution of Grammar: tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
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