Chapter 15

The interaction of -ø-...-ile with aspectual classes in Nyamwezi

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This study investigates different readings of the construction -ø-...-ile resulting from the interaction with aspectual classes in Nyamwezi, a Bantu language spoken in Tabora, Tanzania. The study is motivated by two observations. Firstly, in previous analyses (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992), it was noted that -ø-...-ile in Nyamwezi selects few verbs, but the patterns governing its distribution were not identified. Secondly, not much has been done on describing the semantics of verbal roots in Nyamwezi (and many other Bantu languages), which appears to be a source of variable temporal interpretations of -ø-...-ile. Based on field data, I show that the first main function of -ø-...-ile is that of stativizer. That is, -ø-...-ile picks out a phase of an event or the entire event (if the event lacks phasic structure) and presents it as a stable, undifferentiated property. -ø-...-ile does so in three different ways, which give three different readings: (i) resultative, when it occurs with achievements, (ii) general present, which occurs with statives and (iii) a progressive-like reading, which occurs with some activity verbs classified as “directed motion verbs” in this study. The discussion of the contrast between these readings is informed by a progressive form -lɪɪ-. Many other activity verbs do not typically occur with -ø-...-ile. Those that occur with this construction either suggest the change-of-state or condition of the verb’s subject (which has the semantic role of patient; patientive subject) or they are used in a special pragmatic condition where -ø-...-ile is coerced. Coercion of -ø-...-ile expresses a contradiction and/or emphasis, which can be regarded as a second main function of this construction.

1 Introduction

Sixty-six percent of Bantu languages use the verb suffix -ile (also -ire, -ite, -ide or -i) to refer to a variety of temporal notions, ranging from past tense, perfective...
aspect to perfect/anterior (Nurse 2008; Botne 2010). In most of these languages, -ile occurs with the tense marker -a- at the pre-stem slot to refer predominantly to far or middle past. When -ile occurs without the tense marker -a-, it is used to express either past/perfective or perfect. Nyamwezi is one of these Bantu languages in which -ile occurs both with and without the pre-stem TAM marker -á-. The suffix -ile with -á- (-á-...-ile) indicates past perfective, as exemplified in (1). The construction -á-...-ile in this language occurs with all types of verbs and maintains the past perfective reading.

(1) waamálilé
u-á-mal-ile
3SG-CPL-finish-ile
‘S/he finished (yesterday to infinity).’

Unlike many other Bantu languages in which the verb suffix -ile can occur with different types of verbs to encode different readings (see e.g. Brisard & Meeuwis 2009), in Nyamwezi the suffix -ile, without the tense marker -á- (-ø-...-ile) is restricted to a small set of verbs. For instance, it does not commonly occur with what is called dynamic verbs (those which denote a process, action or activity) such as ‘plant’, ‘write’, ‘drill’, etc. The same was also observed in a grammatical sketch of Nyamwezi by Maganga & Schadeberg (1992). Maganga & Schadeberg note that -ø-...-ile selects few verbs, mostly change-of-state verbs, to indicate the newly entered state. However, due to the restricted purpose of their study, they did not go into detail to describe all types of verbs that occur with this construction and to determine the readings when the verb occurs with -ø-...-ile. As they say:

Unfortunately, we have not been able to work out the semantic subclassification of verbs which would allow us to describe the function of this tense [sic]. Maganga & Schadeberg (1992: 126)

This paper, therefore, is an attempt to provide a clearer understanding of the readings of -ø-...-ile in Nyamwezi when interacting with different types of verbs (which will be referred to as aspectual classes).

The reminder of this paper is organized as follows. §2 presents basic information about Nyamwezi, followed by a brief discussion of the relationship between -ø-...-ile and other tenses/aspects. The description of aspectual classes is given in §3. Following this section, §4 presents a discussion of the interaction between -ø-...-ile and aspectual classes. The paper closes with a brief summary of the study and some recommendations for further studies in §5.
2 Background

2.1 Nyamwezi language

Nyamwezi is a Bantu language spoken in the central western part of Tanzania, in the area called Tabora. The language is spoken by 1,320,000 people of Tanzania, where seventy-three percent of the speakers are found in the Tabora area (Lewis et al. 2013). The language is not highly endangered, despite the inevitable spread of Swahili in Tanzania. It is still spoken by people of all ages (Lewis et al. 2013).

According to Guthrie’s 1967 widely acknowledged classification system, Nyamwezi is classified as F22. There are four dialects of Nyamwezi according to Masele (2001). These include Kinyanyembe, Kidakama, Sigalaganza and Kikonongo. The description in this paper is based on the Kidakama dialect, spoken in Uyui district.

2.2 -ø...-íle and its relation to other tenses/aspects

The suffix -íle, apart from this basic form, can also be realized as -il-w-e, -ije and -íle. Verb stems that end with a glide create many variants. In longer stems of the form CVCW the glide /w/ is infixed within the suffix -íle. The form -ije occurs in verb stems that end in the sequence Cy, whereby the consonant /l/ of -íle is made palatal. Monosyllabic verb stems select a variant of -íle with a long vowel. All forms are exemplified in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The form of the stem</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>-íle form</th>
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<tr>
<td>CVCw stems</td>
<td>-togwá</td>
<td>'love'</td>
<td>-togiílwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-chilwa</td>
<td>'hate'</td>
<td>-chilílwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stems ending in Cy</td>
<td>-seßýa</td>
<td>'boil'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-soßýa</td>
<td>'dilute'</td>
<td>-soßíje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monosyllabic stems</td>
<td>-faá</td>
<td>'die'</td>
<td>-fiíle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-pyaá</td>
<td>'be ripe'</td>
<td>-piíle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nyamwezi has a very complex tone system. The language is characterized by a H tone shift, where the underlying H tone of the subject/object concord and that of stem tends to shift one mora further to the right. Each type of tense and/or
aspect has a distinctive tone rule. The tone of -ø-...-ile, as described in Maganga & Schadeberg (1992: 126), is shown in (2). TC/SC stands for tone copy of the subject concord. In all examples in this paper, the first sentence indicates the surface structure and the second one shows the underlying structure.

(2) The tone pattern of -ø-...-ile

sc – (oc) – vb – ile + tc/sc

Nyamwezi has a highly agglutinative verbal structure with many possible tense, aspect and mood (TAM) prefixes and suffixes. As shown in (3), the TAM-marking morphemes in the verbal structure occupy the positions of the formative (slot 4), the post-final (slot 8) and the final (slot 9). The suffix -ile occupies the final position.

(3) Nyamwezi (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992: 97)
The structure of verb forms

<table>
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<tr>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PreIn</td>
<td>In</td>
<td>PoIn</td>
<td>Fo</td>
<td>Fo2</td>
<td>PreR</td>
<td>VB</td>
<td>PreF</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>PoF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASS</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>IT</td>
<td>OC</td>
<td>Root/ext</td>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>TAM/FV</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Maganga & Schadeberg (1992) note that the suffix -ile without the pre-tense marker -ā (-ø-...-ile) typically indicates that a new state has been reached. This occurs most obviously in change-of-state verbs (such as -gaanda ‘become thin’), as in (4), where -ø-...-ile has a resultative meaning.

(4) agaandílé
a-ø-gaand-ile
3sg-become_thin-ile
‘S/he is thin (because s/he has become thin)’

-ø-...-ile, while maintaining this reading, can appear in the past, present and future tenses. In the past tense, the construction occurs with an auxiliary verb -lr ‘to be’ as in (5), and in the future tense, it occurs with an auxiliary -kũʃũ ‘to be’ in (6).

(5) waal’ áálaalílé aho tʊlnššá tʊwíipoólú
v-á-lr a-ø-laal-ile aho tʊ-ln-ʃš-á mu-ipoólú
3sg-cpl.rec-aux 3sg-sleep-ile when 2pl-prog-pass-fv loc-forest
‘S/he was sleeping when we were crossing the forest.’
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(6) liindag’ hádoóo, igolo gakʊßii gáßoombílé liind-ag-a hadóóo, igolo ga-kʊßii ga-ø-ßoomb-ile wait-IMP-FV short_while tomorrow cl.6-aux cl.6-soak-ile
‘Wait a bit, tomorrow they will be soaked.’

In the present tense, the construction -ø-...-ile appears alone without -li or -kʊßii as shown in (7), where the speech time is now.

(7) nalɪ́ɪ́ßon’ áálaalílé, kɪ akolugulaga m̀lyaango! ná-ln-bón-a a-ø-laal-ile, kɪ a-ku-lugul-ag-a m̀lyaango! 1SG-PROG-see-FV 3SG-sleep-ile why 3SG-NEG-open-REC-FV cl.3-door
‘I think (lit. see) s/he is asleep, why s/he doesn’t open the door!’

Since the discussion of aspectual classes is crucial in understanding the meaning and interpretation of -ø-...-ile, the following section describes briefly aspectual classes in Nyamwezi. Note that aspectual classes described in this paper can be further differentiated. The discussion is limited to broad aspectual classes, but where necessary, minor classes will be highlighted. A further and detailed analysis of aspectual classes of Nyamwezi is still in progress.

3 Aspectual classes

The discussion of aspectual classes in this section pertains not only to the categorization of verbs themselves, but also to the nouns the verbs tend to associate with. Following Rothstein (2004: 1), the term aspectual classes (which is also referred to as lexical aspect or Aktionsart) is used in this study to refer to the event-types denoted by verbal expressions. The most widely received aspectual classes of verbal expressions are those stipulated by Vendler (1957). This includes states, activities, achievements and accomplishments. These classes are usually defined on the basis of temporal properties such as telicity and dynamicity. Telicity differentiates aspectual classes that indicate an inherent endpoint (telic) – achievements and accomplishments, and those which have the opposite pattern (atelic) – states and activities. Dynamicity differentiates aspectual classes that have complex internal structure – activities and accomplishments, and those which have homogeneous internal structure – states and achievements.

A number of diagnostic tests have been developed to determine Vendler’s aspectual classes. However, as Bar-el (2015: 105) notes, many of these tests are not applicable universally. Filip (2012: 724), specifically, points out that not all the tests developed for English can be transferred to other languages, due to
language-specific properties. In Bantu languages, Kershner (2002), Botne (2008) and Persohn (2017a,b), based on tenets of radical selection theories, a number of theories which classify aspectual classes with respect to the boundaries between different phases of an event, develop a number of language specific tests. These tests reveal more complex aspectual classes than those stipulated by Vendler. Before proceeding to the classification of aspectual classes in Nyamwezi using these Bantu specific tests, I will briefly outline a framework which has been used in many studies on aspectuality in Bantu languages, and also in this study, to classify aspectual classes.

3.1 Phase representation

One way in which the events named by the verbs may be differentiated is with respect to their temporal internal structures. In Bantu languages, Botne (1983), and Botne & Kershner (2000), following Freed (1979), propose a framework that takes into account three potential phases of an event, onset, nucleus and coda, to classify aspectual classes. The onset (O) phase, which may or may not be included in the event’s temporal structure, constitutes the initial or preparatory phase of the event. It is a preparatory stage for the nuclear activity of the event. The coda (C) phase constitutes a final phase which brings the event to a definite end or to a state resulting from the prior event. Lastly, the nuclear (N) phase is characterized as comprising the characteristic and prominent feature of the event. All three phases are schematically represented in Figure 1.

| onset | nucleus | coda |

Figure 1: Phase representation

In this framework, verbs are classified into different aspectual classes with respect to a number of phases they encode (only N, all three phases, N and C/O, etc.), and based on whether particular phases are punctual or durative. Botne (2010: 32–33) categorizes two major aspectual classes based on this framework, actions and achievements. The major difference between these two classes is that achievements have a punctual nuclear phase (N) that denotes a change-of-state whereas actions do not. According to Botne, actions include Vendler’s (1957) activities and Smith’s (1991) semelfactives. Schematic representations of these aspectual classes are shown in Figure 2.
Botne (2010) further classifies achievements into three subclasses which differ from one another in whether or not they incorporate an onset (O) and/or coda (C) phase. That is, inceptive achievements (such as die in English) encode a potential onset phase leading to the change-of-state nucleus, transitional achievements (such as bend in English) encode both an onset and stative coda phase, while resultatives (such as English rupture) encode only the point-of-transition (N phase) and the stative coda. These subclasses are schematized in Figure 3.

Kershner (2002: 62) based on the same framework, classifies another important aspectual class, namely statives, which is not addressed in Botne (2010). According to Kershner (2002), statives (in Chisukwa) represent an aspectual class without a phasic structure, thus she uses a dashed line to present the event structure of statives, as shown in Figure 4.

3.2 Nyamwezi aspectual classes

With regard to the purpose of this study (which is not mainly about lexical aspect), Nyamwezi aspectual classes are classified into three: (i) achievements (Botne’s (2010) transitional), (ii) statives, and (iii) duratives (Botne’s (2010) actions). Statives fall into an independent class different from Botne (2010) who
classified them under one of the achievement’s subclasses called resultative. Following Botne (2010), I further classify duratives into activities and semelfactives. Semelfactives are like achievements in allowing punctual readings, but unlike canonical achievements they also allow iterative readings (cf. Kearns 2000). For this latter reason, semelfactives are classified as one of the subclasses of duratives. But, as will be further explained later, duration of semelfactives does not describe a clearly identifiable process like that of activities.

All classes are summarized in (8) and discussed in brief afterwards. I will use the framework shown in Figure 1 to show different event structures of each class, and apply at least one or two tests in each class to unveil the range and characteristics of the lexicalized temporal phases. Some of these tests were adopted from Kershner (2002), Crane & Fleisch (2016) and Persohn (2017b).

(8) Nyamwezi aspectual classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspectual Classes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achievements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semelfactives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By definition, achievements have a punctual nuclear phase, which constitutes a change (or transition) from one state (or location) to another. There are quite a number of achievements in Nyamwezi. These include -gaasa ‘ferment slowly’, -gma ‘become fat’, -βola ‘become rotten’, -gwa ‘fall’, -pola ‘become cold’, -lʊla ‘become sour’, -lima ‘go up (e.g. a tree, a hill)’, -mana ‘get to know’ and -βoomba ‘soak’. As schematically represented in Figure 5, achievements encode an onset, a punctual point-of-transition and the resultant/coda phase. Achievements may be further classified based on whether an onset phase is or is not part of the event structure (see Figure 3). But, this sub-classification of achievements seems to be of minor relevance to the discussion of the readings of -Ø-...-ile.

![Figure 5: Achievement event structure](image)

One of the tests for achievements in Nyamwezi is their interpretation with -andya ‘begin’. In most of these aspectual classes, -andya implies that the coda phase has not yet been reached, but the onset phase has started (9).
The interaction of -Ø-...-ile with aspectual classes in Nyamwezi

(9) gaandyága kʊpola ila gakapólilé
ga-á-andy-ag-a kʊ-pol-a ila ga-ká-pol-ile
cl.6-begin-cpl-start-rec-fv INF-cool_off-fv but cl.6-NEG-cool_off-ile
kɪsogā
kɪsogā
good

‘It (the water) has begun to become cold, but it is not cold yet (it is warm)’

In (9), ‘but it is not cold yet’ gives some evidence that the onset phase has begun, but the stative coda phase has not yet been reached.

Another test for achievements is their compatibility or incompatibility with the persisitive form -táá- ‘still (being)’ plus progressive form -lɪɪ-. The -táá- plus -lɪɪ- construction, in principle, denotes a situation which is still in progress at or around the reference time, thus usually compatible with duratives (where the construction targets durative nucleus (see e.g. 14) and statives (where it targets the continuing state (see e.g. 13). Since the nuclear phase of achievements is punctual, the -táá- plus -lɪɪ- construction is usually not accepted (10). However, for those achievements which are acceptable with -táá- plus -lɪɪ- (e.g. 11), the test selects an extended onset phase, a phase before a punctual change-of-state. So, example (11) still emphasizes that the change-of-state nuclear phase of achievements is punctual regardless of its co-occurrence with -táá- plus -lɪɪ-.

(10) * gataáli gálnβólá
  ga-táá-li ga-lɪɪβol-a
  cl.6-still-AUX cl.6-PROG-become_rotten-fv

Lit. ‘They (e.g. mangoes) are still becoming rotten’

(11) gataáli galɪβoóbá̄, liindnlagá hadoóo
  ga-táá-li ga-lɪɪβoomb-a liind-nl-ag-á hadoóo
  cl.6-still-AUX cl.6-PROG-soak-fv wait-APPL-IMP-fv short_while
  gakoβoomba doó
  ga-kuβboomb-a doó
  cl.6-FUT-soak-fv few

‘They (e.g. cassava) are still soaking; wait a short while, they will be soaked’

Statives differ from achievements (and also duratives) in one aspect; they have no phasic structure making up different phases of an event. All they do is
describe an indefinite state. Following Kershner (2002), statives are schematically represented by a dashed line, as shown in Figure 4. Examples of statives are verbs such as -chilwa ‘dislike’, -ikólá ‘resemble’, -saata ‘be sick’ and -togwá ‘love, like’.

One way to show that statives form a separate class from achievements is their interpretation with -andyá ‘begin’. We saw that in achievements -andyá asserts that the onset phase has started but the following coda phase has not been reached. This is not true with statives. It is impossible to specify all phases of the event in statives, thus -andyá refers to the beginning of the stative event (not the beginning of O, N or C phase).

(12) waandyága kosaata haángi
    ʊ-á-andy-ag-a ku-saat-a again
    3SG-begin-REC-FV INF-be_sick-FV again
    ‘S/he has begun to be sick again’

Another way which shows that statives and achievements fall into separate classes is their (in)compatibility with the persistive form -táá- ‘still (being)’ plus the progressive form -lɪɪ-. We previously saw that this test is usually incompatible with achievements (e.g. 10) or targets the extended onset phase in those achievements it co-occurs with (e.g. 11). Statives with -táá- + -lɪɪ- denote the continuation of a state, as exemplified in (13).

(13) ataáli alí’ saata
    a- táá-li a- lɪɪ-saat-a
    3SG-still-aUX 3SG-PROG-be_sick-FV
    ‘S/he is still sick’

**Duratives**, as illustrated in Figure 6, have an extended nuclear phase. There are two subclasses of durative verbs. The first subclass, called *activities*, includes verbs which indicate a clearly identifiable process of an event from moment to moment. Examples in this class are verbs such as -lyáá ‘eat’, -ltma ‘cultivate’, -zugá ‘cook’, -dīlta ‘pour into’, -pʊʊla ‘pound’, -zeenga ‘build’, -ja ‘go’, -lila ‘cry’, -peela ‘run’, -seka ‘laugh’ -shooka ‘reverse, move backwards’ and -iza ‘come’. The second subclass of durative verbs, called *semelfactives* (Seidel’s (2008) “instantaneous” predicates), in principle, includes verbs whose nuclear phase is punctual, if the verb’s event is viewed as a single event. But, based on the diagnostic test used in this study, semelfactives indicate an iterative series of the event, thus classified as a durative aspectual class with an extended nuclear phase. This type of aspectual class includes verbs such as -kolola ‘cough’, -lumá ‘bite’, -boola ‘hit’ and -luusa ‘kick’.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(O)</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>(C)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure 6: Durative event structure

Although semelfactives (when perceived as a series) resemble activities in having an extended nuclear phase, the nuclear phase of semelfactives, as previously stated, does not encode a clearly identifiable process like that of activities. The main difference between activities and serial semelfactives can be seen in the interpretation of the persistive form -táá- ‘still (being)’ plus the progressive form -líi-. In activities, -táá- plus -líi- indicates a clear duration of an event. For example, in (14a), the process of lifting and setting down each foot in turn at a speed faster than a walk occupies most of the duration of the event. In semelfactives, -táá- plus -líi- does not describe a comparable process. In (14b), -táá- plus -líi- indicates serial or periodic events, i.e. the event of coughing still holds serially or periodically.

(14)  
a. ataálí alíkpeela
   a-táá-lí a-líi-peel-a
   3SG-still-AUX 3SG-PROG-run-FV
   ‘S/he is still running’

b. ataálí alíkkolola
   a-táá-lí a-líi-kolol-a
   3SG-still-AUX 3SG-PROG-tremble-FV
   ‘S/he is still coughing (periodically)’

For the purpose of this study, it is important to note that although all activity verbs in Nyamwezi encode an extended nuclear phase, motion verbs with directional interpretation and a goal (location phrase) such as -ja ‘go (home)’, -peela ‘run (to the shops)’, -shooka ‘reverse, move backwards’ and -iza ‘comeback towards a particular point’ behave somewhat differently from other duratives and other motion verbs such as -duumskà ‘jump’ and -bítá ‘pass’. I categorize these verbs as DIREC TED MOTION VERBS (different from other duratives) because it is a category of verbs which can naturally occur with -ø-...-íle to encode a reading that I have referred to as “progressive-like” in this study (discussed in §4.3).

4 Interactions -ø-...-íle with aspectual classes

There is a correspondence relationship between lexicalized temporal phases (O, N, and C) (discussed above) and tense/aspect forms. Tense/aspect forms act as
phase-selectors that “pick out” or “select” matching phases encoded in the lexical/phasal dimension (Sasse 2002: 223). In the discussion of the interactions between \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) with aspectual classes in the following subsections, I will argue that one of the main functions of \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) in Nyamwezi, as in Totela (Crane 2013), is that of a stativizer, i.e. it asserts a state or property of the subject, resulting from the referenced situation/event. In other words, \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) picks out a phase of an event or the entire event (if the event lacks phasic structure) and presents it as a stable, undifferentiated property. \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) does so in three different ways, which give three different readings. First, in achievements, \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) selects the coda phase of the situation. In this case, \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) denotes a state that exists as a result of the situation described by the verb constellation, hence it gives a resultative reading. Second, in statives, \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) selects the stative phase which is part of a situation’s inherent structure. In this case, \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) asserts a state which is equivalent to the permanent state of the situation described by the verb, hence it gives a general present time reading. Lastly, in directed motion verbs, \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) selects the nuclear phase of the situation. In this case, \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) asserts a state of the verb’s situation which is currently underway, hence it gives a reading which is translated with progressive form in English (this reading will be referred to as progressive-like). The three readings of \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) in Nyamwezi: resultative, general present time, and progressive-like, are exemplified in Table 2.

Notice that other activity verbs, apart from directed motion verbs, are usually unacceptable with \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) in Nyamwezi, unless the verb suggests a change-of-state or condition to the verb’s subject, which has the semantic role of the patient (patientive subject), or it is used in a special pragmatic condition where \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) is coerced. This special pragmatic condition gives a second main function of \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) which will be discussed in §4.4. The interaction of semelfactives with \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\), for reasons that will be provided in §4.4, is generally not acceptable in Nyamwezi.

4.1 \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) with achievements

Achievements predominantly have a punctual nuclear phase which indicates a transition from one state to another. This is an aspectual class which typically occurs with the construction \(-\sigma-\ldots-\text{ile}\) to encode a resultative reading, as exemplified in (15). As previously noted, this reading indicates that the result of a past situation holds at the moment of speech (cf. Comrie 1976; Bybee et al. 1994).

\footnote{The noun prefix \textit{ka-} expresses a diminutive.}
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Table 2: Readings of -ø-...-ile by aspectual classes

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<th>Aspectual classes</th>
<th>Temporal interpretations</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<td>Achievements</td>
<td>Resultative</td>
<td>aginilé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a-ø-gin-ile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3sg-become_fat-ile</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘S/he is fat (because s/he got fat in the past)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statives</td>
<td>General present time</td>
<td>kasaatilé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka¹-ø-saat-ile</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cl.12-be_sick-ile</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>‘S/he (small child) is sick’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>Progressive-like</td>
<td>aziilé</td>
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<td>(Directed motion</td>
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<td>kʊPúgu</td>
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<td>verbs)</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-ø-z-ile</td>
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<td>kʊ-Pugu</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3sg-go-ile LOC-Pugu ‘S/he is going to Pugu’</td>
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(15) a. gʊʊfuɲág’ iisʊ lyáa-kʊbii ŋhaná gálo-ile
ga-ku-fuɲ-ag-a iisʊ lyáa-kʊbii ŋhaná ga-lʊl-ile
cl.6-HAB-give_out-HAB-FV smell CON-to_be truth cl.6-sour-ile
‘It gives out a smell indicating that it really is sour.’

b. kɪβeélile gáshy’ ṭʊmgatɪ chʊβiɪ kɪβólilé
kr-ø-βeél-ile gashi ṭʊ-mgatɪ ch-ʊβiɪ kr-ø-βol-ile
cl.7-be_nice-ile whereas a-inside cl.7-aux cl.7-become_rotten-ile
nʊʊkʊ kɪβɨɨpɨle
nʊʊkʊ kr-ø-βiip-ile
or cl.7-become_bad-ile
‘It appears to be nice, but inside it is rotten or bad.’

c. ŋwaaná ŋʊnʊʊyʊ aginilé yé
ŋw-aaná ŋʊnʊʊyʊ a-ø-gin-ile yé
cl.1-child DEM 3sg-become_fat-ile very
‘The child is very fat.’

The resultative reading indicates that a causal relationship exists between the past/prior eventuality and the current state. For instance, in (16) the situation of
being sour resulted from the situation of becoming sour. This relationship, as exemplified and illustrated in (17), can be clearly shown using the progressive form -lɪɪ-, which indicates the prior situation, and the construction -ø...-íle, which indicates the current state. In (17), a horizontal dotted line indicates the flow of an event from onset phase to coda phase; the shadow marks the phase encoded by -lɪɪ- and -ø...-íle.

(16) a. gałɪləla
   ga- líi-lʊl-a
   cl.6-PROG-become_sour-FV
   'It is becoming sour.'

b. galʊlɪlé
   ga-ø-lʊl-íle
   cl.6-ø-become_sour-íle
   'It is sour.'

(17) Event-structure construals of the progressive form -lɪɪ- and the construction -ø...-íle

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>becoming sour</td>
<td>being sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>becoming sour</td>
<td>being sour</td>
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All examples given in this section express a resultative reading, a reading which focuses on the present/ongoing state resulting from an event. This reading should not be confused with the perfect (of result) reading, a reading which focuses on the past event which resulted in a state of affairs, which in English can be exemplified by *I have built a house next to the river*. Evidence that -ø...-íle in Nyamwezi denotes a resultative reading (in achievements), and not a perfect of result, is its compatibility with -táá- 'still (being)', which indicates that the result state of the situation still holds (is extended) (18).

(18) a. ataáli agmílé
      a-táá-lí a-ø-gm-íle
      3SG-still-AUX 3SG-become_fat-íle
      's/he is still fat'
b. ataálr amánílé kweendéésha básikélí
   a-táá-l íle kó-endéésh-a básikélí
3sg-still-aux 3sg-get_to_know-íle inf-cycle-fv bicycle
'S/he still knows how to ride a bicycle'

Co-occurrence of -táá- ‘still (being)’ plus -ø-…-íle in Nyamwezi is a good piece of evidence for the resultative reading because resultatives, unlike perfects, in principle, are incompatible with ‘still’ (cf. Dahl 1985:134). For example, in English *I have still built a house next to the river is not acceptable.

4.2 -ø-…-íle with statives

In Figure 3, it is stated that statives denote an indefinite state. These aspectual classes have no internal change; thus I argued that they lack a phasic structure. There are very few statives in Bantu languages in general, and in Nyamwezi in particular. Non-tense-marked statives in Nyamwezi denote a general present time reading; a reading in which the state of the situation having occurred is equivalent to the prior situation. For instance, all phases of the event asaátičé
'S/he is suffering' in (19) are identical. Whichever point of time we choose to cut in on this event, we shall find exactly the same situation.

(19) a. asaatilé kwíngíla kóβyaálwa kwaákwé
   a-ø-saat-íle kwíngíla kó-βyaál-w-a kwaákwé
3sg-be_sick-íle since inf-bear-pass-fv poss
'S/he has been suffering since her birth.'

b. batogilwé kóβawíílaa ñiíchaaβó bá-tómmame
   βa-ø-tog-ílwe ku-βa-wííl-a a-ñiíchaaβó bá-tómmám-eé
3pl-love-íle inf-oc-tell-fv cl.1-companions_their cl.2-work-opt
'They like to tell their mates that they should work (hard).'

Statives in this language do not neatly indicate a cause-result relationship between the prior eventuality and the current state, thus both the progressive form -líi- and the construction -ø-…-íle give more or less the same interpretation, as shown in (20).

(20) a. kalíisaata
   ka-lii-saat-a
cl.12-prog-be_sick-fv
'S/he (small child) is sick.'
b. kasaatılé
   ka-ø-saat-íle
cl.12-be_sick-íle
‘S/he (small child) is sick.’

Although both -lɪɪ- and -ø-...-íle receive the same translation in English, there is a difference having to do with whether an event is bounded or unbounded. The progressive form -lɪɪ- suggests that the event holds at the moment of speaking but it will come to an end sometime in the future, whereas the construction -ø-...-íle does not give this implication. It just describes a (permanent) state. This distinction can be equated with Kratzer’s (1995) distinction between stage-level statives which refer to temporary states and individual-level statives which refer to permanent states. Schematically, the difference between -lɪɪ- and -ø-...-íle is shown in Figures 7 and 8, where a bold vertical line indicates boundedness of an event in Figure 7 (stage level). The lack of this line in Figure 8 implies the event is unbounded (individual-level).

\[
\text{ka-lɪɪ-saat-a} \\
\text{Figure 7: -lɪɪ- event structure}
\]

\[
\text{ka-ø-saat-ílé} \\
\text{Figure 8: -ø-...-íle event structure}
\]

It is hard to find a context where the difference between -lɪɪ- and -ø-...-íle occurs. One of the language consultants for this study mentioned that in many contexts he can use both ways to express the same meaning. The difficulty in finding a context where one can appreciate the difference between the two formatives lies in the fact that the situation of getting sick for instance, which for the case of achievements can be selected by the progressive, is equal to the current state (which in achievements is picked out by the -ø-...-íle). Statives do not show this type of relationship.

In order to find the difference, consultants were asked to tell which of the two forms they can use when talking about chronic diseases. They all agreed that the construction -ø-...-íle is appropriate when talking about chronic diseases
(hence unacceptable in 20b), while the form -lir- is only used to talk about curable diseases like malaria (hence acceptable in 20a). The use of -ø-...-ile when referring to chronic diseases gives some evidence that this construction really describes a state, while -lir- denotes an event which is true for the time being, but probably it will not persist in the coming days.

(21) [Context: Someone has arrived and is looking at the children who are playing at the house compound. As she was expecting to see J, but J is not there, she then asks “where is J today?”]

a. *waaláálagaʊ-á-laál-ag-a
   mì-kaaya, asaatilé máleliyá
   3SG-CPL-sleep-REC-FV LOC-homestead 3SG-be_sick-ile malaria
   ‘She is sleeping inside the house, suffering from malaria.’

b. waaláálagaʊ-á-laál-ag-a
   mì-kaaya, alísaata
   3SG-CPL-sleep-REC-FV LOC-homestead 3SG-PROG-be_sick-FV
   maleliyá
   maleliyá
   malaria
   ‘She is sleeping inside the house, suffering from malaria.’

4.3 -ø-...-ile with activities, classified as “directed motion verbs”

As described in the previous section, duratives, in general, have an extended nuclear phase (as shown in Figure 9). Duratives are classified into two subclasses: activities (those in which the nuclear phase indicates internal change of an event from moment to moment, e.g. -lyaá ‘eat’ and -peela ‘run’) and serial semelfactives (those in which the nuclear phase constitutes multiple occurrences of a situation when perceived as series, e.g. -kolola ‘laugh’).

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Figure 9: Durative event

In the discussion of activity verbs in §3.2, I stated that motion verbs with directional interpretation and a goal (called directed motion verbs), e.g. -peela ‘run (to the store)’, behave somewhat differently from other duratives. These verbs
in Botne & Kershner’s model do not specify the coda phase, a phase at which a result state comes about. So, they are schematically represented in Figure 10 where the last phase is nuclear phase.

![Figure 10: Event structure for directed motion verbs](image)

We saw in example (16) that in aspectual classes which encode a resultant/coda phase, -ø-i-le picks out this phase and gives a resultative reading. Since in directed motion verbs the coda phase is not part of the situation’s event (see Figure 10), -ø-i-le picks out the nuclear phase and gives a reading which can be translated with progressive form in English (progressive-like reading) (22). Ebert (1995: 194) notes a similar phenomenon in Arabic where what is called the “Active Particle” form, which usually indicates perfect/resultative meaning in other verbs, in verbs of posture, of motion and of sensory perception expresses a progressive-like reading.

It is important to state that -ø-i-le in both achievements and directed motion verbs is attuned to the initial (left) edge of the nuclear phase. This means that in achievements the perspective is in the stative coda phase, but in directed motion verbs it is in the nuclear phase.

(22) a. apeelilé kujaa komadʊʊka
    a-ø-peel-ile ku-j-a ku-madʊʊka
    3SG-run-ile INF-go-FV LOC-shops
    ‘S/he is/has run off to the shops.’

b. gaängɪ giůzilé nágaängɪ gáshookɪlé
    ga-āngɪ ga-ø-iz-ile na-gaängɪ ga-shook-ile
    cl.6-other cl.6-come-ile and-other cl.6-return-ile
    ‘Some (e.g. lions in a narration) are coming and some are going back.’

The progressive-like reading in directed motion verbs, as exemplified above, is also a resultative in its function, just like that of achievements. The progressive reading in these verbs is a matter of the English translation (cf. Ebert 1995:189). The difference between a resultative reading of achievements and that of directed motion verbs is that, in achievements the result state is triggered by a nuclear phase which denotes the change-of-state, whereas in directed motion verbs the initial point (onset phase) is regarded as a point of change (cf. Smith 1991:70).
Since the phase following this point of transition in directed motion verbs is a nuclear phase, -ø-...-ile selects this ongoing/dynamic non-stative phase to encode a stative(-like) meaning along the lines of ‘be directed towards a certain goal’.

One piece of evidence is present to justify the claim that directed motion verbs encode a kind of change-of-state which is similar to that of achievements. Both directed motion verbs, as shown in (23), and achievements (see e.g. 18 repeated in (24)) occur with the persistive form -táá- ‘still (being)’ plus -ø-...-ile. Co-occurrence of this construction with directed motion verbs indicates that a state that results from an ongoing situation still holds.

(23) ataált al mńzíla azílé kaayá
a-táá-lɾ a-ɾ mu-nźíla a-j-íle kaayá
3SG-still-AUX 3SG-COP LOC-path 3SG-go-íle home
‘S/he is on the way (going) home’

(24) ataált a-gnílé
a-táá-lɾ a-ɾ-gm-íle
3SG-still-AUX 3SG-become_fat-íle
‘S/he is still fat’

In directed motion verbs, English makes no distinction between the progressive form -líɪ- and -ø-...-íle. So, both a-líɪ-peel-a and a-peel-ilé are translated in English as ‘s/he is running’. The difference between -líɪ- and -ø-...-íle, however, can be settled by context. For instance, in (25), the context is such that the speaker is watching a movie but he missed a part in the movie where the actress (Kajala) saw a lion and started to run away. He then asks another person who started to watch the movie before he came “Why is Kajala running away?” (kʊʊngʊno-kɪ ṭ-kajala a-líɪ-peel-a?). A response to this question with the progressive form -líɪ- sounds fine (25a), but one with -ø-...-íle sounds odd (25b).

(25) a. alíɪpeel’ iishiímbá
a-lii-peel-a i-shiímbá
3SG-PROG-run-FV cl.5-lion
‘She is fleeing from a lion’ (Lit: ‘She is running away from the lion’)

b. * apeelil’ íishiímbá
a-ɾ-peel-íle i-shiímbá
3SG-run-íle cl.5-lion
‘She fled from a lion’ (Lit: ‘She is running away from the lion’)

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Likewise, the progressive form -lɪɪ- cannot be used to refer to the continuing state of the subject, which is encoded by -ø-…-íle. For instance, (26) is in a context where the teacher is looking for a missing student (Anna). He then asks other students who were outside the class playing, “Have you seen Anna today?” (w-aa-mú-βon-ág-a ʊ-ana leeloó?). A response to this question with the progressive form -lɪɪ- sounds odd (26b), but one with -ø-…-íle sounds fine (26a).

(26) a. waaβɪtaga apeelilé
   ʊ-á-βɪt-ag-á a-ø-peel-íle
   3SG-CPL-pass-REC-FV 3SG-PROG-run-íle
   'She passed (here) running.'

b. * waaβɪtaga alɪpeela
   ʊ-á-βɪt-ag-á a-ɪɪ-peel-a
   3SG-CPL-pass-REC-FV 3SG-PROG-run-FV
   She passed (here) running’

The co-occurrence of the -lɪɪ- and -ø-…-íle in the same construction provides further evidence that the two forms do not perform the same function. One (-ø-…-íle) indicates a state and the other (-lɪɪ-) indicates the action in progress. This distinction is illustrated in (27) where the point of speech is now, the point of reference is in the past, established by -βɪtá ‘pass’, continued by -peela ‘run’ and directed towards a location by -ja ‘go’. The continuation of the event of running can be construed as a dynamic state (27a) or a process (27b). Similarly, -ja ‘go’ which indicates the direction of the event can be construed as a process (27a) or a dynamic state (27b). This relationship is further expressed by literal translations.

(27) a. waaβɪtaga apeelilé, alɪجا kaają
   ʊ-á-βɪt-ag-á a-ø-peel-íle, a-ɪɪ-j-a kaaja
   3SG-CPL-pass-REC-FV 3SG-run-íle 3SG-PROG-go-FV homestead
   Lit. 'She passed (here), she was running going home'
   'She passed (here), having run, going home.'

b. waaβɪtaga alɪpeela, aziɪilé kaáaya
   ʊ-á-βɪt-ag-á a-ɪɪ-peel-a a-z-íle kaaya
   3SG-CPL-pass-REC-FV 3SG-PROG-run-FV 3SG-go-íle homestead
   Lit. 'She passed (here) running, s/he was going home'
   'She passed (here) running, gone off home.'

Another piece of evidence is that neither the progressive form -lɪɪ-, as in (28a), nor the construction -ø-…-íle, as in (28b), can be used with both -peela ‘run’ and -ja ‘go’, as each form performs a different function in Nyamwezi.
The interaction of -ø-...-ile with aspectual classes in Nyamwezi

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(28) a. *waaβɪtaga ṭɪpeela, ṭɪja kaaya
    ʊ-á-βɪt-ag-á a-lii-peel-a a-lii-j-a kaaya
   3SG-CPL-pass-REC-FV 3SG-PROG-run-FV 3SG-PROG-go-FV homestead

   Lit. ‘She passed (here) she was running, s/he was going home’
   ‘She passed here, she was running towards home’

b. *waaβɪtaga ṭɪpeela, ṭɪja kaaya
    ʊ-á-βɪt-ag-á a-ø-peel-ɪle a-ż-ɪle kaaya
   3SG-CPL-pass-REC-FV 3SG-run-ɪle 3SG-go-ɪle homestead

   Lit. ‘She passed (here) running, going home’
   ‘She passed here, she was running towards home’

4.4 -ø-...-ile with other activities and semelfactives

In the previous section, I argued that directed motion verbs in Nyamwezi behave somewhat differently from other activity verbs and (serial) semelfactives. Directed motion verbs, as we have seen, do not lexically encode the (resultant state) coda phase, they only encode an optional onset phase and a nuclear phase. In directed motion verbs, -ø-...-ile selects the nuclear phase and gives a progressive-like reading.

Another category of activity verb includes verbs such as -sha ‘grind (e.g. corn)’, -dɪ́tɪ́la ‘pour (e.g. water) into (a receptacle)’, -pʊʊla ‘pound (e.g. corn)’, -zeenga ‘build (e.g. a house)’, -lɪ́ma ‘cultivate (e.g. a farm)’ and -čiβá ‘block hole/way, plug’, which, compared to directed motion verbs, lexically indicates a durative nucleus and an entailed resultant/coda state (cf. Persohn’s (2017b) processes with a resultant state). In many of these verbs in Bantu languages, -ile tends to pick out a resultant/coda state phase to give a perfect of result reading (see e.g. Luwanga and Lusaamia in Botne (2010)) or resultative reading (see e.g. Totela in Crane (2013)). The same is also observed in Nyamwezi, verbs such as -sha ‘grind’ and -dɪ́tɪ́la ‘pour into’, as exemplified in (29a) and (29b), respectively, occur with -ø-...-ile to encode a patientive resultative reading. In this reading, the verb’s subject, which has the semantic role of the patient (patientive subject), undergoes a change-of-state. Note that some verbs in this category permit the causative alternation in which the patientive resultative reading is triggered by both -ø-...-ile and the passive form -w- (29c), though some take the passive form but do not allow causative alternation (29d–e)\(^2\). For the purpose of this study, I will not go into detail to discuss the question why some verbs in this category permit

\(^2\)For comparison, an example below indicates a sentence with agent-verb-patient S-V-O structure in Nyamwezi.
causative alternation while others do not. Further studies are required on the lexical semantics of these verbs.

(29)  

(a) *ašiǐlíẹ vs. zishiílé  
  a-Ø-sh-ílé  zi-Ø-sh-ílé  
  3SG-grind-ýlé cl.10-grind-ílé  
  ‘S/he has ground (the peanuts)’ ‘They (peanuts) are ground.’  

(b) *adítiílé vs. yídtíílé  
  a-Ø-dtíl-ílé  yí-Ø-dtíl-ílé  
  3SG-pour_into-ílé cl.9-pour  
  ‘S/he has poured (water) into a vessel.’ ‘It (a vessel) has been poured into’.

(c) ačiβílíẹ vs. yíčiβílwé (*yíčiβílíẹ)  
  a-Ø-chiβ-ílé  yí-Ø-chiβ-il-w-e  
  3SG-block-ílé cl.9-block-PASS-ílé  
  ‘S/he has closed (a way)’ ‘It (the way) is closed’

(d) *apʊʊlílé vs. gapʊʊlílwé (*gapʊʊlílé)  
  a-Ø-pʊʊl-ílé  ga-Ø-pʊʊl-il-w-e  
  3SG-pound-ílé cl.6-pound-PASS-ílé  
  ‘S/he has pounded (the corn)’ ‘It (corn) is pounded’

(e) *alímílé vs. Ilímilwé  
  a-Ø-lm-ílé  lr-Ø-lm-il-w-e  
  3SG-cultivate-ílé 3SG-cultivate-PASS-ílé  
  ‘She has cultivated (a farm.)’ ‘It (a farm) is cultivated’

Verbs shown above are subject to a second type of result state analysis which is similar to that of achievements. The resultant state in these verbs involves a “durative transition” from one state to another, whereas in achievements the change is thought of as occurring instantaneously (cf. Pustejovsky 1991).

So far, we have discussed two categories of activity verbs, i.e. those which do not lexically encode a resultant/coda phase (directed motion verbs), and those

(i)  
  ukúlwá alíshaa  njhalaanga  
  u-kúlwá a-lísh-a  njhalaanga  
  A-kulwa 3SG-PROG-grind-fv peanuts  
  ‘Kulwa grinds (is grinding) peanuts’
activity verbs which typically entail a resultant/coda state and suggest a change-of-state of the verb’s patientive subject. Another category of verbs includes verbs such as -lila ‘cry’ and -seka ‘laugh’, which resemble directed motion verbs in encoding an optional onset phase and a nuclear phase without a resultant/coda phase. -ø-ile in general does not occur with these verbs without additional context. The context where the interaction of -ø-ile with verbs such as -seka ‘laugh’ is accepted is when the speaker needs to show her/his ability towards what has been conceived impossible by other people. For example, in (30), the speaker may use -ø-ile to mean that s/he has the ability to make the person referred to laugh (something which no one else did).

(30) a. ʊkʊwaaneé asekilé
   ʊ-ku-waaneé a-ø-sek-ile
   A-LOC-POS 3SG-laugh-ile
   ‘To me, s/he must laugh (just wait and see)’

In (29), we saw that -sha ‘grind’, -dɪtɪla ‘pour into’, and -pʊʊla ‘pound’ do not naturally occur with -ø-ile if the verb’s subject has the semantic role of agent (agentive subject). However, the speaker can use -ø-ile if s/he wants to express a contradiction and/or emphasis in the similar way as verbs without an entailed resultant/coda phase. This is contextualized in (31) using the verb -lɪma ‘cultivate’.

(31) [Context: It is a rainy season, Benny is uncertain whether his brother Frank has cultivated. While talking with his neighbors, he says “I wonder whether Frank has cultivated this season or whether he even has a farm” If one of the neighbors is sure that Frank has cultivated s/he can respond using -ø-ile.] amlilé
   a-ø-lm-ile
   3SG-cultivate-ile
   ‘He has cultivated (and I saw his farm.)’

In all verbs where -ø-ile is not acceptable without context, I argue that -ø-ile is coerced to occur with these verbs in order to express a contrast/contradiction and/or emphasis. Collins (1962), as cited in Crane (2012: 70), reports a similar phenomenon in Tonga, where -ide (another variant of -ile) is used to express contradiction (32). See also Woidich (1975), as cited in Ebert (1995: 194), for a marker of resultative expressing emphasis.
Ponsiano Sawaka Kanijo

(32) (Collins 1962, as cited in Crane 2012:70)
 micelo ili bolede (-bola ‘become rotten’)
 ‘the fruits are rotten, or the fruits are not perfectly sound’

According to Collins (1962), the sentence in (32) would be used in argument or to express disappointment or surprise.

The use of -ø-…-íle in Nyamwezi to express contradiction/emphasis is different from that of a stativizer which gives readings such as resultative/stative and progressive-like. Contradiction and/or emphasis can be regarded as a second main function of -ø-…-íle which is enforced by context.

Let’s now turn to the discussion of the interaction of semelfactives with -ø-…-íle. In all contexts attested during elicitation sessions, -ø-…-íle was not accepted with serial semelfactives. Since (serial) semelfactives resemble activities in encoding an extended nuclear phase, one of the ways to test co-occurrence of -ø-…-íle with semelfactives was to see if the interaction would lead to the progressive-like reading. To try this, the consultants were asked to say whether they would use a-ø-kolol-ílé (from -kolola ‘cough’) to mean that someone is coughing. The example meant to check if the sentence may get an iterative interpretation (several instances of an event within a measurable duration) (33a) or denote periodic events (33b). Both interpretations were rejected.

(33)

a. * ataálä akololilé
   a-táá-lí a-ø-kolol-íle
   3SG-still-AUX 3SG-cough-íle
   ‘S/he is still coughing (continuously)

b. * akololilé kufúma mázvúli
   a-ø-kolol-íle kufuma mázvúli
   3SG-cough-íle since day before yesterday
   ‘S/he has been coughing since the day before yesterday’

Semelfactives cannot occur with -ø-…-íle, even though they encode a kind of extended nuclear phase which can be picked out by this construction. One of the reasons for the co-occurrence restriction is that for a verb which does not naturally occur with -ø-…-íle it needs a context where this formative can be coerced to occur with that verb. Coercion of -ø-…-íle normally suggests a contradiction/emphasis. For this reason, it is very awkward for a speaker to use -ø-…-íle with semelfactives to imply that s/he has the ability to enforce the occurrence of, let us say, ‘cough’ which is difficult to do to other people, in the same way it is possible with -seka ‘laugh’ in (30). So, the co-occurrence restriction is due to the
inability of the speaker to enforce events denoted by semelfactives. Otherwise, if the speaker believes that s/he has the ability to enforce a semelfactive event (as in a non-literal context), then s/he may use -ø-...-íle.

To conclude this section, -ø-...-íle, in general, does not commonly occur with activity verbs. The co-occurrence is subject to two conditions (i) the verb denotes a result state that leads to the change-of-state/condition of the verb’s patientive subject, and (ii) the verb is used in a special pragmatic condition where -ø-...-íle is coerced to express contradiction and/or emphasis.

5 Conclusion

To summarize, the paper has generally shown that the analysis of aspectual classes is crucial in understanding the functions of -ø-...-íle in Nyamwezi. A resultative reading occurs with achievements, a general present time reading occurs with statives, and a progressive-like reading occurs with a handful of activity verbs called directed motion verbs. It was also shown that there are some activity verbs, apart from directed motion verbs, which occur quite naturally with -ø-...-íle. These verbs share some commonalities with achievements, as they both lead to the change-of-state of the verb’s patientive subject. More importantly, it was noted that, activity verbs which lack an entailed resultant/coda phase, in special pragmatic contexts, can be coerced to occur with -ø-...-íle to express contrast/contradiction and/or emphasis. It was also argued that although coercion seems to be an option in contexts where -ø-...-íle is not allowed with some verbs, this is not the case with semelfactives. Coercion of -ø-...-íle with semelfactive verbs in general is not allowed due to the inability of the speaker to enforce events denoted by semelfactives.

In short, -ø-...-íle in Nyamwezi has two main functions: (i) statitivizer, which leads to three readings – resultative, general present time and progressive-like – and (ii) contradiction/emphasis. These results suggest that in other Bantu languages a more detailed analysis of -íle can yield valuable results, which may previously have gone unnoticed.
Abbreviations

A  Augment  NEG  Negative
APPL  Applicative  OC  Object concord
ASS  Associative  OPT  Optative
AUX  Auxiliary  PASS  Passive
CL  noun class  PL  Plural
CPL  Compleitive marker  POSS  Possessive
CON  Connexive  PROG  Progressive
COP  Copular  REC  Recent past
EXT  Extension  RS  Resultant state
FV  Final vowel  SC  Subject concord
HAB  Habitual  SG  Singular
IMP  Imperative  TAM  Tense, Aspect and Mood
INF  Infinitive  TC/SC  Tense copy of subject concord
IT  Itive marker  VB  Verbal base
LOC  Locative

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