

Expression of Caritive Semantics in Looma

1. Introduction

1.1. Language

Looma < South-Western < Mande < Niger-Congo

Spoken in:

- Guinea — Macenta Prefecture, Guéckédou Prefecture in the Nzérékoré Region; Kissidougou Prefecture in the Faranah Region; 220 000 people (2012) [Simons, Fennig (eds.) 2018]
- Liberia — Lofa County, Belleh District in Gbarpolu County), 266 000 people (2015) [Simons, Fennig (eds.) 2018]



1.2. Data

Field data collected in 2009–2013

Woi-Bhalga dialect < Central Guinean dialects

2. Negation → caritive

2.1. Polyclausal strategy

The main predication is expressed in the first clause, and the secondary predication of absence or non-participation is expressed in the second — negative — clause.

Type I: negative locative non-verbal clause

- (1) *Gè* *lì-uè* *dówó-y* *zú*
1SG.BASE go-RES REF\market-DEF in
vòlì *là* *zèà.*
1SG.PI\money.DEF NEG.PRES.COP 1SG.OBL
'I went to the market without money'.

Type Ia: negative relative locative clause

- (2) *Gè* *níké-y* (*ní*) *míná-y* *là*
1SG.BASE REF\cow-DEF REL 3SG.PI\horn-DEF NEG.PRES.COP
zéá *yéávé.*
3SG.OBL buy.RES
'I've bought a hornless cow'.

Type III: negative verbal clause

- (3) *Kólú má uá-ávé* *síníg-í* \emptyset *là*
Koluma come-RES 3SG.PI\husband-DEF 3SG.BASE NEG
uá-nì.
come-AOR
'Koluma has come without her husband'.

Negative locative non-verbal clause

- (4=1) *Gè* *lì-uè* *dówó-y* *zú*
1SG.BASE go-RES REF\market-DEF in
vòlì *là* *zèà.*
1SG.PI\money.DEF NEG.PRES.COP 1SG.OBL
'I went to the market without money' (lit. 'I went to the market, I have no money', or even more lit. 'I went to the market, my money wasn't at me').

Second clause here is a typical locative non-verbal construction, cf.:

- (5a) *Sóó* *yà* *zèà.*
REF\horse PRES.COP 1SG.OBL
'I have a horse' (lit. 'A horse is at me').
- (5b) *Sóó* *là* *zèà.*
REF\horse NEG.PRES.COP 1SG.OBL
'I don't have a horse' (lit. 'A horse isn't at me').

S + PRES.COP + LOC

S + NEG.PRES.COP + LOC

Locative non-verbal sentence expresses locative, existential, possessive meanings and some emotional and psychophysical states \Rightarrow both temporal and permanent situations.

- (6) *Fábálí là zò-gà á uá è-lòlì*
Fabali NEG can-PRF 3SG.IRR come 2SG.PI-call
téléfóní-gí là zéá.
REF\phone-DEF NEG 3SG.OBL
'Fabali can't call you without phone'.
= 1. 'Fabali can't call you, because he is without phone, e.g., he left his mobile phone at home'.
= 2. 'Fabali can't call you, because he has no phone' (he has no mobile phone at all).

Negative relative locative clause

(7=2)	<i>Gè</i>	<i>níké-y</i>	(<i>ní</i>)	<i>míná-y</i>	<i>là</i>
	1SG.BASE	REF\cow-DEF	REL	3SG.PI\horn-DEF	NEG.PRES.COP
	<i>zéá</i>	<i>yéáuvé.</i>			
	3SG.OBL	buy.RES			

'I've bought a hornless cow' (lit. 'I've bought a cow (that) has no horn').

Relativizer is facultative (omitted more often than not).

Used if the predication of non-involvement is an attributive characteristic of smb or smth.

Negative verbal clause

(8=3)	<i>Kólúmá</i>	<i>vá-áuvé</i>	<i>síníg-í</i>	∅	<i>là</i>
	Koluma	come-RES	3SG.PI\husband-DEF	3SG.BASE	NEG
	<i>và-nì.</i>				
	come-AOR				

'Koluma has come without her husband' (lit. 'Koluma has come, her husband didn't come').

(9)	<i>Kómásá</i>	<i>bólé-y-tì</i>		<i>wònò kúlá,</i>
	Komasa	3SG.PI\friend-DEF-PL		food come.out
	<i>é</i>	<i>là Zèzé wònò kúlá.</i>		
	3SG.BASE	NEG Zeze food come.out		

1. 'Komasa feeded her friends, but she didn't feed Zeze (because he was absent)'.
2. 'Komasa feeded her friends, but she didn't feed Zeze (she didn't give rice to him though he was there)'.

Second clause here is a typical dependent verbal clause:

- some TAM oppositions are neutralized (8)
- for some TAM constructions, there are specialized dependent equivalents (10)

(10)	<i>Tóá</i>	<i>dá</i>	<i>gúlí</i>	<i>válí</i>	<i>gà</i>	<i>kpídí,</i>
	3SG.NPST	HAB	REF\tree-DEF	cut	with	REF\night-DEF
	<i>gí</i>	<i>là</i>	<i>dá</i>	<i>gúlí</i>	<i>válí.</i>	
	1PL.BASE	NEG	HAB	REF\tree-DEF	cut	

'He usually cut trees at night without us'.

2.2. Monoclausal strategy

The absence or non-participation is expressed in the only clause by means of the negation.

Type I: negative locative non-verbal clause

(11)	<i>Kèè</i>	<i>là</i>	<i>zèè.</i>
	1SG.PI\father	NEG.PRES.COP	1SG.OBL

1. 'I have no father'.
2. 'I am without father (in this particular place and at this particular time)'.

(?) Type II: standard negation + PrepP *gà* 'with'

(12)	<i>Gè</i>	<i>là</i>	<i>káálí</i>	<i>míí-zù</i>	<i>gà</i>	<i>bóá-y.</i>
	1SG.BASE	NEG	REF\fish-DEF	eat _{TR} -IPFV	with	REF\knife-DEF

1. 'I am not eating fish with a knife' (I am not eating at all).
2. 'I am not eating fish with a knife' (I am eating fish cutting it with a skewer).
- ?3. 'I am eating fish without a knife' (without anything).

3. Some mysteries

3.1. X *vá là bà* — a dedicated postposition or a non-verbal clause?

The standard way to express the meaning 3 from (12) is as follows:

- (13) *Nàà* *káálí* *míí-zù* *bóá* *vá là bà.*
1SG.NPST REF\fish.DEF eat_{TR}-IPFV REF\knife ???
'I am eating fish without a knife'.

WTF?

Q1: etymology

Q2: status in synchrony

Q3: semantics

bà / vù — postposition 'to, on (a vertical surface), at', used in predicative possession with some "flat" body parts and parts of face

+ pronominal index 1SG

tà / là — negative presentative copula

- (14) *Pòlù* *là* *bà.*
1SG.PI\back NEG.PRES.COP 1SG.PI\to
'I have no back'.

vá — postposition 'to'? irrealis marker?

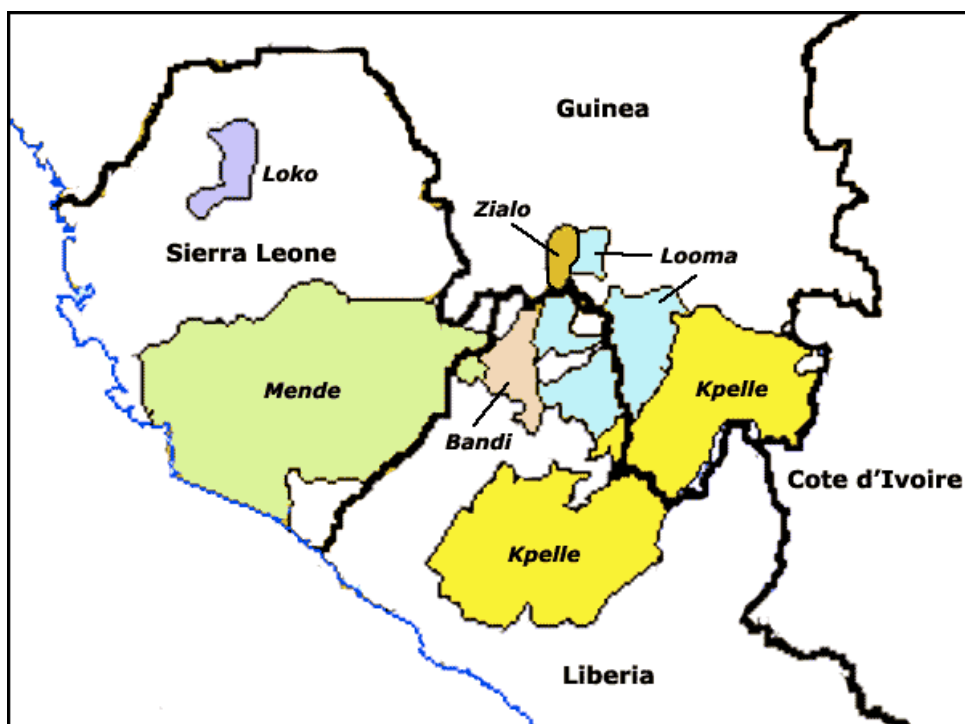
- (15) Ø *yé* *vè* *àyásá* *gà* *và* *và.*
2SG.IMP stay here until 1SG.IRR IRR come
'Stay here until I come'.

- (16) *Gè* *là* *pó* *gà* *gà* *và*
1SG.BASE NEG.PRES.COP 3SG.PI\at CMPL 1SG.IRR IRR
lì *Másáadá.*
go Macenta
'I don't want to go to Macenta'.

- (13') *Nàà* *káálí* *míí-zù* *bóá* *vá*
1SG.NPST REF\fish.DEF eat_{TR}-IPFV REF\knife to
là *bà.*
NEG.PRES.COP 1SG.PI\to
'I am eating fish without a knife'.

Cf. postpositions *válàbà* and *yálà* 'without' in Zialo

Zialo South-Western < Mande < Niger-Congo



[Babaev 2010: 8]

No illustrations on the use of *yálà* is provided [Babaev 2010: 30, 244]

(17) *gè yà lì dápá válàbà*
 1SG HAB go REF\bag without
 'I go without the bag'. [Babaev 2010: 90]

References

- Babaev 2010 — Babaev K. Zialo: The Newly-Discovered Mande Language of Guinea. München: Lincom Europa, 2010.
- Simons, Fennig (eds.) 2018 — Simons G. F., Fennig Ch. D. (eds.). Ethnologue: Languages of the World. 21st ed. Dallas, Texas: SIL International, 2018. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.