Fipa: A first look at dialectal variation and syntactic variation

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Abstract

Fipa (M13) is a largely undescribed Bantu language of Southern Tanzania, spoken near the border to Zambia. Estimates of speaker number differ drastically from 712,000 (Muzale and Rugemalira 2008) to only 195,000 (Lewis 2009). The figure from Lewis excludes the Mambwe-Lungu speakers (which are estimated to number about 300,000 on the Tanzanian side in that source), which are included in the number from Muzale and Rugemalira (2008). These differences reflect how poorly the dialect situation and boundaries of the Fipa language are currently understood, as well as a general lack of basic description of Fipa. In this paper, I report on an initial field study of three varieties of Fipa and discuss one aspect of its syntax in more detail, namely the position of temporal adverbials. Unlike many Bantu languages, Fipa allows considerable freedom with regard to the position of temporal adverbials in transitive and ditransitive clauses. In this paper, I discuss this property with reference to the morphosyntax of different varieties of Fipa and other Bantu languages, focusing particularly on object marking and word order.

1 Introduction

Location, speaker number, classification:

- Fipa is spoken in south west Tanzania (Rukwa Region).

- What delimits the Fipa language and separates it from Mambwe and Lungu is not clear.

- Mambwe and Lungu are spoken in Tanzania (where they are sometimes considered dialects of Fipa) and in Zambia (where they are considered to be languages or rather a single language: Mambwe-Lungu)

- number of Fipa speakers: 195,000 (Lewis 2009) (not including 230,000 Mambwe-Lungu speakers) to 712,803 (Mradi wa lugha za Tanzania 2009)

- classification: M13 – grouped with with Mambwe-Lungu, Pimbwe and Rungwa – (Guthrie 1948; Maho 2008) but F10 – with Mambwe-Lungu, Tongwe, Bende, Rungwa and Pimbwe – by SIL

- neighbouring languages: (Lungu, Mambwe), Bende (F12), Pimbwe, Rungwa, Nyiha (Nyika, M23) and Wanda (M21)

- if one includes Lungu-Mambwe: there are also (Nya)Mwanga (M22, Tanzania) and Bemba (M42, Zambia)

1.1 "Dialects"

- Fipa: Milanzi/Sukuuma, Kwa and Northern/Nkansi/Kandasi

- Non-Fipa (?): Mambwe and Lungu

Speakers by dialect according to Lewis (2009):[1]

- Milanzi/Sukuuma: 10,000 speakers

- Kwa: 45,000 speakers

- Northern/Nkansi/Kandasi: 140,000 speakers

- Fipa-Mambwe: 230,000 ethnic Fipa [in Lewis (2009) this is considered as a dialect of Mambwe-Lungu but in Woodward et al. (2008) it is considered to be a dialect of Fipa]

- Mambwe-Lungu: 65,000 non-Fipa in Tanzania (ca. 379,000 in Zambia)

⇒ Language attitudes reported in 1964:

"All those with whom I came in contact averred that Fipa is merely the name of the Administrative District. People seem to speak of themselves either as aáSukúma (Language: ecíSukúma), as did my two main informants or as aáKwa: the former living in the high country around Sumbawanga, and the latter living in the valley around L. Rukwa." (Whiteley 1964:2)

Current language attitudes:

- on Tanzanian side: my consultants all identified as Fipa

- but there was a strong awareness of different varieties

- Lungu and Mambwe are never considered a single group by the speakers I spoke to

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[1]Estimates based on the 2002 Tanzania Government Census.

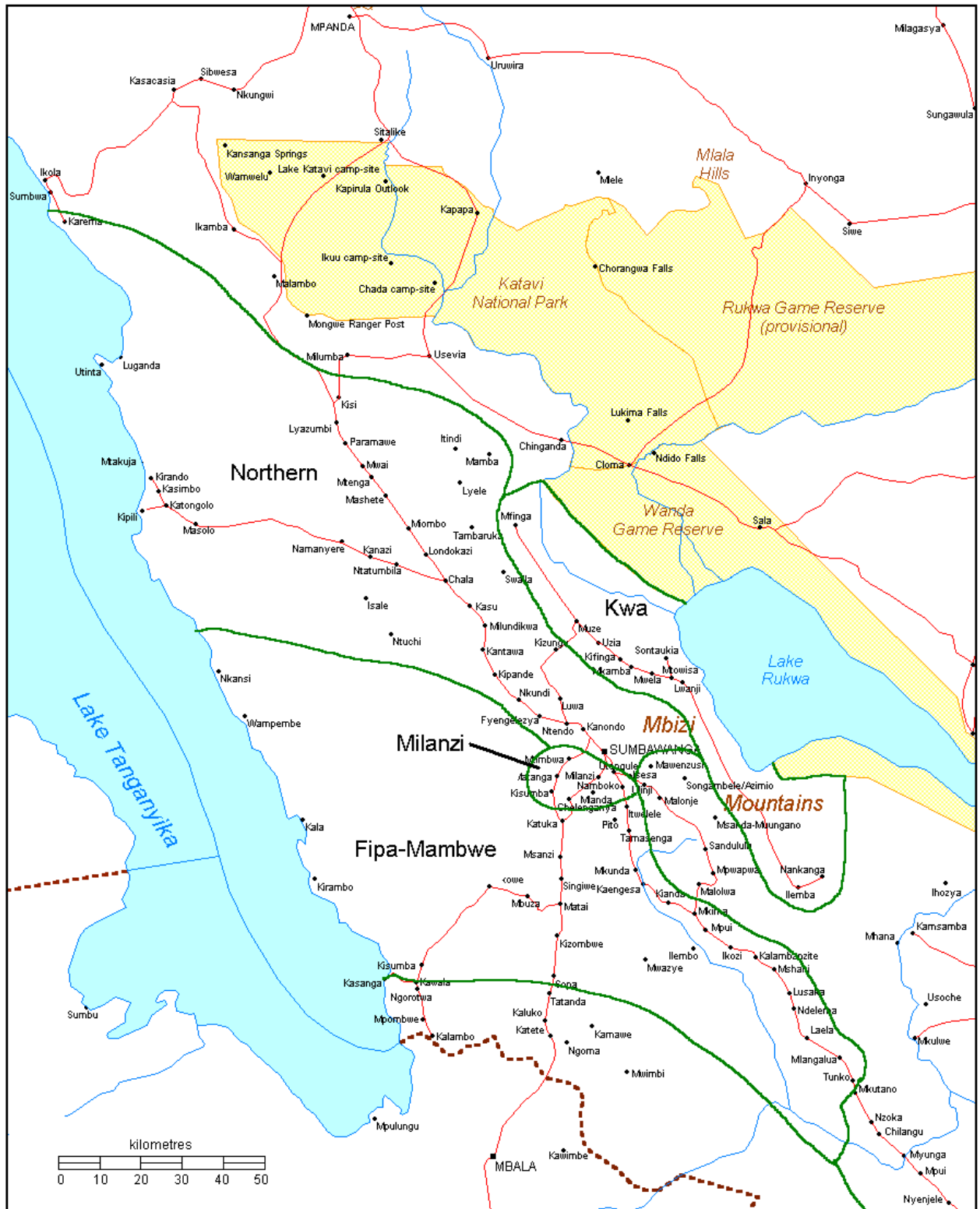Figure 1: Fipa and neighbouring languages (©SIL Tanzania 2009)

Figure 2: Fipa dialects (©SIL Tanzania 2009)

- according to Woodward et al. (2008), Lungu speakers from Ngoma village (near the border to Zambia) did not consider themselves Fipa

- according to Woodward et al. (2008), elders claimed that Fipa identity came into existence recently (during British colonial rule)

- on Zambian side: Lungu speakers sometimes say they are Mambwe when speaking to outsiders (Lee Bickmore, p.c.)

- Pimbwe is also occasionally claimed to be a variety of Fipa

- the northern variety is considered non-prestigious, according to Woodward et al. (2008)

- according to Woodward et al. (2008), the Milanzi dialect is being replaced by Mambwe by younger speakers

- Milanzi Fipa is generally considered the most prestigious or most pure variant of Fipa but in Woodward et al. (2008) Milanzi elders are also reported as saying that the dialect is stigmatised

- Woodward et al. (2008) played recorded texts to Fipa speakers all over the Fipa speaking area and were told that the differences were only minor (but when asked in general people claimed to only partially understand certain dialects)

⇒ Most sources (Woodward et al. 2008; Labroussi 1998, 1999; Willis 1966, 1968, 1978) consider Lungu-Mambwe to be a separate language!

> "a survey of the different studies and classifications where "Fipa" is included, reveals that they can not all possibly refer to the same linguistic system. As I further argue in Labroussi (1998), based on phonological considerations, Fipa-Sukuma and Southern Fipa are not even dialectal varieties sharing the same common ancestor, as only a much deeper separation time can account for their phonological divergence."(Labroussi 1999:358)

Fipa history according to Willis (1968):

- Fipa came from the south in current Zambia

- around 1700 a single Fipa kingdom at Milansi

- Twa arrived from North (Tutsi, Ha?) and become ruling clan of all Fipa

- later two Fipa kingdoms: Nkansi (centred at Milansi) and Lyangalile

- Lyangalile incorporated most of the areas now considered Mambwe speaking in Tanzania (Willis 1968:83), but not the Lungu speaking area by lake Tanganyika

- Ngoni invasion mid 1800s, followed by Ngoni rule for some years

- succeeded by independent rule in the two Fipa kingdoms until colonial times

⇒ There were many waves of migration including (in recent decades) many refugees from the DRC who have settled primarily along lake Tanganyika. There are also the Nyiha (Nyika, M23) who live surrounded by Fipa speakers.

⇒ But this model of Fipa history does not explain a lack of long-standing Fipa identity!

1.2   Literature on Fipa:

- descriptive work: Struck (1911) and Whiteley (1964)

- sociolinguistic/Fipa dialect survey: Woodward et al. (2008)

- anthropological work with some references to the language: Willis (1966, 1968, 1978)

- CBOLD Wordlist (Nurse and Phillipson 1980)

- bible: New Testament (1988, Tanzanian Bible Society, written in Northern dialect)[2]

- recent linguistic study including Fipa: Labroussi (1999, 1998)

- research review of Western lake corridor languages: Walsh and Swilla (2000)

Literature on Zambian Mambwe-Lungu

- Mambwe: several missionary grammars (including Fürstenberg (1974)) and a recent dictionary: Halemba (1994), as well as primers, and parts of the bible.

- Lungu: Bickmore (2007) and a "classified vocabulary": Kagaya (1987)

1.3   This study

Linked to Languages of Tanzania (LOT) Project (http://www.african.gu.se/research/lot.html or http://www.lot.udsm.ac.tz/)

- data collection: December 2008, August and September 2009 (more fieldwork – if possible also in Rukwa Region – planned for 2010 and 2011)

- language informants: 7 men and women mostly late 20s/early30s, mostly university educated

- dialects: 3 Milanzi speakers, 2 Mambwe speakers, 1 Kwa speaker and one bi-dialectal speaker Milanzi-Mambwe (additionally one Tanzanian Lungu speaker was consulted about language attitudes)

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[2]But Woodward et al. (2008) interviewed Fipa speakers in a number of locations about this and were told it was a mixture of Fipa and Mambwe.

⇒ Most participants had exposure to other dialects of Fipa (for example at school) or claimed to speak them!

Data collection based on:

- LOT questionnaire and parts of the LOT word list (ca 300 sentences, over 5200 words)

- SIL semantic domains list, CBOLD, ...

- SynPhonI Questionnaire on relative clauses

- recordings of stories in each dialect

2 Phonology and morphology

2.1 Phonology

- Lungu-Mambwe and southern Fipa have five vowels: [a] [i] [ɛ] [ɔ] [u]

- Milanzi and possibly Kwa are supposed to have 7 vowel systems (Whiteley 1964; Labroussi 1999) including [ɪ] and [ʊ]

- I occasionally noted words as having [ɪ] or [ʊ] but from my recordings these are not clearly identifiable [I don't have recordings of words lists!]

⇒ None of my speakers appear to have a clearly distinctive 7 vowel system! It is reported that younger speakers have lost the distinction (Woodward et al. 2008).

Vowel length is contrastive in all dialects (and Zambian Lungu):

(1)   -sek 'laugh'/ -seek 'bear fruit'

(2)   -lil 'cry'/ -liil 'go round to avoid' [Whiteley 1964:3]

- There is syntactically conditioned penultimate lengthening in Kwa, Milanzi and Mambwe!

Consonants

- There are aspirated stops: k^h, p^h and t^h and prenasalised stops

- Kwa also has ʒ (in causatives where z-y)

- and a ʔ is used before word initial vowels, at least in some dialects.

Table 1: Fipa consonants

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar
voiceless stop	p	t		k
voiced stop	b	d		g
voiceless affricate			ch	
voiced affricate			j	
voiceless fricative	f	s	sh	
voiced fricative	v	z		
sonorant		l		
glide	w		y	
nasal	m	n	ny	ng'

Tones:

- Fipa has H and L tones on short vowels,

- and on long vowels also rising and falling tones,

- there is also downstep and downdrift

2.2 Morphology

Table 2: Fipa Noun Classes

Class	Augment	N Prefix	SM	OM	AdjPref	Dem1	Dem3	Example	Gloss
1	u-	n-/mu-	u/a-	mu-	-mu-	wii	wino	umwaana	child
1a	∅/i	∅	u/a-	-mu-	mu-	wii	wino	shimbwa	dog
2	a-	(y)a-	yii-/ya-	-ya-	ya-	yaa	yano	ayaana	childen
2a	∅/a	ya-	yii-/ya-	-ya-	ya-	yaa	yano	yashimbwa	dogs
3	u-	n-/mu-	u-	-mu-	mu-	uu	uno	umunwe	finger
4	i-	mi-	i-	-mi-	mi-	(y)ii	yino	iminwe	fingers
5	i-	li-	li-	-li-	li-	lii	lino	ilinso	eye
6	a-	ma-	ya-	-ya-	ma-	yaa	yano	amanso	eyes
7	i-	chi-	chi-	-chi-	chi-	chii	chino	ichintu	thing
8	i-	vi-/fi-	vi-/fi-	-vi-/fi-	vi-/fi-	vii	vino	ivintu	things
9	i-	∅/N	ya-	-i-	n-	ii	yino	imbushi	goat
10	i-	∅/N	sha-	-zi-	zi-	sii/shii/zii	zino	imbushi	goats
11	u-	lu-	lu-	-lu-	lu-	luu	luno	ulunyele	hair (sg.)
12	a-	ka-	ka-	-ka-	ka-	kaa	kano	akaana	small child
13	u-	tu-	tu-	-tu-	tu-	tuu	tuno	utwaana	small children
14	u-	u-	u-	-u-	u-	(w)uu	uno	ulwale	sickness
15	o-	ku-	ku-	-ku-	ku-	kuu	kuno	ukulima	to cultivate
16	a-	pa-	pa-	-pa-	pa-	paa	pano	pali	there
17	o-	ku-	ku-	-ku-	ku-	kuu	kuno	kukwaa	there
18	u-	mu-	mu-	-mu-	mu-	muu	muno		

- class 1 is n- (before stops?) in Milanzi and Kwa, elsewhere – and in Southern Fipa/Lungu in all environments – it is mu-

- y-deletion in class 2 prefix: aana/ayaana - this seems to be mixed across dialects (in one case one speaker uses both), except for Kwa which has aya-

- class 8 is -fi- in Milanzi

- Class 3 and 14 take -gu- for the SM and OM in Lungu (Bickmore 2007:14).

- class 1a/2a may take the augment in some dialects. eg Kwa: imwami/ayawami 'friend' (cf example (3))[3]

- the relative demonstrative (Dem 3) always ends in -a in Kwa

- class 18 is reported NOT to exist in Whiteley (1964) but speakers of all dialects I looked at used it (for example as a "prefix" on a noun and for object marking).

- the subject markers for class 1/2 have two forms in all dialects

- class 8 is used for augmentatives

(3)   A-ya-mwami   yi   Mari   yi-   izile.
     AUG-NC2A-friend 2aASSOC 1a.Mary SM2- come.PAST
     'Mary's friend came.'   [Kwa]

2.2.1   The augment

- In the 5-vowel varieties of Fipa, there is a 3-vowel augment system with height harmony: u-, i-, a-

- In Labroussi (1999) – also supposed to be Milanzi[4] – there are also [ɪ]- and [ʊ]- augments. These don't obviously harmonise with the noun class prefix in the data I have seen.

- In the varieties described by Whiteley (supposedly Milanzi) there is an e- augment as well, which – alongside [ɪ]- and i- – appears with noun class prefixes using any high vowel. He cites no forms with [ʊ]- but also has o- as an augment with class 11 lu-.

⇒ Sometimes there appeared to be a singular/plural distinction with the augment where [ɪ]- was used with singular classes and i- with plural classes.

The augment appears on:

- nouns,

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[3]This is also reported in Whiteley (1964) and Struck (1911). My own Milanzi data is mixed regarding this – the 1a/2a nouns used in sentences have no augment but some in *citation form* do.

[4]But Labroussi speaks of a single Northern variety of Fipa.

- adjectives,

- often on possessives, sometimes (optionally?) on the associative and on pronouns,

- but not on numbers or quantifiers (every, all).

(4) ivikapu   viyane   i-vi-zipe   vi-tatu
   AUG-NC8-basket 8POSS.1S AUG-NC8-good NC8-three
   'my three good baskets'   [Mambwe Fipa]

With demonstrative noun order the augment remains (unlike in Bemba (Givón 1969)). This seems to hold for all dialects and also for Zambian Lungu.

(5) i-chi-kapu   chi / chi   i-chi-kapu
   AUG-NC7-basket 7DEM   7DEM AUG-NC7-basket
   'this basket'

After every the augment is also used (unlike in many other Bantu languages!):

(6) a. chiila i-chaalo
        every AUG-NC7.field
        'every field'
     b. * chiila i-chaalo
          every AUG-NC7.field
          'every field'   [Milanzi]

There is a particular syntactic pattern which Fipa (and Zambian Lungu) seems to share with Bemba to a large extent, where:

- the augment is optional for subjects,

- required for objects,[5]

- and impossible for complements of the associative.

- But Bickmore (2007:16) also draws a correlation with definiteness.

I don't have data of indefinite negatives but with definite negatives the augment is used:

(7) Su-lu-lima   i-chaalo   chaane   chiila u-wanda.
   SM1S.NEG.PROG-HAB-cultivate AUG-NC7.farm 7POSS.1S every AUG-10day.
   'I don't cultivate my farm every day.'

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[5]But there are more fine-grained distinctions for this discussed in Givón (1969), where it depends on the verb.

3 Syntax

- basic word order in all dialects: S V IO DO Adj

- apparently asymmetric[6]

- no segmental conjoint/disjoint distinction apparent (but quite likely there are tonal differences)

3.1 Agreement/Object marking

- Animacy or definiteness effects are weak for subject and object marking

- only first person pronouns and proper names require object marking (in all dialects)

- Animals outside of class 1a/2a take grammatical agreement (eg. class 10 in (11b))

- only one object marker is allowed in the Tanzanian varieties I looked at

- Object marking is asymmetric

- object marking is grammatical – but not required – in wh-object questions

- object marking is also grammatical in relative clauses (cf. example (19))

Pronouns:

(8)   a.   N-a-ku-ene   wewe.
           SM1S-PAST-OM1-see.PAST   you.SG
           'I saw you.'

        b.   * N-a-wene   wewe.
            SM1S-PAST-see.PAST   you.SG
            Int: 'I saw you.'

        c.   N-a-mu-ene   Julius.
           SM1S-PAST-OM1-see.PAST   1a.Julius
           'I saw Julius.'

        d.   ?? N-a-wene   Julius.
            SM1S-PAST-see.PAST   1a.Julius
            Int: 'I saw Julius.'   [Mambwe Fipa]

(9)   a.   N-a-ku-lozile   u-wewe.
           SM1S-PAST-OM1-see.PAST   AUG-you.SG
           'I saw you.'

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[6]I have no data on direct object passives.

b. * N-a-lozile   u-wewe.
       SM1S-PAST-see.PAST AUG-you.SG
       Int: 'I saw you.'

c.   N-a-lozile   u-mwaana wako.
      SM1S-PAST-see.PAST AUG-1child 1POSS.1S
      'I saw your child.'   [Kwa]

Animals in class 1a/2a vs. class 10:

(10) a.   Mkolwe a-ku-lamla.
          1a.cock SM1-PROG-crow
          'The cock is crowing.'

       b.   Mwaana na   simbwa ya-ku-chinda.
          1child   and 1a.dog SM2-PROG-play
          'The child and the dog are playing.'   ["Mambwe"]

(11) a.   Ya-shimbwa ya-lu-pulika   i-nsala.
          NC2a-cock   SM2-PROG-feel AUG-9hunger
          'The dog is hungry.'

       b.   I-soka   sha-lumile   ya-shimbwa.
          AUG-10snake SM10.PAST-bite NC2A-dog
          'The snakes bit the dog.'   [Milanzi]

Asymmetric OM:

(12) a. * N-aa-chi-langilizye   i-chi-ngeleza   a-ya-ana   iyuulu.
          SM1S-PAST-OM7-teach.PAST AUG-NC7-English AUG-NC2-child yesterday
           'I taught the children English yesterday.'

       b.   N-aa-langilizye   i-chi-ngeleza   iyuulu   a-ya-ana.
          SM1S-PAST-teach.PAST AUG-NC7-English yesterday AUG-NC2-child
          'I taught the children English yesterday.'   [Kwa]

(13) a.   N-aa-(m)-pile   u-mwaana   i-chitabu.
          SM1S-PAST-OM1-give.PAST AUG-NC1-child AUG-NC7-book
          'I gave the child a book.'

       b. * N-aa-chi-pile   u-mwaana   (i-chitabu).
          SM1S-PAST-OM7-give.PAST AUG-NC1.child AUG-NC7-book
          Int: 'I gave the child a book.'   [Mambwe Fipa]

No multiple OM (applies to all Tanzanian Fipa dialects):

(14) a. * N-aa-chi-m-pile
          SM1S-PAST-OM7-OM1-give.PAST
          Int: 'I gave it to him/her.'

b.   * W-aa-chi-m-pile.
     SM1-PAST-OM7-OM1S-give.PAST
     Int: 'He gave it to me.'   [Kwa]

Wh-questions:

(15)   a.   W-a-mu-ene   weni?
            SM2S-PAST-OM1-see.PAST who
            'Who did you see?'

       b.   W-a-wene   weni?
            SM2S-PAST-see.PAST who
            'Who did you see?'   [Mambwe Fipa]

(16)   a.   U-tu-chi-kala   chani?
            SM2S-PERF-OM7-kala 7what
            'What have you bought?'

       b.   U-tu-vi-kala   chani?
            SM2S-PERF-OM8-kala 8what
            'What (pl.) have you bought?'   [Mambwe Fipa]

Lungu object marking

- two object markers are only allowed if the one representing the indirect object is first person (singular or plural)

- first person plural appears in a different position (further from the stem) from where it usually appears in Bantu

- if there is one object marker and one lexical NP both readings (IO/DO) are possible (cf. example (18a))

- if there is one object marker and a free pronoun, the pronoun must be interpreted as the direct object (as in (18b))

(17)   a.   yá-kú-ꞌchíí-n-fúl-íl-à
            SM2-PROG-OM7-OM1S-wash.APPL-FV
            'They are washing it for me.'

       b.   yá-kú-ꞌtu-mú-léét-él-à
            SM2-PROG-OM1P-OM2P-wash.APPL-FV
            'They are bringing you (pl) for us.'   [Zambian Lungu, Bickmore 2007:30]

(18)   a.   à-kú-ꞌtú-pél-èl-à   Chóólà
            SM1-PROG-OM1P-shave.APPL-FV 1a.Chola
            's/he is shaving Chola for us'
            OR 'he is shaving us for Chola'

b. à-kú-ꜜtú-pél-èl-à　　　　　wèèwé
SM1-PROG-OM1P-shave.APPL-FV you

'he is shaving us for you (sg.)' 'he is shaving you (sg.) for us'　　　[Zambian Lungu,
Bickmore 2007:31]

3.2 Relative Clauses

Minor morphological differences:

- Kwa: relative pronouns end in -a not -o

- Other Tanzanian variants (including Tanzanian Mambwe) use relative pronoun with -o

- Lungu: only uses verbal prefixes instead

Kwa:

(19)　Aasungu　　**yana**　　wa-(ya)-lozile　　　　ya-ile　　　u-koola.
　　　AUG.NC1.girl REL.PRO1 SM2S.PAST-OM2-see.PAST SM2S.PAST-go AUG-INF.swim
　　　'The girls who you saw went swimming.'　　　　　　　　　　　[Kwa]

Southern and Northern Fipa:

(20)　Asungu　　a　　**yano**　　ya-lu-chinda.
　　　AUG.NC1.girl COP2 REL.PRO1 SM2-PROG-play
　　　'It's the girls who are playing.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Milanzi]

Zambian Lungu:

(21)　í-víí-ntú　　　　ꜜ**í**-ví-kù-pónà
　　　AUG-NC8-thing REL-SM8-PROG-fall
　　　'the things which are falling'　　　　　[Zambian Lungu, Bickmore 2007:187]

⇒ These prefixes sometimes appear in Fipa-Mambwe or Milanzi too (but are rare compared to the pronominal form) and seem to be restricted to clefts.

(22)　a.　Q: Weni i-wa-ku-pela　　　　i-chi-tabu?
　　　　　　who REL-SM1.PAST-OM1S-give AUG-NC7-book
　　　　　'Who is it that gave you the book?'

　　　b.　A: Baba　　i-wa-m-pela.
　　　　　　1a.father REL-SM1.PAST-OM1S-give
　　　　　'It was father who gave it to me.'　　　　　　　　　[Mambwe Fipa]

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3.3 Word order

Bantu languages are said to have either free or strict word order. Where these usually mean:

- strict word order: V IO DO

- free word order: V IO DO and V DO IO

- and where object marking plus right-dislocation "license" further freedom for both types

- including V Adj "Obj"

3.3.1 Milanzi Fipa:

- strict word order: S V IO DO

(23) a. N-aa-pile u-mw-aana i-chi-taabu.
SM1S-PAST-give.PAST AUG-NC1-child AUG-NC7-book
'I gave the child a book.'

b. * N-aa-pile i-chi-taabu u-mw-aana.
SM1S-PAST-give.PAST AUG-NC7-book AUG-NC1-child
Int: 'I gave the child a book.'

c. N-aa-m-pile i-chi-taabu, u-mw-aana.
SM1S-PAST-OM1-give.PAST AUG-NC7-book AUG-NC1-child
'I gave the child a book.'

- *: S V Adj Obj

(24) a. N-aa-wiine u-mw-aana iyuulu.
SM1S-PAST-see.PAST AUG-NC1-child yesterday
'I saw the child yesterday.'

b. * N-aa-wiine iyuulu u-mw-aana.
SM1S-PAST-see.PAST yesterday AUG-NC1-child
Int: 'I saw the child yesterday.'

3.3.2 Kikwa

- free word order: V IO DO and V DO IO

- including V Adj "Obj" *without* object marking

(25) a. N-aa-pile a-ya-ana i-piipii iyuulu.
SM1S-PAST-give.PAST AUG-NC2-child AUG-NC9.sweet yesterday
'I gave the children sweets yesterday.'

15

b. N-aa-pile i-piipii a-ya-ana iyuulu.
SM1S-PAST-give.PAST AUG-NC9.sweet AUG-NC2-child yesterday
'I gave the children sweets yesterday.'

c. N-aa-pile i-piipii iyuulu a-ya-ana.
SM1S-PAST-give.PAST AUG-NC9.sweet yesterday AUG-NC2-child
'I gave the children sweets yesterday.' [Kwa]

3.3.3 Fipa Mambwe

- strict word order: S V IO DO

- BUT V Adj Obj is grammatical

(26) a. N-aa-pile u-mw-aana i-chi-tabu.
SM1S-PAST-gave.PAST AUG-NC1-child AUG-NC7-book
'I gave the child a book.'

b. * N-aa-pile i-chi-tabu u-mw-aana.
SM1S-PAST-gave.PAST AUG-NC7-book AUG-NC1-child
Int: 'I gave the child a book.' [Fipa Mambwe]

(27) a. N-aa-weni u-mw-aana iyuulu.
SM1S-PAST-see.PAST AUG-NC1-child yesterday
'I saw the child yesterday.'

b. N-aa-weni iyuulu u-mw-aana.
SM1S-PAST-see.PAST yesterday AUG-NC1-child
'I saw the child yesterday.' [Fipa Mambwe]

3.3.4 Zambian Lungu

- strict word order: S V IO DO

- no data on V Adj Obj

(28) a. Yá-láˈpé-él' ú-mw-áˈán í-ˈvíí-ntù.
SM2-FUT-give.APPL AUG-NC1-child AUG-NC8-thing
'They will give the things to the child.'

b. * Ya-lapeel' i-vii-ntu u-mw-aana.
SM2-FUT-give.APPL AUG-NC8-thing AUG-NC1-child
'They will give the things to the child.' [Zambian Lungu, Bickmore 2007:31]

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